IV.—ON THE BODLEIAN FRAGMENT OF CORMAC'S
GLOSSARY. By WHITLEY STOKES, D.C.L.

[Read December 4, 1891.]

CORMAC'S Glossary is a mediaeval Irish Etymologicum, full of absurd attempts to trace words to their sources, but valuable, partly as explaining many obscure vocables, partly as containing extracts from ancient law-books, whereof some are now lost, and partly as preserving sundry traditions and legends which interest the student of Celtic history, folk-lore and romance. It is ascribed to Cormac, the king-bishop of Cashel, who was slain in battle in the year 903; but its language proves that it was not written much before the eleventh century, when the change from Old- to Early-Middle-Irish had set in.

Two complete copies of this Glossary are known. The elder is in the *Lebar Brecc*, a fourteenth century MS. in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, pp. 263 to 272 of the fac-simile, Dublin, 1876. The younger is in the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, a vellum in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, cols. 3 to 87. This part of the codex was written in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Three fragments also are known, one in the *Book of Leinster*, a vellum of the middle of the twelfth century, p. 179 of the facsimile, Dublin, 1880, another in a Bodleian MS. of the fifteenth century, and a third, containing only the articles *Prull* and *Mug éme*, in ff. 75^a-76^a of Harl. 5280, a vellum in the British Museum. The *Lebar Brecc*

copy and the fragment in the Book of Leinster were published in *Three Irish Glossaries*, London, 1862, and a translation of the former by John O'Donovan was printed in Calcutta, in 1868. The copy in the Yellow Book of Lecan has not yet been printed; but a photographic facsimile of it and the rest of the vellum in which it is contained will be published next year by the Royal Irish Academy, with funds supplied by the British Government. The Bodleian fragment now for the first time appears *in extenso*.¹ It is taken from the MS. marked Laud 610, which has been described by Dr. Todd (*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, ii. 336) and by Dr. O'Donovan (*Book of Rights*, pref. xxviii, xxxiii). This fragment begins at fol. 79^a with the last four words of the article *iarmbéire*,² and it ends at fol. 86^a with the article *turigein*, the nine articles beginning with *u* being omitted. The scribe of this part of the MS. was Seán Buidhe O'Cléirigh, and his colophon, written in 1440, runs as follows:

IShé annala in Tigerna inuáir
doscibad in sanasán so na Salt-
rach .i. míle bliadan 7 ceithri
cét bliadan 7 tri bliadna déc 7
da fichit, in cúiced lá domú Febra
7 intochtmad lá donesca. misi
Seann Buidhi óCléirig doscib 7
dÉmann Bvillter mac Risterd
doscibad sanasan Saltrach Cor-
maic so.

This is the year of the Lord
when this little Glossary of the
Psalter hath been written, to
wit, a thousand years, and four
hundred years, and two score,
the fifth day of the month of
February, and the eighth day of
the moon. I am Yellow John
O'Clery who wrote this, and
for Edmund Butler Mac Richard
hath been written this little
glossary of Cormac's Psalter.³

¹ The articles *Imbas foromai*, *Modbroth*, *Mug éme*, *Nós* and *Pátraic* were published from Laud 610 in the *Tripartite Life of Patrick*, Rolls Series, pp. 568, 570.

² d.h. die unbetonten Wörter, die für die Alliteration nicht mitzählen, Thurneysen, *Irische Texte*, 3^{te} serie, I. heft, s. 116.

³ i.e. the compilation called the *Psalter of Cashel*, as to which see Petrie, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, pp. 38, 39, and O'Curry, *Lectures on the MS. Materials of Irish History*, p. 11.

The history of the MS. is continued by the following entry on the upper margin of fo. 110^b:

Salttair maic Ruisderd Buitiler
 .i. Emom Buitiler, in tsalttair
 seo nogo dtuca[d] maidm Baile
 in fPoill ar iarla Urmuman 7
 ar mac Ruisderd le iarla Desmu-
 man .i. Tomas, 7 do bained in
 leabar so 7 Leabar na Carruigi
 as fuasglad meic Ruisderd, 7 isse
 in Mac Ruisderd sin do chuir na
 leabair sin da scribad do fein no-
 gur bain Tomas iarla Desmuman
 amach iad.¹

This Psalter (was) the Psalter
 of Mac Richard Butler, to wit,
 Edmund Butler, until the defeat
 at Baile in Phoill (now Pilltown)
 was inflicted on the Earl of
 Ormond and on Mac Richard by
 the Earl of Desmond, to wit,
 Thomas.² And this book and
 the Book of Carrick were taken
 in ransom for Mac Richard, and
 it is that Mac Richard who caused
 those books to be written for
 himself, until Thomas Earl of
 Desmond took them away.

O'Clery must have transcribed from a very ancient manuscript, for the language and spelling of this Bodleian fragment (*L.*) are far more archaic than those of the copy in the *Lebar Brecc* (*LB.*), the oldest complete copy known to exist. The comparison of a few forms will justify this assertion. The corresponding forms in the *Yellow Book of Lecan* (*Y.*) have been added.

<i>Laud</i> 610.	<i>Lebar Brecc.</i>	<i>Yellow Book of Lecan.</i>
atopair	hidbraid	adodpair
cotagair	gutagair	cotagair
himmaig	amuig	imaig
isintig	istig	isintigh
tarsa mullag	darin mullach	tar mullach
forsa crand-sin	forsan crand sin	forsin crandsin
conammelt	coimlid	conamailt
condaig	cuindechis	condaig
na semmand (acc. pl.)	na semanda	na semand
ond anmuim sin	on ainm sin	on anmain sin
don chrund	do crand	don crund
forrumither	furmither	forruimther
banbrugid (nom. pl.)	banbrugadha	banbrugaid
bertatar	inrucaat	bertatar

¹ There is an incomplete and inaccurate copy of this entry in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, ii. 338.

² The fifth Earl, who was beheaded at Drogheda in 1467.

In the Bodleian fragment the neuter article is still in use (an-i, a tenm láida, s.v. *imbas forosnai*, an-etag, an-étach, s.v. *legam*, a cétnae, an-aithesc, s.v. *lethech*, a muin, a nduiu, a mbraut, s.v. *modebroth*, al-lathi-sin, s.v. *mairt*, tar-sa-mullag, s.v. *malland*, for-sa-crand-sin, s.v. *nescoit*, i-sal-leth n-aill, s.v. *prull*). Neuter stems in *n* are declined as in Old-Irish: thus we have sg. gen. *anma*, s.v. *Morann*, dat. *anmuim*, s.v. *Mumu*, dual nom. *dá n-ainm*, s.v. *Morann*, pl. nom. *il-anmann*, s.v. *rout*, acc. *semmend*, *semmand*, gen. *semmend*, s.v. *nescoit*, dat. *anmonnaib*, s.v. *nemnall*, *rémennai*, s.v. *triath*.

Comparatives in *-thir* are frequent: *buidithir*, *caissidir*, *cuirrithir*, *duibithir*, *glaisidir*, *luaithidir*—all s.v. *prull*. A superlative is *nessom*, s.v. *orc tréith*, from **nedhsmmo-s*, cognate with Umbr. and Osc. *nesimo*-, Skr. $\sqrt{nah}$, *naddha*, *nadh*. So *airegdam*, s.v. *prull*. *Moai*, s.v. *nemnall*, is probably a scribal error for *móam*, another superlative.

Infixation of pronouns is still in full force. Thus:

sg. 1, fo-m-geillsat, s.v. *páin*, and imm-om-loiscet, nom-leicid-sí, rom-bia, atom-glaite-sa, all s.v. *prull*.

sg. 2, ro-t-huc, s.v. *mumu*, and inn-ot-bia, ni-t-aicelladar, nit-acelladar, s.v. *prull*.

sg. 3, masc. *d*: ro-d-torinnai, s.v. *lethech*; immi-d-comsaire, s.v. *prull*.

dn: do-dn-gní, s.v. *nith*; do-dn-géna, s.v. *imbas forosnai*.

idn: ass-id-cíd, s.v. *prull*; imm-id-rét, s.v. *rout*.
for-idm-bi, s.v. *laith*; ar-idm-boi, s.v. *imbas forosnai*.

tn: co-tn-gair, co-tn-aitib, no-tn-aclestar, all s.v. *lethech*.

a: d-a-bir, s.v. *imbas forosnai*.

da: con-da-forruimi, s.v. *ninus*; cota-gair (=coth-da-g.), s.v. *imbas forosnai*.

n: do-n-iced, s.v. *nescoit*; arnach-n-imp[ar]ra, s.v. *imbas forosnai*; ta-m-bert, s.v. *orc*.

fem. *s*: ni-s-fuair, s.v. *prull*.

pl. 3. *da*: ata-gladastar (=ad-da-g.), s.v. *prull*.

os, s: imm-os-coemorcuir, s.v. *prull*; do-s-leicit, ro-s-fuair, s.v. *orc*.

Infixéd relative: intan didiu ro-m-bo bruiteh, s.v. *lethech*; imm-an-dergthar, s.v. *leos*; intan tra do-n-anic, s.v. *prull*; is dó con-a-secrad, s.v. *mairt*.

The verbal forms are equally archaic. Thus:

Verbal prefix infixéd: fort-ro-r-gell, s.v. *imbás*; far-ro-laig, s.v. *lethech*; do-de-r-saig (= *to-di-ro-od-sech), s.v. *mug éme*; do-r-ónad, s.v. *prull*; pl. do-r-onta, s.v. *mug éme*; fo-r-acbad, s.v. *imbás*. In do-ind-ar-scansat (from *to-ind-ro-scansat), s.v. *mug éme*, as in *fo-ind-ar-lid* (gl. subintravit) Wb. 3^a 6, and *timm-ar-naí*, Lism. Lives, 222, 225, we seem to have a metathetic form of the posttonic *ro*.

Orthotonic forms of compound verbs: ad-miudur, s.v. *mann*; ad-rimed, s.v. *rinne*; at-cess, as-bert, s.v. *prull*; as-con-grad, s.v. *mug éme*; as-soilgi, s.v. *loch*; atopair, s.v. *imbás forosnai*; con-acrad, s.v. *lethech*; con-daig, s.v. *mug éme*; do-ad-benar, s.v. *imbás forosnai*; do-aitni, s.v. *samrad*; do-bert, s.v. *orc*; do-fuisim (*to-fo-eas-aem-), s.v. *lesmac*; do-fuarascaib, s.v. *imbás forosnai*; do-géni, s.v. *mug éme*; do-indarscansat, s.v. *mug éme*; fo-r-acaib, s.v. *mug éme*; for-rumither, s.v. *nescoit*; imme-luinethar, s.v. *leos*.

Enclitic forms of compound verbs: (con)epert, s.v. *mug éme*; (ní)fargaib, s.v. *imbás forosnai*; (hí)fuirmither, s.v. *nescoit*; (co nach) tarmesca, (arna) tarmescatar, s.v. *imbás forosnai*; (ní) tardad, s.v. *orc*; (na) tarta, s.v. *mug éme*; (arna) eillnet, s.v. *róut* (where *eillnet* stands for *ésslenet*, cf. the orthotonic *as-lénaimm*, Sg. 54^a 8); romeperthe, s.v. *prull*; tait, s.v. *milgetan*; (na) hacaldai, s.v. *prull*. In *tobraith*, s.v. *lethech*, *tobert*, s.v. *mug éme*, and *ta-m-bert*, s.v. *orc*, an enclitic is wrongly used for an orthotonic form.

The conjugations are still distinguished in the third sg. present ind. act. Thus we have the following subjoined (or 'conjunct') forms:

o-verbs: atfét, s.v. *lethech*; imm-id-rét, s.v. *róut*; atopair, s.v. *imbás forosnai*; con-gair, cota-gair, dicain *ibid.*; di-eim, s.v. *ollam*; do-beir, da-bir, s.v. *imbás forosnai*; do-fuisim, s.v. *lesmac*; do-fuarascaib, s.v. *imbás forosnai*; do-ling, s.v. *prull*; do-roich, s.v. *parn*; do-d-roig, s.v. *róut*; fargaib, s.v. *imbás forosnai*; fo-cren, s.v. *róut*, for-dingair, s.vv. *laith*, *lethech*, *mairenn*; con-daig, s.v. *mug éme*; t-ic, s.vv. *orc*, *óimelgg*, and apparently (nad) fosad-som, s.v. *legam*.

ā-verbs: do-bruchta, s.v. *tipra*; forosnai (from *for-od-sunna), con-cná, s.v. *imbás forosnai*; tim-chella, s.vv. *leos*, *sceng*; fodera (=fo-d-fera) s.v. *mairenn*; do-srenga, s.v. *rop*.

ē-verbs: do-d-gní, s.v. *níth*; pass. sg. 3, do-gníther, s.v. *imbás forosnai*.

i-verbs: assoilgi, s.v. *loch*; contuili, s.v. *imbás forosnai*; do-aitni, s.v. *samrad*; docruidi, s.v. *loch*; forruimi, s.v. *prull*.

The so-called consuetudinal forms in -ann, -enn do not occur. This points to a date before A.D. 1100.

Absolute forms: benaid s.v. *orc*, sochtaid s.v. *prull*, sluinnith s.v. *laith*, bíid s.v. *langfiter*, doithid s.v. *mug éime*: with suffixed pronouns: cingth-i, s.v. *prull*,¹ rant-ai (=rannaith-i), s.v. *orc*. Pass. sg. 3 éitithir, s.v. *lámand*; bithir, s.v. *imbás forosnai*; lethaidir, ferthair, s.v. *lethech*, promthair, s.v. *pain*, maelthair, s.v. *ranc*; pl. 3, deiligtir, s.v. *triath*.

Subjoined (or 'conjunct') forms: pl. 3, dofocbat, immom-loisect, r-ecat, s.v. *prull*. Do-s-leicit, s.v. *orc*, should be do-s-léicet. Pass. sg. 3 doadbenar, dogníther, s.v. *imbás forosnai*, aracialltar, fossaimther, s.v. *legam*, imma ndergthar, s.v. *leos*, co n-oenaignther, s.v. *turigin*, doberar, s.v. *lethech*, imcomarcas, s.v. *nairne*, adfiadar, s.v. *noscoil*, fothruicther, s.v. *prull*, i ngabthar, s.v. *sen*; pl. 3, i nglanaiter, ara nglanaiter, s.v. *róut*.

Reduplicated preterites are:

sg. 3, atchonnaire (√*derk*, Skr. *dadarṣa*, δέδορκε), s.v. *prull*; do-chuaid (√*kud*, Skr. *codayāmi*), s.vv. *mug éime*, *prull*; do-deochaid, s.vv. *ninus*, *prull*, *roscad*; pass. sg. 3, dochuas, s.v. *orc*; ra-cuala (from **kuklave*=Skr. *ṣuṣṛava*), s.v. *lethech*; ni thanic, s.v. *mug éime*, do-n-anic, s.v. *prull*, co farnaic, s.v. *orc* (√*ank*, Skr. √*aṣ*, *ānamṣa*); ro gáid (=Skr. *jagāda*), s.v. *orc*; dorrumidir (Goth. *mitan*), s.v. *laith*; do coemnacair (√*nank*, Lat. *nanc-iscor*), s.v. *orc*; immos-coemorcuir, s.v. *prull* (cf. imchomarcair, LU. 62^a 7, √*ark*=Skr. *praṣ*).

pl. 3, con-accatar (√*kas*, Skr. √*cakṣh* for *cakas*), s.v. *prull*; ro lellatar (√*li*, Skr. *-lilye*), s.v. *morann*; romebdatar (leg. -memdatar, √*mat*, cf. Skr. *mamātha*), a mbatar, s.v. *prull*. Absolute form: batir, s.v. *orc*.

T-preterites are:

sg. 3, ro-dn-ort, s.v. *lathirt* (cf. ro ort 'delevit,' LU. 48^c, √*org*); conammelt (√*mel*, Lat. *molo*), s.v. *mug éime*; luid, do-luid (√*lu*=√*plu*), s.vv. *orc*, *mug éime*; doriucart (=to-ro-od-gar-t), fris-gart (√*gar*,

¹ Such forms originally, perhaps, belonged to the middle voice. Thus *berid* may be from **beretē*=φίπεται, as *no-bered* is certainly=ἐ-φίπετο. See H. Collitz in Benz. Beitr. xvii. 232, note, where he suggests that the absolute inflection is developed from the old middle, and the conjunct (-*beir*=Lat. *fer-t*) from the active.

Lith. *giriù*), s.v. *prull*; as-bert, s.v. *lethech*; to-bert, s.v. *mug éme*. ad-acht, s.v. *rincne* (cf. do-sn-acht, imm-act, *√ag*, Lat. *ago*, Gr. *ἄγω*).

pl. 3, bertatar, as-bertatar, s.v. *prull* (*√ber*, Lat. *fero*, Gr. *φέρω*); for-ru-achtatar, s.v. *mdtt* (cf. do-ru-achtatar, Z². 457, *√ak*, Skr. *aç*).

Reduplicated future: sg. 1, ni géb-sa, s.v. *mug éme*; sg. 2, asbéra, s.v. *lethech*; sg. 3, do-dn-géna, s.v. *imbass forosnai*; ass-m-béra, s.v. *lethech*. Secondary form, sg. 3, nach epérad, s.v. *morann*.

S-future, sg. 2, ni naiss, s.v. *mál*: deponential: meser, s.v. *segamlas*; sg. 3, ara ndig, s.v. *róut*: dep. cini fiastar, s.v. *parn*; pl. 3 (relative), cichsite, s.v. *mann*. Secondary forms: sg. 3, co feissed, ara tiased, s.v. *lethech*; co taudchissed, s.v. *orc*.¹ The curious form *turthas*, s.v. *róut*, seems=*iurad*, the secondary redupl. s-fut. of *orgim*,¹ plus a suffixed pron. of the 3rd plur., just as *iurthund*, LU. 108^a 19, is=*iurad* plus a suffixed pron. of the 1st plur.

Passive forms of the verb substantive are bithir, s.v. *imbass forosnai*, and -táthar, s.v. *prull*. *Bethir*, -*bether* occurs in the Würzburg codex, but I have not met *táthar* in Old-Irish.

So much from the grammarian's point of view. To the lexicographer all the articles now published, but especially *ranc* and *róut*, are of value. The historian of the movements of races in the British islands will find one of his most trustworthy documents in the article *Mugh éme*. Irish folklore and mythology are illustrated by the articles *Imbass forosnai*, *Lugnasad*, *Leos*, *Milliud*, *Morand*, *Mugh éme*, *Manannan mac lír*, *Néit*, *Ninus*, *Ruad rofessa*, *Sín*, and *Triath*: Irish manners and customs by *Laary*, *Leithech*, *Milgetan*, and *Ollam*: Irish law by *Mátt*, *Mann*, *Nóe*, *Noes*, *Ness*, *Segamla* and *Sau*: Irish romance by *Nescóit*, *Orc*, *Prull*, *Rincne*, and *Serb*. All these matters are more fully noticed in the preface to *Three Irish Glossaries*, and in the annotations to O'Donovan's translation of Cormac's Glossary. To that preface and those annotations the notes at the end of this paper may be taken as supplemental.

W. S.

¹ See as to *iurad* 'occideret,' Thurneysen, *Revue Celtique*, vi. 96, 372, note, and Hogan, *ibid.* viii. 535. With Ir. *orgim*, cf. the O.W. *orgiat* (gl. caesar, i.e. caesor), and Gaul. *Orgeto-ris*, which Persson connects with Gr. *ἑρπετός*, 'Epeχθός.