

Senchas Gall Átha Cliath: aspects of the cult of St Patrick in the twelfth century

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Perhaps first among Máire Herbert's many contributions to scholarship is her exemplary work on medieval Irish hagiography. Therefore, as a token of respect, we offer here a small contribution to the study of the cult of St Patrick in the twelfth century, namely an edition, translation and analysis of *Senchas Gall Átha Cliath* ('History of the Foreigners of Dublin', henceforth *SAC*).¹ This late Middle Irish poem contains hagiographical episodes found in other texts – vernacular and Latin, Irish and Anglo-Norman – and is therefore discussed with regard to both its local and international connections. We consider the possible role of the poem in the transmission of pseudo-historical information about Patrick to his late-twelfth-century hagiographer, Jocelin of Furness, and we consider some of the wider relationships between Latin and vernacular Patrician hagiography in the twelfth century.

There has been significant scholarly attention given in recent years to the Latin literature associated more broadly with the cult of St Patrick in the eleventh, twelfth and early thirteenth centuries: we might note particularly the important editions, translations and studies by Michael Winterbottom and Rod Thomson, Robert Easting and Richard Sharpe, and Helen Birkett.² Other scholars have discussed literary and onomastic manifestations of the Patrician cult in eleventh- and twelfth-century Britain.³ The Irish evidence

¹ Introduction and source analysis by Boyle; edition, translation and notes by Breatnach (with contributions by each to the other). Liam Breatnach, whose attention was first drawn to this poem by Donnchadh Ó Corráin, read *SAC* in seminars at Trinity College Dublin in the 1990s and at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies in 2006–7; contributions by participants are acknowledged in the notes. We are grateful to Professor Ó Corráin for reading and commenting on an earlier version of this paper. ² Michael Winterbottom and Rodney M. Thomson (ed. and trans.), *William of Malmesbury, saints' Lives: Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 2002); Robert Easting and Richard Sharpe (ed. and trans.), *Peter of Cornwall's Book of Revelations* (Toronto, 2013), ch. 3: 'Peter of Cornwall's account of St Patrick's Purgatory' (pp 116–41); Helen Birkett, *The saints' Lives of Jocelin of Furness: hagiography, patronage and ecclesiastical politics* (Woodbridge, 2010). Furthermore, Dr Ingrid Sperber has an edition of Jocelin of Furness' *Life of Patrick* forthcoming as part of the AHRC-funded project 'Hagiography at the Frontiers: Jocelin of Furness and Insular Politics' (University of Liverpool and University of Cambridge), and we are grateful to her for making sections of it available to us. ³ Elizabeth Boyle, 'The authorship and transmission of *De tribus habitaculis animae*', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 22 (2012), 49–65; Fiona Edmonds, 'Personal names and the cult of Patrick in eleventh-century Strathclyde and Northumbria' in S.

from the same period has not received such sustained attention of late. However, it should be emphasized that, although the poem is primarily read here in terms of its place within the corpus of later Patrician hagiography, this is by no means the only way in which it can be read. It is simultaneously a poetic charter and a work of *dindsenchas*. We can trace the tradition of poetic charters back at least as far as the 'Airgialla Charter Poem', which outlines the mutual obligations of the Airgialla and the Uí Néill.⁴ Of particular interest for our purposes are the poems in *Lebor na cert* (on which see p. 29 below),⁵ which together form the most comprehensive collection of such poetic charter material. As a work of *dindsenchas*, *SAC* is discussed briefly below in relation to other *dindsenchas* on Dublin (see p. 30). Much more remains to be said about all aspects of this interesting and important poem, but we hope that this preliminary offering will prove useful.

SAC sets out a narrative of conversion for the Scandinavians of Dublin that excludes any outside involvement, and incorporates Dublin fully into the medieval Irish historiographical tradition in which Patrick was the sole apostle of the Irish.⁶ This complete exclusion of external influence is itself likely to be a reaction to external influence, particularly that of Canterbury, and it has been argued that either *SAC*, or the poem in *Lebor na cert* to which it is closely related, was composed within the context of competition between Canterbury and Armagh for jurisdiction of Dublin.⁷ Armagh and Dublin were part of a much larger jurisdictional patchwork in which major ecclesiastical centres, including York and Worcester, were using similar methods to resist Canterbury hegemony in the century or so after 1066. These methods included the production of hagiography on local pre-Conquest saints and of forged and anachronistic charter materials: *SAC* encapsulates both of these

Boardman, J.R. Davies and E. Williamson (eds), *Saints' cults in the Celtic world*, Studies in Celtic History 25 (Woodbridge, 2009), pp 42–65. After completion of the present paper, a significant collection of essays was published: Clare Downham (ed.), *Jocelin of Furness: essays from the 2011 conference* (Donington, 2013). 4 Edel Bhreathnach and Kevin Murray, 'The Airgialla charter poem: edition' in E. Bhreathnach (ed.), *The kingship and landscape of Tara* (Dublin, 2005), pp 124–58; Máirín O Daly, 'A poem on the Airgialla', *Ériu*, 16 (1952), 179–88. For discussion of the legal obligations outlined in the poem, see Thomas Charles-Edwards, 'The Airgialla charter poem: the legal context' in Bhreathnach (ed.), *Kingship and landscape*, pp 100–23. 5 Myles Dillon (ed. and trans.), *Lebor na cert. The Book of rights*, ITS 46 (Dublin, 1962). 6 The present study is not concerned with the historical conversion of the Scandinavians of Dublin, but rather with the late-eleventh- and twelfth-century circumstances which gave rise to the pseudo-historical account of their conversion as presented in *SAC*. On the historical evidence for conversion, see Lesley Abrams, 'The conversion of the Scandinavians of Dublin', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 20, Proceedings of the Battle Conference (1997), 1–29, and references therein. 7 See, for example, David N. Dumville, 'St Patrick and the Scandinavians of Dublin' in his *Saint Patrick A.D. 493–1993*, Studies in Celtic History 13 (Woodbridge, 1993), pp 259–64 at pp 262–4; Martin Holland, 'Dublin and the reform of the Irish Church in the eleventh and twelfth century', *Peritia*, 14 (2000), 111–60.

processes. Indeed, one of the saints for whom Glastonbury commissioned a Life in order to 'ratchet up their local cults in the face of Canterbury's noticeable and increasing potential for hagiographical hegemony' was Benignus (Ben  n), to whom *SAC* is ascribed.⁸ William of Malmesbury (c.1090 – c.1143) also produced a Life of Patrick for Glastonbury.⁹

During the late-eleventh and twelfth centuries, Christians in Dublin were closely involved with many interconnected spheres of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, notably those of England (particularly Canterbury, but also York); Wales (St David's); and Ireland (Armagh). As a major economic centre, with close trading connections with cities such as Chester and Bristol, and broader cultural and political ties to the Isle of Man and much of the western seaboard of Scotland and northern England (for example, Strathclyde and Cumbria), we should not be surprised that the ecclesiastical culture of Dublin was, from our earliest evidence, outward looking and subject to diverse influences. Early bishops of Dublin were frequently clerics who had trained outside Ireland, often in English reformed Benedictine communities attached to major ecclesiastical centres.¹⁰ Many were consecrated by archbishops of Canterbury and professed obedience to them.¹¹ In one of these professions, Dublin was described as the *metropolis* of Ireland, namely in the profession of Patrick, preserved in the Canterbury Professions in London, BL Cotton MS Cleopatra E i:

Quisquis aliis pr  sident, si et ipse aliis subiaceat dedignari non debet, sed potius ob  dientiam, quam a subiectis suis desiderat habere, propter

8 Winterbottom and Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, p. xxxii, and for an edition and translation of what survives of the Life, see pp 344–67. William of Malmesbury produced his Life of Benignus from scraps of information which he pieced together from Patrician hagiography, notably the *Vita tertia*, and local Glastonbury tradition. For the *Vita tertia*, see Ludwig Bieler (ed.), *Four Latin Lives of St Patrick*, SLH 8 (Dublin, 1971), pp 13–39, 115–90. 9 Winterbottom and Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, pp 316–43, and see also the Life of Indract at pp 368–81. William's sources for the Life of Patrick include the *Vita tertia* and Patrick's own writings (pp xxiv–xxv). On Indract, see Michael Lapidge, 'The cult of St Indract at Glastonbury' in his *Anglo-Latin literature, 900–1066* (London, 1993), pp 419–52. 10 Marie Therese Flanagan, *The transformation of the Irish church in the twelfth century* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp 6–7. See also Martin Brett, 'Canterbury's perspective on church reform and Ireland, 1070–1115' in D. Bracken and D.    Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the twelfth century: reform and renewal* (Dublin, 2006), pp 13–35; Mark Philpott, 'Some interactions between the English and Irish churches', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 20, Proceedings of the Battle Conference (1997), 187–204; Denis Bethell, 'English monks and Irish reform in the eleventh and twelfth centuries' in T.D. Williams (ed.), *Historical Studies VIII: papers read before the Irish Conference of Historians, Dublin, 27–30 May 1969* (Dublin, 1971), pp 111–35. 11 Michael Richter (ed.), *Canterbury professions*, Canterbury and York Society 67 (Torquay, 1973), pp 29 (no. 36: Patricius; 1074), 31 (no. 42: Donatus; 1085), 34 (no. 51: Samuel; 1096), and 39 (no. 69: Gregorius; 1121). See also pp 35 (no. 54: Malchus of Waterford, 1096) and 42 (Patricius of Limerick; 1140). 12 *Ibid.*, p. 29 (no. 36).

Deum studeat prelatis sibi per omnia humiliter exhibere. Propterea ego Patricius, ad regendam Dublinam metropolem Hibernie electus antistes, tibi, reuerende pater Lanfrance, Britanniarum primas et sancte Dorobernensis ecclesie archiepiscopo, professionis me chartam porrigo meque tibi tuisque successoribus in omnibus, que ad Christianam religionem pertinent, obtemperatum esse promitto.¹²

Whoever rules over others must not think it beneath him if he himself is subordinate to others; but rather let him humbly show to those who are appointed over him, in all things and for the love of God, that obedience which he wishes to receive from his own subjects. Wherefore I, Patrick, who have been chosen as bishop to rule Dublin, the *metropolis* of Ireland, do hand to you, my reverend father Lanfranc, primate of the British Isles and archbishop of the holy church of Canterbury, this charter of my profession; and I promise that I shall obey you and your successors in all things which pertain to the Christian religion.

The extraordinary wording of this profession points as much to Canterbury's tensions with York at the time, as to Dublin's own position in relation both to Canterbury and to the rest of Ireland; but this document is relatively straightforward, in the sense that it was certainly drawn up in England for the purpose of Patrick's consecration. More complicated is a letter, preserved in the same manuscript, purportedly from the clergy and people of Dublin requesting that Lanfranc consecrate Patrick as bishop. The wording of the letter is based on the *decretum quod clerus et populus firmare debet de electo episcopo* found in the Romano-Germanic Pontifical, compiled in Mainz in the tenth century, but with some additions and omissions.¹³ One of the additions from the basic template of the Romano-Germanic Pontifical is the description of "the church of Dublin which is a [or 'the'] metropolis of [or 'in'] the island of Ireland" (*aecclisia dublinensis quae hiberniae insulae metropolis est*).¹⁴ This might suggest that Dublin itself was asserting its pre-eminent position within Ireland, but the letter must be treated circumspectly since, in addition to the professions of Canterbury's suffragans, Cotton MS Cleopatra E i also contains Canterbury forgeries of papal letters.¹⁵ In his discussion of the phrase *aecclisia dublinensis quae hiberniae insulae metropolis est*, Mark Philpott has suggested that it was in the interests of Canterbury to proclaim itself as having authority over more than one metropolitan bishop, and that, in addition to proclaiming authority over York, to be able to proclaim authority over Dublin, as a metropolitan see, was politically advantageous. Therefore, we may doubt the authenticity of the letter. However, the situation might equally be viewed from the opposite direction: if we regard the letter as genuine,

¹³ Philpott, 'Some interactions', p. 193; Holland, 'Dublin', pp. 112-13. ¹⁴ Philpott, 'Some interactions', p. 194. ¹⁵ Ibid., p. 195.

Dublin declaring itself as a metropolitan see in Ireland could be a direct response to the metropolitan claims, and aggrandizing tendencies, of Armagh. Indeed, Samuel, consecrated in 1096, also claimed archiepiscopal privileges for Dublin, even though Dublin was not recognized as a metropolitan see until the Synod of Kells-Mellifont in 1152. Further support for the idea that the letter may be genuine is the evidence adduced by Marie Therese Flanagan that Gille of Limerick drew on the Romano-Germanic Pontifical in composing his *De statu ecclesiae*, which might suggest that the Pontifical was in use in reforming circles in Ireland.¹⁶ On balance, however, it seems most likely that the letter was produced at Canterbury, particularly given certain similarities of phrasing between it, and Bishop Patrick's profession of obedience, which was certainly drawn up at Canterbury.¹⁷

A letter from Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, generally considered to have been addressed to Domnall úa hÉnna, bishop of Munster, and written in 1080 or 1081, is preserved in a twelfth-century Worcester manuscript, London, BL Cotton Vespasian E. IV.¹⁸ This Worcester connection is significant, since it was the home of another text which describes Dublin in an interesting manner, namely the 'Altitonantis' charter.¹⁹ This mid-twelfth-century fabrication purports to be a foundation charter for Worcester, recording the grant of the endowment of the see of Worcester on 28 December 964, by King Edgar. The charter has been much discussed by Anglo-Saxon historians, and is part of a wider phenomenon of anachronistic and forged charter production at Worcester,²⁰ but for our purposes what is significant is the description of the extent of Edgar's sovereignty. The charter states:

¹⁶ Flanagan, *Transformation*, pp 65–6. ¹⁷ Holland, 'Dublin', 115. See also the letter preserved in the twelfth-century Worcester manuscript, London, BL MS Cotton Claudius A i, f. 38r, purportedly from Gregory VII to the Irish king Toirdelbach Ua Briain, and the people of Ireland, which has been described by Martin Brett as a 'literary rather than a juridical fiction, since it proves nothing either way about the formal position of the Irish church' (Brett, 'Canterbury's perspective', pp 19–20 n. 14). For the letter, see Maurice P. Sheehy (ed.), *Pontificia Hibernica. Medieval papal chancery documents concerning Ireland, 640–1261*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1962), i, pp 7–8 (no. 2), beginning *Gregorius episcopus servus servorum Dei Terdelvacho inclito regi Hibernie, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, proceribus omnibusque Christianis Hiberniam inhabitantibus salutem et apostolicam benedictionem*; H.E.J. Cowdrey (ed. and trans.), *The 'Epistolae vagantes' of Pope Gregory VII*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1972), no. 57. For discussion of this manuscript, see Denis Bethell, 'English black monks and episcopal elections in the 1120s', *English Historical Review*, 84 (1969), 673–98 at 694–8. ¹⁸ Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson (ed. and trans.), *The letters of Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury* (Oxford, 1979), p. 19. ¹⁹ We are very grateful to Simon Keynes for allowing us to see his working notes on the 'Altitonantis' charter, from his paper 'The afterlife of an Anglo-Saxon charter', given at the Selden conference, Oxford, July 2010. ²⁰ Eric John, *Land tenure in early England* (Leicester, 1964), pp 90–112; Julia Barrow, 'How the twelfth-century monks of Worcester perceived their past' in P. Magdalino (ed.), *The perception of the past in twelfth-century Europe* (London, 1992), pp 53–74; eadem, 'The chronology of forgery production at Worcester from c.1000 to the early twelfth century' in

Mihi autem concessit propitia divinitas cum Anglorum imperio omnia regna insularum oceani cum suis ferocissimis regibus usque Norregiam maximamque partem Hibernie cum sua nobilissima civitate Dublina Anglorum regno subiugare quos etiam omnes meis imperiis colla subdere dei favente gratia coegi.²¹

Divine favour has permitted me, along with the *imperium* of the English, to reduce all the kingdoms of the islands of the ocean as far as Norway, with their most fierce kings, and to subject the greatest part of Ireland with her chief town of Dublin to the kingdom of the English, all of whom I have constrained to bend their necks to my rule with the favourable grace of God.

The wording is interesting: as with the eleventh-century Canterbury documents which described Dublin as the *metropolis* of Ireland, the use of *nobilissimus* to describe the position of Dublin within Ireland might have come as something of a surprise to the rest of the Irish, though perhaps not nearly as surprising as the news that Edgar had managed to subjugate the greater part of the island of Ireland. Of course, this forged charter tells us more about attitudes in twelfth-century Worcester than it does about the historical reality of Edgar's reign or Dublin's self-perception; but how do we explain, even within the context of the twelfth-century Worcester community, this characterization of Dublin as Ireland's pre-eminent *civitas*? Eric John briefly explored this passage of the 'Altitonantis' charter,²² but he accepted the hypotheses of Aubrey Gwynn regarding the Worcester connections of Patrick, bishop of Dublin, and so he set the initiation of links between Dublin and Worcester within the context of Patrick's training in Worcester and his subsequent episcopacy in Dublin.²³ Furthermore, John repeated Gwynn's suggestion that Patrick had introduced a community of monks to Dublin from Worcester; a community that was subsequently expelled in 1096. Regarding this latter point, Martin Holland has since argued that it is more likely that the community of monks was introduced from Canterbury, not Worcester, and during the episcopate of Patrick's successor, Donnus (Donatus).²⁴

More generally, recent scholarship has suggested that the links between Patrick and Worcester are not as conclusive as has previously been supposed.²⁵ We might note, for example, another 'Patricius', who is listed as a member of the community at Coventry.²⁶ His name was added, along with

J.S. Barrow and N.P. Brooks (ed.), *St Wulfstan and his world*, Studies in Early Medieval Britain (Aldershot, 2005), pp 105–22 at pp 118–21. 21 John, *Land tenure*, pp 162–7 at p. 162. 22 Ibid., pp 105–7. This was repeated by Emma Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester c.1008–1095* (Oxford, 1990), p. 251. 23 Aubrey Gwynn, SJ, *The writings of Bishop Patrick, 1074–1084*, SI.H 1 (Dublin, 1955). 24 Holland, 'Dublin', 120. 25 Brett, 'Canterbury's perspective', pp 33–5; Boyle, 'Authorship', *passim*. 26 Joan Greatrex, *Biographical register*

others of the community of Holy Trinity and St Mary, Coventry, and with Leofric and his wife Godiva, to the mortuary roll of Vitalis, abbot of Savigny, in or before 1122.²⁷ This Patricius could just as easily be Patrick of Dublin, since the death dates of the other identifiable individuals listed in the death-roll coincide well with the death of Patrick in 1084. During the episcopate of Wulfstan, the sons of Harold Godwinson, earl of Wessex and briefly king of England, took refuge in Ireland following their father's defeat at the battle of Hastings in 1066. In 1069, Harold's sons returned from Ireland with a fleet of ships in an attempt to recapture England from William the Conqueror. In this unsuccessful endeavour, they were supported by Diarmait mac Máil na mBó (†1072), king of Leinster, whose son Murchad mac Diarmata (†1070) was installed as king of Dublin. Perhaps it is in this political context, or in the continuous trading links between Dublin and Bristol, rather than in connection with the episcopacy of Patrick, that we might see the initiation of links between Dublin and Worcester, which were to endure well into the twelfth century.²⁸

Flanagan has argued that the partial and fragmentary nature of the surviving evidence for ecclesiastical reform in Ireland leads to an over-emphasis on the relationship between the various Irish dioceses and Canterbury; a result of Canterbury's 'active recording strategy in support of its claims to primacy'.²⁹ But we can see that it was not only Armagh that responded to Canterbury's claims to primacy through the fabrication of anachronistic charter material and the production of hagiographical literature about pre-Conquest saints. The circumstances within which *SAC* was produced were part of a larger, international pattern of resistance to Canterbury dominance. It is possible that Dublin itself looked equally to both sides: its close relationship with Canterbury has been outlined above, but we might also note that there is early evidence for the cult of Patrick in Dublin. That an eleventh-century bishop of Dublin had the name Patricius (Gilla Pátraic) is interesting, as is the evidence contained in *SAC* for sites in Dublin associated with St Patrick, the dedications of which obviously predate the poem (see below, vv 44, 47). One significant piece of evidence which provides us with another account of a relationship of mutual

of the English cathedral priories of the province of Canterbury c.1066 to 1540 (Oxford, 1997), p. 366. 27 Alfred Clapham, 'Three Bede-Rolls', *Archaeological Journal*, 106 – Supplement: Memorial Volume to Sir Alfred Clapham (1952 [for 1949]), 40–53, no. 88: *T. sancte Trinitatis et sanctae Marie Covantrensis aeclesiae. Orate pro nostris, Leovrico comite, Godiva comitissa, Leofwino, Rodberto episcopis, Bruningo priore, Goduino, Patricio, Thoma, monachis et pro aliis nostris defunctis*. See also L. Delisle, *Rouleaux des morts du IXe au XVe siècle* (Paris, 1866), pp 281–344 (for the Roll of Vitalis, abbot of Savigny); p. 313 (for the Coventry community). 28 On the political context for this period, see Seán Duffy, 'Irishmen and islesmen in the kingdoms of Dublin and Man, 1052–1171', *Ériu*, 43 (1992), 93–133. Duffy has suggested that, during this period, the bishopric of Dublin may have had episcopal jurisdiction over the Isle of Man (p. 107 n. 68). 29 Flanagan, *Transformation*, pp 6–7.

obligation between Armagh and the Hiberno-Scandinavians is found in the so-called Osraige section of the collection known as the *Fragmentary annals*. There we are told of a battle between the *Danair* and the *Lochlannaig*, in which the former were defeated. Their leader, Horm, tells them to pray to St Patrick, and make offerings to him.

Ra freagruttur uile é, 7 eadh ra raidhsid: 'Ar comairece', ar siad, 'anti naomh Phadraicc, 7 an Choimdhe as tigearna dhó sin fén, 7 ar ccosgar dhá eaglais 7 ar n-iondmhus'.³⁰

All answered him, and this is what they said: 'Let our protector', they said, 'be this Saint Patrick, and the Lord who is master to him, and let our spoils and our treasure be given to his church'.

The Danes were then victorious, and when messengers arrived from Máel Sechlainn, king of Tara, they found that the Danes had prepared a ditch full of gold and silver to give to Patrick. This late Middle Irish account is probably roughly contemporaneous with *SAC* and is further evidence of the retrospective projection in the twelfth century of a longstanding relationship of mutual obligation between Dublin and Armagh.³¹

SENGHAS ATHA GLIATH: RELATED SOURCES AND DATING

SAC, which begins *Atá sund in senchas seng*, is an expanded version of the eighteen-quatrain poem on Dublin in *Lebor na cert*, beginning *Atá sund seanchas suaice seang* (henceforth *LCS*).³² Parts of both poems are related to passages in Jocelin's Life of Patrick (see below). Our poem falls into six sections, each of which is conveniently marked by a *dínad*.³³

- Section I (vv 1–24) tells the story of Patrick's arrival in Dublin, his miraculous raising to life of the two children of the king, and the conversion of the Dubliners. It is an adaptation of *LCS*, with the substitution of a son and a daughter of the king for the son of *LCS*, in order to provide an account of the origin of the name Duiblinn (vv 6, 7, 10), and with the addition of four verses (12–15) on the tribute due to Patrick.³⁴ Both of these alterations are paralleled in Jocelin ch. 99.

³⁰ *FAI*, pp 90–5 §235. ³¹ For a discussion of some economic aspects of this relationship, see Mary A. Valante, 'Taxation, tolls and tribute: the language of economics and trade in Viking-age Ireland', *PHCC*, 18/19 (2006), 243–58. ³² Dillon, *Lebor na cert*, pp 114–19. ³³ Compare, for example, the use of a *dínad* to mark off each sub-section in the *dindsenchas* of Carman, *MD* iii, pp 2–25 at ll 80, 192, 256, 284, 296 and 324. ³⁴ The additional verses in this section of *SAC* are then 6, 7, 10 and 12–15. It also omits v. 6 of

- Section II (vv 25-33) makes the claim that Dublin's prosperity is dependent on its loyalty to Armagh, and lists the dues owed by merchants to Dublin, and the tithes to be given out of these dues to Armagh.
- Section III (vv 34-9) gives an account of the origin of the name Áth Cliath, which differs from both the prose and metrical *dindsenchas* of Áth Cliath.³⁵
- Section IV (vv 40-4) tells the story of the origin of St Patrick's well, as narrated in Jocelin ch. 70, and alluded to in ch. 99.
- Section V (vv 45-50) contains an account of the churches of Dublin.
- Section VI consists of a single concluding verse.

Our poem reflects the amalgamation of Duiblinn and Áth Cliath, which were originally separate places. While it normally refers to the place as *Áth Cliath*, it uses *Duiblinn* in v. 31, and gives the origin of the name in v. 7 beside an account of the origin of Áth Cliath in section III. *LCS* uses only Áth Cliath, as does the first account in Jocelin's Life (ch. 69), while the second account has only *Dublinia* (ch. 99; see below).

The only complete copy of *SAC* known to us is found in the Book of Uí Maine 68vb52-69va5.³⁶ It is written in a very simple form of *deibide*, with little metrical ornamentation other than end-rhyme. Although there are some illegible letters, and a number of corrupt readings, on the whole the manuscript presents a reasonably good text.³⁷ Of possible relevance here is the fact that the patron of the manuscript, Muircheartach Úa Ceallaigh, spent Christmas with King Richard II in Dublin in 1394, and Úa Ceallaigh's *ollamh*, Cam Clúana Úa Dubhagáin, was killed by the king's followers in a brawl in Dublin in the same year.³⁸ It may well be the case that it was in the course of this stay in Dublin that a copy of our poem was made available to the compiler of the Book of Uí Maine.

The manuscript context of *SAC* requires further consideration; here, however, we are concerned with the text's place within a wider hagiographical context. The cult of St Patrick in England reached a peak during the decades following the Norman invasion of Ireland, but we have already shown above

LCS, and many of the remaining verses taken over from *LCS* have been modified in varying degrees. 35 Whitley Stokes, 'The prose tales in the Rennes *dindsenchas*', *RC*, 15 (1894), 272-336, 418-84 at 328-9; *MD* iii, pp 100-3. 36 On the manuscript, see William O'Sullivan, 'The Book of Uí Maine formerly the Book of Ó Dubhagáin: scripts and structure', *Éigse*, 23 (1989), 151-66; Nollaig Ó Muraíle, 'Leabhar Ua Maine *alias* Leabhar Uí Dhubhagáin', *Éigse*, 23 (1989), 167-95. 37 Cf. Gwynn's comment on the *dindsenchas* in the Book of Uí Maine: 'The scribe of M is abominably careless. Of all texts of the *Dindsenchas* this has the lowest intrinsic value': *MD* v, p. 5. 38 *AFM* 1394 (iv, p. 732); *MIA*, p. 152 §31. This is noted in O'Sullivan, 'The Book', pp 152, 161, and Ó Muraíle, 'Leabhar', p. 195 n. 79.

how this was not *sui generis*: it gained momentum during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, with the production of William of Malmesbury's *Life*, and the active copying of Patrician (and related) hagiography and Patrick's own writings in English manuscripts.³⁹ Jocelin of Furness was commissioned by John de Courcy in the 1180s to produce his *Life of Patrick*, and, having a wealth of potential material on which to draw, he based it primarily on a text related to the *Vita tertia*.⁴⁰ As we have noted, there are two sections in Jocelin's *Life of St Patrick* which have close connections with our poem, namely chapters 69–70 and chapter 99 in the forthcoming edition by Ingrid Sperber. These correspond to chapters 69, 70 and 71 in Colgan's edition.⁴¹ As Birkett notes, the separation of chapter 99 from the other two is found in four of the five manuscripts of the *Life*; in the Paris manuscript, however, it is added at the end and labelled chapter 71, and Colgan followed this.⁴²

Chapter 69 tells how Patrick came to a hill near the Finglas river (*cumque iter agens devenisset trans flumen Finglas nomine ad quendam collem a pago Athcled, qui modo dicitur Dublinia, uno ferme miliario distantem*, 'and when in the course of his journey he came across the river called Finglas to a certain hill about one mile distant from the village of Athcled, which is now called Dublinia') and prophesied the future greatness of Dublin (*Pagus iste nunc exiguus eximius erit diuiciis et dignitate dilatabitur nec crescere cessabit donec in regni solum sublimetur*, 'This village now small will be distinguished, and it will be amplified in riches and dignity, nor will it cease to grow until it is elevated to being the seat of a kingdom'). After entering Dublin, he healed the son of the lord who was on the point of death (*Domini uero loci filius unicus laborabat in extremis, ita ut iam expirasse diceretur a multis* 'The only son of the lord of the place was in his last throes, so that he was said by many to have already breathed his last'). This version is close to that in *LCS*, except that in the latter the boy had died and Patrick resuscitated him.

Chapter 70 relates how Patrick produced a freshwater well by the edge of the tidal part of a river (*Flumen namque secus uillam preterfluens ex accessu reumatis maris penitus amaricabatur nec ante recessum refluxum aqua dulcis nisi de longe hausta sibi afferebatur*, 'For the river running beside the town was made thoroughly bitter from the flowing in of the sea, nor could fresh water be obtained before the ebb tide receded, unless drawn from a long way away'), which is still known as Patrick's well (*Est itaque fons ille Dublinie scaturigine*

³⁹ Half of the extant manuscripts of Patrick's own writings have an English provenance: Ludwig Bieler, *Codices Patriciani Latini: a descriptive catalogue of Latin manuscripts relating to St Patrick* (Dublin, 1942), pp 2–3. ⁴⁰ For a detailed analysis of Jocelin's *Life of Patrick*, see Birkett, *Saints' Lives*, pp 25–57, 141–70. ⁴¹ John Colgan (ed.), *Triadis thaumaturgae seu divorum Patricii, Columbæ, et Brigide ... acta* (Louvain, 1647), pp 80–1 [sic: in the original the page numbers 90–2 are misprinted for 80–2]. Citations here are from Sperber's edition-in-progress. ⁴² Birkett, *Saints' Lives*, p. 44 n. 98. For the manuscripts of Jocelin's *Life*, see *ibid.*, p. 19.

latus, profluxu peramplus, gustu sapidus, qui, ut dicunt, multis infirmantibus medetur et usque in presens sancti Patricii fons recte uocatur, 'And so that is the well of Dublin, widely gushing, abundantly flowing forth, sweet in taste, which as is said, heals many illnesses, and up to the present day is rightly called Saint Patrick's well'). This account is close to that in *SAC* (section IV), and it is also alluded to briefly in chapter 99.

Chapter 99 is a separate account of Patrick's arrival in Dublin, which, while it has some elements in common with the first account, differs in many significant details. Thus, even the Dublin that Patrick comes to is different, being described as a noble city, inhabited by the peoples of Norway and of the Isles:

Tandem uictor aduenerit urbem nobilem,⁴³ populo situ amenissimam, concurrentibus mari et flumine piscibus opulentam, commerciiis famosam, planicie uiridante affectuosam, glandiferis nemoribus consitam, ferarum lustris circumuallatam, que postea dicta fuit Dublinia. Hec a conuenis Noruuagie et insularum populis exercicio peritissimis, omni armatura munitis, bello fortibus, dapsilibus pace, omni regno necessariis, in fauorem regis Hybernie sub regina filia regis Noruuagie iniciata in posterum per uarias rerum uices modo rebellis, modo federata regno Hibernie consistit.

At length he came victorious to the noble city, most pleasant in situation and populace, rich in fish teeming in sea and river, renowned for commerce, gentle in green and level land, planted with acorn-bearing groves, surrounded by haunts of wild beasts, which afterwards was named Dublinia. This city, founded by the incomers from Norway and the peoples of the Isles, who are most skilled in exercise, fortified with every kind of armour, strong in warfare, bountiful in peace, and indispensable to every kingdom, in favour of the king of Ireland under the queen, the daughter of the king of Norway, afterwards is variously sometimes at war with and sometimes allied to the kingdom of Ireland.

He raised from the dead the son and daughter of the king of Dublin; she, who had drowned, gave her name to the city (*Et rex quidem uocabatur Alpinus, filius Eochiad, filia Dublinia, que ciuitati nominis sui contulit uocabulum*, 'And the king indeed was called Alpinus, the son Eochaid, the daughter Dublinia, who bestowed on the city the appellation of her own name'). The text goes on to say that they were baptized at a well which Patrick produced (*baptizati sunt ad fontem beati Patricii iuxta ciuitatem ad austrum, quem ad augendam credencium fidem percuciens terram cuspide baculi Iesu pridem fecerat ebullire*, 'They

⁴³ Cf. the 'Altitonantis' charter above, which describes Dublin as Ireland's *nobilissima ciuitate*.

were baptized at the well of blessed Patrick at the southern edge of the city, which he had made bubble up long ago by striking the earth with the tip of the Staff of Jesus, in order to increase the faith of the believers') and the people vowed their allegiance to Patrick and his successors:

Ex illa ergo die rex Alpinus et omnes Dublinie ciues uouerunt se et omnes posteros suos in seruicium et humagium beati Patricii et Ardmachanorum primatum statuentes prefatam ecclesiam iuxta fontem extra ciuitatem et aliam mansionem iuxta ecclesiam sancte trinitatis in ciuitate ad occidentem eiusdem sedis archipresulis.

From that day king Alpinus and all the citizens of Dublin pledged themselves and all their descendants to the service and homage of blessed Patrick and the primates of Armagh, erecting the aforementioned church next to the well outside the city, and another mansion beside the church of the holy Trinity inside the city to the west of the seat of its archbishop.

The chapter ends with an account of the tribute due from Dublin to Armagh.

Statuerunt ergo redditum suo sancto patrono Patricio, uidelicet ut de singulis nauibus mercimonialibus capam competentem Ardmachano primati aut cadum mellis seu uini aut ferri fascem siue mensuram salis, de singulis uero tabernis medonis siue seruicie metretas singulas, de omnibus officinis, curtis et uirgultis xenia donumque conueniens in sotularibus, cirothecis, cultellis, pectinibus et aliis huiusmodi rebus. Et illa quidem die rex et alii proceres singula talenta obrizi singuli optulerunt, mediocres uero optulerunt quod poterant. Que omnia collata pauper Christi Patricius pauperibus erogauit parte retenta ecclesiarum structuris.

And they determined a render to their holy patron Patrick, namely, from each individual merchant ship a fitting cap to the primate of Armagh, or a jar of honey or of wine, or a load⁴⁴ of iron or a measure of salt; from each tavern a cask of mead or of ale [*seruicie* = *ceruisie*]; from all workshops and courtyards and yardlands, gifts and a suitable present of shoes, gloves, knives, combs, and other such things. And also on that day the king and the other nobles each offered a talent of pure gold, while the ordinary people offered what they could. Having collected all of these together, Patrick the poor in Christ bestowed them on the poor, retaining a part for the building of churches.

44 Taking *fascem* as the accusative of *fascis* 'bundle, burden'. However, it could be a variant spelling of *facem* 'torch'; the version in Colgan, *Triadis*, has *falcem* 'sickle'.

The parallels between this and sections I and II of *SAC* are clear, but there has been some disagreement among scholars as to the relative dating of *SAC* and Jocelin's *Life of Patrick*, and indeed that of *SAC* and *LCS*. As our poem is an expansion of *LCS*, it must post-date *Lebor na cert*, so it is worth briefly summarizing previous opinions on its date.

Myles Dillon argued that the pre-eminence of Cashel shows that *Lebor na cert* 'was compiled after Brian Bóramha became king of Ireland', and that the linguistic evidence is consistent 'with a date in the latter half of the eleventh century'.⁴⁵ He cited two pieces of internal evidence in support of this: a reference to Tulach Óc as the inaugural site of the Northern Uí Néill kings (not earlier than 1035x1050), and the use of the title *rí Temrach* of the king of Mide rather than of the king of Ireland.⁴⁶ F.J. Byrne, in his review of Dillon's edition, suggested that the depiction of the Uí Briúin Bréifne and the Conmaicne Maige Réin as subject to the king of the Ulaid 'reflects the situation of A.D. 1084'.⁴⁷ Anthony Candon proposed that *Lebor na cert* was 'written during the reign of Muirchertach Ua Briain, and probably, indeed, written specifically for the synod of Cashel in 1101 by an Ua Briain partisan', arguing this on the basis of the primacy given in the text to the king of Munster.⁴⁸ By contrast, David Dumville gave a date range of 1101x1152 for *LCS*, setting it in the context of ecclesiastical reform beginning with the Synod of Cashel in 1101 and Armagh's claims to jurisdiction over Dublin, not finally resolved until the Synod of Kells-Mellifont in 1152.⁴⁹

Although the possibility of our poem deriving from Jocelin's *Life* has not specifically been proposed, Dillon and Joseph Szövérfy both suggested that *LCS* derived from Jocelin.⁵⁰ Szövérfy took the Dublin-Armagh conflict reflected in *LCS* to be one belonging to the immediate post-Norman period. Szövérfy also took the story of the origin of the name Dublin (*Gründungssage*) as being foreign in type in nature and origin, when in fact it is very close to that in the *dindsenchas*. In any case, such a dating would require treating *LCS* as entirely separate from the rest of *Lebor na cert*, when in fact it is an integral part of it, and Dillon's suggestion is entirely at variance with his dating of the text as a whole. It is, as noted above, the second

45 'On the date and authorship of the *Book of rights*', *Celtica*, 4 (1958), 239-49 at 240, 246.
 46 *Ibid.*, 246-7. 47 *StH*, 5 (1965), 155-8 at 158. Cf. *idem*, 'The trembling sod: Ireland in 1169' in A. Cosgrove (ed.), *A new history of Ireland*, ii (Oxford, 1987), pp 1-42 at p. 14.
 48 'Barefaced effrontery: secular and ecclesiastical politics in early twelfth-century Ireland', *Senchas Ard Mhacha*, 14, ii (1991), 1-25 at 12, 14-17. 49 'St Patrick and the Scandinavians', pp 259-64. Donnchadh Ó Corráin has suggested the narrow date range c.1121 x c.1129 in 'Ireland, Wales, Man and the Hebrides' in P. Sawyer (ed.), *The Oxford illustrated history of the Vikings* (Oxford, 1997), pp 83-190 at pp 107-8 (with translation of a few stanzas provided), but this is disputed by Holland, 'Dublin', 134-40, who favours an earlier date. 50 *Lebor na cert*, p. 117 n. 2; Joseph Szoverffy [sic], 'The Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland and St Patrick: Dublin and Armagh in Jocelin's *Life of St Patrick*', *Repertorium Novum*, 2 (1958-60), 6-16.

account in Jocelin's Life which bears the closest relationship with our poem, and there are two strong arguments for also rejecting this as a possible source for it. The first is that since it is an alternative version of a previous episode, it is *per se* unlikely that it would have been added by Jocelin. If Jocelin had invented the story of Patrick converting the Vikings of Dublin, he surely would have provided one version, not two. The second is the clear misgivings expressed by Jocelin at the beginning of chapter 99, noted by Birkett who concludes that 'the evidence strongly indicates that Jocelin was recording a contemporary tradition which has its root in an earlier Irish narrative'.⁵¹ Accordingly, we take the view that Jocelin's source was either *SAC* or a text very close to it. This gives us a broad date range of c.1100-1180: later than *Lebor na cert*, but earlier than Jocelin's Life. At present, the evidence allows us no more certainty than that.

EDITION

The text is normalized to conform broadly with Middle Irish spelling conventions. Thus MS *ea* before a broad consonant > *e*, *bh*, *dh*, *gh*, *mh* > *b*, *d*, *g*, *m*, etc. The distinction between lenited *d* and *g*, confused in the MS, is restored, for example, *robaigeadh* > *ro báided*, 7b. The letters *c*, *p*, *t* are used for the sounds /g/, /b/, /d/ after vowels, but are not standardized after consonants; thus, for example, MS *sleactfaidid* > *sléchtfaitit*, 42b, but MS *gebhdaid* > *gébdaít*, 34a. In the case of *nn* vs. *nd*, as these are interchangeable in manuscripts of the Middle Irish period, we follow the MS throughout, rather than standardizing to *nn*.

The use of the hyphen is kept to a minimum, i.e., after nasalizing *n*-before vowels, before enclitics (e.g., *duit-siu*, *in déide-sin*), and after the pretonic preverb in deuterotonic verbal forms, but not after preverbal particles such as *do*, *ro* and *no*; thus, for example, *do-beir*, 43a vs. *Do hidbrad*, 11a, *ro-sia*, 33b vs. *ro leth*, 44b, *nos scérah*, 21b.

The language of the poem points to a twelfth-century date, as, for example, can be seen from the verbal system which we present here.

Present Indicative: 3sg. *dibaid* 34c, *dligid* 12ac, *sceinnid* 43b, *sloindid* 45b, *Do-beir* 43a, *do-ní* 43c. **Relative:** *derscnaiges* 28a, *nos ainic* 42c, *fo-geib* 42d, *thic* 14a. **Dependent** *ní geib* 25d. **Passive** *dlegar* 14c 15c 30c. **Relative** *dlegar* 26a 31ac.

⁵¹ Birkett, *Saints' Lives*, pp 46-7. Birkett discusses the possibility that Jocelin's reference to a book by Benignus may indicate that he had access to a copy of *Lebor na cert* (ibid., pp 36-7), but this may refer to a book containing *SAC* or a related text. Given the position of Furness, with its multicultural surroundings and links to its Manx daughter-house at Rushen, we should not discount the idea that Jocelin was able to read and speak Gaelic. He would certainly have had easy access to others who could.

Imperative: 3sg. *sloinded* 7c. 1pl. *insem* 24b.

Present Subjunctive: 1sg. *Dá sléchtar-sa* 42a. 2sg. *Dá nderna* 8a, *co fagba* 41c. 3sg. *Ro airchise* 50a, *co tarta* 51c, *Dia tora* 17a.

Future: 1sg. *sloinnfét-sa* 36c. Dependent *ní chél* 1c 48a, *ní sléchtah* 41d, *nos scérah* 21b. 3sg. relative *i neoch ro-sia* 33b. 3pl. *sléchtfaillit* 8c 42b. Relative *In laithe gébdait* 34a. Dependent *nocho n-éifut* 17c. Passive *airgfider* 16c.

Past: 1sg. *ó tánac* 22a. 3sg. *Luid* 3a, *ro leth* 44b, *amail ro ordaig* 1d, *Ro thaith-béaig* 10a, *i neoch do dlig* 30b, *do gab* 48bd, *Do-luid* 2a 9a, *do-rala* 36a, *do-rat* 46c, *Do-rúacht* 6a, *ruc* 5c, *tuc* 38a. Relative *do scrib* 39bc, *do-rala* 40c 44d, *do-rat* 37c, *ro lá* 50c, *In adaig ráinic* 5a, *núair tháinic* 4b. Dependent *ní chreit* 2d, *diar chreit* 38c, *dár gab* 38f, *nó cor éirig* 9c, *co ráinic* 3c, *ní úair* 40c. 3pl. *Ro tuillset* 46a. Dependent *ní fétatar* 35c. Passive *amail frith* 40b, *ro báided* 7b, *cero báided* 10b, *Do hidbrad* 11a, *do-rónad* 47b, *ro-fes* 33c. Relative *do fácbad* 16a, *do-rónad* 47b. Dependent *diar cuired* 38c.

Substantive Verb: Present Indic. 3 sg. *Atá* 1a 7d 24a 38c 45a 49bce, *mar atá* 24a 36d 39d 50d. 3 pl. *i táit* 21a, *co fuileit* 46d. Rel. *fil* 33d, *fuil* 41b. Consuetudinal Present 3 sg. *co mbi* 28c, *'ca mbi* 51d. Present Subjunctive 3 sg. rel. *bes* 25c, *Céin bes* 27a, *ní rab* 22b. 3 pl. *bet* 35b. Future 3 sg. *biaid* 24c 27c. Rel. *bias* 15a 21d 29b. Past 3 sg. rel. *do bí* 37b, *ro bí* 39a, 3 pl. *ro bátar* 45c. Imperfect 3 sg. *ná bith* 23a. Verbal of necessity *bedte* 36b.

Copula: Present Indic. 3 sg. *is* 5c 7d 22c 23a 31a 33d 38c 40b 45a 49f. Rel. *is* 1b 43d, *nách* 21c 48c. Conjunct *ní* 44d, *Conad hi sin* 47a, *Mása* 41a, *mana* 25c. Present Subjunctive 3 sg. *roba* 25b. Conjunct *cid* 35b. Past 3 sg. *ba mór* 6b. Rel. *Echaid ba hainm* 10d, *doba* 4a. Conjunct *nír* 37c. Future *bud hi* 21c. Conjunct *niba* 29c.

TEXT

Benén do chan in senchas-sa Gall Átha Cliath.

1. Atá sund in senchas seng
is maith le Gallaib Éirenn;
sochar Átha Cliath, ní chél,
amail ro ordaig Benén.
2. Do-luid Pátraic ó Themraig,
húa Deochain in órtheglaig;
d' apstal Bretan 7 Breg
ní chreit Láegaire lámgel.
3. Luid deisel Banba buide
húa Deochain in degduine,
co ráinic dúin na nGall nglan
do chobair chland Mac Miled.

4. Sé doba ri i nÁth Chliath
núair tháinig Pátraic primthriath
Ailpin mac Aiuil fáthaig
do chlaind Domnaill dubáthaig.

5. In adaig ránic Áth Cliath
Pátraic Macha na móriath,
is ann ruc bás in bágach
áenmac Ailpin innárach.

6. Do-rúacht dá fochainn don rig
i n-áenló, ba mór a mbrig:
a mac d' éc aice can on
is a ingen do bádad.

7. Duiblend ingen in rig rúaid
ro báided 'sin lind lánúair;
sloinded in senchas can meing
is de sin atá Dublinn.

8. 'Dá nderna náemdacht annois
a chléirig, ar do chubais,
sléchtfaitit duit 'na degaid
Goill Átha Cliath coirmfledaig'.

9. Do-luid 'na desel fa thri
int apstal is int ardri,
nó cor éirig 'na bethaid
in féndid fial firEchaid.

10. Ro thaithbéoaig Pátraic Breg
in ingen cero báided
ocus in mac, mór in mod,
Echaid ba hainm don úasal.

11. Do hídbrad co sáer ónt slóg
screpall cach fir, uinge d' ór,
screpall cach sróna iar sin,
is uinge d' ór cach áenfir.

12. Dligid lán a síthla trá
d' ublaib cumra as cach garra;
dligid cena dia flaith
corn meda as cach áendabaig.

sing

13. Cír cachá címaire dé,
cúarán cachá sútaire,
escra cach cerda co nglóir,
screpall ó cach monatóir.

14. Cach long cendaig thic tar sál
co Áth Cliath cétach comslán;
dlegar can fochand don chlaind
cochall ó cach stiurasluing.

15. Fat gairit bías i nÁth Chliath
ap Ard Macha na móriath
dlegar do Gallaib can fell
a bíathad uile ar timchell.

16. Trí huingi do fácbad thall
don cháin i ngarrdaib na nGall:
airgfider fa thrí Áth Cliath
la Gaídelaib na ngelsciath.

17. 'Dia tora lib cach bliadain
in cháin dam-sa co Liamain,
nocho n-étfat fir thalman
bar ndún-si do thrénfaglad.

18. Búaid ríg caidchi i nÁth Chliath cain,
búaid nd-amais is búaid n-óclaig,
búaid cádaís ara cellaib,
búaid n-árais is n-imchennaig.

19. Búaid fora Gallaib glana,
búaid n-áille ara ingena,
búaid snáma ar macaib a mban,
búaid coicaid is búaid comram.

20. Búaid cluiche cach tráth nóna,
búaid corma, búaid comóla,
búaid étaig cach datha trá,
búaid catha, búaid comrama.

21. In dún i táit co dreman
nos scérab re dubDeman;
bud hí in tres teine nách timm
bías fo dered i nnÉirind.

22. In dún ó tánac atúaid,
ní rab ara rí robúaid;
is mór crannacht a chraide,
mo mallacht ar Láegaire'.

23. Is dé sin ná bith síd Gall
fri rí Midí na mórland,
etir Temair is Liamain
oc debaid cach áenbliadain.

24. Atá sund senchas Áth Clíath,
insem daib ar cend a fiach;
biaid i lebraib co bráth bras
mar atá sund in senchas.

25. Sacart do beith i nÁth Chliath,
i Cill Phátraic roba liach,
mana Dún dá Lethglas bes;
ní geib a rí féin díles.

26. Déide dlegar i nÁth Chliath
ó ré Pátraic na móriath:
escop a hArd Macha mas,
sacart ó Dún dá Lethglas.

27. Céin bes in déide-sin and,
i rigdún Gaidel is Gall,
biaid mes fora fedaib
ocus iasc 'na n-indberaib.

28. ÁenGall derscnaiges do chách
for ágbáig is' dún co bráth,
co mbí format a rí ris
a los meda maith milis.

29. Briathar Phátraic la cend nGall.
bias i nÁth Chliath na comland:
níba tacha dóib co bráth
sróll ná síta ná sinnáth.

30. Cach Gall i nÉirind co becht,
i neoch do dlig cendaigecht,
dlegar cís is cáin úad dé
do muintir in rigdúine.

ssing

31. Is é cís dlegar can meing
do breith úaithib co Duibhind:
marclach bracha dlegar dé,
ocus lethmarclach saille.

32. Dá marclach connaig can ail,
conna furthain do choindlib
do Gallaib in dúin co tend
ó Gallaib cennaig Éirend.

33. Cach dechmad marclach díb sin,
i neoch ro-sía do Gallaib,
a mbeith do Phátraic ro-fes,
is ed fil isint senchas.

34. In laithe gébdait na Goill
im cháin Pátraic meic Arploind
díbaid flaithius as cach mud
a mes is a murthorad.

35. Na filid-se Indse Fáil
cid uile bet im áendáil
ní fetatar ar bith bán
cá cenél fa dé in cliatháth.

36. Úair is and do-rala im lis
nocho bedte 'na anfis;
sloindfet-sa dáib scél can ail
mar atá i Saltair Chaisil.

37. Trí fichit gafid rossa
do bí i teglach Áengusa
do-rat Áengus, nír breth cam,
do rí in dúin do Domnall.

38. Íar sin tuc Domnall dāmach
dā hū Ailpín imnárach;
is dé seo atá Áth Cliath
ó ré Ailpín na móríath,
díar cuiread in chliath, díar chreit,
dár gab fo <..> Pátraic.

39. Gilla ro bí ac Pátraic bíl
do scríb i Saltair Caisil;
lám Benéoin do scríb can ches
mar atá sund in senchas.

40. Senchas na tiprat can díth
is mebair lem amail frith;
caillech do-rala isin tráig
do mac Arploind 'na chomdail;
ní úair usce in chaillech dé
acht lán a cúaid dont saíle.

41. 'Mása thusa in Táilgenn tend
fuil ac bennachad Éirend.
co fagba dam usce nglé
ní sléchtad dot soscéle.

42. 'Dá sléchtar-sa duit-siu dé,
sléchtfaitit Gaill in dúine;
a fír nos ainic cach broit
fo-geib dam uisce a Phátraic'.

43. Do-beir los na bachla is' tráig,
sceinnid in sruth 'na chomdail;
do-ní tipra and can meing
is mó fognam i nÉirind.

44. Tipra Phátraic i nÁth Chliath
ro leth a hainm tar cach n-iath;
súaire a huisce, saer a blas,
ní saeb do-rala in senchas.

45. Is dé atá Cell Mac nÁeda,
sloindid in senchas saerda:
meic Áeda ro bátar and
meic Bric meic Echach na cland
meic Ailpín meic Aíuil úair
meic Domnaill dámaig drechrúaid.

46. Ro tuillset bennacht na meic,
taidecht fo chreitem Pátraic;
do-rat Pátraic iat iar dain
co fuilet ina náemaib.

47. Conad hí sin céthell chain
do-rónad isin dún-sin,
ocus Cell Phátraic co mblad,
isinn áenló do-rónad.

48. Leth andes don dún, ní chél,
do gab Máel Rúain is Michél;
leth atúaid don dún nách gand
do gab Caindech is Comgall.

sing

49. Ar certlár Átha Cliath cain
 atá Cell Phóil is Petair;
 atá can tríst imma lé
 Cell Christ ocus Cell Muire;
 atá cell oile 'sin dún
 is Cell Brigte can mírún.

50. Ro airchise Críst can chrád
 do Chormac mac Cuilennán,
 i Saltair Caisil ro lá
 senchas in dúin mar atá. Atá sunn.

51. A Brigit i Liphe Luirc,
 a Cholaim Chille, a Phátraic,
 co tarta ar nem míadach mas
 cach duine 'ca mbí in senchas.

Atá sund in senchas seng.

TRANSLATION

It is Benén who sang this history of the Foreigners of Dublin.

1. Here is the graceful history which is pleasing to the Foreigners of Ireland; the revenue of Dublin, I will not conceal it, as Benén ordained it.
2. Patrick, the grandson of the Deacon of the golden household, came from Tara; bright-handed Láegaire did not accept the faith from the apostle of the Britons and of Brega.
3. The grandson of the Deacon, the goodly man, went sunwise around radiant Ireland, until he reached the city of the bright Foreigners, to give assistance to the descendants of the sons of Míl.
4. The man who was king in Dublin, when Patrick the pre-eminent lord came, was Ailpín son of sagacious Aéol of the family of Domnall of the black ford.
5. On the night when Patrick of Macha of the great lands reached Dublin resolute death carried off the noble only son of Ailpín.
6. Two tribulations were visited on the king on a single day, great was their force: having his son without blemish die, and his daughter drown.

7. Duiblenn, the daughter of the ruddy king, was drowned in the entirely cold pool; let history without deceit declare, it is from that that Dublin is named.
8. 'If you perform an act of sainthood now, o cleric, by your conscience, the ale-feasting Foreigners of Dublin will submit to you afterwards'.
9. The apostle and the high-king made three circuits sunwise, so that the generous warrior, true Echaid, arose alive.
10. Patrick of Brega restored the daughter to life, although she was drowned, and the son, great the work; Echaid was the name of the noble man.
11. There were granted freely by the host a scruple for each man, an ounce of gold, a scruple for each nose then, and an ounce of gold for every single man.
12. It owes indeed the fill of his pail of fragrant apples from every garden, it owes besides to its lord a goblet of mead from every single vat.
13. A comb for every combmaker, then, a shoe for every shoemaker, a pitcher for every splendid artisan, a scruple from every moneyer.
14. Every merchant vessel which comes across the sea to populous, teeming Dublin; there is due without dispute from the crew a cowl from every cargo ship.
15. Whether for a long or a short time the abbot of Armagh of the great lands will be in Dublin, the Foreigners without treachery are all in turn obliged to provide refection for him.
16. Three ounces of the tribute were left inside in the gardens of the Foreigners: Dublin will be thrice plundered by the Gaidil of the bright shields.
17. 'If you have the tribute come to me at Liamain every year, the men of the world will not be able to powerfully despoil your city.
18. Supremacy for the king for ever in fair Dublin, supremacy for the mercenary, and supremacy for the warrior, supremacy of reverence on its churches, supremacy for dwelling-place and for commerce.
19. Supremacy on its bright Foreigners, supremacy of beauty on its girls, supremacy of swimming on the sons of their women, supremacy in war, and supremacy in conflicts.
20. Supremacy in games every afternoon, supremacy in ale-drinking, supremacy in carousing, supremacy of clothing of every hue, indeed, supremacy in battle, supremacy in conflict.

21. The city in which they fiercely are, I will deliver it from the the black Demon; that will be [the occasion of] the third unyielding fire, which will be at the end in Ireland.
22. The city to the north from which I have come, may its king not have great success; great is the stiffness of his heart, my curse on Láegaire'.
23. As a result of that the Foreigners used to give no peace to the king of Meath of the great blades, fighting every single year between Tara and Liamain.
24. Here is the history of Dublin, let us tell to you in return for its reward; the history as it is here will be in books for ever.
25. It would be grievous for a priest to be in Dublin in the Church of Patrick, unless he is from Downpatrick; its own king does not accept [him] as proper.
26. Two things are required in Dublin since the time of Patrick of the great lands: a bishop from fine Armagh, a priest from Downpatrick.
27. As long as those two things are there, in the royal city of Gaídil and Foreigners, there will be mast on its trees, and fish in its estuaries,
28. [There will be] a single Foreigner who surpasses everyone else in battling contention in the city for ever, so that their kings will be envious of him on account of good sweet mead.
29. The assurance of Patrick to the head of the Foreigners who will be in Dublin of the conflicts [is]: they will never want for satin, silk or sendal.
30. Assuredly every Foreigner in Ireland, wherever he was entitled to trade; tax and tribute is owed by him, then, to the people of the royal city.
31. The tax which is required without deceit to be brought from them to Dublin is a packhorse-load of malt which is required, then, and half a packhorse-load of salt meat.
32. Two packhorse-loads of firewood without fault, with their sufficiency of candles for the Foreigners of the city firmly from the trading Foreigners of Ireland.
33. Every tenth packhorse-load of those, wherever it will come to the Foreigners, they are to be for Patrick, it is known, it is that which is in the history.

34. The day when the Foreigners will refuse the tribute of Patrick son of Calpurnius, there will perish sovereignty, in all regards, their mast and their sea-produce.
35. These poets of the island of Ireland, though they all be together beside me, do not know at all of what kind the hurdle-ford was.
36. Since it has happened to be in my abode, one should not remain ignorant of it; I will declare to them a tale without fault as it is in the Psalter of Cashel.
37. Three score timber spear-shafts which were in the household of Áengus, Áengus gave, it was no crooked decision, to the king of the city, Domnall.
38. Then Domnall of the retinues gave [them] to his noble grandson Ailpín; as a result Áth Cliath is so named since the time of Ailpín of the great lands, when the hurdle was laid down, when he believed, when he ...
39. A servant who was with fine Patrick wrote in the Psalter of Cashel; it is the hand of Benén which wrote, without doubt, the history as it is here.
40. The history of the well without fail, I remember how it was found; an old woman happened to meet the son of Calpurnius on the strand; the old woman had got no water then, only the fill of her mug of brine.
41. 'If you are the sturdy Adzehead who is blessing Ireland; until you get for me fresh water I will not submit to your Gospel.
42. If I submit to you then, the Foreigners of the city will submit; o man who takes care of every tribulation, who gets water for me, o Patrick'.
43. He puts the butt of the crozier into the strand; the stream gushes towards him; he makes a well there without deceit, which is of the greatest service in Ireland.
44. The well of Patrick in Dublin, its name has spread over every land, its water is pleasant, its taste is noble, the history does not happen to be misleading.
45. The reason why Cell Mac nÁeda is so called, the noble history declares [it], is because in it were the sons of Áed, son of Brec, son of Echaid, with numerous descendants, son of Ailpín, son of cold Aéol, son of ruddy-faced Domnall of the retinues.
46. The sons merited a blessing – to come under the faith of Patrick; Patrick brought it about afterwards that they are saints.

sing

47. So that that is the first fair church which was founded in Dublin, together with the renowned Church of Patrick; on the same day it was founded.
48. To the south of the city, I will not conceal it, Máel Rúain and Michael settled; to the north of the city which is not meagre, Cainnech and Comgall settled.
49. Right in the middle of fair Dublin is the Church of Paul and Peter; along with it are, without sorrow, Christchurch and St Mary's; there is [yet] another church in the city – it is the Church of Brigit without malice.
50. May Christ without destruction have pity on Cormac mac Cuilennáin, who has entered in the Psalter of Cashel the history of the city as it is.
51. O Brigit in Liphe of Lorc, o Colum Cille, o Patrick, may the history bring to noble fine heaven every person who knows it.

Here is the graceful history.

NOTES

- 3c *dún*: This clearly means 'city' in our text; cf. *DIL* s.v. at col. 449.53, and John Maas, 'Longphort, *dún*, and *dúnad* in the Irish annals of the Viking period', *Peritia*, 20 (2008), 257–75.
- n*glan*: In the corresponding verse 3 in *LCS* Dillon reads *ngeal* against the majority of the MSS, which have *nglan*. Dillon regarded the latter as a 'bad rhyme', but for this kind of rhyme in Old and Middle Irish verse cf. Liam Breatnach, 'Cinnus atá do thinnrem: a poem to Máel Brigte on his coming of age', *Ériu*, 58 (2008), 1–35 at 7.
- 3d *do chobair chland Mac Miled*: We understand this as meaning that Patrick is assisting the Gaelic Irish by converting the Foreigners of Dublin to Christianity.
- 4ab: The key word in this revision of *Is hé ba rí a nÁth Chliath chruaid / dia támic Pádraic atuaid* in *LCS* is *primthriath*, which provides a further allusion to the primacy of Armagh.
- 4c *fáthaig*: The MS has *athaigh*. As Donnchadh Ó Corráin points out to us, rhyming a word with itself, even as the second element of a compound, is unacceptable; accordingly we take it that the MS form represents the masc. gsg. of *fáthach* with the lenited *f* omitted.
- 4d *dubáthaig*: The *LCS* version has *Dubdámaig*, while our poem has a similar epithet in *Domnall dāmach*, 38a, and *meic Domnaill dámaig*, 45f. The reading here, however, is not to be taken as an error, but rather as occasioned by the author's concern with representing Dublinn and Áth Cliath as one (see above, p. 30), in that he brings together one element each from the placenames *Dublinn* and *Áth Cliath*.
- 5c *bás in bágach*: For the use of the article cf. *GOI* §472, and compare *Basilla in búadach*, *Fél.* June 11 (similarly Aug. 2, June 11).

6a dá fochainn: See *DIL* s.v. *fochann* which notes the later by-form *fochain(n)*; the MS form *fochaing* shows confusion of unstressed *nn* and *ng*, for which see T.F. O'Rahilly, *Irish dialects past and present* (Dublin, 1972; with new indexes by Brian Ó Cuiv), pp 184, 270.

7a Duiblend: The MS has *Duiblend*, with *lenn* 'cloak' as the second element. A principle in the methodology of *dindsenchas* seems to have been that a placename should be connected with the name of a person, even in cases where one might think that the elements of a placename are obvious, as in *Dublinn*, with *dub* 'black (or dark)' and *linn* 'pool'. When we consider that the prose *dindsenchas* of *Dublinn* (LL 21144) derives the placename from a woman called *Dub ingen Roduib* ('Dark daughter of Very Dark; the metrical *dindsenchas*, MD iii, p. 94, uses only *ingen Roduib*), we may conclude that the differentiated form of the personal name is deliberate.

7cd can meing (: *Dublinn*): The MS has *gan mheing* and *dub* with a suspension-stroke. Compare *can meing*: *nÉirinn*, 43cd, where the MS has *gan meang* and *ancirind*.

12a lán a síthla: The MS reading, *lan ashila*, cannot stand. There is no evidence for *u*-stem inflection of *síl*, and the regular *o*-stem gsg. *síl* would leave the line a syllable short. In any case 'the full amount of its seed' makes little sense. We adopt the emendation proposed by Caoimhín Breatnach, namely to read the gsg. of *síthal* 'bucket, pail', which makes excellent sense, and take the possessive to refer to *flaith* in 12c.

12b d' ublaib cumra: For the distinction between *ubull cumra* and *ubull fiadain*, see Fergus Kelly, *Early Irish farming: a study based mainly on the lám-texts of the 7th and 8th centuries AD*, Early Irish Law Series 4 (Dublin, 1997), pp 259–61, 306–7.

13a dé: Also in 30c, 31c, 40c, 42a. See *DIL* 'D' 153, R.A. Breatnach, 'Some Welsh and Irish adverbial formations', *Celtica*, 3 (1956), 332–7 at 334, and Liam Breatnach, 'On words ending in a stressed vowel in Early Irish', *Ériu*, 53 (2003), 133–42 at 135.

13c cach cerda: Although the disyllabic form is required in the preceding two lines, here MS *gacha cearda* must be emended to *cach* for a heptasyllabic line.

13d monatóir: The three examples cited in *DIL* s.v. *monatóir* from *PH* are all from the homily *Domnach na hImríne*, with the meaning 'money-changer', and all render forms of Latin *numularius* (at LB 40b1, 41b60 and 42b46). The context here (the preceding three persons manufacture things) points to a wider meaning, to include one not only one who changes money, but also one who makes coins.

14b cétach comslán: Lit. 'hundredfold, complete'.

14c don chlaind: This has to mean more than 'family'; with our translation 'crew' compare the example translated 'band' at *DIL* 'C' 217.64.

14d cochall ó cach stiurastuing: MS *cochall gacha stiurastuing* cannot stand. A distributive genitive, as in lines 1–3 of verse 13, would require emending the final word to *stiurastuinge*, and even if we read *cach* for the preceding word in order to get 7 syllables, this would not rhyme. The solution adopted here is to emend *gacha* to *ó cach*, giving a phrase parallel to that in verse 13d. There is no entry for *stiurastuing* in *DIL*, and the instance in our poem is the only one so far attested. The meaning however is fairly clear; the second element has to be *long* 'ship' etc. and the first the same as in the comparatively well attested *stiurasmann* 'steersman, helmsman', a borrowing from Old Norse. While the literal meaning of the compound would be 'ruddered vessel', in our translation we follow a suggestion from Donnchadh Ó Corráin, who notes that 'laden merchantmen had to be piloted into port and to dock – unlike warships', and refers to the words of Jocelin's version *de singulis nauibus mercimonialibus*, on p. 33 above.

15a Fat gairit: MS *Fagairid* is clearly corrupt; the proposed emendation is a minimal one and makes good sense.

- 15b ap Ard Macha: For the non-inflexion of the first element in a name cf. *a Bretnaib Ail Cluade*, *Thes.* ii, p. 309.18, and *i tūascert Dál Araide*, *ibid.* p. 25 (in Middle Irish commentary on the *Liber hymnorum*), and *senchas Áth Cliath*, 24a below.
- 16: Dillon, in a note on the corresponding *LCS* §10, states: 'The meaning of this quatrain is obscure to me. It appears in all four MSS. It seems to refer to a story that part of the offering to Patrick and his companion was withheld'. The only significant difference between *LCS* §10 and the version here is that our text has the future *airgfider*, where *LCS* has present *airther*. This certainly does not make it any less obscure.
- 17b dam-sa co Liamain: Lit. 'to me as far as Liamain'. The MS has *guliámhain*, whereas the corresponding *LCS* §11 has *ó Liamain*.
- 18b búaid nd-amais: For the spelling of the nasalization here and in 21d, see Liam Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', in K. McCone, D. McManus, C. Ó Háinle, N. Williams and L. Breatnach (eds), *Stair na Gaeilge in ómós do Pádraig Ó Fiannachta* (Maynooth, 1994), pp 221-333 at p. 238 §4.10.
- 18d n-imchennaig: *LCS* §15d has *naimchendaig* 'sacred heights'. Not only is the translation highly dubious, but the reading *naimchendaig* is found in only one of the three MSS used by Dillon in which the verse appears, namely BLec. 201va27; the other two, BLis. 104vb1 and BB 279b43, agree with our poem.
- 19a glana: In the corresponding verse 13 in *LCS*, Dillon again reads *geala* against *glana* in the majority of the MSS; see note on 3c above.
- 20c cach datha: MS *gacha datha* gives a hypermetrical line.
- 21b nos scérab: MS *nosgerab*; the prefixed *no* indicates that the form must contain an infixed pronoun. For the combination of long-é stem and *f*-future ending in *scérab*, cf. Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 282 §11.15.
- 21c in tres teine: Note MS *tine*. Dillon translates the corresponding *LCS* §12cd as 'one of the three last surviving hearths in Ireland', without comment. Apart from the fact that 'hearth' would be appropriate only to a single household, there is the matter of the qualifying *nách timm*. These issues can in our view be resolved by taking *teine* in its literal sense, and *nách timm* 'unyielding', as the equivalent of *búadach* 'victorious' and understanding the whole as a reflection of the idea of the three victories of fire, as expressed for instance in *Dic mihi tres uictorias ignis. Prima uictoria, in qua apparuit spiritus sanctus; secunda, quae eleuauit Eliam; tertia, quae comburit peccatores et terram in die iudicii* 'Tell me the three victories of fire. The first victory, in which it appeared as the Holy Spirit; the second, which raised up Elias; the third, which burns sinners and the earth on the Day of Judgement': Martha Bayless and Michael Lapidge (ed. and trans.), *Collectanea Pseudo-Beda*, SLH 14 (Dublin, 1998), pp 130-1 (with further references in the notes). In other words, the text is presenting Patrick as saving the people of Dublin from eternal fire on the Day of Judgement.
- 23: This would appear to be a justification for attacks by the Dubliners on Mide. Contrast v. 16.
- 23c etir Temair is Liamain: The MS has *etir Liemain is Liamain*, which clearly cannot be right. Our emendation follows the corresponding verse 17 of *LCS* which has *itir Theamair is Liamain* in the third line.
- 24a senchas Áth Cliath: The MS has *seancas ath cliath*; see note on 15b. The only way to fit in the genitive form would be to emend to *Tá sund senchas Átha Cliath* (for the occasional elision of the first vowel of *atá* see Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 323 §12.190), but this seems excessive.

- 24b insem:** For examples of the rare (and late?) syncope of the second vowel of forms of *innisid* see Gerard Murphy, *Duanaire Finn* iii, ITS 43 (Dublin, 1953), p. 284. One could, however, restore *innisem* and have a heptasyllabic line by omitting the *a* before *fiach*.
- 25b i Cill:** The MS has *agill*. Similarly *burrthain* 32b, *iardain* 46c, and *go dardar* 51c. For comparable spellings of nasalized words in Middle Irish manuscripts, see Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 238 §4.10.
- 26cd:** Cf. Holland, 'Dublin', p. 156 n. 202.
- 27c biaid:** Note that this scans as a disyllable. The hiatus in *Ainil*, 4c, 45e, is a different matter, as the second syllable is a long diphthong; Liam Breatnach intends to address this issue further in a forthcoming note.
- 28a ÁenGall:** That is, the ruler ('head of the Foreigners') referred to in 29a.
- 28c format a rig:** 'their kings' probably refers to *Gaidel is Gall* (gpl.) in 27b.
- 28d meda:** That is, the mead of sovereignty.
- 29d sinnáth:** *DIL*, s.v. *sinnáth*.
- 30b i neoch:** MS *ineach*; in the case of the next occurrence of this conjunction (cf. *DIL* s.v. *nech* at col. 19.40), in 33b, the MS has *ineach*.
- 32b cona furthain:** MS *gunburrthain*. We emend *gun* to *cona* (for syllable count and sense) and adopt the suggestion by Ruairi Ó hUiginn that the spelling *burrthain* represents a nasalized *furthain* (*DIL* s.v. *furthain*); see the note on *i Cill*, 25b above.
- 34c díbaid:** Cf. the note in Brian Ó Cuiv, 'Two items from Irish apocryphal tradition', *Celtica*, 10 (1973), 87-113 at 101 v. 16b: 'Although the coming of Antichrist belongs to the future the present tense is used in referring to him here and in most of the following quatrains'.
- as cach mud:** Cf. *as cach mud* 'in all regards': *MD* iv, p. 286.45.
- 35c ar bith bán:** For this expression, see Breatnach, 'Cinnus', p. 29.
- 35d:** As MS *cacinel fadim cliathsa* lacks end-rhyme, it is clearly corrupt. The proposed emendation is tentative. For the spelling *cinel*, cf. MS *fine*, 21c; and for the possibility of a compound *cliatháth* compare, for example, *ar Femenmaig*, *MD* iii, p. 202.32, beside *Mag Femen* (*ibid.*, l. 40).
- 36a is and:** MS *isand* is clearly an error for *is and*, which anticipates *im lis*. Cf. Cecile O'Rahilly, 'Varia: 2. is ann : is amlaid', *Celtica*, 12 (1977), 188-91.
- do-rála:** That is, the poet has access to a copy of *Saltair Chaisil* (line d), taking this to be the referent of the subject pronoun of *do-rála*.
- 36b bedte:** Verbal of necessity of *atá*, which could also be spelled *be(i)thte*, or, phonetically, *be(i)tte*.
- 36d i Saltair Chaisil** Also mentioned in 30b and 50c. See Pádraig Ó Riain, 'The Psalter of Cashel: a provisional list of contents', *Éigse*, 23 (1989), 107-30, and Bart Jaski, 'The genealogical section of the Psalter of Cashel', *Peritia*, 17/18 (2003-4), 295-337.
- 37a Tri fichit gafid rossa:** A compound of *gac* and *fid*; for *fid* in the sense 'shaft', see *DIL* s.v. at col. 126.17. For another example of a *u*-stem gen. sg. of the word registered in *DIL* s.v. *i ros* 'wood, timber', see Roisin McLaughlin, *Early Irish satire* (Dublin, 2008), p. 148 no. 39.
- 37d dúin:** To get a heptasyllabic line, MS *dúne* must be emended to the alternative *u*-stem genitive.
- 38f:** About five letters are illegible (the final one perhaps a *b*), and it is not at all obvious what they might be.

- 40: The well in question here is probably that which was near St Patrick's Cathedral; see Gary Branigan, *Ancient and holy wells of Dublin* (Dublin, 2012), p. 83.
- 40c caillech: Compare *in domo cuiusdam matrisfamilias*, at the beginning of ch. 70 of Jocelin's Life.
- 40d 'na chomdáiil: MS *na comdail* lacks the required lenition here and in 43b.
- 40f acht lán a cúaid: MS *achlan a chuaid*, where the lenition of the last word is odd. For other examples of *ach* for *acht* in the Book of Ui Maine, see the note in Ó Cuív, 'Two items', p. 102 v. 26d.
- 41d sléchtab: The MS has *shlechtadh*; we emend to a 1sg. future form, which is required by the context, taking the final *dh* as perhaps an instance of confusion of lenited *b* and *d*, for which see Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 235 §3.19.
- 42: This partly duplicates verse 8.
- 42c nos ainic: See Tomás Ó Máille, 'Some cases of de-lenition in Irish', *ZCP*, 9 (1913), 341–52 at 345, for the development of the lenited *g* in Old Irish *aingid* to *c* in the later language.
- 45: For comments on some of the churches listed in this and the following verses, see Howard B. Clarke, 'Conversion, church and cathedral: the diocese of Dublin to 1152', in J. Kelly and D. Keogh (eds), *History of the Catholic diocese of Dublin* (Dublin, 2000), pp 19–50 at pp 45–7; idem, 'Christian cults and cult-centres in Hiberno-Norse Dublin and its hinterland', in A. Mac Shamhráin (ed.), *The island of St Patrick: church and ruling dynasties in Fingal and Meath, 400–1148* (Dublin, 2004), pp 140–58; and idem, 'Cult, church and collegiate church before c.1200', in J. Crawford and R. Gillespie (eds), *St Patrick's Cathedral: a history* (Dublin, 2009), pp 23–44 at pp 30–3.
- 45a Cell Mac nÁeda: Given the setting of the poem as a whole, it seems pointless to worry about the presentation of the sons of Áed as contemporaneous with Patrick and at the same time as the grandsons of the boy whom he raised from the dead. There may, however, be some basis to the statement in v. 47 that the church in question was the first established in Dublin, and here we may note the comments in Clarke, 'Conversion', p. 24: 'Reputedly the oldest church site in the city centre is St Audoen's (Church of Ireland) and its location in Cornmarket, at the hub of a whole network of roads, laneways and property boundaries, would support this belief despite the lack of archaeological confirmation. The dedication to St Ouen (latinized as Audoenus), who died in 684, is probably of much later date, while the hypothesis attributed to Aubrey Gwynn that this church was previously dedicated to St Colum Cille (Columba) has been dismissed' (see also Clarke, 'Christian cults', pp 154–7). Certainly the rough phonetic similarity between Áed and the first syllable of Audoenus makes a church named after *meic Áeda* a much more likely candidate for re-dedication than one named after Colum Cille.
- 46cd do-rat Pátraic íat ... co fuilet: For the syntax, cf. M.A. O'Brien, 'Two passages in Serglige Con Culaind', *Celtica*, 2 (1954), 346–9 at 348–9, to which can be added *do-ruménair curpu na esērgi comtis sēmū , comtis fōiliū indās aēr nō gáeth*, LU (H) 2627 (*Scēla Láí Brátha*).
- 47b dún-sin: The MS has *duns* followed by no more than two illegible letters; syntax and rhyme indicated that these must be *in*, written either as two letters or as *i* with an *n*-stroke.
- 47c Cell Phátraic: In the vicinity of the present St Patrick's Cathedral; see Clarke, 'Cult', pp 30–3.
- 48b Máel Rúain: The well-known founder of the church of Tallaght (†792 AU).
- 48b Michél: This must refer to the church later known as St Michael le Pole's; see

- Clarke, 'Conversion', pp 45-6, and idem, 'Christian cults', pp 149-50.
- 48d **Caindech**: This is the church of Finglas, as Colmán Etchingham points out; for its association with Cainnech, cf. *Findglas Camig*, LL 39448; *abb Finglaise Cainnig*, Fé 132.10.
- 48d **Comgall**: Colmán Etchingham suggests that if Mo Chonna is a hypocoristic form of this name, then the church in question will be St Michan's. For the difficulties in identifying Michan, see Emer Purcell, 'Michan: saint, cult and church', in J. Bradley, A.J. Fletcher and A. Simms (eds), *Dublin in the medieval world: studies in honour of Howard B. Clarke* (Dublin, 2009), pp 119-40. It is surely significant, however, that in the Irish Life of Colum Cille, Comgall and Cainnech (as well as Ciarán) are represented as studying together with Mo Bí of Glasnevin: *Celebrais iarum Colum Cille do Finnén 7 luid co Glais Noiden, uair boi coeca ic fúgluimm isin dú sin ic Mo Bii, im Chaindech 7 im Chomgall 7 im Chiarán*; 'Colum Cille then took his leave of Finnén and went to Glas Noiden (Glasnevin), since there were fifty studying in that place with Mo Bii, including Cainnech, Comgall, and Ciarán': Máire Herbert, *Iona, Kells, and Derry: the history and hagiography of the monastic familia of Columba* (Oxford, 1988), pp 228, 255 §29.
- 49b **Cell Phóil is Petair**: See Clarke, 'Conversion', p. 46, and idem, 'Christian cults', p. 149.
- 49d **Cell Muire**: The location specified in the text excludes St Mary's Abbey; Clarke, 'Conversion', p. 46, suggests that it 'may reasonably be identified with the church of St Mary del Dam, due north of the later castle'.
- 49e **'sin dúin**: We emend MS *sa dun* to the expected Middle Irish form.
- 49f **Cell Brigitte**: See Clarke, 'Conversion', pp 46-7, and idem, 'Christian cults', pp 151-2.
- 51a **A Brigit i Liphe Luirc**: The second word is illegible in the MS. The metre requires a disyllable and the context requires the name of a saint. The most prominent saint in the area in question is Brigit, and what makes the restoration virtually certain is the same collocation of saint and place in a line in a poem in the *Bórama*, noted by Clodagh Downey: *a Brigit i Life Luirc*, LL 39228. For the association of the territory of Liphe with Lorc (probably Lóegaire Lorc, but see MD iv, p. 433 n. 15), cf. also *for Life Luirc* and *ar thir Life Luirc* in Kuno Meyer, 'Orthanach úa Coillama cecinit', ZCP, 11 (1917), 107-13, vv 2d and 18b.
- 51c **co tarta ar**: As a passive form will not fit the context MS *go dardar* must be emended to a 3sg. subj. pres. (with *senchas* as the subject) followed by the preposition *ar*.
- 51d **'ca mbí**: The MS has *gam* followed by two illegible letter-spaces. The proposed restoration makes good sense, and it is at least certain that the final letter must be a vowel to allow elision in the following *in*.

PERSONS

- Áengus, 37; Áengusa, 37.
 Ailpín, 5, 38 (2x) Ailpín mac Aíuil, 4, gen. 45.
 Benén, 1; Benéoin, 39.
 Cainnech, 48.
 a Cholaim Chille, 51.
 Comgall, 48.
 do Chormac mac Cuilennán, 50
 Críost, 50.
 re dubDeman, 21.
 Domnall, 38; Domnaill, 4, 45; do Domnall, 37
 Duiblend, 7.
 Echaid, 10; firEchaid, 9; gen. Echach, 45.

Láegaire, 2; ar Láegaire, 22.

Máel Rúain, 48.

Meic Áeda ... meic Bric, 45

Michél, 48.

Pátraic, 2, 4, 10, 26, 29, 33, 38, 39, 42, 46, 46, 51; Pátraic Macha, 5; im cháin Pátraic meic Arploind, 34; do mac Arploind, 40; in Táilgenn 41; húa Deochain, 2, 3.

PLACES

a hArd Macha, 26; ap Ard Macha, 15

Áth Cliath, 5, 16, 38, 14; i nÁth Chliath, 4, 15, 18, 25, 26, 29, 44; gen. Átha Cliath, 1, 8, 49; Áth Cliath, 24.

Banba (gen.), 3.

Breg (gen.), 2, 10

Cell Brigte, 49

Cell Christ, 49

Cell Mac nÁeda, 45

Cell Muire, 49

Cell Phátraic, 47; i Cill Phátraic, 25.

Cell Phóil is Petair, 49

Dublín, 7; co Duiblinn, 31.

Dún dá Lethglas (dat.), 25, 26.

i nÉirind, 21, i nÉirinn, 30, 43; gen. Éirenn, 1, 32, 41.

Inse Fáil (gen.), 35

Liamain (acc.), 17, 23.

i Liphe Luirc, 51.

Midi (gen.), 23

Temair (acc.), 23; ó Themraig, 2.

Tipra Phátraic, 44.

PEOPLES

Bretan (gen. pl.), 2.

Gáidel (gen. pl.), 27; dat. Gáidelaib, 16.

Gaill, 42, Goill, 8, 34; gen. Gall, 16, 23, 27, 29; dat. Gallaib, 1, 15, 19, 33, 32 (x2). As sg.: Gall, 30; ÁenGall, 28.

Mac Míled (gen. pl.), 3.

OTHERS

i Saltair Caisil, 39, 50; i Saltair Chaisil, 36.

MANUSCRIPT TEXT⁵²

Benen dochan in sencasa Gall Ath<.> Cliath.

1. *Ata sund in seancas seang. is maith le gallaib eirenn. sochar atha cliath niceil. amail ro ordaigh benen.*

⁵² All abbreviations are italicized. In cases of illegibility, the number of dots in angle brackets indicates the number of illegible letter spaces.

2. Doluigh padraig oteamraigh .h. deochain inortheglaigh. dabsdal breatan 7 breagh. nicreid lægaire lamhgeal.
3. Luigh deseal banba buigi .h. deochain indegduine. gurainic dun nangall nglan. dacobair cland mac mileadh.
4. (69ra1) Se doba righ anath cliath. nuair thanig padraig primtriath ailpin mac aiuil athaigh doclaind domnaill dubathaigh.
5. IN adaigh ranic ath cliath. padraig macha na moriath. isann rug bas inbadach. ænmac ailpin imnarach.
6. Doruacht dafochaing donrigh. anænlo bamor ambrigh. amac deg aigi ganon. isa ingean dobadhadh.
7. Duibleand ingean inrigh ruaigh. robaigeadh san lind lanuair sloindeagh inseancus gan mheng. isdesin ata dublinn.
8. Da nderna næmhdacht annois. acleirigh arda cubais. slectfaidit duid nadea-gaigh. goill atha cliath coirmfleagaigh.
9. Doluig nadeseal fatri. intabsdal isantardrigh. nogur eirigh nabeataigh. infendigh fial firechaigh.
10. Rothaithbeoaign padraig breagh. iningen gerobaigeadh. 7 inmac. mor inmodh. eochaidh bahainm donuasal.
11. Dohibradh gusær ontslhodh. sgreaball gach fir uingi dhor. sgreabull gacha srona iarsin isuingi dhor gach ænfir.
12. Dligidh lan ashila tra. dublaib cumra asgach garrdha. dligidh ceana diaflaith. cornn meagha asgach ændabaigh.
13. Cir gacha cirmaire dhe. cuaran gacha sudaire. easgra gacha cearda gun-gloir. sgreaball ogach mhonadoir.
14. Gach long ceandaigh thig tar sal. goath cliath cetach comshlan. dleagar gan fhochand donclaind cochall gacha sdiurasluing.
15. Fagairid bias anath cliath. ab ard macha namoriath. dleagar dogallaib ganfeall abiathadh uili artimceall.
16. Tri huingi dofagbadh thall. donchain angarrgaibh nagall. airgfidear fatri hath cliath. lagaidealaibh nangelsgiath.
17. Diatora lib gach bliadain. ancain damsa guliamhain. nocho netfad fir thal-man. bar ndhunsu dothrenfadhladh.
18. Buaigh righ caichi anath cliath. cain. buaigh ndamuis isbuaigh noglaigh. buaigh cadhais araceallaibh. buaigh narais is nimecnaigh.
19. Buaigh foragallaib glana .b. nailli ara ingena. .b. snama armacaibh a mban .b. cogaigh. is .b. comhram.
20. Buaid cluithi gach trath nona .b. corma .b. comola. b. edaigh gacha datha tra .b. catha .b. comhramha.
21. Andun atait gudreaman. nosgerab re dubdeman. budh hi antres tine nach tim. bias fadereadh aneirind.
22. Andun otanag atuaigh. nirab ara righ robuaigh. ismor crannacht acraidi. momallacht arlægaire.

23. IS de sin nabith sidh gall. fri righ midhi namorland. etir liemain is liamain. agdeabaigh gach ænbliadain
24. Ata sund seancas ath cliath. innseam daib ar ceand afiach. biaigh aleabraibh gobrath bras. mar ata sund inseancas.
25. Sagart dobeith anath cliath. agill padraig roba liach. mana dun daleathglas. beas nigebr arig fein dileas.
26. Degi dlegar anath cliath. ore padraig namoriath. easgob ahardmacha mas. sagart odun daleathglas.
27. Gen beas indeginis and. arigh dun gaigeal is gall. biaigh (69b1) meas fora feadhaibh. 7 iasg nanindberaibh.
28. Ængall dearsgnaigis docach foragbaigh isdun gu brath. gumbi formad arigh ris. alos meadha maith milis.
29. Briathar padraig laceand ngall. bias anath cliath. na comland. niba tacha doib gobrath. sroll nasida nasinnath
30. Gach gall aneirind gubeacht. ineach dodligh ceandaidecht. dleagar cis iscain uadh de. domuintir inrighduine.
31. ISe cis dleagar gan meing. dobreith uaithib gu duibblind. marclach bracha dleagar de. 7 leathmarclach saille.
32. Damarchlach connaigh gan ail. gunburrthain docoindlib. dagallaibh induin goteand. ogallaib ceannaigh eirind.
33. Gach deachmadh marclach dibsinn. inech ro sia dogallaibh. ambeith dopadraig rofeas. aseagh fil isin tsheancas.
34. INlaithi gebhdaid nagoill. imcain padraig meic arploind. dibadh flaithius asgach mudh. amear isa murthoradh
35. Nafilidh sea indsi fail. gid uili bed imændail. nifeadadar arbith ban. cacinel fadim cliathsa.
36. Uair isund doralal imlis. nocho bedte na anfis.⁵³ sloindfeadsa daib sgel gan ail. marata asaltir caisil.
37. Tri .xx.it ga fidh rossa dobi teaglach ængusa. dorad ængus nir breath cam. dorigh induine dodomnall.
38. IArsin tug domnall damach. da .h. ailpin imnarach. isde seo ata ath cliath. ore ailpin na moriath. diarcuireadh ancliath diar cred dargab fo <....> padraig.
39. Gilla robi ag padraig bil. dosgrib asaltir caisil. lam beneoin dosgrib gan ceas. mar ata sund inseancas.
40. Seanchas natibrad gan dith. is meabair leam amail frith. cailleach doralal isin traigh. domac arploind nacomdail. ni uair usci incailleach de. achlan a chuaid dontshaile
41. Masa thusa intailgeann teand. fuil agbeannachugh eirind. gufadbha dam usce ngle. ni shlechtadh dat shoscele.

53 So altered by later hand.

42. Daslectarsa duidsiu de. sleactfaidid gaill in duine. afir nos ainic gach broid. fogeib dam usce apadraig.
43. Dobeir los na bachli astraigh. sgeinnigh insruth na comdail. doni tipra and gan meang. ismo fognam aneirind.
44. Tipra padraig anath cliath. roleath ahaimm targach niath. suaire ahusce s  r ablas. nis  b doral   inseancus.
45. ISde ata ceall mac n  da. sloindigh inseancus s  rda. meic   dha robadar and. meic bric meic eachac na cland. meic ailpin meic aidhiuil uair. meic domnaill damaigh dreachruaigh.
46. Rotuillsead beannacht nameic. taigeht focreidem padraig. dorad padraig iad iardain. gufuilead inan  maibh.
47. Gonad hisin cetceall cain. doronadh isin duns<.> 7 ceall padraig gombladh isin n  nlo doronadh
48. Leath andeas dondun nicel. dogab m  lruain ismicel. leath atuaigh dondun nachgand. do gab caindeach iscomgall.
49. Arceartlar atha cliath cain. ata ceall poil is pedair. ata gan trist imale. ceall crist 7 ceall muire. ata ceall oile sa dun. is ceall brigdi gan mirun.
50. Ro aircisi (69Var) crist gancradh. docormac mac cuilennan. asaltair caissil rola. seancus induin marata. Ata .sun.
51. A<.....> aliphi luire acolaim cilli apadraig. go dardar neam miadach mas. gach duine gam<..> inseancus.
- Ata .s. inse. se.