



# The adventure of Saint Columba's Clerics





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# THE ADVENTURE OF ST. COLUMBA'S CLERICS

ECHTRA CLERECH CHOLUIM  
CILLE ANDSO SIS

Established and translated by Whitley Stokes



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## PREFACE

The text of the following tale is taken from columns 707-715 of the Yellow Book of Lecan, a fourteenth-century ms. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It is based on the same event as the *Voyage of Snedgus and Mac Riagla*, the prose of which is published in the *Revue Celtique*, t. III, pp. 14-24. But it differs in many details, and incorporates an abridged version of the *Vision of Adamnán*, Ir. Texte, I, 169-196.

This text was edited with a German translation, by Professor Thurneysen, in 1904 on the occasion of the birthday of the Rector Magnificentissimus of his University<sup>1</sup>. Unfortunately he had for his source only the execrable facsimile of the Yellow Book, edited by Dr. Atkinson in 1896. The necessary result is that Thurneysen's edition is deformed by several textual mistakes and omissions, some, but not all, of which are corrected in the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, V, 418-420.

Considering the defects of his source, Thurneysen's translation is wonderfully accurate and complete. He has, however, omitted to render the abridgment of the *Vision of Adamnán* – his reason being that I had published, in 1870, an English version of that piece as it stands in *Lebor na huidre*<sup>2</sup>. In Celtic matters such courteous generosity is so unusual as to deserve special acknowledgement. My

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<sup>1</sup>Programm zur Feier des Geburtstags seiner königlichen Hoheit des Grossherzogs Friedrich des durchlauchtigsten Rector magnificen-tissimus der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität zu Freiburg i. Br. Halle a. S. Druck von Ehrhardt Karras, 1904.

<sup>2</sup>This version has been twice reprinted, once in *Fraser's Magazine* for February 1871, and again in the late Miss Margaret Stokes' *Three Months in the Forests of France*, London, 1891, pp. 276-279.

## PREFACE

version has no literary merit—but it may interest students in Celtic eschatology, and I have pointed out in the footnotes some of the coincidences of the *Vision* with the *Divina Commedia* and the Koran.

The ten quatrains at the end of our tale are part of the long poem (76 stanzas) incorporated in the *Voyage of Snedgus and Mac Riagla*, YBL. cols. 592-595. The metre of this poem is *dechnad cumaisc*<sup>3</sup>, each line containing twelve syllables and ending in disyllabic rhyme. As to the date of its composition (probably the tenth century) see Zimmer, *Zeitschr. f. deutsches Alterthum*, xxxiii, 211, Thurneysen, *op. cit.*, 6, and O'Curry, *Lectures on the MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History*, p. 361.

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<sup>3</sup>See *Mittelirische Verslehren*, *Irische Texte*, III, 8, 40, 74-78, 152.

ECHTRA CLERECH CHOLUIM CILLE ANDSO SIS  
(YBL. col. 707, Facsimile 86<sup>b</sup>29)

1. ¶ ANTAN TANIC DERID<sup>4</sup> rigi 7 aimsiri do Domnall mac Aeda mic Ainmireach, d' airdrig Erenn, dorigni timna dia rigi 7 da ferann iter a da mac .i. Fiachu 7 Donnchad. Ro ainmnigh airdrigi Erenn do Donnchad 7 tanaistecht Erenn 7 a saermacamnacht d'Fiachaig<sup>5</sup>, 7 ferann rigdamnacha .i. Fir Rois 7 Mugduirn Maigen, air ni bid rig Erenn diles aqu sidi, ar is ead donidis, a rig duthaich fein do marbad. Conad airesin dusradd da mac .i. d'Fiachaig<sup>5</sup>, da fognum o Themraig co hOileach.

2. ¶ ra siacht Fiacha do saighidh an feraind sin ro thinoilsead lucht an feraind chuigi 7 ro raid riu ¶ Tucaid, ar se, bar rigi 7 bar tigernus damsas, 7 dentar dúine, 7 tóraindter ratha 7 sondaigi lib damsas 7 tigi mora 7 grianain. Dogenam sin, ar siad, ocus ni dernad sin acáind dar tigernaib fen in saethar sin, acht a marbad dognimis. Dorignedar na saethair mora sin, 7 docurdis cru 7 fuil a craidi tara mbelaib iar scis na hoibri.

3. ¶ Dorigned oirechtus accu laa n-aen ann, 7 badar da righdamna da rigaib duitchib fen araird acu .i. Diarmuid Olmar 7 Ailill, 7 ro raidset side ¶ measa daib ém, ar siad, in ri comaithech<sup>6</sup> ut fuil foraib andam-ní, ar ni tardsad ar n-aithri-ne nó ar seanaithe dochraidi mar so foraib, cia ro marbsabar iad fos.

4. ¶ Dorignetar maithi na hairechta comairli arsin .i. Fiacha [p. 87<sup>a</sup>] do marbad, 7 nirbo chian a haithli na comairli co toracht Fiacha isan oirecht, 7 adconncatar ag allaid<sup>7</sup> secco, 7 ro lecseadar a conu fris, 7 dachuadar fein a ndeagaid a con, 7 ro facsad Fiachaig a aenur isan aeirecht, 7 ro fellsad

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<sup>4</sup> Ms. derig.

<sup>5</sup> Ms. fiachaid.

<sup>6</sup> Ms. comaithech.

<sup>7</sup> Ms. ad allaig.

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in lucht sin fair, 7 ro marbsad hé, 7 dochuadar a haitli a n-echta ar comairgi Ronain Find 7 Maine maic Neill, a[r] rob iad sain ardcomairgi Erenn intan sin.

5. ¶ Arsin tra adchualaid Dondchad mac Domnaill inni sin .i. a brathair do marbad d' Feraib Roiss 7 do Mugdornaib Maigen, 7 ro thinoil Donnchad morthinol mor fochétoir, 7 dachuaid ina ndiaid do sharugud a comairgi sin, 7 ro raidset na comairgi fris ¶ Nachar-sáraig<sup>8</sup>, ar siad, ar dannar-saraige ni ni bia comairgi a n-Erinn iarsin. As ed doberamni duid, a n-ebera Colum cille mac Feidlimthe fuil a n-I. Gebad-sa sin, ar Donnchad, 7 ro oentaigset ime-sin, 7 adnagat techta maroen co Hi, 7 indisit a scela o thus co deraid do. Ocus a as i breath ruc Colum cille annsin .i. tri fichit fer 7 tri fichit bean doneoch is ferr cruth 7 cenel ro bad ac denam ind echta, cona cloind 7 cona cethri, do chur for muir 7 for fairgi duna tairgidis aris docum n-Erenn co brath. Ocus adubairt in ferann ima ndernad mac rig Erenn do marbad a thobairt do Patric dogrés co mbeth aca fognam.

6. ¶ Doronta longa 7 lughbarca leo, 7 dochúadar for muir 7 for fairgi tre comairli Coluim cille. Ocus dochuadar da dalta do Colum cille leo for muir .i. Snedgus 7 Mac riaguil<sup>9</sup>, 7 as iad sin ro la Colum cille isa fiadnaise anall. O ro siachtadar edh cian a crislach mara ro imposeadar na clerig dochum n-Erenn aris conici bail a roibi Donnchad, 7 ar torachtain doib ro indseadar a scela don righ 7 ro thimainsed celebrad dó.

7. ¶ S annsin ro raid in ri friu ¶ Airised co tísad deraid erraig 7 tosach in tsamraid, 7 ergid aindsin do bar tig. Doronsad na clerich in comairli sin, 7 ro airisedar amail adubairt in ri friu, 7 ro hindlaicid co Dairi iad, 7 tucad recles doib ann, 7 biad on rig doib conigi sin co tanic deraid erraich 7 tosach samraid<sup>10</sup>.

8. ¶ Ro thimainsead celebrad celebrad don rig, 7 tucsat a curach for muir 7 for fairgi, 7 ro impo gaeth for in seol, 7

<sup>8</sup> Ms. Nacharsaraid.

<sup>9</sup> Plus exactement *Mac riagla* «*¶*ils de la règle (monastique) ».

<sup>10</sup> Ms. samraig, le g étant lié au d.

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ro timairgid o *Erinn* siarthuaid<sup>11</sup> du in ro taispenad mor d'ingantaib, 7 ro badar co ceann tri la 7 tri n-aidchi ic *fascnum* in mara, co tanic fallscad itad doib. *Ocus* issead ro duisig asa collad iad, fuaim in *curaig* risin tracht, 7 ro gabsad oilen ferglas fonntaitnemach 7 sruth lachtmilis leamnachta tara lar, 7 atibsed dig cacha fir de, 7 ro beannachtsadar<sup>12</sup> an t-oilen, 7 ni fuaradar ann neach no aicilldis, 7 ro laisead a *curach for muir* 7 *for fairgi*.

9. ¶ Leicem as ar n-imram, ar siad, *acht* in *chonair beras* ar *curach* sind cheana, 7 denam abstanaid 7 aine, 7 leicem ar n-imram a leth de, 7 teigeam, ar siad, dar lebartonnaib na dileann.

10. ¶ *Ocus* adnaidead co ceann tri la 7 tri a-aidche, antan adchonncadar ailen 7 indsi uathu. Suairc em in t-ailen sin, air is aimlaid ro bai, 7 crann duilleach dosmor dathalaind and, 7 sonnach airgdidi dar a lar a medon na hindsi, 7 cora firesc a certmedon na hindsi, 7 stiall ar capar d'airged gil a n-imthacmang na corad. Ba *commet* re colptaig mbliadne cech bradan [col. 709, p. 87<sup>b</sup>] taebalaind tairrgel baethlemnech ballchorcra no chindedh suas frisin coraid<sup>13</sup> IS *derb*, ar siad, is *munter* Dé bís annsa n-oilen sa ; 7 caithem, ar siad, ni don iasc, 7 beram lind. *Ocus* rucsad ni don iasc leo, 7 batar *denus* ann .i. teora la 7 teora aidchi.

11. ¶ Annsin docuadar 'na *curach for muir* 7 *for fairgi* 7 dar lebarthonnaib na dileann, co facadar a cind tri la 7 tri n-aidchi ailen 7 indsi uathu, 7 is amlaid ro bai in t-ailen sin, 7 daine and 7 cind chat *forro* 7 *curpa* daine *accu*. *Ocus* ro gob ecla 7 uaman mor na clerig, 7 dochuadar re taeb na hindsi, 7 *dusrala* iad an ailen aili, 7 adchonncadar clerech ara cind isan *traig* co casail ngil ime fora cind, 7 ro beannachsad do, 7 do bennaig seam doib-seam, 7 ro fiarfaigetar<sup>14</sup> de. Cuich thusa, ar siat, 7 can do cenél. Ro freair in cleireach iad. Do *feraib* Erind dam, ar se, 7 lucht *curaich* tangamar-ni conigi seo, 7 leth an oilen-sa do

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<sup>11</sup> Ms. siarthuaig.

<sup>12</sup> Ieg. bennachsadar ?

<sup>13</sup> Ms. coraich.

<sup>14</sup> Ms. rofiarfaidetar.

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chosnamar ar eigin risna Caitchennaib, 7 marb uili lucht in churaich *acht* misi am aenur, 7 ticid limsa 7 fugebthai aigidhecht<sup>15</sup> tri la 7 tri n-aidchi d' fin 7 do chruithnecht 7 d' iasc. *Ocus* do batar annsin risin ré sin.

12. ¶ Celebraid iarsin do na clerchib, 7 tiagaid do shaighid a *curaig*, 7 adnaghad<sup>16</sup> a *curach for* muir 7 *for* fairgi 7 *for* na lebarthonnaib na dileann, 7 a n-ucht anfaid 7 acían-tuindi<sup>17</sup>. Co facadar iar scis n-imrama oilen uaithib, 7 is amlaid ro bai in t-ailen, 7 oenchrann mileta mor ann, 7 cret aircid aici, 7 duilleanna óir fair, 7 ro leth a barr ar an ailen uili. *Ocus* is amlaid ro ba in crann sin, 7 cach lam 7 cach geg ro bai as amach lomnán d' enaib co n-eitib airgid. *Ocus* cathair a mullach an craind, 7 en mor inti, 7 cend oir forsan eon sin, 7 eitida<sup>18</sup> airgid fair, 7 is *ed* ro chanadh in t-en o maidin co tert, cacha nderna Dia do maith re tuistin a dul, 7 o thert co medhon lai scela geni 7 baisteda *Maic De* 7 a eserghi 7 a adnacoil, 7 ro indisead o trath nona amach scela lai bratha.

13. ¶ An uair do cluintis na heoin sin uili do chroitís a n-eiteda 7 do leicdis frasa fola [as] a n-eitib i[c] cloistecht in scel sin. Arsin ro estidar na clerig risin ceol ro chansad na heoin. Do leced iarsin duilleann oir cuctu anuas don crann, 7 ro folaig in duilleann iad, 7 ba samalta i re croicenn doim riata. Beiridh lib sin, ar in t-en, 7 tabraid ar altoir *Coluim cille* ar rochtain co Hi. ISsead *immorro* bai 'sin duillind, scel in righthigi 7 *munteri* nime, 7 in tsosaid ainglidi<sup>19</sup> 7 ifrinn. *Conad* ann dochuaid uathu. Ar n-ergi nach facadar an inis 7 in bili nait na heoin, 7 ro dechsad in duilleann 7 in scel ro bai indti .i. scel *munteri* nime 7 in righ uasail fein, 7 rl.

14. ¶ *Ocus* tainic anfad mor doib iarsin, 7 ro hetarscarad a n-anmanna rena corpaib, 7 rucad iad iarsin do dechain nime 7 ifirnd, *amail* ro thaisbean[ad] dona hapstalaib.

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<sup>15</sup> Ms. aidighecht.

<sup>16</sup> Ms. adnaghad.

<sup>17</sup> Ms. acain tuindi.

<sup>18</sup> Ms. eitiga.

<sup>19</sup> Ms. anairthar.

15.¶S ead am *cét*-tir a rangadar .i. tir na naem .i. tir shuthach, *solusda*, *airegda*, *ecsamail*, *ingantach* ann ; co casraib lin gil umpu, co culpataib glegelaib osa cendaib. Noeim airthir in domain a n-*airecht for leith* a n-*airther* tiri na naem. Naim *iarthuir* a n-*iarthar*<sup>19</sup> in tiri *cét*na. Naim *thuaiscirt* in domain 7 a *descirt* ‘na n-*airechtaib* tes 7 *tuaid*<sup>20</sup>. Cach oen fil a tir na naem is *comfogus* do estecht na ceol 7 *indithmigud* inna *luinge*<sup>21</sup> a *filet* .ix. ngrada nime.

16.¶An dara fecht *didu* dana naemaib canaid ceol adamrai[g]thi ic molad [col. 710, p. 88<sup>a</sup>] De. in fecht aile *immorro* estid re ceol *muinteri* nime, uair ni dlegaid na naeim ach estecht in cheoil sin 7 *indithmigud* na sollsi diadha 7 a *sasad* don *boltnugud* fil a tir na naem.

17.¶Ata *flaith adamra didu* ar gnuis doib uaithib sairrdes, 7 *fial* glainide *eturru*. Urdam orda ris andes, 7 is *trit* sin do *chitis fuath* 7 *fosc[ug]ad*<sup>22</sup> *muintiri* nime. Ni fuill *immorro* *fial* na *temel iter muintir* nime [7 inna nóemu LU. 27<sup>b</sup>], *acht* atait a soillsi 7 a *frecnarcus* doib *il-leth* riu son *dogrés*. *Circul tendtide*<sup>23</sup> *didu* fon tir sin *imocuairt*, 7 cach ann 7 as, 7 ni *urchoidighenn* dona *firenaib*.

18.¶Na da *apstal dec immorro*, 7 *Muiri Ogh* a n-*airecht for leth* imon *Comdid cumachtach*. *Uasalaitraig* 7 *faidhi* 7 *desci buil* Isu i *comhfocus* na n-*abstal*. Ataid *didu* araili naemogha do des *Muiri* 7 re *ciana etarru*. *Naidhin* 7 *macaim umpu focuairt*, 7 *ceol énlaiti muinteri* nime ica n-*airfided tria bithu sir*. *Buidhni* ana *athluma d’ainglib comidechta* na n-*anmand ac umaloid* 7 ac *timthirecht itir* na *hairechtaib* sin i *fiadnasi* in<sup>24</sup> *rig dogrés*. Ni *tualaing nech isin bith [frecnairc-sea]* *tuaruscabail* na n-*airecht* sin *amail* ataid iar fir.

19.¶Na *buidne* 7 na *hairechta didu fuilet* a tir na naem bid isin *morgloir [sin]* *co mordail bratha isna* *sostaib* 7 *isna*

<sup>20</sup> Ms. tuaig.

<sup>21</sup> Ms. *indithmiget* in luindi.

<sup>22</sup> *foscugud* LU. 27<sup>b</sup>16.

<sup>23</sup> Ms. *circul tendtigi*.

<sup>24</sup> Ms. is ad uasin.

hinadaib a mbiad ac dechain gnuisi De cen fial, cen forscáth *eturru* tre bithu sír.

20. ¶ *U*idh mor *immorro* 7 cid adbul in taitnem 7 in shoinmighi 7 in tsoillsi fil a tir na naim, is aidbli fo mili in cruth<sup>25</sup> fil i maig *munteri nemi .i. im ríghsuidhe*<sup>26</sup> in Coimheadh fen. IS amlaid *immorro* ata in rígsuide<sup>27</sup> sin, imar chatair cumdachta co ceithri colamnaib do lig logmair fai. Cen co beth d' airfided do neoch *acht* coicetal comcubaid na cethri colaman sin ro bo leór do gloir 7 do aibnis. Trí héoin *immorro* airegdha<sup>28</sup> isin cathair a fiadhnaisi in righ [7 a menma ina ndulemain tria bithu, issé sin a ndan, *LU. 28<sup>a</sup>*]. Celebraid *didu* na hocht tratha togaidhe ic moladh 7 ic adamra[gu]dh in Coimdeadh, co claschetal archaingil iar tiachtain doib fai. O na henaib 7 o na harchainglib<sup>29</sup> tindsceadal in ceoil<sup>30</sup>, 7 frecraid *muinte nime* uili *iter* naemu 7 naemogha iarsin.

21. ¶ *S*túag<sup>31</sup> *dermair* os cind in Choimdead<sup>32</sup>, ina<sup>33</sup> chathair rigda *amail*<sup>34</sup> chathbarr cumdachda, *nó amail* mind rig, 7 da faicdis ruisc daenda no legfaidís *fochétoir*. Tri *cressa* ina morthimchell *eturru* 7 in sluagh. Sé mile [do míleadaib, *LU. 20<sup>a</sup>13*] *co ndelbaib* ech 7 en umon cathraich *tendtidí*<sup>35</sup> ar lasad can *forcend* can crich.

22. ¶ *A*isnes *iarum* in Chomded<sup>36</sup> *cumachtaigh* fil isin ríghsuidhi<sup>37</sup> sin ni thig do neoch *acht* mine dernad fen, *nó mina dernad muinte* (?) *nime*. Ar ni indisfea neach a bruth 7 a brig 7 a dergi 7 a roshoillsi 7 a ainis 7 a aibin[n]ius, a

<sup>25</sup> ind etrochta *LU. 27<sup>b</sup>38*.

<sup>26</sup> Ms. righsui ghe.

<sup>27</sup> Ms. rigshuigi.

<sup>28</sup> Ms. aireddha.

<sup>29</sup> Ms. insère ic.

<sup>30</sup> Ms. sceoil.

<sup>31</sup> Ms. sduad.

<sup>32</sup> Ms. choimdeag.

<sup>33</sup> Ms. imar.

<sup>34</sup> Ms. *nó amail*.

<sup>35</sup> Ms. tendtigi.

<sup>36</sup> Ms. umon (*en interligne* a fil) coimdi.

<sup>37</sup> Ms. righsuighi.

chunnlacht 7 a cobsaidecht 7 imad a aingel 7 a archaingel ag cantain ciuil do, 7 timthiridi<sup>38</sup> imda chuigi 7 uadh co n-aithescaib cumraib do gach buidhin<sup>39</sup> iar n-uair .i. a mine 7 a rochen[n]sa ri arailib 7 a ainmine 7 a roacairbe re lucht ele dib.

23. ¶ Da mbeth nech tra aca sirfegad ume anoir 7 aniar, annes 7 atuid<sup>40</sup> fagebad do cach leth a aiged airegda sóillsi na in grian. Ni faicfed delb daena fair do chind na do chois, *acht* na dluim *deirg* tendtidi<sup>41</sup> for lasad fon mbith 7 cach for crith 7 for uamain roime. IS lomnan do soillsi *nem* 7 *talam* 7 ruithean *amail* retlaid rig ina morthimcill. Tri mile ceol n-examail cacha henchlaisi fil a claiscetal *muintire nime*. Bindi na ceol in domuin cach aencheol *foleth* dibsen.

24. ¶ An cathair iarom a fil im rígsuidhi<sup>42</sup> sin is amlaid<sup>43</sup> ata, *ocus* .iii. *múir* glainide *cona* n-eitib examlaib ina timchell airdi cach mur araile. Lebend *immorro* 7 fonn ichtair na cathrach do gloine gel.

25. ¶ [col. 711, p. 88<sup>b</sup>] Muintir romin rocheandais can esbaid cacha maithisa orra, 7 as iad aitrebaid in cathraig sin, naeim 7 ailithrigh duthrachaig do Dhia. A n-ecor 7 a corugud is doilig a fis *cindus* ordaighid, ar ni fuil druim *nó* slis nech re chele dib, ach is amlaid ro chóraig<sup>44</sup> *cumachta* in Choimdeadh, 7 gnuis re gnuis ina sreathaib comardaib morthimcill in ríghsuidhi<sup>45</sup>, co n-ainius 7 co n-aibnis, 7 a n-aigthi<sup>46</sup> uili fri Dia.

26. ¶ Trand caingil do glaine iter cach da chlais, co<sup>47</sup> *cumdach* airgid 7 oir fair. Tri lega logmara *didu* co foghar bláith<sup>48</sup> bind, co mbindi ceol im cach da clais, 7 a lethe

<sup>38</sup> Ms. timthirigi.

<sup>39</sup> Ms. buighin.

<sup>40</sup> Ms. atuid.

<sup>41</sup> Ms. tendtigi.

<sup>42</sup> Ms. rigsuidhi.

<sup>43</sup> Ms. anaithi.

<sup>44</sup> Ms. rochoraid.

<sup>45</sup> Ms. righshuighi.

<sup>46</sup> Ms. anaithi.

<sup>47</sup> Ms. do.

<sup>48</sup> Ms. blath.

uachtarach ina locharnaib ar lasadh. Secht<sup>49</sup> mile aingil a ndelbaib (prím-) caennel ic soillsigud na cathrach ‘na timchell. *Secht mile aile*<sup>50</sup> na timchill ina certmedon ic lasad<sup>51</sup> tria bithu sir imon cathraig rigda. Fir domain a n-aenbaili cid ad linmara nos-foirfed do biud<sup>52</sup> boltnugud chind oenchoindli dona coindlib.

27.¶S amlaid<sup>53</sup> didu attait na sluaigh-si 7 na hairechta 7 aingil comidechta ic umaloid don anim. Fial tened 7 fial d’oigred a primdorus na cathrach ‘na fiadnaisi, 7 as iad i[c] comthuargain cind ar chind tria bithu sir. Fogor na fial sin didu i[c] comriachtain i[t]cluinter fon mbith. Sil Adhaim da cluindis in fogur sin nos-gebad ecla 7 crith 7 omun reme. At toirrsig 7 at buaidhertha<sup>54</sup> na pecaig icon fogur sin. Mad i leth *immorro* re *muintir nime* ni cluintir don garbthoraind ach lán becc<sup>55</sup> [do ráith, 7 binnithir cach ceól atacomnaic LU 28<sup>b</sup>30].

28.¶S abdul íarom 7 is ingnad fria innisin sudigud inna cathrach sin, ar is bec di mór aní ro innisemár dia hordaib écsamlaib 7 dia ingantaib. IS andam trá lasin n-anmain iar comgnáis 7 comattrib na colla *cona súan* 7 *cona sádaile* 7 *cona sáire*, *cona sóinmige* insaigid 7 dula co rígsuide in Dúleman. *acht mani* dig le heolchu aingel, ar is docomail drém na .uii. nime. ar ní assu nach ai araili dib. ar itát *sé* dorais chómetechta arcind in chiniuda dóenna corrice in ríched LU.¶8<sup>a</sup>31-39] Ro suidhiged<sup>56</sup> didu cometaid 7 doirseoraig o *muintir nime* do comet cacha dorais dib sin. Michel archaingel 7 da oigh ‘na farrad co flescaib iarnaib<sup>57</sup> ina n-octaib do shraighledh 7 do esarcain na pechthach, 7 do *cétchesad* na pechthach sin.

<sup>49</sup> Ms. sé.

<sup>50</sup> Ms. insère na timchill.

<sup>51</sup> Ms. lasaid.

<sup>52</sup> Ms. biug.

<sup>53</sup> Ms. amlaig.

<sup>54</sup> Ms. re med a toirrsi 7 dobuaidhertha.

<sup>55</sup> ¶Ms. lin bec. Ici la moitié d’une ligne est laissée en blanc. Les passages entr parenthèses sont tirés de LU. 28<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> Ms. Rosuighided.

<sup>57</sup> Ms. iarnaigib.

29. Ðorus *immorro* nime [tánaisi] 7 Uirial archaingil ar sin, 7 da oig ‘na farrud co sraigled na pechtach da[ra] ngnuisib Ro suidiged<sup>58</sup> sruth tentide<sup>59</sup> co forlasair fair a fiadhnaisi na ndorus. Da aingil ingairi in srotha sin, 7 is e in sruth sin dearbus 7 nighis anmanna naem do chudrumad cinad. Ro suidhigheadh<sup>60</sup> didu annsin tobar taitnemach co mblath 7 co mboltnugud do dídhnad<sup>61</sup> anmann [inna firén LU. 29<sup>a</sup>]. Ingridid *immorro* 7 loiscid anmand na pechtach, 7 ni dingbann ni dib, *acht* is fuilled pene imfuilnges.

30. Sornd tened ar lasad a ndorus in tres nime dogrés. Da *míli déc* cubad ised tet an lasair an-airdi. Tiagait didu anmand na firen tresin sorn sin la prapad súla. Furighter ann na pecthaigh<sup>62</sup> co ceann da bliadan dec, *conas-beir* iarsin in *cumachtu cusin* cethramad ndorus, 7 is amlaid<sup>63</sup> didu ata sin, 7 sruth tendtide<sup>64</sup> ann amail in sruth romaind. Mur luaigi for lasad and, lethi a theni fria da *míli déc* [tomsithir LU. 29<sup>a</sup>28]. Tiaghaid didu anmann na firen tairis fochétoir, 7 fastothar anmann na pectach fri re da bliadan *déc* i troge 7 i toidernum<sup>65</sup>, *conas-per* aingil in chaemthechta co dorus in coicedh nime iad.

31. Ðcus sruth tendtide<sup>66</sup> didu aici sein, *acht* is écsamail<sup>67</sup> he risna srothaib aile. uair ata saebchoiri a medon in t[s]rotha sin, 7 impoit imacuairt anmann na pec[th]ach 7 fostaidh co ceann da bliadan dec, 7 soichid<sup>68</sup> *immorro* na fireoin tairiss cen shaethur. Antan *immorro* is mithig fuaslugud na pechtach, benaid didu an t-aingil in sruth co fleisc duir co n-aicnead lecdha, 7 tocbaid na hanmanna suas do chind na fleisci. Beridh didu Michel na

<sup>58</sup> Ms. Rosuigideg.

<sup>59</sup> Ms. tentigi.

<sup>60</sup> Ms. Rosuighidheadh.

<sup>61</sup> Ms. dighnad.

<sup>62</sup> Ms. pecaig.

<sup>63</sup> Ms. amlaig.

<sup>64</sup> Ms. tentigi.

<sup>65</sup> Ms. toigernum avec corrigé en *d*.

<sup>66</sup> Ms. tentigi.

<sup>67</sup> Ms. ecasmal.

<sup>68</sup> Ms. soithid.

hanmann co *dorus* in sesed nime. Ni hairmithear<sup>69</sup> *didu* pian annsin. Teid *didu* Michel co haingil na Trinoide co taisbenand na hanmanna a fiadnaisi in Duileaman.

32. ¶ As adbul tra 7 is diarmidi failti *muinteri* nime 7 an [Co]imded fen re hanmannaib na firén. Madh<sup>70</sup> anfirén [col. p. 89<sup>a</sup>] *immorro* [ind anim LU. 29<sup>b</sup>8] fageb ainmine 7 agairbe on Choimdi[d] cumachtach, 7 *adeir* re hainglib nime ¶ Tairngith<sup>71</sup> lib na hanmanna sa, a aingli *nime*, il-laim Luitsifir a fudomain ifrin *dogrés*.

33. ¶ Scarthar annsin an ainim [thruag-sin LU. 29<sup>b</sup>13] re frencarcus gnusi De. IS annsin lecid seon osnad mor osaird ac tocht a n-ifrinn iar faicsin gloiri 7 aibniusa *muintere* De. *nime*. [Is and scarthair fri comairge inna n-arcaingel lasa tánic dochum nimi. Is andsin *dano* slucit na dá draic déc thentide cach anmain d'éis a céle, co curend úadi in draic inichtarach i ngin Díabail<sup>71</sup>]. Is annsin fageib comslaintius<sup>72</sup> cach uile a n-ifrinn.

34. ¶ O ro foillsig thra aingel in choimtehta do anmanaib na clérech na físi sea flatha nimi 7 cétimthúsa cecha hanma iar techt assa curp, ros-fuc leis iat<sup>72</sup> iarsin d'insaigid iffirn iníchtaraig *co n-immud* a pían 7 a ríag 7 a thodernam<sup>73</sup>.

35. ¶ Is é iarom cétna tír coso ránic, tír ndub ndóthide 'sé folom follscide cen peín and etir. Glend lán di thenid *fris* anall. Lassar *dermár* and, co teit dar a oraib for cech leth. Dub a íchtur, derg a medón 7 a uachtor. Ocht mbíastai and, a súli *amal* bruthu tentidi<sup>74</sup> LU. 29<sup>b</sup>, 27-32]. *Ocus* drochad dermair and dar in nglenn i piantar na pecaig sin, 7 gebid on ur co araile, 7 isell a chind 7 ard a medhon. [Trí slóig oc airimimirt techta thairis, 7 ní huli rosagat. Slóg díb, is lethan

<sup>69</sup> Ms. hairmidthear.

<sup>70</sup> Ms. Magh.

<sup>71</sup> Ms. Tairngich.

<sup>72</sup> Ms. comflaithius.

<sup>73</sup> ¶ Le passage entre parenthèses est tiré de LU. 29<sup>b</sup>23, avec *do anmanaib na clérech* remplacé par *do anmain Adomnan*, et *iat* par *hí*.

<sup>74</sup> ¶ Cf. the Altus Prosator, Lib. Hymn., ed. Todd, p. 217 ¶ Nulli videtur dubium in imis esse infernum, Ubi habentur tenebrae, vermes ac dirae bestiae.

dóib in drochet o *thús* co dered, co roichet ógslán cen uamun, cen imecla tarsin nglend tentide. Slóg aile *dano* oc á insaigid, cael dóib ar *thus* he, lethan *immorro* fo deóid, co rochet iarom amlaid-sin tarsin nglend cétna iar mórgábud. In slóg dedenach *immorro*, lethan dóib ar *thús* in drochet, cóel 7 cúmung fó deóid, co tuitet día medon isin nglend ngaibthech cétna i mbrágtib na n-ocht mbiast mbruthach út ferait a n-aittreb isin glind. LU. 29<sup>b</sup>-30<sup>a</sup>.]

36.¶Is íat lucht díar'bo soirb in sét sain, áes óige, áes atrige lere, áes dergmartra dut[*hr*]achtaige do Dia. Is í *dano* fairend diar'bo chumuc ar *thús* 7 díar'bo lethan fo deóid iarsin in sét, drem timairciter ar ecin do denam thole Dé, 7 soit a n-écin iarsin i toltanche fognoma do Dia. Is dóib *immorro* ro bo lethan ar *thús* in drochet 7 díar'bo chumung fo deóid, dona pecthacaib, *contúaset fri forcetol bréthre Dé* 7 ná comaillet iarna clostin LU. 30<sup>a</sup>].

37.¶Atát *dano* slóig dimóra i ndichumung hi traig na péne suthaine risin tír n-etordorcha anall. Cachranúair tráigid in pían díb, in n-úair aile tic<sup>75</sup> thairsiu. Is iat iarom filet amlaid sin, in lucht dianid comthrom a maith 7 a n-olc. *Ocus* isin ló brátha midfidir etarro, 7 bádfid a maith a n-olc isind ló sin, 7 bertair iarsin do phurt bethad i *frencarcus* Dé tria bithu sír LU. 30<sup>a</sup>].

38.¶Ata drem aile ann i comfocus don lucht sin, 7 is adhbul a pian. IS amlaidh<sup>76</sup> *immorro* ataid, i cuibreach do cholamnaib tentidi<sup>77</sup>, 7 *muir tened* umpu conuigi a smeacha, 7 slabrada tentidi ima medon, 7 fo delbaib naithrech. Lasaid [a ngnússi LU. 30<sup>a</sup>] osin pein sin, 7 as iad ata 'sa pen-sin .i. fingalaig 7 aes aidmillti ecailsi De, 7 airchindich etrocair doniad [dona indmasaib LU. 30<sup>a</sup>] sealba sainredch seoch aidlignechaib<sup>78</sup> in Choimdead.

39.¶Atait *didu* sluaig mora ann ina sesam *dogrés* il-lathachaib duba conuigi a cresa. Cochail gerra aigreta umpu, 7 ni thairiset tria bithu *acht* na *cresa* ica loscad iter

<sup>75</sup> sic LU. Dans le fac-simile on trouve *do*, perperam.

<sup>76</sup> Ms. amlaigh.

<sup>77</sup> Ms. tentigi.

<sup>78</sup> Ms. sealba ar scanrachaib seoch dligcheanachaib.

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uacht 7 tes. Sluaigh demna ina morthimchell, 7 pluic thentidhi<sup>79</sup> ina lamaib ica mbualad ina ceannaib, 7 siat ac sirthachar friu, 7 a n-aigthi uili fo thuaidh<sup>80</sup>, 7 gaeth garb goirt ina firedan dogrés. Frosa derga tentidi<sup>81</sup> ac fearthain orro, 7 ni cumgaid a n-imgabail, acht a fulang tria bithu ig cai 7 ic toirrsi.

40. **¶** Aroili dib [7 sruama tened i tollaib a ngnússe. Araili LU. 30<sup>a</sup>] cloithi tened triana cendaib. As iat iarum fuilet isin pen-sin, gadaige 7 ethgig<sup>82</sup> 7 aes braith 7 ecnaigh 7 slaid 7 creiche, 7 breithemain goacha 7 aes cosnuma, mna upthacha 7 canti 7 dibergaig 7 fir leigind pritchait<sup>83</sup> eris.

41. **¶** Ata drong aili mor ann a n-indsib i medon mara tened, muir airgdidi<sup>84</sup> umpu da n-almsanaib. [Fairend trá sin dogníat trócaire cen dichill, 7 biit aráide LU. 30<sup>b</sup>4,5] i lacsain 7 i ndethidin a collai co crich bais, 7 no[s]cobrat a n-almsana a medon mara tenead co brath, 7 foetir co port mbeathad iar mbrath.

42. **¶** Ata drong aile ann, 7 casla derga tentide<sup>85</sup> co lar impu, 7 adcluinter a ngrith 7 a ngair fon mbith. Drong aili do demnaib<sup>86</sup> ic a furmuchud 7 coin brena lethoma ina lamaib ic a furail forro do caithem. Rotha derga tentide ar sírlasad<sup>87</sup> fo mbraigidib, 7 bertir<sup>88</sup> suas iad co firmamint [cach ra n-úair LU. 30<sup>b</sup>,13] leictir sis i fudomain ifrind in fecht aili. As iad ata isin pen sin .i. aes graid [tairimideochatár a ngráda, 7 fúathcraibdig, 7 brécaire brécait 7 sáebait na sluagu, 7 gabait forro ferta 7 mírbaile nach fétat do dénam dóib<sup>89</sup>].

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<sup>79</sup> Ms. thentighi.

<sup>80</sup> Ms. thuaigh.

<sup>81</sup> Ms. tentigi.

<sup>82</sup> Ms. ethig.

<sup>83</sup> Ms. ptchait.

<sup>84</sup> Ms. airgdigi.

<sup>85</sup> Ms. tente.

<sup>86</sup> Ms. dainib.

<sup>87</sup> Ms. firlasad.

<sup>88</sup> Ms. berthi.

<sup>89</sup> **¶** Pour les mots entre parenthèses (tirés de LU. 30<sup>b</sup>15-17) YBL. n'a que tairimtheachtana 7 fuath crabaig forro.

43. **D**ream *dermar* aile ann sair siar cen tairiseam dóib ar lecaib tentidib<sup>90</sup>, [oc cathugud *fri* slúagaib na ndemna. At lir turim thra *frassa* na saiget *for* dérglasad dóib ona demnaib. Tíagait]<sup>91</sup> ‘na rith can *turbrod*, cen tairisem, co roiched dublocha ifrind dia mbadhudh 7 do badhudh na saighet tendtide<sup>92</sup> indtib. IS truagh na gairi 7 na golghairi doniad pecthaig<sup>93</sup> a n-uisqib [sin, ar is tormach pene ros-tá dóib, *LU*. 30<sup>b</sup>27,28]. As iad ata ‘san pen sin .i. cerda 7 ceannaige 7 cirmaire esinraca, 7 breith(e)main gúbreathacha 7 righa ecraibtheacha 7 airchindig claenai colacha 7 mna adaltracha<sup>94</sup>.

44. **B**erair *didu* iadsin la *prapad* sul(a) *triasin* n-ordam<sup>95</sup> n-orða 7 triasin fial [nglainide, *LU*. 31<sup>a</sup>, 1] co tir na naem. Is indti sen rucad iadson ar ndulo a corpaib. O ro gabadar *iarum* ceill *for* anad 7 ar tairiseam isin tir sin adchualadar in guth ainglecda ‘ga rad **E**irgid aris cusna corpaib *cétna* asa tangabar [col. 713 = p. 89<sup>b</sup>] 7 indisig a ndalaib 7 a n-*airechtaib* fochraici nime 7 piana ifrinn. *Ocus* doronsad amlaid sin, 7 tucad iad co a curach, 7 tangadar iarsin chachain (?) sin, 7 tegaid co hanbann rompu, 7 ni facadar in *tenid*.

45. **O**cus tangadar ar lebarthonnaib na dilind, 7 adchonncadar inis alaind, 7 croind duillechea dosmora dathailli inti, 7 as amlaidh<sup>96</sup> ro badar na croind, 7 siad lomnan do mil, 7 loch *for* lar na hindsí 7 se lomnan do mairgrec 7 do lecaib logmaraib, 7 a lan indti do luibib boladhmaraib ‘san ailen-sa archeana. Adchondcadar daine dimora drochcumtha inti. *Ocus* is amlaid ro badar, 7 monga ech fortho, 7 cind chon *forro* fos, 7 *corpa* duine accu.

<sup>90</sup> Ms. tentigib.

<sup>91</sup> Pour les mots entre parenthèses (tirés de *LU*. 30<sup>b</sup>22-24) YBL. n’a que 7 siad.

<sup>92</sup> Ms. tendtigi.

<sup>93</sup> Ms. pecaig.

<sup>94</sup> La version abrégée du YBL. n’a rien qui corresponde à *LU*. 30<sup>b</sup>32-31<sup>a</sup>15.

<sup>95</sup> Ms. nordan.

<sup>96</sup> Ms. amlaigh.

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46. *Ɔ*cus tangadar iarsin dochum na hindsí, 7 rus-gab ecla 7 imomon mor iad risna dainib ingantacha anaichindti adconncadar. Badar cairrgi 7 dresa dilgnecha druimnecha lan do smeraiþ, 7 fidbaid alaind examail lan do mes 7 do chinel cacha toraidh, 7 dogobadar son ar a cnuasach 7 ar a caitheam, 7 dochuadar as iarsin intan ro bo lor leo ar' thinoladar do mes an ailein 7 na hindsí.

47. *Ɔ*adchonncadar iar scis n-imrama arachind isan chaentracht clerech sruithgel sidamail co casail find ime, 7 beannaighidh cach da cheli dib, 7 fiarfaighid<sup>97</sup> scela da chele. *Ocus* fiarfaighis<sup>98</sup> dib *Ɔ* can asa tangabar, 7 do indisedar do a n-imthus o thus co dreading, 7 ro indseadar conad a hErind tangadar 7 co ro badar re ré cíana ar muir 7 ar morfairrgi for merugud o cach ailen alaind ingantach da chele. Anaid sund, ar se, 7 fugebthai oilithri 7 áigidhecht<sup>99</sup> sunn, 7 dogebthái iasc 7 fin 7 cruithneacht. *Ocus* dochuadar les, 7 badar tri la 7 tri haidchi isan indsi, 7 ro timnadar celebrad iartain, 7 dochuadar da saighid a curaig, 7 tucsad a curach iarsin a muincind mara.

48. *Ɔ*cus dorochair a codlad forro iarsin, 7 as ed ro duisig iad, fúaim in curaich risin tracht. Do ergedar iarsin 7 adchonncadar ailen uaithib, 7 adchonncadar na gurtu aipchi ac tuigi an oilen, 7 adchonncadar na meithli do dainib graindi co cendaib muc ortha, co corpaib daine, 7 adchonncadar uathu in curach ac fascnum dia saighidh. Ro gabsad muirmesoga mora do lar 7 ro dibraigsed uaithib in curach, 7 ro airigsed lucht in curaich in dibrugud sin. Ro impaidhsead in curach uaithib do thaib thiri. Tangadar na daine grana ud anuas don tir isan fairrgi 7 a cind suas. A muinte Coluim cille, ar siad, na ticidh chucaind, doig is do shil Chaim nó Cain miscathaig duind, ar siad, 7 ni haitreb aile fuile acaind acht bith isan muir-sea, 7 in t-ailen-sa acaind 'ca threbad.

49. *Ɔ*angadar seochu arsin na cleirig, 7 rus seolsad a curach ar fairrgi 7 ar lebarthonnaib an aicen, 7 ro badar co

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<sup>97</sup> Ms. fiarfaidhid.

<sup>98</sup> Ms. fiarfaidhis.

<sup>99</sup> Ms. aidighecht.

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cendtrom toirrsseach n-uathbasach n-ocamlach, cor' caiseadar frasa der, cor'ba fliuch blai 7 bruindi doib. *Ocus* ro badar ac imrad *Coluim cille* co menic, 7 ro imposed risna salmaib iarsin do chantain 7 do gabail.

50. ¶ Nir'bo chian doib co facadar ailen 7 co cualadar in longaire 7 mna ac sianan isinn ailen, 7 do deachadar [col. 714 = p. 90<sup>a</sup>] chucu do thaib in *curaich*, 7 as ead ro chansad .i. Sen De<sup>100</sup> donfe, *Mac Maire* ronfela. Canaig duind sin fos, a mna, ar siad, uair is bind lind sin, 7 as e ceol 7 orghan 7 sianorgan ban *Erenn* sin. Ro fregairsed na mna doib iarsin 7 adubradar riu ¶ Taidsi lind anunn, ar siad, co teg in rig, 7 aicillig in ri ann.

51. ¶ Dochuadar ar oen chae risna mnaib iarsin conici bail a roibi in ri, 7 ro fear in ri failti friu, 7 ro fiarfaigh<sup>101</sup> doib. Canasa tancabar 7 can bar cenel ? Do muintir *Coluim cille* sind, ar siad, 7 do feraib *Erend* duind, 7 a *hErinn* tangamar.

An feadabar, ar se, ca lin mac as beo do *Domnall mac Aeda* ?

Ni beo, ar siad, acht oenmac .i. *Donnchad*, 7 ro marbsad *Fir Rois an mac aile* .i. *Fiacha*, 7 as annsa lindi an drem ris torchair .i. *Diarmaid Olmar* 7 *Ailill*, 7 ni fedamar an ndil o sin, ar siad.

As fir in scel, a cleirchiu, ar in ri, 7 sindi in lucht sin ro marb mac in righ, 7 atamaid sund cen ais cen *urchra foraind*, 7 bemaid co brath co ti *Eli* 7 *Enoc* don chath re *hAinticrist*<sup>102</sup>, 7 is leo sin rachmaid don chath, 7 is maraen riu sin fagebam bas, 7 is amlaid atamaid sunn, co trillsib oir 7 airgid *foraind*. *Ocus* da roisti co *hErinn* aris indisig doib ataad da loch sunn .i. loch tened 7 loch *usqui*, 7 mana beth *Martain* 7 *Patric* doroided cach loch dib dar *Erinn* o chianaib.

52. ¶ Sceli lind, ar siad, na clerich, nach faicem *Eli* 7 *Enoc* co ro aicillmis iad.

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<sup>100</sup> Après de il y aurait an.

<sup>101</sup> Ms. fiarfaidh.

<sup>102</sup> Concernant Elie, Enoch et l'Antéchrist, cf. Féil. Oeng. Sep. 29, Leборе Brecc 31<sup>a</sup>33, LL. 280<sup>a</sup>43, YBL. 120<sup>b</sup>25. Pour l'Antéchrist voir aussi Wb, 26<sup>a</sup>8 et *Rev. Celt.*, XXVI, 48.

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Nocho faigbithi sin, ar in ní<sup>103</sup>, uair (atat) iat a n-araili loc diamair co tísad do cathugud re hAinticrist.

53. □ Arsin ro gobsad na cleirig lam ar imdeacht, 7 aduba(r) in rí) riu □ Airisig sund inar farradni cor... uair ni fuaramar-ni o thancamar ... er... gairdi ... o thancabar-si chucaind.

54. ☉ *ocus* ni r'anadar na clerig iter, 7 is amlaid ro bai in t-ailen, 7 tibra thibruchthach 'na *dorus*, 7 dochuadar na cleirich inti da fothrucud, 7 *amail* rob ail doib iter thes 7 uacht is amlaid ro báí doib e, 7 in braen fleochaid do *ferad* ann as *ed* no gabad isin tibraid.

55. ☷ *Ba*... *iarum* 7 is *ed* lodadar do tegdais ind rig. Ba noemda in tegdais 7 ba noernda botha inti. Ba hamra a hindell, ar bai *cét* ndorus *fuirri*, 7 fer *graid for* cach ndoruss oc idbairt cuirp *Críst*, 7 bai slogh mor oc dechsain na hidpurta do mnaib 7 feraib... clerig isin tech, 7 bendachais cach dib dacheli, 7 dolotar iaram in slog mor sin do laim oc ind aifrend, *etir* mnaí 7 fir.

56. ☰ *Dailtir* fin forro iarsin, 7 atbert in ri frisna clerchiu □ *Apraid*, ar se, fria firu insi hErenn dosfil digala mora foraib. Dosnicfat allmaraig dar muir 7 *trebait* (co leth) ina hinsí, 7 gabait *forbais* foraib, 7 *ised* *dobeir* doib in digail sin, a meit doberat eslis for timna nDe 7 *fora* *forcetol*. Mi *for* bliadain ataithi for fairrgi, 7 rosesaid imslan, 7 (indisid bar scéla) co feraib Erenn.

[COL. 717, P. 90<sup>b</sup>.]

57. ☱ *Mac* De decis ar[a]seta samtha tuile  
cen gabad ngarg lotar in ailen ard aili.  
Huasal tegdais dia ndorala uaisli *trebaib*,  
i mbi in ri find co feraib ocus [f]euaib.  
*Cét* do dorsib asa *toebaib* tarcad solas,  
altoir chain chair *ocus* fer *graid for* cech ndorus.  
Daltir *foraib* fin a *lestraib* luchraib mathglond,  
feraib sceo mnaib lotar do laim oc in afriund<sup>104</sup>.

<sup>103</sup> Ms. ar siad.

*ECHTRA CLERECH CHOLUIM CILLE ANDSO SIS*

Eprid fri *sluag* insi *Ereinn* iar for coraib,  
anso gnimaib<sup>1</sup>, dofuil digail Fiadat *foraib*.  
Fir a longaib loechrad co ngaib, cin chuit irsi,  
bid mor in plag, trebait co leth iar a n-insi.  
Eslis *for* timna rig nime, mesa gnimaib,  
ni luath a thoir, *ised* *dobeir* doib in digail.  
Mi *for* bliadain *for* for setaib, samad gnimaig<sup>105</sup>,  
o nob-rala tondgar mara medraig milaig.  
Bid ferr linde bid diar scelaib a n-*adfedid*  
briathraib beodaib, basaib banaib, cosaib s(nédib).  
Ateoch Patric *ocus* Henoc *ocus* Heli<sup>106</sup>  
cen nach toirse<sup>10</sup> rombe nem iar soilse snede<sup>107</sup>.

FINIT.

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<sup>104</sup> Ms. ofriund.

<sup>105</sup> Ms. gnimaid.

<sup>106</sup> Ms. toirsi.

<sup>107</sup> Ms. snede soilse.

## THE ADVENTURE OF ST. COLUMBA'S CLERICS HERE BELOW

1. ¶When the end of kingship and lifetime came to the overking of Ireland, to Domnall<sup>108</sup> son of Aed, son of Ainmire, he bequeathed his realm and his land between his two sons, Fiacha and Donnchad. He left the overlordship of Ireland to Donnchad, and the tanistry of Ireland and its «¶noble boyhood¶» to Fiacha, and (also) the land of the crown-princedom, to wit, Fir Rois<sup>109</sup> and Mugdoirn Maigen<sup>110</sup>, for they had no proper Irish king¶ for this is what those clans used to do, kill their own proper sovran. Wherefore Domnall gave them to his son Fiacha, to serve him from Tara even unto Ailech<sup>111</sup>.

2. ¶When Fiacha came to that land the country-folk gathered to him, and he said to them¶«¶Give up your realm and your lordship to me, and let forts be built, and let raths be marked out by you for me, and palisades, and great mansions, and solars.¶» «¶We will do that¶», they say¶«¶Though never has such work been done by us for our own lords, but we used to kill them.¶» They wrought those great works, and after the weariness of the toil they would put the gore and blood of their hearts over their lips.

3. ¶Now one day there an assembly was held by them, and present with them were two crown-princes of their own native lords, to wit, Diarmait Ólmar and Ailill. And these said¶«¶Truly your neighbouring lord who is over you is worse for you than we are. For neither our fathers

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<sup>108</sup> ¶b. A.D. 797, mentioned in Féil. Oeng. prol. 221.

<sup>109</sup> ¶h the South of Airgéill (Oriell) the present counties of Louth, Armagh and Monaghan.

<sup>110</sup> ¶he barony of Cremorne, co. Monaghan.

<sup>111</sup> ¶A fort in Donegal near Lough Swilly, now called Greenan Ely (*Grianan Ailigh*).

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nor our grandsires inflicted hardship like this, although ye continually slew them.☐

4.☐Then the gentry of the assembly formed a plan to kill Fiacha. Not long afterwards Fiacha entered the assembly, and his men saw a stag passing them, and loosed their hounds against it. They themselves went after the hounds, leaving Fiacha alone in the assembly. Then those gentry betrayed him and killed him, and after the murder they went to the safeguard of Ronan the Fair<sup>112</sup> and Main son of Niall<sup>113</sup> (of the Nine Hostages), for those were then the chief protectors in Ireland.

5.☐Hereafter then Donnchad son of Domnall heard of that, namely, that his brother was killed by the Men of Ross and the Mugdoirn of Maigen. So Donnchad forthwith gathered a mighty gathering, and marched after them to violate their safeguards. And the protectors said to him☐ «Do not outrage us☐, they say, «For if thou do so there will be no safeguard in Ireland thereafter. But this we will grant thee, what Columkill, son of Feidlimid, who is in Hi<sup>114</sup>, will declare☐. «I will accept that☐, says Donnchad. And they agreed thereon, and together they send envoys to Hi, and tell Columkill their tidings from beginning to end. This is the judgment that Columkill then delivered☐ That three score men and three score women, the best in shape and race, who had been committing the murder, should be put, with their children and their cattle, on the sea and on the main, so that they should never come again to Ireland. And he said that the land for which the King of Erin's son had been done to death should be granted to Patrick<sup>115</sup> for ever, so that it might be serving him.

6.☐Vessels and boats were built by them, and by Columkill's counsel they went to sea and main. And two of Columkill's pupils went with them to sea, namely

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<sup>112</sup>☐his saint's day is May 22.

<sup>113</sup>☐b. A.D. 440.

<sup>114</sup>☐he illustrious island now called Iona.

<sup>115</sup>☐e. to the see of Armagh, of which St. Patrick was the first bishop.

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Snedgus and Mac Riagail and 'tis those that Columkill had sent as witnesses. After they had gone a long way into the lap of the sea, the clerics turned again towards Ireland to the place where Donnchad dwelt and when they arrived they told the king their tidings, and bade him farewell.

7. Then said the king to them «Stay till the end of spring and the beginning of the summer shall come, and go then to your home.» The clerics acted on that counsel, and stayed as the king told them and they were brought to Derry<sup>116</sup>, and a cell was given to them there, and food from the king, until the end of spring came and the beginning of summer.

8. They bade farewell to the king, and set their curragh on sea and on main and the wind turned against their course, and they were driven from Ireland to the north-west, where many marvels were shewn and to the end of three days and three nights they were striving with the sea, till a burning of thirst came to them. And this is what awakened them from their sleep, the grating of the curragh against the strand. They landed on an island with green grass and a beautiful soil, and over the midst thereof a milk-sweet stream of new milk. Thereof they quaffed a drink for each of them, and they blessed the island. They found there no one with whom they could converse, and they launched their boat on sea and main.

9. «Let us quit our voyaging», say they, «Save the path that our curragh will take us and let us practise abstinence and fasting and leave our voyaging to God and let us go», they say, «Over the long waves of the flood».

10. And they wait till the end of three days and three nights, when they sighted an isle and island. Pleasant indeed was that isle, for thus it was with a tree therein leafy, bushy, beautifully coloured, and a silvery palisade over its plain in the middle of the island, and in its centre a

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<sup>116</sup> Now Londonderry.

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salmon-weir, with a wainscot of bright silver encompassing the weir. As big as a year-old heifer was every fair-sided, bright-bellied, madly-leaping, purple-spotted salmon that used to spring up against the weir. «Surely», say they, «**¶** is God's household that abides in this isle, so let us eat somewhat of the fish and take it with us». And they took with them somewhat of the fish, and they were a while there, to wit, three days and three nights.

11. **¶** Hereafter they went in their boat to sea and main, and over the long waves of the flood, till, at the end of three days and three nights, they sighted an isle and island. Thus was that isle, with men therein having heads of cats and bodies of human beings. And fear and great dread seized the clerics, so they coasted the island and went to another isle, and there beheld a cleric wearing on his head a bright chasuble and (coming) to meet them on the strand. They saluted him and he saluted them, and they asked him **¶** «Who art thou?» say they, «And whence is thy kindred?» The cleric answered them **¶** «Of the men of Ireland am I, and as the crew of a boat we came hither. Half the island we conquered perforce from the Cat-heads<sup>117</sup>, and all the boat's crew is dead save only me. But come with me and for three days and three nights ye will get guesting of wine and wheat and fish.» And they abode there for that space of time.

12. **¶** Hereafter they bid farewell to the cleric, and go to their boat, and set their boat on sea and main and on the long waves of the flood, and in the breast of storm and ocean-billow. And after weariness of voyaging they sighted an isle. Thus was the isle **¶** with a single great and stately tree therein, having a frame of silver and golden leaves upon it, and its summit spread over the whole isle. And thus was that tree, with every branch and every bough that it put forth quite full of birds with wings of silver. In the top of the tree was a throne with a great bird

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<sup>117</sup> **¶** Cattchenn, king of the Cattchinn, is mentioned in LL. **¶**32<sup>a</sup>4 and in Cath Finntraga, l. **¶**10.

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thereon, and on that bird a head of gold and wings of silver. And what the bird used to sing was, from matins to tierce, all the good that God wrought before the creation of His elements, and, from tierce to midday, tidings of the birth and baptism of the Son of God, and His resurrection and burial, and, from none onward, tidings of the Day of Judgment.

13. ¶ When the birds (on the branches) used to hear all that, they shook their wings and let thereout showers of blood, hearkening to that story<sup>118</sup>. Thereafter the clerics listened to the melody which the birds sang, and then a leaf of gold was given down to them from the tree, and the leaf hid them, and it was like the hide of a trained ox. «Take that with you», says the bird, «and after getting to Hí, put it on Columkill's altar». Now this is what was (inscribed) on the leaf, the story of the palace and the household of heaven, and of the angelic station and of hell. Thereupon the bird left them. After rising, they saw not the island, nor the tree, nor the birds but they beheld the leaf and the story that was on it, namely, the story of the household of heaven and of the noble King Himself, and so forth.

14. ¶ And after that there befell them a great storm, and their souls were severed from their bodies, and then they were taken to behold heaven and hell, as hath been displayed to the apostles.

15. ¶ Now this is the first land to which they came, to wit, the Land of the Saints – a land fruitful, radiant, noble, diverse, marvellous there, (the saints) with chasubles of bright linen about them, with hoods pure white above their heads<sup>119</sup>. The saints of the east of the world in an assembly apart in the east of the Land of the Saints. The saints of the

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<sup>118</sup> So when Elijah tells the souls of the righteous («In shapes like pure-white birds») of hell and Doomsday, «They beat their wings against their bodies, so that streams of blood come out of them», LU. 11<sup>b</sup>11.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. «Vestietur vestimentis albis», «Amicti stolis albis», Apoc. III, 5, vii, 9.

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west of the same land. The saints of the north of the world and (those) of its south in their assemblies south and north. Whoever is in the Land of the Saints is nigh unto the hearing of the melodies and the contemplation of the vessel wherein are the nine ranks of heaven<sup>120</sup>.

16. As to the saints, again, at one time they sing marvellous music, a-praising God at another, they listen to the music of the household of heaven, for the saints claim nought save to listen to that music and to contemplate the divine radiance, and to sate themselves with the odour which is in the Land of the Saints.

17. There is, moreover, a wondrous realm facing them on the south-east, with a veil of crystal between them and it. To the south thereof is a golden porch, and through that they perceive the form and separation of the household of heaven. Howbeit there is neither veil nor darkness between the household of heaven and the saints, but they are always in radiance and in the saints' presence on the side over against them. A fiery circle, furthermore, round about that land, and thereinto and thereout (fares) every one, and it doth no hurt to the righteous.

18. The twelve Apostles, however, and Mary the Virgin in one assembly apart around the mighty Lord. Patriarchs and prophets and disciples of Jesus anear to the Apostles. Other holy virgins are on Mary's right hand, with long spaces between them. Infants and children all around them, and the music of the birds of the heavenly household enrapturing them forever. Bright, active bands of the souls' guardian-angels in lowliness and tendance among those assemblies in the presence of the King always. Yea, no one in this present world could set forth those assemblies as of a truth they are

19. The troops and the assemblies, there, that are in the Land of the Saints are in that great glory until the Great

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<sup>120</sup> Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones Dominions, Virtues, Powers Principalities, Archangels, Angels, the celestial hierarchy of the pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. Cymr. *nav grad new*, Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, II, 14.

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Meeting of Doom, in the stations and in the places wherein they shall abide beholding God's countenance, without veil, without shadow between them for ever and ever .

20. ¶ But though great and though vast are the sheen and the happiness and the radiance that are in the Land of the Saints, vaster a thousand times is the shape that is in the plain of the household of heaven, around the throne of the Lord Himself. Thus, then, is that throne ¶ like a canopied chair with four columns of precious stone beneath it. Yea, though one should have no rapture save the harmonious singing together of those four columns, it were enough to him of glory and delight. Three noble Birds on the throne in front of the King with their minds on their Creator for ever, that is their art. They celebrate the eight choice canonical hours, praising and magnifying the Lord, with quiring of archangels after coming to them thereunder. From the birds and from the archangels is the beginning of the music, and thereafter all the house-hold of heaven, both saints and holy virgins, answer.

21. ¶ A vast arch above the Lord on His royal throne, like an adorned (¶?) helmet, or like a king's diadem. If human eyes saw it they would melt away at once. Three zones<sup>121</sup> all around Him between them and the host. Six thousands of thousands with shapes of horses and birds around the fiery throne a-flaming without end, without limit.

22. ¶ Then to tell of the Mighty Lord who is on the royal sent cometh not unto any one unless He Himself should do it, or unless the household of heaven should do it. For none will relate His ardour and His strength and His redness<sup>122</sup>, and his exceeding radiance and His splendour and His delightfulness, His munificence and His firmness, and the multitude of His angels and archangels chanting music to Him, and the many servants coming to Him, and going from Him with brief messages to every troop in turn ¶

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<sup>121</sup> ¶f. the *tre giri di tre colori* of the *Divina Commedia*, Par. XXXIII, 116, which are supposed to symbolize the three Persons of the Trinity. See Tozer, *English Commentary*, p. 627.

<sup>122</sup> ¶symbolizing divine love, creative power, royalty.

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His smoothness and great gentleness to some and His roughness and great harshness to others of them.

23. ¶ If anyone were always gazing at Him, from east and from west, from south and from north, he would find on every side God's glorious face, more radiant than the sun. Yea, he would not see on Him a human form of head or of foot, but as a red fiery mass a-flaming throughout the world, and every one in trembling and terror before him. All-full of (His) light are heaven and earth, and radiance like a royal star all around him. Three thousand divers melodies of every choir that is in the quiring of the household of heaven. Sweeter than the music of the world is every single melody of them apart.

24. ¶ The City, then, wherein is that throne, thus it is ¶ and seven crystal ramparts with their various wings<sup>123</sup> around them. Loftier is each wall than another. The platform and the base of the lower part of the City is of bright crystal.

25. ¶ A household very meek, very gentle, lacking no good thing upon them, and 'tis they that inhabit that City, saints and pilgrims devoted to God. Their array and their ranging, it is hard to know how it happened, for there is not a back or a side of any one of them towards another. But it is thus that the power of the Lord has adjusted them, face to face in their ranks equally high all round the throne, with splendour and delight, and their faces all towards God.

26. ¶ A chancel-rail of crystal between every two choirs, with a covering of silver and gold thereon. Three precious stones, too, with a soft melodious sound, with the sweetness of music at every two choirs, and their upper halves as flambeaux aflame. Seven thousand angels in the shapes of chief flambeaux irradiating the city round about. Seven thousand others in its very midst<sup>124</sup> flaming forever round the royal city. The men of (all) the world, in one

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<sup>123</sup> ¶ Ms. *eitib*, but LU. has *dathaib* «colours».

<sup>124</sup> ¶ *ertmedón*, Dante's *dritto mezzo*.

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place, though they be numerous, the odour of the top of one of these flambeaux would suffice them with food.

27. Thus, then, are these hosts, and the assemblies and a guardian angel attending on the soul. A veil of fire and a veil of ice in the chief gateway of the City before them, and they a-clashing top against top for ever and ever. The noise of those veils coming together is heard throughout the world. Adam's race, if they heard that noise, fear and trembling and terror would seize them before it. Sad and troubled are the sinners at that noise but if it be on the side towards the household of heaven, nought is heard of the rough thunder save full little only, and sweet as every melody that exists.

28. Great then, and it is a marvel to tell it, the position of that City, for «Little of much» is what we have told of its divers orders and marvels. Rare therefore is it for the soul, after commune and dwelling with the body, and its sleep and its ease, with its freedom and its happiness, to advance and go to the Creator's throne unless she fare with the guidance of angels. For hard it is to climb the seven heavens<sup>125</sup>, since not easier is one of them than another. For there are six gales of guardianship before the human race up to the Kingdom. A doorward, moreover, and a guardian from heaven's household to protect each of these gates. Michael the archangel and two virgins by him with iron rods in their laps to scourge and to beat the sinners and to cause the first suffering of those sinners.

29. The gate, in sooth, of the second heaven, Uriel<sup>126</sup> the archangel is for that, and two virgins by him, scourging the sinners over their faces. Before that gate hath been set a fiery river with a great flame thereon. Two angels tending that stream, and that is the stream which tries and washes the souls of the saints from an equal weight of guilt. There, too, has been set a shining well, with bloom and odour, to comfort the souls of the righteous. But it persecutes and

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<sup>125</sup> So Oengus calls Christ «The Lord of seven heavens», and see the Koran, sura XXXIII, 88.

<sup>126</sup> An archangel mentioned in 4 Esdr. 4, 36.

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burns the souls of the sinners□ and takes nothing from them, but it is an increase of pain which it causes.

30.□ A furnace of fire, flaming continually before the third heaven. Twelve thousand cubits the flame reaches aloft. Then the souls of the righteous fare through that furnace in the twinkling of an eye. The sinners are delayed there till the end of twelve years, and thereafter the Power takes them to the fourth gate. Thus, then, it is, with a fiery river there like the river aforesaid. A blazing (?) rampart a-flame there, the breadth of its fire is measured at twelve miles. Then the souls of the righteous pass over it at once, but the souls of the sinners are detained for the space of twelve years in wretchedness and in punishment, till the guardian angel takes them to the gate of the fifth heaven.

31.□ And there is a fiery river there also, but it is different from the other rivers□ for there is a whirlpool in the midst of that river, and it whirls the souls of the sinners round and round<sup>127</sup>, and detains them to the end of twelve years. But the righteous pass over it without labour. When afterwards it is time to release the sinners, the angel smites the river with a hard rod of a stony nature, and raises the souls up at the end of the rod. Then Michael bears the souls to the gate of the sixth heaven. No pain or punishment is reckoned for the souls in that gate□ but they are illuminated there by the light and the radiance of precious stones. Then Michael goes to the angel of the Trinity and displays the souls in the presence of the Creator.

32.□ Vast, then, and sumless is the welcome of the household of heaven and of the Lord Himself to the souls of the righteous. If, however, the soul be unrighteous she getteth roughness and bitterness from the mighty Lord, and He says to the angels of heaven□ «□ Drag away,

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<sup>127</sup>□ Cf. the *Divina Commedia*, *Inf.*, VII, 22□ Come fa l' onda là sopra Cariddi, Chi si frange con quella in cui s'intoppa, etc., and *Verg.* *Aen.*, VI, 550.

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O Heav'n's angels, these souls into the hands of Lucifer, in the depth of Hell for ever<sup>128</sup> ¶

33. ¶ Then that wretched soul is severed from the presence of God's countenance. Then too she utters aloud the groan that is heavier than any groan at entering hell after seeing the glory and delight of the household of the God of heaven. It is there she is severed from the safekeeping of the archangels with whom she came to heaven. Then, too, the twelve fiery dragons swallow every soul, each after the other, so that the under-most dragon voids him into the Devil's mouth<sup>129</sup>. 'Tis then she receives all-fulness of every evil in hell.

34. ¶ So when the guardian angel had shewn to the souls of the clerics these visions of the kingdom of heaven, and the first adventures of e-very soul after coming out of her body, thereafter he bore them with him to the lower hell with the multitude of its pains and its tortures and its punishments.

35. ¶ Now this is the first land to which he came ¶ a land black and burnt, bare and seared, without any torture therein. A glen full of fire on the hither side of it, a vast flame there which comes over its border on every side. Black is its lower part, red its middle and its upper part. Eight monsters there, with their eyes like fiery glades. And a vast bridge there is over the glen wherein those sinners are punished. It stretches from one brink to the other ¶ its ends are low and its middle is high. Three hosts are

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<sup>128</sup> ¶ Cf. the Koran, sura xliv, 47 ¶ Seize ye him and drag him into the mid-fire.

<sup>129</sup> ¶ Cf. *Old-English Homilies*, 1st ser. 251 ¶ draken... the forswolheth ham ihal, ant speoweth ham eft ut biuoren ant bihinden. So in the Egyptian Ritual (chap. 15) the great serpent Apap devours the souls. And the Phibionites «Thought that each soul when it left the world was stopped by the archons and powers who ruled the regions to which it came. If it possessed the secret of knowledge it passed safely through their dominions. If not, it was swallowed up by the great dragon, and after a time of punishment passing through its tail was sent back again to the world ¶, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, s. v. Caulacau.

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preparing to wend across it, and not all pass. For a host of them broad is the bridge from beginning to end, so that they fare all-safe, without terror, without dread, over the fiery glen. For another host making towards it, narrow it is at the beginning, but broad at the end, so that afterwards they thus fare over the same glen after great peril. But for the last host the bridge is broad at the beginning, narrow and strait at the end, so that they fall from the middle thereof into the same valley perilous, into the throats of the eight burning monsters there who make their abode in the glen<sup>130</sup>.

36. ¶ These are the people for whom that way was easy ¶ folk of chastity, folk of devout penitence, folk of red martyrdom<sup>131</sup> willingly suffered for God. These then are the crew for whom the way was narrow at the beginning and for whom thereafter it was broad at the end ¶ the many who are constrained perforce to do God's will, and afterwards turn their compulsion into willingness to serve God. But they for whom the bridge was broad at the beginning and narrow at the end are the sinners who listen to the preaching of God's word and after hearing fulfil it not.

37. ¶ Now there are huge hosts in weakness on the strand of the Eternal Pain, at the hither side of the lightless land. Every second hour the pain ebbs from them, the other hour it comes over them. They, there, who are in this wise are the people whose good and whose evil are equal. And on Doomsday it will be judged between these, and their good shall on that clay quench their evil, and thereafter they will be borne to the Harbour of Life in the presence of God for ever and ever.

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<sup>130</sup> ¶ This bridge has been compared with the *Chinvatô peretus* of the Avesta, the bridge over Gioll across which Hermódr rode to rescue Baldr from Hel, the bridge in Frate Alberico's vision cited in Longfellow's version of the *Divine Comedy*, London, 1867, p. 235. See too Greg. Turon., IV, 13.

<sup>131</sup> ¶ As to red martyrdom, white martyrdom and green martyrdom, see the Cambray homily. *Thes. pal. hib.*, II, 247.

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38. Another crowd there is in the neighbourhood of that folk, and their pain is vast. Thus then are they tied to fiery pillars and sea of fire around them up to their chins; fiery chains about their waists in shape of serpents; their faces blaze above that pain. They who are in that pain are parricides and destroyers of God's Church, and merciless managers of church-property who make of the wealths possessions for themselves rather than for the needy of the Lord.

39. Yea, great hosts are there, standing always in black mires as far as their girdles. Short icy cowls around them, and they never rest, but the girdles are burning them both in cold and heat. Hosts of fiends all around them, with fiery maces<sup>132</sup> in their hands, beating them<sup>133</sup> on their heads, and they in continual strife with the fiends. All their faces to the north, and a wind rough, bitter, right into their foreheads always. Red fiery showers pouring on them<sup>134</sup>, and they cannot avoid them, but have to endure them for ever in weeping and lamenting.

40. Some of them with streams of fire in the holes of their faces. Others with nails of fire through their heads. Now those who are in that pain are thieves and perjurers and traitors, and blasphemers and robbers and raiders, and false judges and wranglers and witches, and lampooners and rebels and readers who preach heresy.

41. Another great multitude is there in islands amid a sea of fire. Silvery ramparts around them of their alms. Now that host are they who do mercy without neglect, and yet abide in laxity and lust of their bodies to the limit of death,

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<sup>132</sup> Cf. the *mealles istelet* of the *Old English Homilies*, 1st ser. 253 and the «*haces of iron*» of the Koran, sura XXII, 21.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. the *Divina Commedia Inf.*, XVIII, 35  
Vidi demon cornuti con gran ferze,  
chi li battean crudelmente di retro.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. Ps. XI, 7, and *Div. Comm. Inf.* XIV, 28 :  
Sopra tutto il sabbion d'un cader lento  
piovean di foco dilatate falde.

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and their alms help them in the midst of the fire till Doom, and after Doom they are sent to the Harbour of Life.

42. Another troop is there, with red fiery cloaks around them to the ground<sup>135</sup>. Their trembling and their crying are heard throughout the world. Another troop of demons stifling them, and with stinking half-raw dogs in their hands commanding the sinners to consume (them). Red fiery wheels flaming forever under their necks. They are taken lip to the firmament every second hour they are cast down to the depth of hell the other hour. They who are in that pain are men ordained who have transgressed their orders, and hypocrites, and liars who lie and befool the crowds, and take the credit of wonders and miracles which they cannot do for them.

43. Another vast crowd there, hither and thither, without standing still, over the fiery flagstones, fighting against the hosts of the fiends. Many to count then are the showers of arrows red-flaming (shot) at them from the demons. They go running, without ceasing, without resting till they reach the black loughs of hell to drown themselves and to quench the fiery arrows therein. Piteous are the cries and the lamentations which the sinners make in those waters, for it is an increase of pain that they have therein. Now they that are in that pain are dishonest artisans and fullers and chapmen, false-judging judges, impious kings, wrongful incestuous managers of church-property, and adulterous women.

44. Then in the twinkling of eye those (the souls of the clerics) are borne through the golden portico and through the crystalline veil to the Land of the Saints, into which they were first taken after coming out of their bodies. So when they expected to remain and abide in that land they heard the angelic voice saying to them «Go back to the same bodies out of which ye have come, and declare in meetings and assemblies the rewards of heaven and

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<sup>135</sup> But for those who have disbelieved garments of fire shall be cut out, Koran, suraXXII, 20.

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punishments of hell. Thus they did, and they were brought to their boat, and they came afterwards... and go forward feebly, and they saw not the fire.

45. And they came on the long waves of the flood, and beheld a beautiful island, wherein were trees leafy, bushy, beautifully coloured and thus were the trees, all full of honey, and a lake in the midst of the island, all full of pearl and precious stones, and the rest of the island full of odorous plants. They beheld huge, misshapen men therein, and thus they were with the manes of horses upon them, and the heads of hounds, and the bodies of human beings.

46. They afterwards landed on the island, and fear and great terror seized them at the wondrous unknown men whom they beheld. There were crags and thorny bending brambles full of blackberries, and a wood beautiful and excellent, full of mast and of every kind of fruit. They fell to gathering and eating them, and then they went away, when their collection of the mast of the isle and island seemed to them sufficient.

47. After weariness of voyaging they saw on the fair strand, coming to meet them, a cleric old, grey and peaceful, with a white chasuble about him. Each of them salutes the other and asks for tidings. And he asked them «Whence have ye come?» and they told him their story from beginning to end. They said that they had come out of Ireland, and that they had been a long while wandering on the sea and the mighty main from one beautiful, wondrous island to another. «Abide here», quoth he, «and ye shall find pilgrimage and hospitality, and ye shall get fish and wine and wheat». So they went with him, and for three days and three nights afterwards they were in the island; and (then) they went to their boat, and brought it afterwards on the surface of the sea.

48. After that their sleep fell upon them, and this is what woke them, the noise of the boat against the strand. Then they arose and beheld an island, and perceived the ripe cornfields clothing the island, and the bands of hideous men, with the heads of swine upon them, and the bodies of

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human beings, who beheld the boat striving to reach them. They took from the ground great sea-acorns and cast them at the curragh; and the crew of the curragh observed that casting, and steered the boat along the coast. Yon hideous men came down from the land into the sea up to their heads. «**U** household of Columkill», say they, «**C**ome not to us, for we are of the race of Ham<sup>136</sup> (or of Cain), the accursed, and we have no other dwelling than being in this sea, and this isle we have to cultivate.»

49. **T**hereafter the clerics came past them, and steered their boat on the sea and the long waves of the ocean. And they were heavy-headed, sad, horrible, disheartened(?) and they wept showers of tears, so that their shirts and breasts became wet. And often were they thinking of Columkill, and after that they turned to chanting and singing psalms.

50. **T**his was not long till they saw an isle, and heard the blackbird-song and on the isle women singing, who came towards them beside the curragh. This is what they sang «*May God's blessing guide us, may the Son of Mary envelop us*<sup>137</sup>» «**S**ing more for us, O women» say the clerics, «**F**or that we deem melodious, and that is the music and the instrument and the song of the women of Erin.» The women then answered them and said «**C**ome over with us to the palace and there have speech with the king.»

51. **T**hen they went along with the women to the place where the king was, and he made them welcome, and asked them «**W**hence have ye come, and what is your kindred?» «**O**f Columkill's community are we», they reply, «**A**nd of the men of Ireland; and out of Ireland we have come.»

«**K**now ye», saith he, «**H**ow many sons of Domnall mac Aeda are alive?»

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<sup>136</sup> **U**am filius maledictus, videns et ridens patrem Noe, Nennius, ed. Mommsen, §51.

<sup>137</sup> See Colman's hymn, line 1, *Thes. pal. hib.*, II, 299.

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«Only one», they answer, «is alive» and the Men of Ross killed the other son, Fiacha; and dear to us are they by whom he fell, even Diarmait Ólmar and Ailill» and we know not their fate since then.»

«True is the tale, O clerics», says the king» «And we are the folk that killed the king's son» and we are here without age, without decay upon us, and we shall abide till Doom, till Elijah and Enoch come to the battle with Antichrist<sup>138</sup>. With them we shall go to the battle, and together with them we shall die» and thus we are here, with tresses, of gold and silver upon us. And if ye get again to Ireland, tell them that two lakes are here, a lake of fire and a lake of water» and if Martin<sup>139</sup> and Patrick were not, each of these lakes would long ago have come over Ireland.»

52.»»It is a misery for us», say the clerics, «that we do not see Elijah and Enoch, so that we may converse with them.»

«Ye cannot have that», says the king, «for they are in a certain secret place, until they come fight with Antichrist.»

53.»Hereafter the clerics prepared to depart, and the king said to them» «Tarry here with us that... for since we came... pleasanter... since ye came to us.»

54.»And the clerics did not stay at all, and thus was the isle, with a gushing well at its entrance» and the clerics went into it to bathe, and just as they liked, whether heat or cold, thus it was for them<sup>140</sup>. And the rain-water that poured there was kept in the well.

55.»Then was... and they went to the house of the king. Hallowed was that house, and hallowed were the booths therein. Wondrous was its equipment, for there were a hundred doors to it, and a priest at every door offering Christ's Body» and there was a great host of men and

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<sup>138</sup>»According to the Revelation of John (*Apocalypses Apocryphae* ed. Tischendorf, p. 66), Antichrist will kill them at the altar for having shewn him to be a liar and a deceiver.

<sup>139</sup>»e. St Martin of Tours.

<sup>140</sup>»See Nennius, ed. Mommsen, § 67.

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women beholding the oblation. The clerics (entered) the house, and each of them saluted the other; and then that great host, both men and women, went to communion at the mass.

56. ¶ Hereafter wine is dealt to them, and the king said to the clerics ¶ « Say ¶, quoth he, ¶ « ¶ the men of the island of Erin that great punishments are impending on them. Foreigners will come to them over the sea and inhabit as much as half the island, and will lay siege to them. And this is what brings that punishment upon them, the extent to which they neglect the commandments of God and His teaching. A month and a year are ye at sea, and ye will arrive safely, and tell your tidings to the men of Ireland. ¶

57. ¶ God's Son looked on their ways ¶ gatherings of floods ¶

without rough danger they entered another lofty isle.

A noble mansion if thou come to it, noblest of  
[¶] wellings,

wherein is a fair king with men and with treasures.

A hundred doors out of its sides ¶ bright assembly with  
[¶] apologies.

a fair just altar and a priest at every door.

Wine is dealt to them out of vessels ¶ with the lustres of  
[¶] good deeds,

men and women go to communion at the mass.

« Say ye to the host of Erin's island, after your circuits –  
hardest of deeds ¶ that the Lord's vengeance is coming  
[¶] upon them.

« Men in ships, warriors with spears<sup>141</sup>, without any  
[¶] faith, –

great will the plague be – inhabit half the soil of their  
[¶] island.

« Neglect of the King of Heaven's commands ¶ [¶] worst of  
[¶] deeds ¶

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<sup>141</sup> ¶ Cf. the Colloquy of the Two Sages, § 91, *Rev. Celt.*, XXVI, 38, where the vikings are called « The men of the black spears ¶ (*dubga*).

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not swift is the blame thereof – 'tis that which inflicts  
[p]unishment on you. [p]

A year and a month (will ye be) on your ways – a  
doer's [c]ongregation

since the wave-roar of the glad, monsterful sea came to  
[y]ou.

We should prefer that what ye tell should be of our  
[f]indings,

with living words, with white hands, with swift feet.

I beseech Patrick and Enoch and Elijah

that I may have heaven without sadness, after swiftness  
[o]f light.

IT ENDETH.



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