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The rule of Tallaght

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Dublin [u.a.], 1927

HERMATHENA

No XLIV

SECOND SUPPLEMENTAL VOLUME

THE [✓]RULE OF TALLAGHT

EDITED BY

EDWARD GWYNN

UB INNSBRUCK



+C14481570X



14. 427

DUBLIN
HODGES, FIGGIS, & Co.,
20, NASSAU STREET.

LONDON
LONGMANS, GREEN, & Co.,
PATERNOSTER ROW.

1927

Price Four Shillings

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FELLOW OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE OXFORD
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in gratitude and friendship

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INTRODUCTION

I *The Manuscript.*

Among the manuscripts in the Franciscan Convent on Merchants' Quay, Dublin, there is a bundle of miscellaneous papers, numbered G. 36, which includes among other things a gathering of ten paper leaves, covered with a minute Irish script in a hand of the seventeenth century. It is incomplete, breaking off at the bottom of the last page in the middle of a sentence. This point is important, as will presently appear.

There is no signature, but I believe the writing to be that of John Colgan. I have not seen any certain example of his Irish hand, but I have compared the Latin phrases written in Roman characters which occur here and there with a MS. in the same collection (D. 4, p. 204), which the learned librarian kindly showed me, written in Latin and signed by Colgan, and I have no doubt as to the identity of the writing. *A priori*, it is quite likely that our MS. should be his work, as most if not all of the Franciscan collection consists of material gathered by Colgan and O'Clery and their fellow students at Louvain.

Another MS. in this library, the *Genealogiae Regum et Sanctorum Hiberniae*, compiled by the 'Four Masters' and written by Michael O'Clery, contains a number of additional notes which Fr. Walsh (who has edited the whole as a supplement to *Archivium Hibernicum*, voll. 5, 6) asserts in his preface to be mainly in the hand of Colgan. These additions are partly in Irish, partly in Latin, and both the Irish and the Latin script are, to the best of my judgment, the same as those of G. 36; we have thus a further confirmation of Colgan's authorship.

A second hand has written part of the first page of G. 36, and also some of the notes which are added in the margins. The following notes are by this hand: c. 12, margin; c. 36

note 3; c. 38, last sentence of note 7; c. 40, note 2; c. 55, note 1; c. 68, note 1; c. 76, note 2; c. 81, note 2. Now, this same hand has also entered a few notes in the *Genealogiae Regum et Sanctorum*. The script is peculiar, easy to recognise, but difficult to read. One of these notes is written at the top of the title-page of the *Genealogiae*, and is printed, not quite correctly, in a foot-note to p. 9 of Fr. Walsh's edition. It runs thus: *Do connairc an tathuir g. luis diolún fós na liubair sí 7 do ní dfinne go bfuil sé ched bliadhuin o do sgríobadh leabar aca ata ag Toirdealbhach Mac Coclain .i. an tí dár hoirdnedh an liupar so fein 7 tug a congnamh le:mhe 7 cosduis do cum na dioghuma so do críochnughadh.*

The editor prints *an t-atuir G. Diolún*, apparently regarding the *g.* as the initial of Dillon's Christian name, and omits *luis*. But the *g.* no doubt stands for *gardian*, and Professor O'Rahilly rightly interprets *luis* as *Luisseach*, more usually spelled *Laoiseach*, the Irish equivalent for Louis. He has further shown me that Father Louis Dillon is mentioned in a document printed by Gilbert in the Appendix to the fourth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission (Ireland) 1874, p. 612b. «The registries of the College (of Louvain)» writes Gilbert, «are not now known to exist, and of an old compilation made from them but one leaf — as follows — appears to have survived.» Gilbert then prints this leaf in full. It is entitled «Extracta ex registris et aliis monumentis fide dignis Collegii Sti. Antonii a Padua Fratrum Minorum strictioris observantiae Hibernorum Lovanii.» The original compiler of the Register is said by the writer of the leaf to have been «Guardianus R. P. Fr. Ludovicus Dillonus ... qui assumpsit Guardianatum mense Septembri 1633»: and he adds «eo discedente in Hiberniam anno 1635 in aestate suffectus est Praeses Pater Waltherus Walsh.»

We thus learn that the second hand in our MS. is that of Father Louis Dillon, and that he was at Louvain along with Colgan, and helped him by reading his work and adding marginal comments. We have also ascertained that the MS. was written before 1635, when Dillon left Louvain for Ireland.

It was in this year that Colgan succeeded Ward as editor of the projected ecclesiastical history of Ireland (O'Curry, MS. Materials, 645). Our document must have been part of the material which he was collecting for that undertaking.

2 *F and other documents.*

Some librarian has given these leaves the title 'Life of Mael Ruain', but this is inaccurate. Their contents are, in the main, a description of practices which prevailed at Tallaght in the time of Mael Ruain, as regards liturgical usage and monastic discipline. The whole is closely connected with the Old-Irish document which Mr. Purton and I published in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy for March, 1911, under the title 'The Monastery of Tallaght': in fact 40 of the 106 chapters into which the Franciscan manuscript is divided are simply a paraphrase in modern Irish of certain parts of the old document. Both in these chapters, and in others which do not correspond to anything in Mon. Tall., Colgan refers to 'a book', or an 'old book', as his authority (*atá ag an tsein-leabhar*, c. 36). He adds explanations of some obsolete terms, especially in the first two chapters, and occasionally admits that he does not fully understand the language of his authority: see c. 31, (on the word *gruisle*), c. 92 (*mias-chuad*), c. 93 (*imanaire*), c. 97 (*fadg*). This makes it probable that the *sein-leabhar* was written in Old Irish, as the original of Mon. Tall. certainly was.

Our document is also connected, though less closely, with the so-called Rule of the Céili Dé, which Reeves edited in his book on the Culdees, pp. 84-97, from *Leabhar Breac*. This Rule also dates from the Old Irish period. As Reeves' edition (which is really the work of John O'Donovan) has long been out of print, I have decided to republish the text with a fresh translation. The parallel passages in T and F have thrown new light on several points.

We have thus to distinguish four different compositions:

C = the Rule of the Céili Dé, originally written perhaps in the ninth century.

T = "The Monastery of Tallaght", originally written in the first half of the ninth century.

F = the Franciscan paraphrase here edited, written in the first half of the seventeenth century.

S = the lost *sein-leabhar* on which F was founded.

3 Contents of F.

In order to examine the relations between these four, we must begin by drawing up a table of contents of F, numbering the chapters as in the manuscript and adding references to T and C. T is referred to by the chapters, numbered as in the published edition, whose contents as a rule coincide pretty closely with those of F. The references to C give the numbering which I have adopted below. C, however, usually has no more than detached sentences corresponding to some part of the chapter in F.

c. 1 = C 1—3. First clause = T 83 Clause on flagellation = C 12	} Rules of diet.
cc. 2, 3 = C 4, 5.	
c. 3 (last clause) = C 12.	Flagellation.
c. 4 = C 13.	Communion.
c. 5.	Communion.
c. 6 = C 14.	Manner of Prayer.
c. 7.	Dress.
c. 8 = C 6.	Easter diet.
c. 9 = C 2.	Diet.
c. 10a = C 13.	Communion.
c. 10b = C 7.	Discipline.
c. 11.	Rules of octave.
c. 12.	Avoidance of worldly affairs.
c. 13 = T 56.	Sacrament <i>in articulo mortis</i> .
c. 14.	No mass for those dying un- houseled.
c. 15.	Flesh at Easter.
c. 16.	Respect for altar.
c. 17.	Reading of New Testament.
c. 18.	Reciting Psalter.

- c. 19a. Religious duties.
- c. 19b = C 15. Communion.
- c. 20 = C 16. Confession.
- c. 21 = C 17. Confession.
- c. 22 = C 18. Confession.
- c. 23 = C 8. Flesh in Lent.
- c. 24. False swearing.
- c. 25 = C 19, 20. Use for Maundy Thursday.
- c. 26. Use between Easter and Pentecost.
- c. 27. Confession.
- c. 28. Fasting.
- c. 29. Canticle for the dying.
- c. 30. Gifts of laity.
- c. 31. Tithes.
- c. 32 = T 1. *Magnificat*.
- c. 33a = C 21. Praying for persons by name.
- c. 33b = T 2. Gossip.
- c. 34 = T 3. Relief of poor.
- c. 35 = T 4 ; cf. T 77 Hilary of Loch Cré.
- sub f.*
- c. 36 = T 5, 33, C 22; Psalter (Mael Ruain and Dublitir).
cf. T. 31 (last clause)
- c. 37 = C 23. Psalter (Muircertach of Clonfert).
- c. 38 = C 9 (first clause). Diet.
- cc. 39, 40 = T 6. Beer-drinking (Mael Ruain and Dublitir).
- c. 41 = T 7. Dublitir and Cainchomrac.
- c. 42 = T 8 (first clause). Psalter.
- cc. 43, 44 = C 9, 10. Diet.
- c. 45 = C 11. Diet.
- c. 46. Abuse of Sacrament.
- c. 47. Manner of drinking.
- c. 48 = T 9, C 41. Penance for greediness.
- c. 49. Penance for eating with excommunicated persons.
- c. 50 = T 10. Cornan the piper.
- c. 51 = T 11. Penance for unchastity.
- c. 52. Penitential discipline.

- c. 53. Religious duties.
- c. 54. Penitential discipline.
- c. 55 = C 36. Fasting.
- c. 56 = C 26. Unchastity.
- c. 57. Good resolutions.
- c. 58. Cf. T 48 (one clause). Penance for old, sick and poor.
- c. 59. Cf. T 59. Penance for impurity.
- cc. 60, 61 = T 12, 51, C 25. Flesh at Easter.
- c. 62 = T 13. Sabbatarian rules.
- c. 63 = T 14, 50. Married people.
- c. 64 = T 15. Relaxation at bishop's request.
- c. 65 = T 16. Psalter.
- c. 66 = T 75. Praying for persons by name.
- c. 67 = T 76. MacOige's dictum.
- c. 68 = T 19. Fursa and the princess.
- c. 69 = T 20; cf. C 26. Unchastity and episcopal orders.
- c. 70. Homicides disqualified for orders.
- c. 71 = T 21. Mocholmoc ua Litan's advice.
- c. 72 = T 22, C 27. Relaxation on festivals.
- c. 73. Fasting.
- c. 74 = T 23a, 54, C 28. Confessions.
- c. 75 = T 23b. Do. Hilary of Loch Cré's practice.
- cc. 76 = T 24a; cf. C 29. Do. Mael Ruain's practice.
- c. 77 = T 24b; cf. T 42. Mael Ruain and Mael Dithruib.
- c. 78. Saints' days.
- c. 79 = C 30. All-night services.
- c. 80 = C 31. Lessons at meals.
- c. 81 = T 25. Mael Dithruib's wishes.
- c. 82 = C 51, 52, T 26. Sabbatarian rules.
- c. 83 = T 27, C 53. Tonsure.
- c. 84 = C 54. Tithes.
- c. 85 = C 32. Penance for missing Mass.
Cú Echtge on fasting.
- c. 86 = T 28. Canticles, etc.
- c. 87. Lenten practice.
- (c. 88 *caret.*)
- c. 89a. Fish diet.
- c. 89b = T 29. Lections at meals.

c. 90 = T 30a.	Cross-vigils.
c. 91 = T 8 (latter part.)	Matins.
cc. 92-94.	Refectory.
cc. 95, 96a = T 30b.	Liturgical.
c. 96b. Cf. T 55 (one clause).	Return of Christ from Egypt.
cc. 97, 98 = C 33; cf. T 48.	No eating or drinking after compline.
cc. 99, 100 = T 31.	Psalter.
c. 101 = T 32.	Psalter (Saint of Coill Uaithne).
c. 102 = T 33.	Psalter (Dublitir).
c. 103 = T 34.	Anchorite of Cluain Dubain.
c. 104.	Care of vessels.
c. 105 = T 35.	Gifts from laity.
c. 106 = T 36, 37. C 34.	Anger.

4 *Relation of F to T.*

It will be seen that down to c. 31 of F the only points in common between F and T are the first clause of c. 1 and c. 13, which corresponds generally, though not closely, to T 56. But from c. 32 to the end of F we find a series of chapters which correspond to the first 37 chapters of T, all of which are represented in the same order, except T 17 and 18 whose place is occupied by T 75 and 76 (= F 66 and 67). Also part of T 8 corresponds to c. 91 of F. The correspondence is as a rule so close that F is simply a modern paraphrase of T. But the series in F is interrupted by a number of chapters to which there is nothing answering in T, with the following partial exceptions :

F 58 corresponds generally but not exactly with T 48.

F 59 and 70 treat of the same subjects as T 59 and 84, respectively, but in quite a different way.

F 91 corresponds to part of T 8.

F 96 has one clause (the last) corresponding to a clause in T 55.

Thus about one third of F is common to F and T, while two thirds are independent of T : and more than half of T is independent of F. Yet the two are throughout essentially similar in character. Each consists of a mixture of monastic

rules and customs as to diet, discipline and liturgical usage, interspersed with anecdotes about various saints and ecclesiastics, most of whom, so far as their dates are known, belong to the eighth or early ninth century. And what especially connects the two documents is that in each case the community of Tallaght and the figures of Mael Ruain and Mael Dithruib form a nucleus which gives the whole a certain unity, in spite of the want of orderly arrangement which is equally characteristic of both. Further, the author seems in each case to be an anonymous member of the Tallaght community who knew Mael Dithruib personally, and had received from him traditions about Mael Ruain.

It is evident also that Colgan's original suffered from the same defects of style which make T such difficult reading. The writer of T can tell a plain story well enough, but when he has to explain somewhat complicated regulations he becomes entangled and obscure, loses himself in long involved parentheses and unnecessary repetitions, and employs the personal pronouns so vaguely that it is often hard to make out whether he is referring to Mael Ruain or Mael Dithruib. Colgan's paraphrase shows that he encountered just the same difficulties in his original, and more than once he betrays his perplexity. See for instance his note on c. 38, and such remarks as 'I do not understand from whom he heard this' (c. 61): 'he (whoever he was) used to say the Hymn of Michael' (c. 86): 'I am not clear whether he did all this in the course of the day' (c. 86): 'I do not understand what he intends by this curse' (c. 106).

I see no reason for postulating more than one ultimate source for F and T. It is inconceivable that there should have been in existence two separate documents dating from the Old-Irish period, dealing with the same persons and the same topics in the same way. It must be remembered that F, as we have it, is incomplete, breaking off abruptly in the middle of a sentence, either because Colgan left his task unfinished or because part of his work is lost. We are, therefore, free to suppose that his original (S) in its complete state was much longer than F and included not only all

that F preserves in a modernised form but also almost all the other contents of T. I say *almost* all, because the scribe's note at the end of T 66 seems to mean that the 'two stories' in 66 and 67 were not in his model, but were added by him from some other source; and it is possible that some of the other anecdotes related in the latter part of T were also additions of his. There is however a difficulty about the interpretation of his note, for in T 87 he tells us that 65, 67 and 68 ought to come at that point (instead of where he has actually placed them). This seems to imply that they were all part of his model. Another point which is difficult to explain is the omission of T 17 and 18 from F and the substitution of T 75 and 76. It might be inferred that T 17 and 18 were also later additions to S, but they are found in C, and I believe that they belong to the original document. A further point which might suggest that F draws from more than one source is that it contains certain repetitions, the same subject being treated in the same way in different chapters. Thus the practice of eating flesh at Easter, as a precaution, is treated at c. 15, and again at c. 60: reading of the Gospels in the refectory, at c. 80 and also at c. 89: praying for persons by name, at c. 33 and at c. 66: Mael Ruain's criticism of Dublithir's way of reciting the Psalms, at c. 36 and at c. 102. Similar duplicates are, however, found also in T. Thus the last of the instances given is found both in T 5 and in T 33: compare also the repetition as to flesh at Easter, in T 12 and 51, and as to rules for conjugal life, in T 14 and 50.

5 Contents of C.

We may next consider the relations of C with F and T: and here again a table of contents will be useful.

- § 1 = F 1 (clause 1), T 8 (p. 131, 3-6), 83.
- § 2 = F 1 (cl. 2), F 9b.
- § 3 = F 1 (remainder).
- § 4 = F 2.
- § 5 = F 3.
- § 6 = F 8; cf. T 51.
- § 7 = F 10b.

- § 8 = F 23.
 § 9 = F 38, 43, 44.
 § 10 = F 43.
 § 11 = F 45 (first clause).
 § 12 = F 1 (last clause but one) and F 3 (last clause).
 § 13 = F 4; cf. F 10.
 § 14 = F 6.
 § 15 = F 19b.
 § 16 = F 20.
 § 17 = F 21.
 § 18 = F 22.
 § 19 = F 25a.
 § 20 = F 25b.
 § 21 = F 33a; cf. F 66.
 § 22 = F 36, T 5; cf. F 102, T 33, T 31 (*sub finem*).
 § 23 = F 37.
 § 24 Cf. F 43.
 § 25 = F 60, 61, T 12. Cf. F 15, T 51.
 § 26 = F 56; cf. F 69, T 20.
 § 27 = F 72, T 22.
 § 28 = F 74; cf. T 23, 54.
 § 29 = F 76, T 24.
 § 30 = F 79.
 § 31 = F 80; cf. T 29, F 89.
 § 32 = F 85.
 § 33 = F 97, 98; cf. T 48.
 § 34 = F 106, T 37.
 § 35 = T 40.
 § 36 = F 55.
 § 37 = T 79; cf. T 23b, 54, F 75.
 § 38 Not in F or T.
 § 39 = T 63 (p. 152, 17-19).
 § 40 Cf T 48.
 § 41 = F 48, T 9.
 § 42 Not in F or T.
 § 43 = T 65.
 § 44 = T 17.
 § 45 = T 18.

- § 46 Cf. T 63.
 § 47 Not in F or T.
 § 48 = T 80.
 § 49, 50 Not in F or T.
 § 51 = F 82a.
 § 52 = F 82b, T 26.
 § 53 = F 83, T 27.
 § 54 = F 84.

The rest of the Rule has nothing in common with either F or T.

6 *Relations of C to T and F.*

It will be seen that most of C, as far as § 54, is represented, either literally or substantially, in either F or T : § 55, 56 are borrowed from the ' Rule of Colum Cille ', while the latter part, from § 57 to the end, has nothing to do with the other documents. C is then evidently composite. The first fifty-six sections consist of brief disjointed paragraphs, mainly relating to the monastic practices of the Céli Dé, whereas the last nine are composed in a much more continuous style, and are of a legal character. They are concerned with church-property and the privileges and duties of churchmen in general. These latter pages may here be left out of account. A great part of their matter is found again in much the same form in the legal document edited in Eriu i. 216 *seq.* under the title *Riagail Pátraic*.

The question then arises, whether C 1-54 goes back to some old source which has been exploited by F and T, (or rather by the original S) : or whether the relation is to be reserved, and C is to be regarded as a derivative from S. The latter hypothesis seems to me to be the true one, for these reasons :

- (i) If S made use of C's original, we should expect to find the borrowed material concentrated in some part of F or T. In point of fact, a good deal of the C-material is used in the first ten chapters of F, but a great deal more is scattered here and there through both F and T. F, however, contains much more of the C-material than T does, though much that

appears in T appears also in F. The order of arrangement in C shows hardly any correspondence with the order of F or T.

- (ii) The material is in almost all cases treated much more fully in F and T than in C. Only in a few cases is C as full as the other documents : *e.g.* T 17, 18 = C 44, 45; F 6 = C 14. As a rule, a subject which is treated with more or less fullness in F or T is represented in C by a sentence or two. Compare for instance T 27, on tonsure, with C 53; or T 12 and 51 = F 15 and 60, on eating flesh at Easter, with C 25; or T 37 = F 106 with C 34, on anger with inferiors; or T 65 with C 43, on ceremonial impurity.
- (iii) C regularly omits references to persons who are quoted in F and T as authorities for various rules and usages. Compare T 80, where a certain practice of Diarmait in regard to fasting is mentioned, with C 48, where the same practice is referred to, but without Diarmait's name. So also in F 33, on Mael Ruain's way of praying for absent persons by name; cf. C 21, where his name is omitted. C refers to Mael Ruain only three times : in the title ' O Moel Ruain *cecinit* ', at 36, and at 44.

Thus what in F and T is reported as a matter of custom, or as the usage of particular persons or places, becomes in C an abstract rule. For instance, at T 22 = F 72, a certain usage in regard to the vigils of saints' days is mentioned as in force at Tallaght, with a special reference to S. Cainnech. In C 27 this is quoted as a general rule, without mention of Cainnech or of Tallaght. This passage is particularly illuminating as to the relations between F, T, and C; for F contains a point omitted from T and other points omitted from C. T 23 (= F 74, 75) is similarly treated in C 28; F 37 is represented by a single line in C 23, and T 24 = F 76 (about Mael Dithruib's relations with Mael Ruain) is reduced in C 29 to the general rule *Is and tiagar co hanmcharait aile, mad ecen, iar cetugud don anmcharait toisig*. These chapters alone would suffice to demonstrate the method adopted by the compiler of C. He has taken the document (S) which is the source of F and T and has selected such

matters as especially interest him, omitting what refers to particular persons and places, his purpose being to frame a general set of rules of monastic life, to which he gives the title *Riagail na Céle nDé*.

If we were to adopt the hypothesis that C is prior to S, we should have to suppose that in all the instances referred to, and in many others, the author of S had expanded the brief rules of C, inventing or adapting anecdotes about Mael Ruain and Mael Dithruib to illustrate them : which is absurd.

Once the true relation of C to the other two documents is ascertained it becomes a clinching proof of the identity of the original of F with the original of T. Only upon this supposition can we explain why the source of some paragraphs in C is discovered in F, of others in T, and of others again in both F and T.

7 *The Penitential.*

There is a fifth document connected with the Tallaght tradition. This is the Irish Penitential which was edited in Eriu VII, 121, *seq.* from the single copy which survives in the manuscript 3 B 23, R.I.A. This manuscript also contains the only known copy of T. The author of the *seínleabhar* made use of the Penitential, as may be seen by comparing the following loci in the paraphrase and in the Penitential.

F. 24	cf. Penit. iii, 17.	Eriu VII, 159.
F. 46.	Penit. i, 10, 15.	<i>ibid.</i> , 148, 150.
F. 48.	Penit. i, 19.	<i>ibid.</i> , 150.
F. 51.	Penit. ii, 11, and v. 2.	<i>ibid.</i> , 142, 166.
F. 54.	Penit. ii. 2-4.	<i>ibid.</i> , 140.
F. 59.	Penit. ii, 12, 16.	<i>ibid.</i> , 142.
F. 60, 61.	Penit. i, 14.	<i>ibid.</i> , 148.
F. 63.	Penit. ii, 36.	<i>ibid.</i> , 150.
F. 69.	Penit. ii, 2-4.	<i>ibid.</i> , 140.
F. 106.	Penit. v. 13.	<i>ibid.</i> , 168.

In only one of these passages is the Penitential explicitly

mentioned as the writer's source. This is F 48 where he says ' I have seen in the Penitential '. But also in the note to F 52 he writes ' the book ', (*i.e.* the lost original) ' tells us to consult the Penitential '. Further, in T 78, a chapter which is not represented in F, there is mention of reading aloud ' the Rule and the Penitential ' at meal-time.

It can hardly be doubtful that in these last two passages the author is alluding to the same Penitential as that which he has used elsewhere without quoting his source. It is in fact the only Penitential, properly so called, known to exist in the Irish language. There is, however, a note to F 55, written, not by Colgan himself but by Dillon, the meaning of which is more doubtful. He is commenting on these words in the text : *Ni fuil a dhearbh aige an ar arán 7 ar uisge donidh siad an trosgadh sin*, etc., and he remarks :

"From this and from the passage at c. 52 above it seems likely that the Penitential was written by Mael Dithruib, and that it was because he was a disciple of Mael Ruain that it was called the " Penitential of Mael Ruain. " Now if the word *aige* refers, as Dillon evidently thinks it does to Mael Dithruib, there is nothing in the passage as paraphrased to show that he was the author of the Penitential, which must have been the authority in the matter of fasting : it seems rather to prove the contrary. But the passage which Colgan is paraphrasing may have been so expressed as to make it probable that Mael Dithruib was the author of the original *sein-leabhur*; at all events it certainly made clear that Mael Ruain was not the author. It seems therefore that by the ' Penitential of Mael Ruain ' Dillon here means the original which Colgan is paraphrasing (which I call S) and not the Penitential proper.

Whether this is the case or not in this instance, Colgan certainly uses the title in this sense when he writes in his *Acta Sanctorum* 315b, note 8 : *In poenitentiario S. Mairuani fit mentio S. Sedulii filii Thesdae de Lismoria in Momonia*. The annotator of O'Clery's Martyrology of Donegal (ed. Todd and Reeves p. 468) also writes in a note on the same Siadhal of Cenn Lacha : *Dar lem as e-so Siadhal mac Tinne,*

de quo in Pennadoir Mael Ruain. Both these passages are evidently connected with T 40, where Siadal mac Testa of Ard Mór is cited as authority for a certain usage. (Read, therefore, *mac Testa* for *mac Tinne* in Mart. Don., and *Ard-moria* for *Lismoria* in Act. SS.) Colgan and O'Clery's annotator are both referring to a parallel passage in the *sein-leabhar*, which document must therefore have been known to them under the name of the Penitential of Mael Ruain* But this is obviously a misnomer: the document which underlies both T and F was certainly not written by Mael Ruain, nor was it a Penitential; moreover it is clear from T 78, from F 48, and from the note to F 52, that the original author, whoever he was, knew the Penitential as a separate and older document.

The explanation of the misapplication of the name is probably that both the Penitential and the *sein-leabhar* were composed at Tallaght; that copies of both were at one time contained in the same manuscript: and that the Penitential, being the older, gave its name to the whole volume. Something of the same kind happened in the case of the famous Oxford MS. Laud 610, which was known as the Psalter of Mac Richard Butler, because the 'Psalter of Cashel' was the most important part of its contents.

Whether the tradition of Tallaght ascribed the true Penitential to Mael Ruain or not is uncertain: at all events we have no convincing proof of his authorship. An examination of its sources (Eriu VII, 130) led me to assign it to a date a little earlier than the year 800, which would agree with such a supposition, as Mael Ruain died on July 7, 792: see Reeves, Culdees, p. 8.** (He had been abbot of Tallaght since its foundation in 769, F.M.; cf. F 8.) We have seen that Dillon, in his note at F 55, inclines to regard Mael Dithruib as the author, but without sufficient reasons. The language of the Penitential, so far as I can judge, would indi-

* I owe these two references to Dr. Plummer.

** The Annals of Ulster record his death under the year 791, but there is an error of one year in their chronology.

cate a date in the later eighth century rather than the ninth*.

This Penitential is referred to in O'Davoren's Glossary, 1389, (s.v. *rochall*) : *dar lium-sa is inann 7 utmall andsa Pennadoir*; cf. Eriu VII, 152, Cap. III, 1 (c), *rochall co nderchoiniud***.

8 *The Rule of Mael Ruain.*

Both in T and in F there are references to Mael Ruain's 'Rule'. Thus in T 6 (= F 40) Mael Ruain is represented as saying 'Anyone who shall hearken to me and who keeps my Rule shall have no need of judgment to be passed on him.' In T 78, there is the direction 'Thou shalt read the Rule and the Penitential in his presence.' So in F 80 we are told that it was their practice that one man should read aloud 'the Gospel and the Rule and the Saints' miracles' during meals. In T 12 (= F 61) we are told 'This was the practice in Terryglass when the Rule was there.' Terryglass was another monastery of the Céli Dé, and would no doubt follow the same Rule as that of Tallaght. In F 19 'the Rule of Mael Ruain' is explicitly quoted. In F 28 'the fasting diet which he appointed in his Rule' is described. Here 'he' no doubt means Mael Ruain. The Rule must therefore have existed in written form and not merely as a tradition, and though it is not distinctly said in either T or F that the author had seen it or heard it read, we may assume that he drew from it such things as the rules about diet and fasting, order at meal-time, and such other matters of discipline as are not reported on the authority of Mael Dithruib.

We may now combine the conclusions here reached with

* The introductory paragraph of the Penitential begins thus (Eriu VII 135) : *Concemdetar sruithe Erenn a riaglaib na screptrae Pennatoir dilgind [7] frepthea cech pecthae o biuc commor*. Was it perhaps drawn up at the joint synod of Uí Néill and Leinster which met at Tara in 779 under the presidency of Dublithir? (Annals of Ulster).

** In a glossary in H. 3. 18, 623, seq. I find quotations both from it and from another *pennadoir*, composed in verse, which seems to have nothing to do with any of the Tallaght documents.

the data already put together in the preface to the printed edition of T (Proc. R.I.A. 1911, 120-123).

Somewhere between the years 831 and 840 a monk of the Tallaght community wrote down the traditions he had received from Mael Dithruib as to the teaching and practice of Mael Ruain, combining with these certain precepts drawn from the Rule and the Penitential, and adding a number of anecdotes current at Tallaght about various holy persons, some of whom belonged to other monasteries of the Céli Dé. The result was a miscellaneous composition, containing about 150 chapters, perhaps more, with little attempt at orderly arrangement. It was neither a memoir of Mael Ruain, nor a Rule of the Monastery, but a little of both. It might, perhaps, be best described by the title prefixed to C 12 of Colgan's paraphrase: *Tecosc Maile Ruain do Mael Dithruib a discipul*, 'Mael Ruain's teaching to his disciple Mael Dithruib.'

This was reduced either by Tadhg Ua Rigbardain, the fifteenth century scribe of T, or by some predecessor whom he copied, to 90 chapters, a few of which were additions not belonging to the original *Tecosc*. On the other hand, the redactor omitted a great deal, especially rules about diet, fasting, etc. which he did not find interesting. Some one else, earlier in date than Ua Rigbardain, made his own selection from the *Tecosc*, on a different principle. His object was to frame a real Rule, which might pass as the Rule of Mael Ruain. He therefore omitted almost all anecdotes and references to persons and places, and also ignored for the most part the details of liturgical usage, but kept the special precepts as to diet and discipline. Finally, in the first half of the seventeenth century, Colgan, being then engaged in collecting materials for his projected history of the Irish Church, set himself to turn the old *Tecosc* into modern Irish. He left his task unfinished, or if he did complete it, about a third of his work is lost.

9 *Peculiarities of F.*

The MS. appears to be intended for Colgan's private

use, not for the general eye. This would account for many marks of negligence, such as one would not expect to find in work prepared by a scholar like Colgan for publication. Words are omitted or duplicated or misplaced, and two or three sentences have been left incomplete. The confusion of tenses, even within the same section, is especially noticeable. In T also there are frequent transitions from present to past time, but in that text the tense seems to vary according as the writer is referring to Mael Ruain, who was dead, or to Mael Dithruib, who was still living. In Colgan's paraphrase the reason of the confusion seems rather to be that he sometimes adopts the tense used in his original and then reverts unconsciously to his own point of time. As this variation has a certain significance I have as a rule preserved it in my translation, at the risk of appearing somewhat slovenly to the English reader.

I have not altered Colgan's spelling, which varies perpetually, except by sometimes adding missing letters, enclosed in square brackets. I have, however, found it necessary to mend his punctuation, and also to alter his numbering of certain chapters, so that the correspondences with T and C may be more easily recognised. In such cases Colgan's numbers are added, within brackets, where he has placed them. I have as a rule expanded contractions without using italics.

10 *The Hours.*

It may be useful to add a short account of the different terms used in these documents for the hours of service, as on this point there is much diversity among our authorities.* As is well known, the Irish Church retained the Celtic view that the night preceded the day, but as there is a perplexing variety of names for the evening hours, I begin with the early morning.

maiten. This occurs in the following passages : F 26,

* See Dr. Best's articles in *Eriu* iii, 116 and in the *Miscellany* presented to Kuno Meyer, p. 142 seq.

F 79 = C 30, F 86 = T 28, F 96 = T 30, F 103 = T 34, T 50, C 50.

The term is perhaps to be understood sometimes as denoting the time of day, not a particular office. In the latter case I render it by ' lauds ' : see below, on *iarméirge*.

anteirt. Only at F 90, where Colgan explains the term as equivalent to prime, and at T 50. At T 30 *imman teirt* should be read, not as I formerly suggested *imm anteirt*. Compare F 90.

teirt, ' tierce '. At F 79 = C 30, F 90 = T 30a, T 48, C 50.

medón laí. At F 25, F 45, F 86 = T 28, T 48. Equivalent to ' sext ', but that name is not used in these texts.

nóin. This word sometimes denotes the office of nones, sometimes more vaguely, the time of day, ' afternoon '.

The office seems to be meant F 26 (*figheall ar maidin* (7 *tráth nóna*) F 72 = T 22, and F 96b (*figheall nóine*). So too C 27 (*figell nona*), and in the last clause of T 48 read *figill nóna*. So also probably at F 95 (*sailm urnaighthi adearthaoi tráth nóna* : the corresponding passage in T 30 has *salmu aurnaighthi do chetal fescur*), and at T 48 (*araile im nóin, araile im iarnóin*); and perhaps at F 82 = C 52. On the other hand, at F 1 (*dá nóin na féili Phátraig... ar tan do cuirethar nóin díobh for aoine*), F 45 (*i gach nóin do tri nóinib na hocht féili*), and when the hour of dinner is mentioned at F 65, C 19, C 30, F 80 = C 31, the time of day seems to be meant, not the canonical hour.

At T 48 (*araile im nóin, araile im iarnóin*) the word *iarnóin* seems to denote a period of time rather than one of the offices. At F 25 *proinn iarnóine* = C 19, *proind iar nóin*, it means ' afternoon. '

fescor. As noted above under *nóin*, this word is used at T 30 where F 95 has *tráth nóna*, ' office of nones. ' So at C 50 *saíre a figle dóib maiten 7 fescor* evidently corresponds to *figill ar maitin, figill nóna*, which occur several times in F and T.

espartain, easbart. Occurs at F 1 (*gacha hesparta*), F 25 (*do radh easbairt*), F 90 (*ag easbart*), F 96 (*ag easbart*) = T 30

(*im espartain*), T 8 (*im espartan*), T 45 (*iar n-espartain*), C 21 (*celebrad espartan*).

deired laí. At F 26, F 90 = T 30a, F 95 = T 30b (*diu[d] laoi*).

This phrase seems equivalent to 'compline.' The 'Psalms of prayer at *deired laí*,' however, seem to have been a form used at bed-time, rather than a regular office. Dr. Plummer remarks: 'Compline and prime were not originally choir offices, but were the dormitory prayers of the monks on going to rest and rising.' These are also referred to as *urnaigthe dul do chodlad*, F 90, 97, *ceileabradh dul do chodladh*, F 98 = *celebrad dul il-lige*, C 33.

fadg. This term is used in F 97. I have not found it any where else* and it seems to have been unknown to Colgan, who suggests that it is another name for compline. Dr. Plummer remarks: 'He is evidently right, for *Cum invocarem* is the first of the compline psalms, and *Nunc dimittis* is an integral part of the office.'

midnocht. Used in F 4 = C 13. In this connection it denotes the celebration of mass at midnight, apparently only on the night of Saturday-Sunday. It is therefore distinct from *iar méirge*.

iar méirge. At F 79 = C 30, F 86, F 90, F 95 = T 30b, F 96 = T 30c, F 98 = C 33, F 103 = T 34, T 8, T 48.

I render 'matins', on the suggestion of Dr. Plummer, who writes: 'All through the Middle Ages "nocturns" had ceased to be a separate office, and was simply the name of the three divisions of matins. I think therefore that *iar méirge* = what we call "matins"; and that what Colgan calls *maintin* = what we call "lauds".'

As Dr. Best has remarked (K. Meyer-Miscell. 163) the passage in T 34: *dá cét slechtain matin, is ed dogníd, 7 cét cacha trátha, 7 cét in ermergi, secht cét ule*, implies that only six canonical hours were recognised. Another passage in T 48 points to the same way of counting: *Aos cacha trátha: indtí bad rolabur, ní do dénam dó im teirt, arale i médón laoi*;

* But see Notes.

araile im nóin, araile im iarnóin. The six hours will then be *iarméirge, maiten, teirt, medón laí, nóin, espartain* : while *anteirt* and *deired laí* are regarded, in Dr. Plummer's words, as 'dormitory prayers.'

Dr. Plummer adds a further note. "The view here maintained is strongly confirmed by the little poem which occurs in *Acallam na Senórach*, ed. Stokes. ll. 2956-65 (cf. ZCP vi. 271), in which the eight canonical hours are recommended as remedies against the eight deadly sins. The hours are eight, because, as will be seen, prime and compline are included. They occur in the following order : *Prím* (prime), *Teirt*, (tierce), *Medón-laí* (sext), *Nóin* (nones), *Esparta* (vespers), *Compléid* (compline), *Iarméirge* (matins), *Maiten* (lauds). The poet probably begins with prime as being the first day-light office, basing his list on the natural and not on the ecclesiastical day."

There is a difficulty as to the use of *deired laí*, which may as well be stated here. In F 26 we have the sentence : *Do mhaitheadh se fiach aibhne 7 crosfigheall 7 psailm urnaigthe dheiridh lae dhóibh idir dhá cháisg.* This should be compared with the fuller statement in F 95 : *Ní diognadaois figheall idir dá notluig no dhá cháisg 7 ní buailtí fiach aibhne ann. Ní déntaoí croisfighill fri Hiomnum [dicat] iarmeirge leo, 7 do mhaitheadh se na sailm urnaighthi adearthaoi tráth nóna dhóibh an aimsir cheudna.* The equivalent of this in T 30b is : *Ní déntar tra eadar dí nodlaic 7 etar dí cháisc. Ní tabar fiach aibne and. Ní déntar ceth crosfigill fri Himnum dicat im ermergi etar dí nodlaic 7 etar dí cháisc. Mathid-som dano and salmu aurnaigti do chetal fescur etar di nodlac.* The first *ní déntar* in T refers apparently to *ind crosfigild deirid laoi* in the preceding paragraph. It will be seen that *deiredh lae* of F 26 = *tráth nóna* of F 95 = *fescur* of T 30b. There is some confusion here which I am unable to clear up.

In conclusion, I wish to express my gratitude to the Rev. Fr. Gregory Cleary, Librarian of the Franciscan Convent for his unfailing kindness and courtesy. I am also indebted, not for the first time, to Professor T. F. O'Rahilly, who has

cleared up the meaning of several passages for me, and given me other help. But especially I desire to acknowledge my deep obligation to Dr. Plummer for the assistance he has given me in the preparation of this little volume. I owe to him my first acquaintance with the Franciscan MS, and he has helped me at every stage of my task with counsel and criticism freely given out of his unequalled knowledge of Irish ecclesiastical lore. If nevertheless many errors still remain, as no doubt they do, for these I take sole responsibility.

E. J. GWYNN

THE RULE OF TALLAGHT

TEACHING OF MAEL RUAIN

- 1 They used to sing the *Beati* of the refectory standing, in the refectory only, and recited the requiem for the dead, also standing. Mael Ruain was accustomed to allow thick milk mixed with honey on the eves of the chief festivals, namely, the two Christmasses and the two Easters, and on the day after whey water or a drink of herbs with a *selann*. On Sundays in Lent those undergoing rigid penance were allowed a sip of milk, and on the Sundays of spring and winter Lent even a *selann* at night was not forbidden to anyone not undergoing rigid penance. They had butter on S. Patrick's Day only, and neither before nor after, and then only if it fell on a day other than a Friday or Wednesday, because on those days they were accustomed to take a sip of milk without butter; otherwise, a half-*selann* for each vespers of the two evensongs of the feast of S. Patrick itself. He would occasionally allow his monks porridge on Saturday night, as an indulgence. When one of the evensongs fell on a Friday, Mael Ruain himself was accustomed to eat gruel of meal and water. Among the Celi De, no one administered castigation to himself, but received it from another. They admitted no increase of the bread ration on festivals, but only of drink and condiments and other things generally.
- 2 If they happen to eat cabbage, it does not subtract from the allowance of bread, because they regard it as condiment, when dressed with milk, not with butter. A slice of fish or some beestings, or butter, or cheese or a dry egg: no deduction is made from the allowance of bread on account of such things, provided they are not all taken together at the same time. So too with apples: so long as not many are eaten with the bread, no deduction is made from the bread-

aran : tri hubhla no ceathra hubla an tan do biodís 'na n-ublaibh mora, cuid ubhall gach duine : da madh ubla beaga do theigeumhadh ann, ní sharaigheadh cuid ubhall gach duine nuimir a cuig no a sé d'ubhlaibh.

- 3 Mas mor an orda eisg theigeamhas docum an Cheili De, ní bfuighe se ní as mo ina an eun-orda. Mas mion-oirdni bhias ann, ní gnath go bhfuighi se ní as mó ina a do dhiobh. Fa ceadaightheach doibh buinne ¹ losa no a dó nó a tri an tan do thegmhadh. Ni ceaduigheadh Maol Ruain do Maol Díthreph a desgiopal millsen ² nó druchtán ³ ge ⁴ go ndendaóis cáisi 7 marsin puirsium don millsén. Acht nir crosta ort[h]a he o *tét bláitheach* ar a fud nó an gruth do níthi de marsin. Nir crosta buaidren, ⁵ or as d'arán, núid na huide ⁶ tiorma, or ni cuireadh briogh a raidtibh aroile toirmisges iatt tre beith na n-adbur eon nó feola. Ni ibheadh medg binde gan chumusg 7 ní trieidthi (?) ar leith gan ní goirt eigin. Fiach aibhne aca ⁷ do gnathaighthi (?) aca o mioncaisg go cingcidhis 7 a notluig stéil (.i. *epiphania*) ar ball .i. gan beith saor uaidi acht idir da caisg 7 idir da nodluig.

- 4 An drong theide do mhiodhnocht, sacramuint amhain do beirthi dhoibh 7 ní tugthaof caileach doibh; 7 ní tugthaof sin féin doibh go ceann mbliadhna. [f. 1^b] Fa ceann na bliadhna do teigheadh siad do mhiodhnocht, 7 do gheibheadh siad corp CRíosa amhain lá casg 7 ní tugthaof caileach dhóibh. An treas bliadhain do theighdís do mhiodhnocht 7 do gheibheadh siad corp amain fa chaisg 7 fa nodlaig. An cethramhadh bliadhain do geibheadh siad cor[p] amhain fá nodlaig, in *epiphania*, fa chaisg mhóir 7 mion-chaisg 7 cingcidhis. An

¹ gas, ² gruth binnde, ³ .i. medhg binde, ⁴ read gin, ⁵ capraigh (?),
⁶ read huighe, ⁷ omit.

allowance. Each man's share of apples was three or four, if they were big ones : if they chanced to be small, each man's share was not to exceed the number of five or six.

3 If the piece of fish that falls to the lot of a *Cele De* be large, he may not have more than one piece : if they be small pieces, it is not customary that he should have more than two of them. They were permitted to have a head of leeks, or two or three, when there chanced to be any. Mael Ruain did not allow his disciple Mael Dithruib curds or whey, unless they were making cheese : in that case he was allowed a portion of curds. But if buttermilk was mixed with it throughout, this was not forbidden to them, nor the curds made therefrom likewise. *Buaidrén* (flummery) was not forbidden, because it is made of bread, nor dry eggs : for he paid no heed to the maxims of some who forbid them as being the makings of birds or of flesh. He would not drink rennet-whey unless mixed with something through it as well, but without anything sour. It was their custom to administer castigation from Little Easter to Pentecost, and immediately after Star Christmas, (i.e. Epiphany), that is, with no exemption therefrom save between the two Easters and the two Christmasses.

4 To those who attend midnight mass the consecrated bread alone was given and the cup was not given; and even the bread was not given to them until the end of the first year. At the end of this year they came to midnight mass and received Christ's body only, on Easter Day; the cup was not given to them. In the third year they came to midnight mass and received the sacred body only, at Easter and at Christmas. In the fourth year they received the sacred body only, at Christmas, on the Epiphany, at Easter and Little Easter and Pentecost. In the fifth year they received the

chuigeadh bliadhán do gheibhdís corp amháin is na feiltibh remhraite, 7 a ccionn gach da fhichead la. An seiseadh bliadhain do gheibhdís corp amháin a ccionn gach míosa. An seachtmhádh bliadhain do gheibhdís corp gach dara domhnach. D'éis naoi mbliadhán do chríochnughadh do theighdís do chom comaoineach gach en-domhnach.

- 5 Má fhiafraíonn tú ca huair do gheibhdís an caileach ar an adhbhar gurb fada go ttugthaó dhóibh é? An mhuinntear do dhoirteadh morán fola 7 do niodh peacaidh rothroma ní tugthaó caileach dhoibh ge go ndeindís loirghníomh na peannaide, acht sacramuint amháin.
- 6 Leireach leiri fá sean-ainm o chein don chrosadh ag na sruithibh. Comhráir chrabhaidh do nídis a ndiaidh chrois-fháighe na paidre, 7 as mar-so do nídis í .i. Paidior do radh, 7 a n-aghaidh sair ar tus, 7 *Deus in adiutorium* fa thri go luigi *festina*, 7 a nda láimh suas go flaitheamhnas taobh amuigh da n-eudach, acht ní dhiongnadaois croisfhighill mar do nídis ag altughadh, 7 comhartha na croiche do deunamh soir lena láimh dheis da eisi sin: a letheid ceudna do dheunamh in gach en-aird dona ceithri hairdibh, 7 a letheid ceudna do dheunamh 7 a n-aighthe crom do chom an talaimh, 7 a letheid ceudna do dheunamh 7 a n-aighthi suas go flai[th]eamhnas fa dheoidh. Comhráir chrabhaidh fa hainm don tsermonias sin aca.
- 7 Codladh a leinidh níir ghnath leo, 7 níir dhleisdeanach a bheith fa eneach, 7 níir bh'aíl leis na Ceilibh De an t-edach do bhíodh iompa san la go madh e do bheith iompa san oidhche 'na ccodladh.
- 8 Feoil fhiadha, ae, no bloinge níir leig Maol Ruáin a ccaitheamh fá chaisg ar feadh fichid mbliadhán (isin proinntigh fein, *above*), no gur cheaduigh iad fa deoidh tresan ngorta tainig astir.
- [9]¹ As é biadh do fhagaibh Flann mac Duibh Chonna aga mhuintir fa chaisg, feoil fhiadha, ae, 7 blonag.
- 9 Bainne tra fa gnathach leis do thabhairt doibh oidhche na

¹ Number so placed in MS.

sacred body only, at the feasts aforesaid, and at the end of every forty days. In the sixth year they received the sacred body only at the end of each month. In the seventh year they received the sacred body every other Sunday. After nine years were accomplished they came to communion every Sunday.

- 5 If thou ask when they received the cup, seeing that it was a long time before it was given to them?—To such as shed much blood and committed grievous sins the cup was not given, though they made expiation by penance, but only the bread.
- 6 The “ Corslet of Devotion ” was the old name formerly given by the elders to the cross-vigil. They used to make the “ Shrine of Piety ” after the cross-vigil of the *Pater Noster*, and this was how they made it,—by saying the *Pater* first, facing eastward, and *Deus in adjutorium* as far as *festina*, three times, with both hands raised to heaven, clear of their vestments (only they would not perform the cross-vigil as they performed it when returning thanks) : and thereafter they made the sign of the Cross with the right hand, eastward : and they did the like towards each of the four quarters, and the same with their faces bent down towards the ground, and finally the same with their faces upturned to heaven. Their name for this ceremony was the “ Shrine of Piety. ”
- 7 It was not their custom to sleep in a shirt, and it was not permissible for any one to lie in such, nor did the Celi De desire to sleep in the same garment as they wore by day.
- 8 Venison, liver or lard Mael Ruain did not allow to be eaten at Easter even in the refectory, for the space of twenty years, until finally he granted leave for them, on account of the famine which came into the land. The food that Flann mac Duibchonna left permission to his monks to eat at Easter was venison, liver and lard.
- 9 He was accustomed to give them milk on the eves of the

bpríomh-shollamun, an da nodlac 7 an dá chasg 7 oidche chingcidhis 7 samh-chaisge, do brigh gur gnath leo aifrionn 7 comaoineacha do beith aca ar na mharach.

[10]¹ Ní dlígthear fleadhughadh no ol leanna a n-en-oidchi dona sollamhnaibh sin do réir riagla Mhaoil Ruain.

10^a Fá gnath aige gan caileach do thabhairt don chuid da mhuintir do theigheadh do mhíodhnocht, an da míodhnocht no a trí thoisíoncha, acht an corp amhain do thabhairt doibh : 7 an fíon do íbhdís d'eis an chuirp ní has an caileach do gheibhdís e.

10^b Do ghnathuigheadh se iomarcaidh feich a'bhne do bhua[ladh] ar na cocairibh 7 ban-airghibh 7 ar na cuchtoraibh do bhrigh go ndoirtidís an toradh go mór idir bhainne 7 arbhar. As cair throm leo an saitheach bhíos re haghaidh an bhainne dá tháomadh, 7 ara mbí lorg an bhainne, do chur fa uisge arís da thaomadh, acht soitheach ar leith do bheith re haghaidh gach coda dhiobh no an soideac[h] da [f. 2^a] mbí an bainne a leanmhain do ghlanadh 7 lorg an bhainne do bhuaín de sul fa ccuirtheas fan uisge é, no meadhg-uisgi do dheunamh don ní leanas de, no a thuma a meadhg.

11 Dá ttigeadh domhnach la eigin faoi cheann octaibhe chuca do airmhidís an domhnach ar nuimhir laitheadh na hoctaibhe ge nach í oifig na hoctaibhe do nidís do acht oifig ar leith dho fein, ionnus da ttigeadh domhnach an treas la don octaibh gurb e an luan na dhiaidh sin an ceathromhadh la do nuimhir na hoctaibhe ceudna, 7 nar bh'eigean an treas lá, ara ttarla an domhnach 7 da nach dearnadh oifig na hoctaibhi, do ghla-cadh mar threas la dia luain² do chom oifige na hoctaibhi do dheunamh dho, acht a fhagbhail mar sin 7 an ceat[h]ramhadh la do dheunamh don lúan.

12 (*in margin*: Tegusg Maoil Ruain do Maoil dithribh a dhesh-
giobal.)

Adubhairt Maol Ruain re Máol dithreibh, an tan do fhia-

¹ Number so placed in MS. ² omit dia luain.

chief festivals, at the two Christmasses and the two Easters and on the eve of Pentecost and of summer-Easter, because their custom was to say mass and to communicate on the days following. According to the Rule of Mael Ruain, it is not right to make a feast or to drink beer on the eve of any of the chief festivals.

- 10 It was his custom not to give the cup to those of his monks who went to midnight mass, on the first two or three occasions, but to give them the sacred body alone; and the wine which they drank after receiving the sacred body they did not receive from the cup.

He was accustomed to inflict additional castigation on the cooks and dairy-maids and scullions because they used to waste much of the produce, both milk and corn. They regard it as a serious fault if the vessel which is used for pouring out the milk, and which still contains the drainings of the milk, is immersed again to draw water: but either a separate vessel should be used for each portion, or else the vessel which retains traces of the milk should be cleaned and the drainings of the milk removed before it is plunged in water, or the milk remaining in the vessel should be used to make whey-water, or the vessel should be dipped in whey.

- 11 If Sunday should fall on a day within a coming octave they reckoned the Sunday as one of the days of the octave, though they did not perform on it the office of the octave, but a separate office of its own; so that if Sunday fell on the third day of the octave, the Monday following was reckoned as the fourth day of the same octave and it was not necessary to treat the third day, (on which the Sunday fell, and for which the office of the octave was not performed), as being the third day as regards the performance of the office of the octave thereon, but it was left in its order, and the Monday was treated as the fourth day.

- 12 *Mael Ruain's instructions to his disciple Mael Dithruib.* When Mael Dithruib asked Mael Ruain how it would be right for him to rule himself, Mael Ruain replied: 'I bid

fraigh Maol dithreibh dhe cionnas bhudh choir chó e fein do riaghladh: 'Adeirim-si riot,' ar sé, 'fuireach do chomhnuidhe isin ait inar gnath let bheith. Na bean re cúisibh saoghalta. Na himidh go tigh an breitheamhnuis le heunduine,¹ na go haireachtas do thagra ar son enduine, acht an ag urnaighi, 7 ag sgrudadh do leighinn 7 gá theagasg da mbeth neach ler mhaith teagasg d'faghail uait.'

- 13 Adeirdís na sean-aithri nar ghnath sacramuint do tabhairt don lucht neamhfhoirbthi a n-airteagal bhais ge go ttiobra-daois freitech ris na peacadhaibh, air do mheasdaois nach dá ndeóin acht re heagla an bháis do bheirdís an freitech sin, 7 nach d'fhonn cul do chur ris na peacadhaibh, 7 nach fidir einneach cred í an inntinn bios aca do chom an fhreitigh sin, muna follas go raibhe se ar deigh-shlighid dreas d'aimsir roimh phunc an bháis. Adeirdis drong oile gur choir sacramuint do thabhairt doibh san phonc dheidheanach, ma mheasaid na cléirigh gurb o chroidhe glan do bheura sé freitech ris na peacadhaibh.
- 14 Adeirdis cuid dona sean-aithribh nar choir aifrionn do radh ar anmannaibh na muinntire nach ccaithdis comaoineacha roimh bas d'fhaghail doibh. Adeirdís drong oile dhiobh a chontrardha. Legh an leabhar darab ainm Thuara Aithri fán chas sin 7 dogheubha tú ann nar gnath oifrionn do radh ar anmannaibh na muinntire do gheibhdís bás gan sacramuint.
- 15 An mhuintir nach chaithdis feoil ge go tteagmadh, do choigill an arain a n-aimsir na gorta, go bfaighdis cead feola d'ithe fa caisg ar uairibh, ní mo ina leithead dearnainne d'aran fá gnath leis do thabhairt doibh [f. 2^b] doibh 7 fir-bheagán dighe.
- 16 Nir ghnath leo imtheacht idir an altoir 7 an chlais tarsna bhios ar béulaibh na haltóra, 7 gibe theid annsin as cuis pheannaide aca é.
- [16] ² Nir bh'aíl leo peisd ar bith do mharbad ón chrann-saingéal gus an altóir oir as í iodhbairt chuirp CRíost 7 a fola amhain fa gnath do dheunamh san ait sin.

¹ in margin nota. ² so numbered in MS.

thee,' said he, 'to abide always in the place where thou were wont to be. Meddle not with worldly disputes. Go not with any man to a law-court, nor to an assembly, to plead on account of any man, but continue in prayer and in pondering thy reading, and in teaching, if there be any that desire to receive instruction from thee.'

- 13 The old Fathers used to say that it was not customary to give the sacrament to people of imperfect life *in articulo mortis*, even though they should renounce their sins, because they considered such renunciation to be made through fear of death, not of their free will or of desire to turn their backs on their sins, and because none knows what is the motive impelling them to such renunciation, unless it be clear that the dying man was on the right road a good while before the moment of death. Others said that it was right to give them the sacrament at the last moment, if the clergy consider that the dying man will renounce his sins with a clean heart.
- 14 Some of the old Fathers used to say that it was not right to say a mass for the souls of monks who did not receive communion before dying. Other Fathers held the contrary opinion. Read the book called *Tuara Aithre* on this case, and you will find there that it was not customary to say mass for the souls of monks who died without receiving the sacrament.
- 15 Though it sometimes happened that monks who ate no flesh were permitted to eat it at Easter, to save bread in time of dearth, yet it was not customary to give them more than a handsbreadth of bread and a very small quantity of drink.
- 16 It was not customary among them to pass between the altar and the transverse choir which is in front of the altar, and if anyone so passes, he is held to have incurred penance. They were unwilling to kill any creature whatever between the chancel-rail and the altar, for by custom only the body of Christ and his blood might be sacrificed in that space.

- 17 Do ba gnath leo cuid gach en-oidhche go ceann seachtmhuine do leughadh do leabhar Eoin 7 cuid gach oidhche go ceann seachtmhuine oile do leughadh do leabhar apstail.
- [17]¹ Do fhiafruigh neach do Mhaol Ruain feacht ann cionnas bhudh choir leabhar Eoin 7 leabhar apstail do chantain gach oidhche. Do fhreagair dho marso: 'As sean-ghnáth,' ar sé, 'cuid gach oidhche do radh no do leughadh go ceann seachtmhaine do leabhar Eoin, 7 cuid gach oidhche go ceann seachtmhuine oile do leabhar apstail; ní gnath linne sin do laghdughadh. *Contrarium interdicimus.*'
- 18 'Na n-aonar fa gnath² leo aige sion gabhail na psalm *usque ad interposita. Sed non soli .i. sine sociis canebant versus. Secreto canebant et soluebant debita peccatorum.* Nir fhiafraighios do Mhaol Ruain fein an go hard no go hisiol adeireadh se na psailm (ar an t-ugdar.)
- 19^a Nir bh'aíl lais eun-duine do laghdughadh en-neith da ualach, da troma da mbeith se aige. 'An dlichthear dhiom,' ar se, 'ní coir dhamh a iarraidh a chur dhiom, acht a dhiol do bhrigh go bhfuil se d'fhiachaibh orm.' Do eudromaigheadh sé ualach na sagart an tan do chiodh go ccuireadh se toirmeasg orra fa an aifreann do radh.
- 19^b Da tteagmadh don chuid do mhuinntir Maol Ruain do caitheadh comaoineacha gacha seachtmhuine tre chuis no theagmais eigin nach ccaithfidis comaoineacha dia domhnaigh, do ordaigheadh doibh dul do chom comaoineach dardaoin d'eis an domhnaigh inar choir dhoibh comaoineacha do chaitheamh, oir fa rofhada leis iad d'fhuireach gan comaoineacha gu domhnach aris. Doba cinnti an da la sin aca re haifrionn do dheunamh innta.
- 20 Ní hail leis a ndeunaid drong ann do dheunamh dhá mhuinntir féin .i. gan a tteagmhann daibh do pheacadhaibh sologtha, 7 do sgrupul mar ata *murmur*, briat[h]ra diomhaoineacha 7 ithiomradh 7 fearg, 7 a leithéide oile ar feadh na seachtmhuine do chor a bhfaoisidin go domhnach, acht

¹ so numbered in MS. ² fa gnath bis MS.

17 It was their custom to read the portion of scripture for each night throughout one week from the gospel of John, and the portion for each night throughout the next week from the Acts of the Apostles. Once some one asked Mael Ruain how it would be proper to recite the gospel of John and the Acts of the Apostles each night. He replied thus: 'It is an old custom,' said he, 'to say or read the portion for each night for a week from the gospel of John, and the portion for each night for another week from the Book of Acts. It is not our custom to decrease this amount. *Contrarium interdiciamus.*'

18 In his time it was customary for each of them to recite the Psalms in private as far as the *interposita*. But they did not sing the verses when alone, that is, without their fellows. They sang in secret and paid the debts of sinners. I did not ask Mael Ruain himself (says the author) whether he said the psalms aloud or under his breath.

19 He did not wish anyone to decrease any part of his burden, however heavy he might feel it. 'The duty I owe,' said he, 'it is not right for me to seek to put from me, but it must be paid as a debt due by me.' He used to lighten the burden of the priests whenever he saw that it was a hindrance to them in saying mass.

If it happened to those of Mael Ruain's monks who communicated every week that from any cause or accident they did not communicate on Sunday, he ordered them to go to communion on the Thursday after the Sunday on which they ought to have communicated, because it was, in his opinion, too long for them to wait without communion until the Sunday following. Those two days were appointed to them for celebrating mass.

20 It was not his wish that his monks should do as some do, that is, defer until Sunday the confession of venial sins and slight offences like murmuring, idle words, backbiting, anger and such others as they might happen to commit in the course

as eadh do ordaigh se dha mhuintir comh luath 7 tuitfead siad ina leitheidibh sin a ccor a bhfaoisidin gan mhaill.

- 21 An mhuintear do ní a bhfaoisidin re hanmcharaid airidhe ma choimhli[onai]d¹ siad an bhreith aithrighe do chuir an anmc[h]ara sin orra, ní heigean daib (.i. ní fhuil d'fhiachaibh orra) na peacaidh sin do chuireadar a bhfaoisidin annsin 7 agar choimhliónadar a mbreith aithrighe do chur a bhfaoisidin d'anmcharaid oile arís, acht a ttarla dhoibh amhain do chairthibh o do rinneadar [a] bhfaoisidin roimhe sin ris an cceud-anmcharaid do chor síos don anmcharaid dedeanaigh. Gidheadh, munar choimhliónadar an breitheamhnaic aithrighe do chuir an cheud-anmchara orra, as coir doibh an fhaoisidin cheudna do dheunamh leis an dara hanmcharaid arís, 7 an breithiomhnus aithrighe chuirfeas se orra do choimhliónadh.
- 22 Ní mor an tarbha leis faoiseide mheinic 7 tuitim go meinic da heis isin pheacadh [f. 3^a] gan an bhreith aithrighe do choimhliónadh mar as coir. As uime do chuir Elair an t-aos peannaide do ghlac se uaidhe arís mar² ccoimhliónadaois an ní adeirthi riu.
- 23 Ní hurasa leis comhairle do thabhairt uaidhe fa fheoil d'ithe san chorgas mhor an uair theagmas gorta ann; acht d'eagla duine d'fagháil bhais an tan nach biadh aithearrach feola do bhiadh aige fuilngidh sé duine d'ithe feola san chorghas, acht as deacair leir³ a chor d'fhiachaibh ar dhuine a hithe na a thabhairt do chomhairle dho a hithe. Tara ceann muna raibhi a haithearrach do bhiadh ag duini san chorgas as maith do ní se a hithe.
- 24 Luighe bréige, as fiach aibhne a pheannaid⁴ sin aige an chéd-uair. Bheith ar arán 7 uisge an dara huair. Trosgadh gan enní an treas uair do chaitheamh; as ionann peannaid mhionn mbreige aige o shoin amach 7 na muinntire m^l.allaighear.
- 25 Oidhche dhardáoin na ccomaoineach do mhaithedh sé an chrosfighill don aos peannaide, 7 ní buailtí fiach aibhne orra

¹ choimhlid MS. ² supply nach. ³ read leis. ⁴ (in margin) Pennaid .i. breitheamhnus aithrighe.

of the week, but he ordered his monks, as soon as any of them fell into such errors, to confess them without delay.

- 21 When monks make confession to a certain confessor and perform the prescribed penance which this confessor lays upon them, it is not necessary for them (that is, they are not obliged) to confess again to another confessor the sins which they have already confessed and for which they have performed the penance prescribed. It is only such faults as they may have incurred since their previous confession to the first confessor that they need open to the latter confessor. However, if they have not performed the penance prescribed for them by the first confessor, it is right for them to repeat the same confession to the second confessor, and to perform the penance which he shall prescribe for them.
- 22 There is not much profit, he thinks, in making frequent confession and afterwards falling frequently into sin, without performing the prescribed penance as is right. This is why Hilary sent away the penitents he had accepted, as they did [not] perform what they were bidden to do.
- 23 It is not easy, he thinks, to give advice as to eating flesh in Lent, when there happens to be a dearth; yet for fear that a man might die when he has no other food as an alternative to flesh, he tolerates the eating of flesh in Lent, but finds it difficult to enjoin on any man to eat it, or to advise him to eat it. Nevertheless, if a man has no other food as an alternative in Lent, he does well to eat flesh.
- 24 For swearing falsely, the penance he assigns is castigation at the first offence. For the second, a diet of bread and water. The third time, a fast without any sort of food. For further offences, he assigns the same penance to false oaths as to monks who are excommunicated.
- 25 On the eve before Maundy Thursday he used to excuse penitents from the cross-vigil, and on the same eve no castigation was inflicted on them. They had whey-water and

an oidhche cheudna. Meadg-uisge 7 aran a bproinn an oidhche ceudna. Do bhíodh seanmoir aige fa mheadhon laoi dardaoin na ccomaoineach ar mar do bhí suipér an uain chasgdha ag CRiosd 7 ag na hapstalaibh: da eisi sin do theighdís don phroinntigh, 7 do chaithdís proinn iarnóine, ionann 7 uair airidhe chinnti do bheith aca do chom bidh d'ithe d'eis meadhoin laoi, 7 da eisi sin do theighdís do dheunamh an ionnlaid a ccuimhne an ionnlaid do rinne CRiosd ar chosaibh na n-apsdal. Do chandaois biaid an fad do bhíodh ag an ionnlad sin, 7 na dhiaidh sin do bhíodh seanmoir aige dhoib ar mar do ionnail CRiosd cosa na n-apsdal. Da eisi sin do theighdís do radh easbairt.

26 Do mhaitheadh se fiach aibhne, 7 crosfigheall, 7 psailm urnaigthe dheiridh lae dhoibh idir dha chaisg. Do nidís figheall (mesaim gurb ionann sin 7 an chrosfighill) 7 sleuchtain ar mhaidin, 7 crosfhighe¹ ag biaid o mhionchaisg go cingcidhis, 7 do búailtí an fiach aibhne ann. Do nidís lucht na haithrige figheall ar maidin 7 trath nona o deasgabail go cingcidhis. Ní deuntaoí seanmoir aca ag liodanaibh, na aifrionn san oidhche acht ar mhíodhnocht amhain, mar do ordaigh Maol Ruain doibh.

27 As fearr leis duine do dheunamh faoisidne ge nach tiocfadh leis an breitheamhnas aithrige budh choir do chur air fa na pheacadhaibh d'iomchar, acht go ttigeadh leis ní eigin de d'iomchar, ina gan a deunamh ar chor ar bith. Oí: o chuireas neach a pheacaidh a bhfaoisidin, ge nach coimhionfadh an bhreitheamhnas aithrige cóir, ata se ar slighe inar coir dho dochus do bheith aige a nDia go slaineochar é. Foghnaidh an faoisidin féin ar an modh sin do dhuine as nach beire se otrach na bpeacadh gan fhaoisidin ara choinisias do chom bais.

28 Ase sasadh troisgthi do ordaigh se san Riaghail .i. an tomhas arain da ngoirthi boim, 7 buigheun meadg-uisgi do lucht fuis. Mas duine tinn é do² gheibheadh se da bhoim 7 uisge.

¹ read crosfhighill. ² do do MS.

bread for supper the same eve. He used to have a sermon preached at midday of Maundy Thursday on the subject of Christ and the Apostles eating the supper of the paschal lamb. After this they used to go to the refectory and eat the evening meal (this means that they had a certain fixed hour for eating food after the midday service), and went afterwards to perform the washing of feet in memory of Christ's washing the feet of the Apostles. While this was going on they sang the *Beati*, and afterwards he used to have a sermon preached to them on Christ washing the Apostles' feet. After that they went and said vespers.

- 26 Between the two Easters he used to excuse castigation and cross-vigils and the psalms at compline. They used to perform a vigil (this, I think, was the same as the cross-vigil) and a prostration at lauds, and a cross-vigil with the *Beati* from Little Easter to Pentecost, and castigation was administered at that time. Penitents used to perform a vigil at lauds and at nones from Ascension to Pentecost. No sermon was preached to them at the Litanies, nor was there any mass at night, except the midnight mass, as Mael Ruain directed.
- 27 He thinks it better for a man to make confession, even though he should be unable to bear the full penance which it would be right to impose for his sins (provided he can bear a part), rather than not make any confession. For once anyone confesses his sins, even if he should not perform in full the penance due, he is on the road in which he may have hope in God that he will be saved. Confession, even of this kind, helps a man in that he does not bear the filth of his sins unconfessed on his conscience till death.
- 28 The fasting diet which he appointed in his Rule is as follows : the measure of bread called a 'mouthful' and a *buigén* (pannikin) of whey-water, for persons in sound health. If a man were sickly, he received two mouthfuls and [two pannikins of whey-]water.

- 29 [f. 3^b] An tan do bhíodh duine a bpunc bhais no ar ball d'eis an t-anam da fhagbhail do cantaoi *Canticum Salomonis* osa chionn. As e dob fhath doibh chuige sin do bhrigh gurb ceangal na heaglaisi 7 gacha hanma CRiosduidhe ciall-aigther san chantic sin.
- 30 Dob eaglach leo enní do ghlacadh o dhaoibh saoghalta mar tidhlacadh d'eagla go luighfeadh 'na choimhideacht sin peacadh na muinntire dobheuradh doibh e orra, acit amhain muna ghlacdaois uatha e a ngioll ar bheith ag guidhe orra. Oir mar as ar antí ghabhas chuige bit[h]bhineach no an¹ gaduidhe, no dobheir leabuidh no áit comhnaidhe do, thuitid cionta an ghaduidhe, as mar sin leanaid peacaidh na ndaoineadh saoghalta do mhuintir ghlacas sgrebaill no tioidh-laicthe uat[h]a.
- 31 Decimnoir .i. ainm don tshoidheach do bhíodh aca ag gabhail na deachmhuidhe, as chuigi do bhíodh se aca dochom deachmuidhe eisg 7 gruisle do ghabhail (ní thuigim créad as ciall do ghruisle munab ionann e 7 gruth, no munab ar na greamannaibh do ithdis do beirthear e). Gach orda eisg dá n-ithdis 7 gach gruisle do chuirdis da thomhas san decimnoir e ar tus. Do chongmhadis naoí n-oirdni 7 naoi ngruisle dhoibh fein, 7 do beirdis an deachmhadh ordu 7 an deachmhadh gruisle dona bochtaibh. As uime do bhíodh an decimnoir aca do chom a ccoda do thomhas go cothrom d'eagla go n-iosdaois ní ar bith d'iomurcaigh gan a deachmhaidh do dhiol ris na bochtaibh.
- 32 Brat[h]air tuata do bhí a cuideachta méic beathadh la ann adubhairt mar so : ' Ní feadar,' ar se, ' créud an tarbha bhios duinn beith ag sir-radh na biaide 7 chantaige Muire 'na coimhideacht tar urnaighthi oile.' ' Na biodh sin 'na cheisd ort no 'na chonntabhairt,' ar an mac beathadh : ' Ionnamhail,' ar se, ' do bhíadh neach fá bhun croiche do chom a chrochda, an moladh do gheunadh se don righ do bhíadh da chrochadh 7 neimheile (.i. tuisi) do geunadh se ris ag iarraidh a shaort[h]a air, as a letheid sin do mholadh 7 do nemeile² do nimid-ne re ri nime annsa bhíaid far sáoradh

¹ omit ² .i. tuirse.

- 29 When a man was at the point of death, or immediately after his soul departed, the *Canticum Salomonis* was sung over him. The reason of this practice was that in that cantic is signified the union of the Church with every Christian soul.
- 30 They were loath to accept anything as a gift from worldly people, lest the sin of those who gave it to them should accompany it and fall upon them: unless it were that they accepted it as a pledge that they would pray for the givers. For as the sins of the thief fall on him who entertains a thief or criminal or gives him a bed or harbourage, so the sins of worldly people cleave to those who accept from them fees or gifts.
- 31 The *decimnoír* (that is the name of the vessel which they had to take the tithe) was kept for the purpose of receiving the tithe of fish and *gruisle* (I do not understand the meaning of *gruisle* unless it be the same as *gruth* (biestings) or unless it is used for the morsels of food which they ate). Every slice of fish that they ate and every *gruisle* used to be put first into the *decimnoír* to measure it. They used to keep nine slices and nine *gruisle* for themselves, and gave the tenth slice and the tenth *gruisle* to the poor. They kept the *decimnoír* for the purpose of weighing their portions accurately, lest they should eat anything whatever in excess, and so fail to pay the poor their tithe.
- 32 One day a lay brother who was in the company of a 'son of life' said to him: 'I do not know,' said he, 'how it profits us to be perpetually saying the *Beati* and the *Magnificat* along with it, more than other prayers.' 'Let not this cause you any doubt or difficulty,' said the 'son of life.' 'Just as one at the foot of the gallows, ready to be hanged, might utter before the king who was about to hang him praise and lamentation, imploring him for deliverance,—such is the praise and the lamentation that we utter in the *Beati* to the King of Heaven for our deliverance from the pains of Hell.

o phianaibh ifrinn. As iomchubhaidh,' ar se, 'na briat[h]ra do chuaidh as beul Muire inghine iar mbeith torrach on sbiorad naomh le failti an aingil do chur mar chathbharr tuas ar an urnaighthi ina bfuil moladh De 7 neimeili (no tuirsi) ris da deagh-mhaisiughadh.'

33^a An tan do ghabhdaois eccnaire dhuine, a ainm baisde do ghnathaighdis do thabhairt air. Adubhairt Maoil Ruain da tteagmhadh na budh chumhain le neach ainm an tí ara mbiad se ag guidhe, da ccuimhnigheadh se ar an cceud-shiolla de go madh lor sin.

33^b Do ordaigh dhoibh gan sgeula d'fhiafraighe don mhuintir thigeadh ar cuairt chuca no do chaint riu, acht na gnothaighi fa ttangadar amhain do dheunamh, do bhrigh gurb mor an urchoid do nid 7 an toirmeasg chuirid ar mheanmain antí da n-aisneidhtear na sgeula sin.

34 [f. 4^a] A mbí d'iomarcaidh ann os cionn choda an choimh-tionoil as é ordaiges sé¹ dona bochtaibh, do bhrigh nach beith a fhios ag an ccoimhthionol ga taobh a ngebadh se d'iarraidh *neith* muna raibhe se aca féin astigh. Gidhe or-daighidh se gan sen-taisgthe aca do sbolladhaibh saille 7 do rúsgaib ime *et cetera*, 7 a riachtanus arna bochtaibh.

35 (in margin : *Maeldithrivus quærit ab Hilario alio a magno Hilario et longe recentiore Hilario.*) Do fhiafraig Maol dithreib do Elair an bhudh choir ní do thoradh na heagailsi do ghlacadh o cleirc[h]ibh na sein-cheall ara bfiannfuidhe nach beith beatha mhaith aca. Do freagair Elair do gur chóir, 'do brigh,' ar se 'nach luigheann enní dia n-olc ort-sa muna raibhe cuid agad da ngabhail no da ccongmail isna céimionn-aibh a bhfuilid no isna hordaibh, 7 ge go mbeid'dis-sion coirpthe ar son a ndroc[h]-bheathadh féin, ní coirpthe toradh na cille no an naoimh do bheannaigh innte. As fearr an ceart atá againne ar a ghabhail, má gheibmid é, ina ata aca-san ar a bheith aca, 7 iad go holt.'

Here a blank space of about twelve lines in MS.

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* * *

¹ Supply do thabhairt.

It is fitting,' said he, 'that the words which came from the lips of the Virgin Mary, when she conceived by the Holy Ghost at the angel's greeting, should be set as a crown upon the prayer wherein there is praise of God and also lamentation, as an embellishment.'

- 33 When they chanted a requiem, they were accustomed to add the baptismal name of the dead. Mael Ruain said that if any one happened to forget the name of the man he was praying for, it would suffice if he could recall the first syllable.

He bade them not to ask the people who came to visit them for news, or to talk to them, but only to transact the business that they came about : because great is the harm that is done and the disturbance that is caused by such news to the mind of him to whom it is told.

- 34 What remains over and above the portion of the community he orders to be kept for the poor, because the community would not know where to turn to seek anything if they themselves had nothing in the house. He orders them, however, not to keep any hoard of fitches of bacon or firkins of butter and so forth, while the poor need them.

- 35 *A question put by Mael Dithruib to Hilary, who was not the great Hilary, but a much later person.*

Mael Dithruib asked Hilary whether it would be right to accept any of the fruits of the church from the clergy of the old churches who were known not to be leading a good life? Hilary replied that it was right, 'For,' said he, 'thou hast no responsibility for their evil ways if thou hadst no hand in receiving or maintaining them in the degrees or orders which they occupy; and even though they be corrupt, by reason of their own bad life, the fruits of the church, or of the saint who left his blessing there, are not corrupt. We have a better right to receive them, if we do receive them, than they have to own them, being evil as they are.'

- 36 Adubhairt Maol Ruain¹ ‘Do chuala,’ ar sé, ‘as í figheall² as gnath lé Duibhlitir³ na tri chaoga psalm do radh ina sheasomh, 7 slechtain ar deireadh gach psailm’. ‘Ní mar sin orduighim-si é,’ ar Maol Ruain, ‘acht gach re ccaoca no gach re psalm (“gach re ngabhail” ata agan tshein-leabhar) do ghabhail a suidhe 7 a seasamh. Da mbeith neach,’ ar se, ‘ní as faide na sin ’na shuidhe do bheith a chodladh ag tuitim air, 7 dá mbeith se ní as faide ’na sheasamh do beith se cuirthe.’
- 37 As í figheall do niodh Muirceartach mac Olcobhar air-chinneach Cluana Fearta, da bhiaid deug do radh ar son na tri ccaocat psalm, ar an adbar go raibhe a fhios aige gurb lia dona manchaibh, no don aos peannaide, aga mbiodh an bhiaid do mhebhair ina na psailm, 7 adeireadh se *Magnificad* a ndeireadh gach biaide. O mac beathadh fuair se an [f. 4^b] gnathugadh sin .i. *Magnificad* do radh ar deireadh gach biaide. Adubairt mar so: ‘Obair do gentaoi do righ,’ ar se⁴, ‘as coir a beith ar na horadh 7 a breith⁵ breaghdha dor taobh amuigh. As é oradh na hoibre ud do nímid-ne do Dhia,’ ar se, ‘an chaintic do labhair an sbiorad naomh tre bheul Mhuire.’
- 38 Feusdadh⁶ na naomh mór theagmhus ar mhairt no dhardaoín a n-eugmais an chorghais do nídís leath-annlann inta, 7 da bhuigheun leanna no meadhg-uisge, acht do chuir se a cead Mhaoile Ruain⁷ cia dhiobh do hiobthaoí, lionn no meadhg-uisgi. Do fhoghnad an tomhas da ngoirthi cingid (ní fheadar an d’eunduine amhain no dhoibh uile) ar feadh an da la sin (.i. mairt 7 dardaoín) lan do lionn, da tteagmadh na feusdadh mora sin orra.
- 39 Nior hibheadh braon leanna a tTamhlachta re beo Mhaoile Ruain, 7 an tan teighdis amach fan tir ní biodh a cead aca

¹ read Maol Dithreib; cf. c. 102 *infra*. ² fighioll *idem est quod vigilia*.

³ Duibhlitir ab. ⁴ ar se ar se MS. ⁵ read beith. ⁶ (*in margin*) Muna raibhi feusda ar bith ar na laithibh sin ní biodh aca acht da bhuighen do bhainne no da honngan im. ⁷ (*in margin*) Tuigim as so nach e Maol Ruain tuigthior anso in gach en-ait acht naomh eigin oile aga raibhe Maol Ruain ’na anmcharaid, 7 aga raibhe manaigh 7 aos peannaide aige fein dá riaghladh. (*another note adds*) Dar let as e Mael Dithribh, acht fech an é mac bethadh ata roimhe fós, arar labhair chena.

- 36 'I have heard,' said Mael Dithruib, 'that Dublitr's customary form of vigil is to say the hundred and fifty psalms standing, with a genuflexion at the end of each psalm.' 'Such is not my command,' said Mael Ruain, 'but to chant every other fifty (or, every other psalm—the old book says, 'each division,') sitting and standing alternately. If any one,' said he, 'were to remain seated longer than this, he would fall asleep: and if he remained standing longer, he would be tired out.'
- 37 The vigil which Muirchertach mac Olcobhair, erenagh of Clonfert, used to keep was to say the *Beati* twelve times in place of the hundred and fifty psalms, because he knew that there were more of the monks or penitents who knew the *Beati* by heart than knew the Psalms; and he used to say the *Magnificat* after each repetition of the *Beati*. He learned from a 'son of life' this practice of saying the *Magnificat* after the *Beati*. He said: 'It is right that the work that is made for a king should be gilded and adorned outwardly. And this is the gilding of the work that we fashion for God,' said he, 'even the canticle which the Holy Spirit uttered through the mouth of Mary.'
- 38 On festivals of the greater saints falling on a Tuesday or Thursday¹ outside Lent, they served a half portion of condiment with two measures of ale or whey-water, but he left it to Mael Ruain² to decide whether ale or whey-water should be drunk. The measure called a *cingit*, full of ale was used (I do not know whether for a single person or for all of them) during these two days, namely Tuesday and Thursday, if the great festivals fell on these days.
- 39 Not a drop of ale was drunk at Tallaght in Mael Ruain's lifetime, and when they went out into the country he did

¹ If there was no kind of festival on these days, they only had two pannikins of milk or two ounces of butter. ² I infer from this that it is not in every case Mael Ruain who is referred to, but some other saint, whose confessor Mael Ruain was, and who had monks and penitents of his own under his rule. You might suppose this other saint to be Mael Dithruib, but consider whether he may be the 'son of life' also mentioned above, to whom the writer has already referred.

bráon leanna d'ol a n-eun-ait a tTir Chualann (Tir Chualann ainm na tire a bfuil Tamhlachta), na a bhfogas do Thamhlacht a n-eun-ait, acht an tan dotheigh[dis] fa thirthibh oile a bfad o Thamhlacht do bhíodh a chead aca a ol annsin da bfgadis e.

- 40 (*in margin* : Duibhlitir ab naomhtha)¹. Nir hitheadh fos mír feola a tTamhlachta riamh re beo Maoile Ruain, acht feoil fhiadha 7 muic allta do beirthi dona haoidheadhaibh, an chuid diobh ler bh'aíl feoil. Tainic Dubhlitir do chom Maoil Ruain 'ga fhurail air cead do thabairt dona braithribh lionn d'ol ar na tri primh-shollamnaibh (ní chuirionr se ainm na bprimh-shollaman sin sios) san mbliadhain. Adubhairt Maol Ruain 'An feadh,' ar se, 'beid fam chumhachtaibh-si 7 choimheadfas siad mh'aithne, ní ibaid bráon dermaid De san bhaili-si.' 'Ibhid mo mhuintir-sa,' ar Dubhlithain no Dublitir (mar so sgríobthar e, Dublit-²), 'lionn, 7 biaidh siad a bhflaithios De fa re do mhuintire-si.' 'Ní fhuil a fhios sin agam,' ar Maol Ruain, 'acht ata a fhios-so agam,' ar se, 'gach duine dom mhuintir eisdfios riom-sa 7 coimheadfas mo riaghail ní bhia riachdanas aca breitheamhnas do bhreith orra na teine bhratha da nglanadh, ar an adhbhar go mbeid siad glan chena. Ní mar sin dod mhuintir-si : biaidh ní aca ghlanfus teine bhratha.'
- 41 (*in margin* : Caoinchomrag epscup). Do bhí easbag dona Deisibh isin mbaili darab ainm Fionnghlais dar bh'ainm Caoinchomrag, 7 as e dob anmchara do Dhubhlitir. Tangadar ar aon la dh'airidhe as an ngort roimh na braithribh tar cheim an fhail (no an claidh) do bhí timcheal an ghuint (as cosmhail annso gurb ag buáin an ghuint do bhí Dublitir 7 a mhanaigh). Do bhí bean bocht ag fuireach re Dublitir ar an bhfaithche aga iarraidh air í fein do leigion amcasg na mban riaghalta do bhí faoi. Do bhí sí roliosda ar Dhubhlitir aga iarraidh sin air. Do labhair Dubhlitir go dorrdha ria ag radh 'Bí ar siobhal, narab marthain duit.' Aga chlos sin

¹ this note is prefixed to c. 39 but evidently belongs to c. 40. ² in margin Féach cionnus sgríobthar o thús, ór ní tainic Duibhlithain ar belaibh Maoil Dithreibh.

not allow them to drink a drop of ale anywhere in Tir Cualann, (that is the name of the country in which Tallaght is situated), nor anywhere near Tallaght. But when they went into other parts at a distance from Tallaght, he allowed them to drink it there, if they got it.

40 Also no bit of flesh meat was ever eaten at Tallaght in Mael Ruain's lifetime, except when the flesh of deer or wild swine was set before guests, such of them as desired flesh meat. Dublithir came to Mael Ruain urging him to give the brethren leave to drink ale on the three chief festivals in the year (he does not name the chief festivals). Mael Ruain replied: 'So long,' said he, 'as they are under my control and keep my commands, they shall drink no drop that causes them to forget God in this place.' 'My monks drink ale,' said Dublithain (or Dublithir: it is written thus: Dublit-)¹: 'and they shall be in the Kingdom of God along with thine.' 'I do not know about that,' said Mael Ruain, 'but this I know,' said he, 'every monk of mine that hearkens to me and keeps my Rule shall have no need of judgment to be passed on him, nor of the fire of doomsday to cleanse him, because they shall be clean already. Not so thy monks; they shall have somewhat that the fire of doomsday will cleanse.'

41 There was a bishop of the Desi in the place called Finglas, whose name was Cainchomrac, and he was Dublithir's confessor. One day they came together in front of the brethren out of the field and over the fence or ditch enclosing the field. (Probably Dublithir and his monks had been mowing the field). A poor woman was waiting for Dublithir on the lawn to ask him to admit her among the nuns who were under his rule. Dublithir grew weary of her entreaties and spoke to her roughly, saying: 'Be off now, ill betide thee!' On hearing these words bishop Cainchomrac immediately bowed

¹ Examine how the name is written earlier, for Dubliathain never met Mael Dithruib.

don easbag do Chaoinchomhrag do shleacht se gan mhaill do chom talmhan. ‘Creud so a Chaoinchomhrag?’ ar Dublitir. ‘As truagh sin,’ ar Caoinchomhrag, ‘as mor an gníomh do ríghnis, cainead na tróighe (.i. na mna boichte).’ Do shleacht Dublitir ann sin. ‘Do beura misi do bhreith-sa don mhnaoi bhoicht 7 do Dhia isin ghníomh sin,’ ar Dublitir. ‘As í mo bhreath-sa,’ ar [f. 5^a] Caoinchomhrag, ‘an bhean bhoicht do leigean asteach ameasg na mban ccrabhaidh, no loilgeach 7 eudach do thabhairt le mba heidir fuireach na n-eugmais, 7 ’na cheann feuchfa me ar in breith aithrige as coir do chor ort isin chaineadh mor 7 isin tarcaisne tugais don mhnaoi boicht.’ ‘Do gheun-sa,’ ar Dublitir, ‘gach ní dibh sin do choimhlonadh do reir do thoile-si.’

- 42 Fa beus do Mhaol dithreibh *Sancte Michael ora pro nobis*, *Sancta Maria ora pro nobis*, idir gach da shalm dona tri chaogad salm, 7 maille riú sin adeireadh se ainm an naoimh sa feil do biodh ar an la sin idir gach da shalm; mas feil Patraig i, adeireadh se *Sancte Patricii ora pro nobis*, mas feil Bríghde, *Sancta Brigida ora pro nobis*, 7 marsin gach aon naom oile sa feusda tigeadh aran la.

- 43 Tri tomhais bheag dar bh’ainm bochtan do lionn 7 let[h]-annlann, as í beat[h]a do bhíodh aca tri trath na laitheadh ar a mbidis feusdadh mora. Ní ithdís annlann ime oidche mhairt no dhardaoin no shathairn no dhomhnaig, biodh nach biadh an corgus ann, 7 go mbiadh feil ar en-oidche dhiobh sin, acht lom meadhg-uisge as annlann doibh innta. Da tteagmadh nach beth lom meadhg-uisge no lionn aca, 7 go tteigeumadh feil ar en-oidche dhiobh, do berthi a chead doib brothcán ¹ do dhenamh do mhín 7 uisge, 7 ní cuirthi don mhín air acht an cet[h]romhadh cuid don chingid (.i. soideach tomais), 7 do ordaigh Maol Ruain gan deoch d’ol de sin, acht bolgama amhain.

¹ (*in margin*) Ní fetar (adeir an t-ugdar) an do ghnathughadh do bhí aca an brothan sin do dheunamh isna hoidhcibh sin, no an e Maol Ruain dorinne dispensait riú fa na dheunamh. As í mo doigh gurb é Maol Ruain tug mar nuaideacht doibh e a n-aimsir na bhfeasdadh.

himself to the ground. 'What is this, Cainchomrac?' said Dublithir. 'Good lack,' said Cainchomrac, 'it is a terrible thing thou hast done, to revile the wretched,' (that is, the poor woman). Then Dublithir bowed himself. 'I will make satisfaction at thine award to the poor woman and to God, for what I have done,' said Dublithir. 'This is my award,' said Cainchomrac. 'Thou shalt admit the poor woman among the devout women, or give her a milch cow and a garment, wherewith she will be able to endure without their help. And I will further consider what penance it is proper to lay on thee for the sore abuse and scorn thou hast put upon the poor woman.' 'I will do so,' said Dublithir, 'and will perform all these things according to thy will.'

42 It was Mael Dithruib's custom to sing *Sancte Michael ora pro nobis*, *Sancta Maria ora pro nobis*, between every two of the hundred and fifty psalms, and he added thereto between every two psalms the name of the saint whose feast fell on that day. If it was S. Patrick's Day, he would say *Sancte Patricii ora pro nobis*: if it was S. Brigit's Day, *Sancta Brigida ora pro nobis*, and so with every other saint whose feast fell on the day.

43 Three fills of a small measure called a *bochtan* of ale, and a half portion of condiment—this was their allowance of food thrice a day on the great festivals. On the evenings before a Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday or Sunday, even if it were not in Lent, and even if a festival fell on any of these evenings, they did not eat butter as condiment, but a draught of whey-water served as condiment on these occasions. If a festival happened to fall on one of these evenings, and they did not happen to have a draught of whey-water or ale, he gave them leave to make porridge¹ of meal and water, the amount of meal added being only a quarter of a *cingit* (i.e. a vessel for measuring); and Mael Ruain ordered them not to drink a full draught of this but only to sip it.

¹ 'I do not know,' says the author, 'whether it was their usual custom to make this porridge on these evenings, or whether it was Mael Ruain who gave them a dispensation to do so. I am of opinion that it was Mael Ruain who introduced it as an innovation at festal seasons.'

- 44 Adubairt Maol Ruain re Maol dithreibh 'An tan,' ar se, 'theigemas soideach dighe chugam ni iobad dhigh acht bolgama.' 'As ferr deoch,' ar Maol dithribh, 'do chosg an tarta.' 'Ni thioibhar-sa,' ar Maol Ruain, 'an chomhairle sin d'eundúine iarrfas teagusg orm, acht bolgama d'ol, oir coisgid sin an ítaidh 7 as luga an sians 7 an t-aiteas bhios ag neach a n-aimsir tharta isna bolgamaibh ina san digh.'
- 45 Fa gnath leo an cethramhadh cuid uisge do chur san leamhnacht muna mbeith bainne eile ar a fud. An tan do bruithí í do chuirdis uisge trithe da bruith. Boim don bhairghin boimigh (.i. misur beag arain) 7 deoch do bhíodh aca roimh meadhon lae dia domhnaig. Leath na bairgine ceudna 7 boim 7 liach meala, anuair do chuireadh Dia chucu í, do bhíodh aca d'eis meadhoin laoi dia domhnaig. Tri soidhighe no tomhais dar bh'ainm bochtain do lionn 7. leath-annlann, 7 dá tteagmadh liach mheala faris sin ann, do cuirthi ar a ccuid brochain. As e sin meudughadh do bhí ara ccuid bidh isna ¹ hocht feilibh taobh amuigh do dhomhnach i ngach noin do tri noinib na hocht feili. [f. 5^b] Geir 7 usgadh ² blonag mhúic[c] no chaorach 7 ae, ni ithdis fad. Do ithdis iasg 7 feoil fiadaigh 7 mhuc n-allta 7 cis-feoil no enlaith an uair do gheibhdis a n-egmais throisgthe iad. Fa gnat[h]ach leo blaitheach do thabhairt dona manchaibh. Ní faca gur ghnathach sin ag Maol Ruain.
- 46 Fear do sgeadh ó iomarcaigh d'ithe 7 d'ol do chuirdis trosgadh air no seachtmhain ar aran 7 uisge. Fear do sgeadh an sacramuint da fichead la ar aran 7 uisge a pheannaid. Madh tenneas do bheuradh air an tshacramuint do sgeith ní cuirthi air acht seachtmhain troisgthe ar aran 7 uisge. Mas a tteinidh no a n-uisge srotha do sgeifeadh í do chuirthi ceud psalm air. (Measuim go mbíodh an peannaid sin adubhramar faris an ccud salm). Mas a n-ait in a ttiocfadis coin no madaidh 7 go tteigeumhadh doibh sin d'ithe do cuirthí ceud la do throsgadh air.

¹ isna na MS. ² supply agus.

- 44 Mael Ruain said to Mael Dithruib: 'When a vessel happens to be offered to me, I will not take a draught, but only sips,' said he. 'A draught is better to quench thirst,' said Mael Dithruib. 'I will not give that advice,' said Mael Ruain, 'to any one who seeks instruction of me, but I shall counsel him to drink by sips; for this quenches thirst, and a man finds less sensual pleasure and satisfaction in sips than in a draught, when he is thirsty.'
- 45 It was their usage to add a fourth part of water to new milk, unless it were mixed with other milk. When it was boiled, they mixed it with water to boil it. They used to get a bit of the 'broken loaf' (that is a small measure of bread) and a drink before midday office on Sunday: and they used to get half this same loaf and a bit of bread with a spoonful of honey, when God brought it to them, after the midday office on Sunday. They got three fills of the vessel or measure called a *bochtan* of ale, with a half portion of condiment, and if they happened to be given a spoonful of honey as well, it was put on their helping of porridge: and this is the increased allowance of food they had on each of the three evenings of the eight festivals as well as on the Sunday. They did not eat suet or fat or lard of pigs or sheep, or liver. They ate fish and flesh of game and wild swine and deer, or birds, when they got these, outside times of fasting. They were accustomed to give the monks buttermilk, but I have not seen that this was used by Mael Ruain.
- 46 If a man vomited from eating or drinking to excess, they laid on him a fast, or a week on bread and water. If a man vomited the sacrament, his penance was forty days on bread and water. If an illness was the cause, only a week's fast on bread and water was imposed. If he vomited it into the fire or into running water, a hundred psalms were imposed: (I suppose that the penance mentioned was in addition to the hundred psalms.) If this happened in a place where wolves or dogs might come and they happened to eat thereof, a hundred days' fast was imposed,

- 47 Adubhairt Maol dithreibh ri Maol Ruain 'As mor an dochar do gheibhim,' ar se, 'ona bolgamaibh' (measaim gurb uimi do gheibheadh se an dochar sin mar do biodh meud na hiotan ag a bhrosdughadh do chom dighe dh'ol 7 marsin go bhfaghadh se saothar ag cur shrein ris fein). Do fhreagair Maol Ruain é ag rad 'Ata a fhios ag Dia nac[h] lugha ina sin an docomal do bhiadh ¹ a ndigh d'ol da madh eigion dam é.'
- 48 Annlann fa gnath leo do beith aca dia mairt 7 dia dardaoin isin corghas mhor, orda eisg an tan nach biodh annlann oile aca. Gibe do chaitheadh biadh ria na trath iomchubhaidh fein do cuirthe trosgadh air ann. Do chonnairc me isin Pheannadoir gur mhaith a thabhairt air beith ar aran 7 uisge an oidche d'eis an bhidh sin d'ithe roimh an am choir. An te chaithios meitheas no saill nach gnath ag an ccuid oile dona braithribh do chuis chráois, trosgadh as e a pheannaid ann, no beith da oidche ar arán 7 uisge.
- 49 An tí do chaitheadh biadh ar en-bhord re duine coindealbhaite 7 a fhios aige go mbiodh ² se coinnealbhaite do cuirthe da fhichead la ar aran 7 uisge air do pennaid.
- 50 Ni mholadh Maol Ruain eisdeacht re ceol ar bith. Do bhi ancaire a nDeisgirt Laighean do sinneadh an sort ceoil da ngoirthe cuisleanna (*inde derivatur* cuisleannach .i. fear feadain no a shamhail). Cornan ainm an fhir sin, fear e ara raibhe rath De. Do chuireadh Maol Ruain tiodh'acadh chuige do chom charadrath guidhe 7 urnaigthe do dheunamh ris. Adubhairt Cornan (.i. re muinntir Mhaoil Ruain) 'Do budh maith liomsa,' ar se, 'ceol do sheinm do Mhaoil Rúain, dá madh toil leis.' Adubhairt Maol Ruain iarna chlos sin do 'Abraidh-si re Cornán nach sasfuidhear na cluasa-sa agamsa re ceolaibh talmhannaibh no go sasdar iad re ceol nimhe.'
- 51 An chuid don áos ait[h]righe do bhiodh romhillteach a bpeacad na codla 7 da mbeirthe clann, do cuirthe seacht mbliadhna peannaide orra. An mhuinntear do dhoirteadh moran fola 7 do niodh marbadh daoineadh, do cuirthe seacht

¹ supply dam. ² not clear; written over bfuil erased.

- 47 Mael Dithruib said to Mael Ruain : ' I am much distressed by the sipping,' said he : (I suppose his distress was due to the excessive thirst that urged him to take a full draught, so that he had trouble in putting a bridle on himself). Mael Ruain answered saying : ' God knows, I should find no less annoyance in drinking a full draught, if I were forced to do so.'
- 48 On Tuesdays and Thursdays in great Lent, when they had no other condiment, they were accustomed to eat a morsel of fish as condiment. Whoever ate food before the proper time had a fast laid on him therefor. I have seen in the Penitential that it was well to put him on bread and water for the night after such eating before the proper time. If any one, out of greediness, eats fat meat or bacon which is not usually eaten by the rest of the brethren, the penance inflicted therefor is a fast, or two nights on bread and water.
- 49 If any one ate food at the same table as an excommunicated person, knowing that he was excommunicated, forty days on bread and water were imposed on him as penance.
- 50 Mael Ruain did not approve of listening to any music. There was an anchorite of Descert Laigen who used to play the sort of music called ' the pipes.' (Hence is derived ' piper ', that is, one who plays on a pipe, or the like). This man's name was Cornan, one upon whom lay the grace of God. Mael Ruain sent him a present, to make fellowship with him in prayer and supplication. Cornan said to Mael Ruain's monks : ' I should like to play music to Mael Ruain,' said he, ' if he would consent.' On hearing this Mael Ruain said : ' Tell Cornan that these ears of mine shall not be delighted with earthly music until they are delighted with the music of Heaven.'
- 51 As to such of the penitents as were corrupted by carnal sin, and had children born to them, seven years of penance were imposed on them. Upon such as had shed much blood or committed homicide, seven years of strict penance were

mblíadhna dúir-pheannaíde orra. An mhuintear do niodh peacadh [f. 6^a] na codla a tteamplaibh no a n-eaglasaibh coisrigte, seachd mblíadhna duir-pheannaíde do cuirthe orra; 7 an mhuintear re ¹ ndeuntaoi an peacadh nírluga a bpeannaíde da madh o thoil do geuntaoi an peacadh riú.

52 Ní fidir se go cinnte ca lion mblíadhna do cuirthe ar an áos peannaíde a n-aghaidh gach peacaidh dona peacadhaibh fo leith, an mo no an lugha iad ina seacht mblíadhna, no créud é an t-eidirdhealughadh ata idir pheannaíde gach droinge ann do reir a bpeacadh.² An mhuintear ara mbíodh d'fhiachaibh seacht mblíadhna pennaíde do ³ do bhídis tri cheathrachad la (ionann ceathrachad la 7 da fhíthead la) ar aran 7 ar uisge gacha bliadhna, 7 ní measgthaoí bainne na meadhg ar an uisge dhoibh ar feadh na ree sin, 7 gan saill gan im gan feoil d'faghail go ceann na seachd mblíadhna, acht brochan mine do dheunamh doibh is na feusdaibh mra 7 is na domhnaighibh.

53 Ní bhíodh saoirsi an fhighill aca acht aon noin amháin gach féil dona hoicht-fheilbh*⁴. Ní dhiongnadaois ní budh mo ina dhá ceud sleuchtain san lo muna mbeidís ag deunamh oibre, 7 maille riu sin adeirdís na tri caogad salm. Da mad don choimhthionol dobeidís ag deunamh, no fa umhlacht, ní dingnadaois acht da ceud sleuchtain. Mas doibh fein dobhídis ag deunamh oibre do nídis na tri ceud sleuchtain.

[54]⁵ An tí ag nach bíodh leighionn do bheirdís obair dho re a deunamh .i. *opus manuum*.

54 An mhuintear ara mbídh peannaíde seachd mblíadhna do leigthe do chom ⁶ comaoineach iad i ccionn leithe na haimsire iad (.i. a ccionn tri mblíadhna go leith) annsa miodnocht. Muna bfaicthear gurb lan-fhoirbhthe an aithrige bhías aige idir ghniomhaibh amuigh 7 inntinn astigh, ní leigthear arís do chom comaoineach e go ccuire se na tri bliadhna go leith

¹ le altered to re. ² (in margin) Adeir an leabhar dul gus an bpeannadóir dá fechain ga fad an aimsior pheannaíde ar son gach peacaidh fa leith, oir ní maith an chuimni ata ag Maol dithreibh air sin. ³ supply dhénumh. ⁴ (in margin) Measaim gurb iad na manaig adeir se on comharda-sa amach *. ⁵ number wrongly placed in MS. ⁶ dochom com MS.

imposed. Upon such as committed carnal sin in sacred buildings or consecrated churches, seven years of strict penance were imposed : and those with whom such sin was committed, if it were committed with their consent, underwent an equal penance.

52 He does not know exactly how many years were imposed on penitents in respect of each of their sins severally, whether more or less than seven years, nor what distinctions are made between the penances of each set of offenders according to their sins.¹ Those who were bound to perform seven years penance had to spend thrice forty days in each year (*ceathrachad lá* is the same as *dá fhichead lá*) on bread and water : no milk nor whey was mixed with their water during all that time, nor did they get any bacon or butter or flesh till the end of the seven years; they were only allowed to make oat-meal porridge on the great festivals and on Sundays.

53 They had no exemption from vigils except for one evening on each of the eight festivals. * ² They would not perform more than two hundred prostrations daily, unless they were discharging a task, and they used to say the hundred and fifty psalms at the same time. If they performed these prostrations for the congregation, or as a matter of discipline, they made only two hundred. If they were discharging a task on their own account they made the full three hundred. One who could not read was given work to do, that is, manual labour.

54 Those who were undergoing seven years' penance were admitted to communion at the midnight mass, at the end of half that period, that is, at the end of three and a half years. If his penitence did not appear to be entire and perfect both in outward acts and inward disposition, he was not admitted again to communion until he completed the remaining three and a half years of the seven. If it should

¹ The book refers us to the Penitential to see what length of penance is assigned to each particular sin, as Mael Dithruib does not remember this clearly. ² I think he is referring to the monks from this mark * on.

(There is an asterisk in the MS.)

oile do bhíodh roimhe dona seachd mbliadnaibh thairis. Ma do cithí ar a inntinn 7 ar a oibreachaibh go mbeith comhartha maith aithrige aige do leigthi do chom an mhíodnocha e na trí bliadhna go leith deideanacha.

- 55 Fá gnath le muinntir Maoile Ruaín uile trosgadh do dheunamh oidche dhomhnaigh a ttosach gacha míosa. Ní fuil a dhearbh aige ¹ an ar aran 7 ar uisge do nidh siad an trosgadh sin, no an boim 7 bochtan meadhg-uisge do biodh mar cuid aca. Nír ghnath leo dubh-throsgadh do dheunamh .i. gan enni d'ithé.
- 56 Sagart ar a bhfionntar cair *contra castitatem*, ní mholadh se a leigean do aifrionn do radh da ndearbthaóí an chair air. Muna dhearbhtaóí an chair air 7 nach fuigthi cruthughadh 'na aghaidh ní coir leis a bhacail de aifrionn do rádh.
- 57 Molaidh-se don aos peannaide run daingean do bheith aca gan en-pheacadh do dheunamh 7 dubh-dhruim do chor ris 7 gan smuaineadh ar clainn na ar mhnaoi na ar mhaoin saogh[alta] an feadh bias siad ag deunamh na peannaide d'eagla go ccuirfidis ²...
- 58 [f. 6^b] As deacair leis curam na seandaoinedh 7 na ndaoinedh easlán do ghabhail air ara dhocra cuidiughadh leo dochom peannaide ar bith d'fhulang : oir ní thig leo saothar na fighill do dheunamh, 7 da laighdaigther a ccuid bidh ní fuilngid é, 7 romhor an peacadh orra. As doiligh leighios na muinntire [sin] muna raibhe *contrithio* roghéur aca 7 aithrige neartmar ina ccroidhe. Ní fhuil rea dheunamh riú acht an méud as eidir leo d'fhulang do chur orra. As doiligh leis fos leighios na ndaoineadh ndaidhbhir da tteagmhann *sacrilegium* do dheunamh no a shamhail oile do pheacadh, oir as doiligh dul eidir bochdachd na muinntire sin 7 a bpeacadh. Ní hurus trosgadh do chor orra 7 gan biadh ar bith d'airidhe aca d'eis an troisgthe, 7 go madh eidir go bhfuigdis bás do ghorta muna ithdis na biadha na bud choir do lucht troisgthe, mar

¹ (*in margin*) as so 7 asan ait .i. a dhó tuas as cosmhuil gurab o Maoldithrib do sgríobhadh an bpennadoir 7 tre a beith-síomh 'na descipul Maoil Ruain gurap dhe taprad Pennadóir Maoil Ruain d'aínm air. ² *something omitted here.*

appear by his disposition and his deeds that there were signs of real penitence in him, he was admitted to the midnight mass for the last three and a half years.

- 55 Mael Ruain's community made a practice of fasting on the eve of the first Sunday of every month. The author¹ is not certain whether this was a fast on bread and water, or whether they had a meal of a piece of bread and a *bochtan* of whey-water. It was not their practice to make a 'black fast,' that is, to eat nothing.
- 56 When a priest was discovered to have sinned against chastity, he did not approve of allowing him to say mass, if his offence were established. If it were not established, if no and proof were found against him, it would not be right, in his opinion, to debar him from saying mass.
- 57 He approves of penitents making a firm resolution to do no sin, and turning their back on it squarely, without thinking of child or wife or worldly wealth, so long as they are doing penance for fear they should put...
- 58 He finds it hard to undertake the charge of old men or invalids, because of the difficulty in assisting them to bear any penance. For they are unable to perform any labour or vigils, and if their allowance of food be reduced they cannot bear it, and the sin is too heavy for them. It is difficult to cure such people unless they feel bitter contrition and effectual penitence in their hearts. There is nothing to be done but to lay upon them as much as they are able to bear. He considers it difficult moreover to cure poor men if they chance to commit sacrilege or other such sin, for it is difficult to keep a line between their sin and their poverty. It is not easy to lay a fast upon them, since they would have scarce any food at all after the fast and they might perhaps die of hunger unless they ate food such as flesh or bacon or butter when they got it, which it would

¹ From this, and from the passage in ch. 52 above, it is probable that the Penitential was written by Mael Dithruib, and that it was called the Penitential of Mael Ruain because he was Mael Ruain's disciple.

ta feoil no saill no im, anuair do gheubhdaois iad. Peannaid shaothair 7 oibre do mholadh se do chor orra, 7 gan trosgadh ar bith do chor orra, acht adeir se gur choir dhaibh fein trosgadh do dheunamh an méud go mbeith se ar a ccumus.

- 59 Antí da n-eirgheadh dortadh sil 'na dhusgadh (.i. gan beith 'na chodladh) ab tre feuc[h]ain ar mhnaoí do thaiteonadh ris no tre smuaintighibh salcha 'na chroidhe, no tre briathraibh neamhghlana, seachdmhuin do ordaigheadh Maol Ruain do chor do pheannaid air.
- 60 An mhuintear nach itheadh feoil ar feadh na bliadhna, dá tteagmad gorta san tír no nach fuigdis aithearrach feola do bhiadh, do gheibdis cead fa chaisg pars fheola do dheunamh, 7 an mhuintear nac[h] deunadh pars fa chaisg ní bhiodh a chead aca pars do dheunamh go caisg aris.
- 61 Do chuala me aige (ar ugdar an leabhair, acht ní thuigim cía aga ccualaidh se sin) gur ghnath leis na mañchaibh an uair dobhí an Riaghail a tTír Dha Glas teacht on eaglais a bponc an meadhoin lae do chom na cuchdra (.i. na cisdeanaighe ¹) la casg, 7 gach en-duine do dheunamh pars feóla fa chomhair na gorta an bliadhain dár ccionn: oir muna ithdis pars fheola san chaisg ní iosdaois í gusan chaisg aris.
- 62 Nir ghnath leis na fir-chleirc[h]ibh lus do beantaio dia domnaigh no praiseach, da mbeanfuidhe, no aran, dá bhfuinfidhe ann, do chaitiomh fa mar do hoibrighead iad san domhnach.
- 63 An chuid d'aos na tuaithi tigeadh do ghabhail anmchairde, do hordaigthi dhó e féin do chongmail ona mhnaoi oidhchi dhardaoin oidhche shathairn 7 oidhche dhomhnaigh, 7 da ndeunadh an ní ceudna oidhche luain 7 an tan bios galar miosa ar an mnaoi do ba cóir e do rér anmchairdis Pheadair *in libris Clementinis*.
- 64 Da n-iarrdaois easbaig no pearsanna onoracha cead dona bráithribh no saoirsi fighle doibh, do ba gnath aca an cead sin do thabhairt uatha da madh la in budh iomchubhaidh

¹ in margin nt (nota?)

not be right for persons fasting to eat. He used to recommend that penance consisting of [manual] labour or [religious] work should be imposed on them, instead of fasting. But he says that it would be right for them to fast of their own accord, so far as it should be in their power.

- 59 If it happened to a man to pollute his body in his waking hours, (that is, not in his sleep), either through looking at a woman who might please him, or through filthy thoughts in his heart, or through impure words, Mael Ruain ordered a week's penance to be imposed on him.
- 60 Those who ate no flesh during the year, if there chanced to be famine in the land, or if they could find no alternative to flesh in the way of food, had permission to take a particle of flesh meat at Easter; and those who took no particle at his Easter had not his permission to take it until the Easter following.
- 61 I have heard from him, says the author of the book (but I do not understand from whom he heard this) that when the Rule was in Terryglass the monks were in the habit of going on the stroke of noon on Easter Day from the church to the kitchen, where each of them took a particle of flesh in case of famine in the coming year: for unless they ate a particle of flesh at Easter they would not eat it until the following Easter.
- 62 It was not the practice of the true churchmen to eat leeks or cabbage that were cut or bread that was baked on a Sunday, because labour was spent on them on a Sunday.
- 63 Such of the laity as came to receive spiritual direction were ordered to keep apart from their wives on the nights of Wednesday, Friday and Saturday; and if they did the same on Sunday night and during their wives' monthly periods, this would be right according to the ghostly counsel of Peter in *libris Clementinis*.
- 64 If bishops or persons of rank asked some leave or remission of a vigil for the brethren, it was usual to grant such leave, if it were a day on which it was fitting to grant leave, that is, if it were not in Lent, and if the feast of some saint fell

cead do thabhairt amach e .i. mun bhudh aimsir chorgais do bheith ann 7 dá mbeith festa naoimh eigin ar an la :gidheadh munab a n-aimsir iomchubhaidh do hiarrthaoi saoirsi na fighle ge ttiobharthaoí an tshaoirsi amach a bfiadhnusi na muinntire do iarrfadh í fá gnath ¹...

65 [f. 7^a] Do fhiafraigh Maol dithreibh do Mhaol Ruain an bhudh lór dho caoga psalm do ghabhail, dá tteagmhadh do foirceadal do dheunam san lo maille risan ccáoca sin. Adubhairt Maol Ruain nar lor dhó gan a raibhe san tshaltair do ghabhail, ag rad : ‘ Fer an chorráin 7 na suisdeadh, an fharcha, 7 an claidh do deunamh, as í furobair gach duine dhibh na tri chaoga psalm do ghabhail maille rena n-obair féin do dheunamh gach laoi, 7 ní theid enduine dibh do chom a choda trath nona no go ccuire se crioch ar na trí chaogad sin ; 7 an tan do nid sin an uiread sin d’urnaigthe, 7 an obair sin oile d’ualach orra maille ris sin, feuch-sa creud as coir duit fein, ata ad mhanach, do dheunamh.’

66 As amhlaidh adeireadh Maol Ruain ris an muinntir do iarradh air guidhe orra 7 soisgeul do thogbhail riú. ‘ Guidhidh-si orainne ar tus más maith libh sinne do ghuidhe oraibh, oir ap gnath Dia do guidhe ar gach uile bios ag guidhe orainn, ge nach aibeormaois a ainm an tan do bheimis ag guidhe air.’ Isin aifrionn do ghuidheadh Máol dithribh ar gach nduine do mheasadh se do beith beannaigthe, ionnus go nguiddis sion air-sion, oir do bhí ² aige gur ghnath guidhe ar gach aon do ghuidheadh orra.

67 Do fhiafraig neach do Mac Uige Lis Moir cia an punc budh fhéarr don chleirc[h]eacht, 7 adubhairt gurb fos (.i. comhnuidhe) ball don chleirc[h]eacht ar nach ccuala locht da fhaghail riamh. ‘ Madh deirceach duine,’ ar se, ‘ adeirthior gur misde é a dheircighe. Madh umhal, adeirthior anní ceudna. Madh troisgtheach e, adeirthior an ní cedna ris, 7 *cetera*. Ní chuala me enduine aga radh riamh re duine eile gur rofhosaidh é no gur meisde e a fhosaidhe; oir,’ ar se, ‘ gibe ealadha ara ttiobhra duine aghaidh, as í as féarr dhó do chom a beith aige, fos do dheunamh aice, 7 go hairidhe agan chrabhadh, mas áir do bheura se agaid.’

¹ some words seem to be omitted. ² a word seems to be omitted.

on that day. Unless, however, remission of the vigil were asked for at a fitting season, then although the remission should be granted in presence of the persons who might have asked for it, it was usual [for the vigil to be performed in private.]

65 Mael Dithruib asked Mael Ruain whether it would be enough for him to recite fifty psalms if he happened to give instruction that day, besides reciting these psalms. Mael Ruain replied that it was not enough for him to recite less than the whole Psalter, adding : ' He that works with the sickle or the flail, he that uses the mallet or makes the ditch, each has to recite the hundred and fifty psalms as his additional task besides doing his own daily work ; and none of them goes to his evening meal until he has finished those hundred and fifty psalms. And since they perform so much prayer, while they have all that burden of other work as well, do thou consider what is right for thyself to do, who art a monk.'

66 This is the answer Mael Ruain used to give to those who asked him to pray for them and to lift up the Gospel towards them : ' Pray ye first for us, if ye wish us to pray for you, for we are accustomed to pray God for all who are praying for us, even though we should not mention any one by name in praying for him.' Mael Dithruib used to pray during mass for every one whom he thought to be blessed, so that they might pray for him, for he held it to be customary to pray for everyone who prayed for them.

67 Mac Oige of Lismore was asked what was the best point in the clerical character. He replied that the best attribute for the clergy was perseverance, that is, constancy, for he had never heard any fault found with this. ' If a man is charitable,' said he, ' people say that he is the worse for his charity. If he is humble, they say the same. If he is given to fasting, they say the same of him, and so on. But I never heard anyone say of another that he was too persevering, or that he was the worse of his perseverance. For,' said he, ' whatever art a man devotes himself to, it is best for him to persevere in it in order to acquire it : and this is so especially with piety, if it is to this that he devotes himself.'

- 68 Adubhairt inghean righ is na tirthibh thair re Fursa: 'Créud red cosmhail thú?' ar sí. 'As cosmhail me re sean-ghobha 7 a inneoin ar a mhúin,' ar Fursa. 'Créud í indeoín an chra-bhaidh?' ar sisi. 'Fos ag etla' (.i. ag an ngloine), ar Fursa. 'Da ttugadh Dia dhuit,' ar sisi, 'ceap ina sáithfeá th'inneoin,' ar sisi, 'an anfuíthea aige?' 'Do bá doigh go ndiongnainn,' ar Fur[s], 7 do iodhbair sí dho an fearann ina raibhe sé 'na chomhnaidhe an uair sin.¹
- 69 Do ordaigheadh se gan na sagairt da tteigeumhadh tuitim *contra castitatem* gan dul choidhche doibh fá ghradhaibh easbaig, oir as é glanadh pheacaidh an tshagairt aca dul fo ghradhaibh easbaig²: *acht* ní coir (adeir se) easbag do beith gan cumhachta aige aifrionn do radh. Do sgar na gradha sagairt ris sin an tan do rinne se an peacadh, 7 ní fillid chuige choidhche ge go ndiongnadh se peannaid. Do *beirthior* a cead dó comaoineacha do caitheamh d'eis peannaide moire.
- 70 [f. 7^b] An mhuintear doirteas fuil, mas dá ndeoín dogheuna síad sin, ní hail leis a mbeith 'na sagartaibh o shoin amach coidhche dhoibh .i. dul fá ghradhaibh, oir ní hiomchubhaidh leis³ do dhoirtfeadh fuil do iodhbairt chuirp Chrios[d] dá eisi sin. Deunadh maith ar ghleus oili tar beith 'na sagartaibh dhoibh 7 teighdis do chom comaoineach d'eis peannaide do dheunamh.
- 71 As í ní as maith leis do dheunamh don tí chuirios ní maith ar bith do dheunamh uaidhe fein, sin do ghabhail o duine, 7 a ghealladh 'na fhiadhnuisi go ccoimhlonfaidh anní sin re a bfuil ag tabhairt mhoide. Tainig tuata docum Mocholmóg uí Litain d'fhaghail teaguisg sbioradalta uadha. 'Créud í an sdaid ana bfuil tú?' ar Mocholmog ris, 'an a lanamhnus ataoí?' 'Ní headh,' ar eision, 'ataid tri bliadhna o do bhí buaín agam ris an mnaoí do bhí agam,' ar sé. 'Nar gheall tú sin d'aoinneach?' ar Mocholmog. 'Nír gheallas,' ar seision. 'As rofhada an aimsir sin re sgaradh ris an diabhal 7 gan

¹ *in margin*: Tuigtear as so gurab siní Fursa ina Maol dithribh le raibhe an t-ugdar ag cainnt, ar dar leat as d'eis a bháis 7 a naomhthachta abhus do haithriseadh an sgél-sa air. ² *in margin*: dar liom-sa as olc an chiall ata annso ag Maol Ruain, más é adeir so. ³ *supply antí*.

- 68 A king's daughter in the eastern countries said to Fursa : 'What art thou like?' 'I am like an old smith with his anvil on his back,' said Fursa. 'What is the anvil of piety?' said she. 'Perseverance in holiness,' (that is, in purity), said Fursa. 'If God were to give thee a block whereon to plant thine anvil, wouldst thou stay by it?' said she. 'It is likely I would,' said Fursa. And she offered him the land where he was living at the time.¹
- 69 He made a rule that no priest who had happened to fall into sin against chastity should ever receive episcopal orders, for they regarded the reception of episcopal orders as purging the priest's sin² : but it is not right, says he, that there should be a bishop without power to say mass. He parted with his priest's orders when he committed the sin, and he never recovers them, even though he should do penance. He is allowed to receive the consecrated bread after doing heavy penance.
- 70 As to those who shed blood, if they do so intentionally, he is unwilling that they should ever be priests from that time forth, that is, that they should be ordained; for he holds it unfitting that one who sheds blood should afterwards make the offering of Christ's body. Let them do good in some other way rather than as priests, and let them go to communion after doing penance.
- 71 He thinks it a good thing for a man who puts off doing a good action to accept from someone else an obligation to do it, and to promise in his presence that he will perform the thing as to which he is taking a vow. A layman came to Mocholmoc Ua Litain to get spiritual teaching from him. 'In what state are you?' asked Mocholmoc, 'are you living in wedlock?' 'No,' said he, 'it is three years since I had anything to do with the wife I had,' said he. 'Was this a promise you made to someone?' asked Mocholmoc. 'No,' said he. 'That is too long a time to part with the Devil

¹ It follows from this story that Fursa was senior to Mael Dithruib with whom our author conversed. For it may be supposed that it was after his death and his holy behaviour here below that this story was told of him.

² It seems to me that Mael Ruain is here in error, if it is he who says this.

teacht go Dia, oir as ann teid duine a muinnteras Dé, an tan gheallas se an ní chuireas roimhe, 7 ghlacas se chuige e o duini oile.'

- 72 Féili naom, *v.g.* feil Chainnigh, an tan do theagmhadh í ar an satharn a n-eugmais an chorgais, do maithí an figheall nóine a tTamhlachta a n-onoir Chainnigh 7 [mar sin] dona feusdadhaidh oile. Nir fhiafraigh se an ndiongantaof an ní ceudna san luan an tan tigeadh feasda naoimh eigin ann, nò ar an mairt do cuirthe e, acht as í a doigh gur bh'ionorn gleus do bhí aca dia sathairn, an tan do bhíodh feasda naoimh air, 7 de luain. Feuchdar cionnas a ghnathughadh ag Maoil Ruain.
- [73]¹ Ní fhaca Maol dithribh go n-ithdis muintear Thamhlachta im oidhche dhomhnaig biodh go mbiadh feil Chainnigh ar an tshatharn.
- 73 An mhuintear ara ccuirthe bliadhain no a dhó pheannaide 7 troisgthe ar fheoil, más eigion doibh feoil d'ithe do dhith a haithearraigh, ordaighidh se doibh an gheir 7 na h.æ 7 an bhlonag do sheachna, mas eidir dhoibh a. n-aithearrach d'fheoil d'fhaghail.
- 74 Adeireadh se gur *peiriachlath* cuis an anmchairdeasa, oir na chuirionn duine an pheannaid dhlightheach 7 dothuill a pheacaid ar dhuine, as dócha a briseadh do ina a coimhlionadh. Muna ccuire se an pheannaid air, tuitfid fiacha an fhir sin air. 'Bid daoine agar lor leo do phennaide faoiside amhain do dheunamh,' ar se. As innill do dhuine féin comhairle a leasa do sheoladh doibh gan a bhfaoisidin do ghabhail.
- 75 Do chuir Elair² uadha an mheid do ghlac se chuige d'áos na hanmchairde, mar nach diognadaois a ndícheall 7 go cceildis cuid da bpeacaibh san fhaoisidin. Ní fuilngeadh se en-duine do theacht chuige do chom a anmchairdeasa do ghabhail: gidheadh do fhuilngeadh se 7 do mholadh sé don aos peannaide dul d'fhiafraighidh *neith* fa chúis a n-anmann

¹ number here in MS. ² (*in margin*) Hilarius hinc euidetur fuisse Hibernicus.

without going to God; for it is then that a man enters God's service, when he promises to perform the thing he proposes, and binds himself to it by the help of someone else.'

72 When the feast of a saint, *e.g.* S. Cainnech, fell upon a Saturday outside Lent, the vigil at nones was excused at Tallaght in honour of S. Cainnech, and so with all feastdays. He did not ask whether this would also be done when the feast of any saint fell on a Monday, or whether it was transferred to the Tuesday: but his belief is that they followed the same practice when the feast of a saint came on a Monday as they did on a Saturday. (Inquire what was customary in Mael Ruain's time). Mael Dithruib never saw butter eaten by the community of Tallaght on a Saturday evening, although Cainnech's feastday came on a Saturday.

73 Those on whom there is imposed a year or two of penance and of fasting from flesh-meat, if they are forced to eat flesh for want of any alternative, he directs them to avoid lard and liver and suet, if it is possible for them to get any alternative kind of flesh-meat.

74 He used to say that the office of confessor was full of dangers: for if one imposes on a man the due penance that his sins have deserved, he is more likely to break it than to perform it. If the confessor does not impose the penance on him, that man's debts will fall on him. 'There are people who think it penance enough for them merely to make confession,' said he. It is safer for a man's self to send them counsel as to what is best for them, without receiving their confessions.

75 Hilary dismissed all that he had accepted under his spiritual direction, because they would not do their best, and because they concealed part of their sins in confession. He would not suffer anyone to come to him to receive spiritual direction: however, he did suffer and encourage penitents to go and question men of perfect life for their soul's sake,—that is

don áos fhoirbhthi .i. na manaigh fhoirbhthi aga mbiodh eolas ar theagusg do thabhairt doibh fa chuis a n-anmann : acht ní ghaibheadh se chuige féin do chom comhairle do thabhairt doibh daoine ar bith aga measfadh se anmchara do beith aca fein dobheuradh comhairle dhoibh.

76 Do bhí Maol Ruain mar an ceudna : nir bh'ail leis Maol dithribh féin do ghabhail no go bhfionnadh se an raibhe se gan anmchara oile aige ara n-iarrfadh se teagasg, an ceud uair tainig se d'iarraidh teagaisg air fein, ag radh mar so : " An t-áos *ceirde* [f. 8^a] .i. na goibhne 7 na saoir, ní maith leo a ndeisciobail do dhul do chom duine oile d'iarraidh foghlama air, 7 créud fa bhudh maith led th'anmcharaid-si do theacht chugam-sa? ' Da fhoichill sin,' ar Maoldithreibh, ' tugusa cead na hanmcarad¹ aga rabhadhus chugad.' Annsin do ghlac Maol Ruain chuige an anmchairdeas 7 do shleucht Maol dithreibh fana réir. Faoi anmchairdeas Eachdghuidhe (.i. ainm an tí do bhí 'na anmc[h]araid aige) do bhí *Maolruain*² roimhe sin.

77 Adubhairt Maol Ruain re Maol dithribh ' Bliadhain athghlanta linne an cheud-bliadhain tig³ far n-anmchairdeas, 7 as eigan duit beith tri cet[h]racha lá ar aran 7 uisge, achd lom bainne d'fhaghail a ndomhnachaib 7 meadg bainne do chomasg ar an uisge isan sam-chorgas amháin.' Adubhairt Maol Ruain re Maol dithreibh ' Anuair cuirfeas tú thú fa breitheamhnus no fo smacht duine oile ' (measaim gurb anmchara no athair sbioradalta adeir se annso) ' an teine as geire mheasfas tú dod losgadh, ionnsaigh í ', *id est, qui tibi*⁴ *pepercerit*.

78 As é gnathugadh do bhí aca a t'Amhlacht an tan tigeadh feusda naoim cuca, do ghabhdis na psailm san proinntigh d'eis proinne gan mhoill, 7 do nidís oific don feusda san eaglais da eisi sin, d'eagla go ccuirfeadh an feusda toirmeasg ar oifig na hoidche 'na ttiocfadh se : (tuigim as so go mbiodh oific cinnte aca fa chomhair gach eun-laoi maille re hoifig gach feusda da ttigeadh.)

¹ sic MS. ² Feach nach Maoldithriph. ³ supply duine. ⁴ query, supply minime.

monks of perfect life, who had experience in giving them instruction for their soul's sake. But he did not himself accept, with a view to giving them counsel, any persons whom he supposed to have confessors of their own who might give them counsel.

76 Mael Ruain acted similarly : he was unwilling to receive even Mael Dithruib until he knew whether he had any other confessor from whom he could seek instruction. The first time that he came seeking instruction of him, [Mael Ruain refused] saying : ' Craftsmen, such as smiths or carpenters, do not like their apprentices to go and seek instruction from another man : why then should thy confessor like thee to come to me ? ' ' To provide against that, ' said Mael Dithruib, ' I obtained leave of the confessor with whom I was to come to thee. ' Then Mael Ruain undertook to be his confessor, and Mael Dithruib submitted to his authority. Until then he had been under the guidance of Echtguide : that is the name of his former confessor.

77 Mael Ruain said to Mael Dithruib : ' The first year that a man comes under our guidance is treated by us as a year of purification, and you will have to spend three periods of forty days on bread and water, except for taking a drink of milk on Sundays and mixing the water with milk-whey in the summer-Lent only. ' Mael Ruain said to Mael Dithruib : ' When you put yourself under the judgment or control of another ' (I think he means here a confessor or spiritual father) ' seek out the fire that you think will burn you the fiercest, (that is, him who will spare you least). '

78 Their practice in T'allaght, when the feast of a saint came round, was to recite the Psalms in the refectory immediately after supper, and to say the office appointed for that feast afterwards in the church, lest the feast should interfere with the office of the evening on which it fell. (I infer from this that they had a special office appointed for each day, as well as the office of each feast that occurred.)

- 79 Nír ghnath leis na manchaibh codladh san teampall, achd as é gnáth do bhí aca, dias do beith isin teampall go ham iarmeirghe 7 na tri chaoga psalm do radh dhoibh an fad sin, 7 dias oile do theacht a n-ait na deisi sin ag an iarmeirghe, 7 iad sin do beith ann go maidin, 7 na tri chaoga do radh dhoibh, 7 codladh doibh o shoin go teirt.
- 80 Fa gnath aca fear ag leugad an tshoisgeil 7 riagla 7 fearta na náomh an feadh bhid na braithri ar a ccuid no ag caithiomh a bproinne, ionnus nach ar a bproinn bhias a n-aire, 7 do ní an fear sin bhios ag an leughthoracht a phroinn fein tráth nona roimhe sin; 7 fiafraighthior iarnabharach do gach aon diobh creud do leughadh ann, da fheuchain an raibhe aire aige ar an leughthoracht a n-aimsir na proinne.
- 81 Adubhairt Maol dithreibh re Maol Ruain 'Do bhadar ceithri fuinn agam re fada,' ar se. 'An ceud-fhonn,' ar sé, 'do bhaói agam .i. a ttainig do naomh-leigheann go hÉirinn do leigeadh damh 7 suil do thabhairt air. An dara fonn,' ar se '.i. me féin do beith ag timthireacht no ag mionasdracht isin tigh manach as foirbthi 7 bhudh mo creidiomh do beith isin tír a mbeinn, as go ttuillinn beannachta na sruithead do bhiadh isin tigh sin. An treas fonn,' ar se, 'mo shaith cairnte d'fhaghail riot-sa, 7 go ttuillinn beannachd do mhuintire, idir an mheid diobh re ndiongnuinn cainnt 7 an mhéid nach diongnainn.' Ni faghaim an dá fonn oili aige.
- [81]¹ [f. 8^b] Adubhairt Maol Ruain 'As eadh adeireadh ar sruith (.i. Fer Dhá Chríoch ²) (.i. ar n-athair no ar n-anmc[h]ara) rinne go madh coir a ndeigh-mhiana do cheudughadh dona manchaibh ionnas go ttuilldis an luaighidheacht *budh* fhiú na gníomha maithe do gheundaois.'
- 82 Biadh do cuirfidhe a bfad do chom duine dia domnaigh nír ghnath aca an biadh sin³ do brigh go n-íomchairthi san domhnach e. Da mad leasg leis a dhiultadh d'eagla go ccuirfeadh se doilgíós ar an mhuintir do chuirfeadh chuige [é], doba ceadaigtheach do a ghlacadh 7 a roinn ar na bochtaibh.

¹ Number placed here in MS. ² These words above line: in margin Fer Dhá Críoch ab. ³ supply do ghlacadh.

- 79 It was not customary for the monks to sleep in the church; their custom was that two of them should stay in the church until the hour of matins and spend the time in saying the hundred and fifty psalms, and that two others should take their place at matins, and that these two should stay there until lauds, saying the hundred and fifty psalms, and should sleep from then until tierce.
- 80 It was their practice that one man should read aloud the Gospel and the Rules and miracles of the Saints while the brethren were at their rations or eating their supper, so that their attention should not be occupied with their supper: and the man who is employed as reader makes his own supper beforehand in the afternoon. And each of them is questioned next day on what was read there, to see whether his attention was given to the reading during supper-time.
- 81 Mael Dithruib said to Mael Ruain: 'I have long had four wishes,' said he. 'My first wish was to be allowed access to all the sacred writings that have come to Ireland, and to cast eyes thereon. My second wish,' said he, 'was to be myself engaged in serving or ministering in a house of monks, the most perfect in life and the strongest in faith in all the land where I was, and that I might earn the blessing of the venerable men who lived there. My third wish,' said he, 'was to get my fill of talk with thee, and to earn the blessing of thy community, both of those I might talk with and those I might not.' (I do not find his other two wishes recorded). Mael Ruain said: 'Our venerated friend (that is our father or father-confessor) Fer Da Chrich used to say to us that it was right to indulge the virtuous desires of the monks, so that they might earn a fitting reward for the good deeds they might do.'
- 82 It was against their usage to eat food which had been brought to any one from a distance on a Sunday, because it was carried on Sunday. If the recipient were loath to refuse it, lest he should give offence to those who brought it to him, he was at liberty to accept it and distribute it to the poor.

[82]¹ An fiach aibhni budh choir do bhualadh oidhche², mar nach biod do ghnath aca a bhualadh oidhce luaín mar onoir don domhnach, dobheireadh Maol Ruain fa deara a bhualadh trath nona dia sathairn, 7 as uime do buailtí é san satharn .i. Maol dithraib do fhiafraigh do Maol Ruaín an bhudh cead leis an fiach aibhni na haidhchi luaín do bhualadh de sathair[n], ‘oir,’ ar se, ‘ma chluinid áos na sean-cheall mor-sa do gach leith dinn go mbuailmid-ne fiach aibhne dia domhnaigh, ní fhuil obair ar bith nac[h] diongna siad dia domhnaig’, 7 do cheaduigh Maol Ruain an fiach aibhne do bhualadh dia sathairn ar an adhbar sin.

83 A ccionn gach miosa dardaoín do bhíodh bearradh aca, 7 an tan do theagmhadh dhoibh an dardaoín sin nach diongna-daois e do bhearrdaois dia haoine no dia sathairn fa neasa : no da leigthe do chom an domhnaigh é ní berrdaois go haímsir an bhearrtha aris .i. go ceann miosa oile : Maol Ruaín do ordaigh sin.

84 As amhlaidh do ghabhdais deachmaidh .i. a mbeith d’airnéis ag duini do leigean amach ar bearnaidh 7 an deachmhadh ainmhidhe do thabhairt do Dhia, taobh amuigh dona damhaibh. Ní gablthaof a ndeachmhaidh do brigh go ngabhthaoi deachmhaidh a sáothair .i. deachmaidh an arbha, 7 as amhlaidh do ghabthaoi a dheachmhaidh sin, gach deachmhadh carr dhe do thabhairt don eaglais dar choir é no dona bochtaibh.

85 Antí nach eisdeadh aifrionn de domhnaigh fa hí a pheannaid tri chaoga do radh a ttigh druite ’na sheasamh 7 a shuile duinte : (ní thuigim an tri chaoga psalm no paidear no créud na tri caoga adeireann se).

Blonag muice no cháorach no féoil fhiadaigh no ainmhidheadh ar bith oile, nir ith se iad sin o thionnsgain se beith ’na chleireach, achd bradan amhain fa gnath leis do chaitheamh. Do chuala me Cú Eachdge aga radh nach tugthaoi a chead dó eín-fheoil dá ndubhramar d’ithe na hocht mbliadhna do bhí se gan fheoil, 7 nach tugthaoi a chead d’eunduine aca a hithi la casg fein ar feadh na n-ochd mbliadhan sin.

¹ Number placed here in MS. ² supply luain.

As it was not usual, out of respect for the Sunday, to inflict castigation on Sunday evening, Mael Ruain caused such castigation as would properly be inflicted that evening to be administered on Saturday afternoon. The reason for administering it on the Saturday was this: Mael Dithruib asked Mael Ruain whether he would allow the Sunday evening's castigation to be inflicted on Saturday, 'for' said he, 'if the folk of these large old churches all round us hear that we administer castigation on Sunday, there is no kind of work that they will not do on Sunday.' So Mael Ruain allowed castigation to be administered on Saturday for this reason.

- 83 They used to tonsure on the last Thursday of each month, and when it chanced that they did not do so on that Thursday, they used to tonsure on the Friday or Saturday following: or if it were left undone until the Sunday, they did not tonsure until the time for it came round again, that is, until the end of next month. This was Mael Ruain's ruling.
- 84 This is how they took tithes. They let all of a man's livestock go out through a gap, and he gave every tenth animal to God, except for the oxen, of which tithes were not taken, because a tithe of their labour was taken, that is, a tithe of the grain: and a tithe of it was taken by giving every tenth cartload of it to the church to which it was due, or to the poor.
- 85 If a man did not hear mass on Sunday, his penance was to say the 'three fifties' standing, with his eyes shut, in a closed house. (I am not sure whether the 'three fifties' he speaks of are the hundred and fifty Psalms or a hundred and fifty Paternosters, or what.)

Since he took Orders he had not eaten swine's or sheep's lard or venison or flesh of any other animal: his practice was to eat only salmon. I have heard Cu Echtge say that he was not allowed to eat any of the kinds of flesh mentioned above during the eight years that he abstained from flesh-meat, and that none of them was allowed to eat it, even on Easter Day, during those eight years.

- 86 Hymain Mhichil adeireadh se (gibe he) roimh dhul do chodladh dhó 7 Imain Mhuiri roimh iarmheirge: Imain Mhichil aris d'eis iarmheirge 7 Iomain Muire ar maidin. Cuairt coimhge Mhichfl 7 cuairt coimhge Mhuire anmanna do bheireadh se ar na himnaibh sin. Imain Mhichil adeireadh se ar an mbiaid 7 *Hymnum dicat* a meadhon laoi dia domhnaigh. Ioman Mhuiri adeireadh se ar an mbiaid oidhche luain. Do niodh se ced sleuchdaín 7 crosfigheall ris an mbiaid 7 adeireadh se *Hymnum, Unitas 7 Cantemus* (ni thuigim an isin lá do nídh se an uiread-sa, no ag radh na bíaide dhó do niodh se iad). Gach crosfighill da ndiongnadh se adeireadh se Imain Muire leis an ccroisfighill-si 7 Iomain Micheil leis an crosfighill oile fa seach.
- 87 Ni dingentaí fíochadh dhó dardaoin féin isin tsheachdmhain feadh an chorghais, achd dia domhnaigh. (Ni thuigim an fliuchadh sin, achd munab braiseach no brothchan as mian leis do thuigsin faoi).
- 89^a [f. 9^a] Nir bh'aíl leis iasg do chaitheamh isna laithibh ina mbíodh lagsaine ag na braithribh .i. mairt 7 dardaoin, taobh amuigh don domhnach, dá tteagmhadh fesda fein ar na laoitlibh sin.
- 89^b Fa gnath aca cet[h]ar-leabhar an tshoisgeil do leughadh a n-aimsir phroinne go ceann mbliadhna .i. uair san mbliadhain, 7 leabhar dhiobh do leughadh gach raithe .i. leabhar Matha san earrach, 7 *cetera*.
- 90 Ceithri croisfigle do niodh se san lá maille re ceileabhradh na teirte 7 gabhail eugnairce 'na ndiaid 7 croisfighill ris an mbiaid 'na dhíaidh sin 7 *Hymnum 7 Unitas*. Adeireadh sé na sailm go ruige an caogad deidheanach. Do niodh se crosfighill ris an ceud chaogad. Do niodh se crosfighill oile a ndeireadh an chaogad mheadonaigh, *achd is Cantemus* adeireadh leis an ccroisfighill sin. Do niodh se croisfigheall oile ag *Domine Probasti*, achd as Imuin² 7 Imuin Mhichil adeireadh sé gach re n-uair annsin 7 do niodh se croisfighill fa dheoidh leis an triochad paidear. Bíaid Mhicheil do bheireadh sé d'ainm ar an mbiaid le n-abradh Iomain Mhichil,

¹ so numbered, 88 omitted. ² supply Mhuire.

- 86 He (whoever he was) used to say the Hymn of Michael before going to rest and the Hymn of Mary before matins, the Hymn of Michael again after matins, and the Hymn of Mary at lauds. He called these hymns 'Michael's Amulet' and 'Mary's Amulet'. He used to say the Hymn of Michael and *Hymnum dicat* after the *Beati* at midday on Sunday. He used to say the Hymn of Mary after the *Beati* on Sunday evening. He performed a hundred genuflexions and a cross-vigil along with the *Beati*, and said *Hymnum dicat*, *Unitas* and *Cantemus*. (I am not clear whether he did all this in the course of the day, or performed these duties when he said the *Beati*). With every cross-vigil he performed he said the Hymn of Mary with the first cross-vigil and the Hymn of Michael with the next, and so alternately.
- 87 No seething was done for him during Lent on weekdays, not even on Thursdays, but only on Sundays. (I do not understand this 'seething' unless he wishes us to understand by it cooking of cabbage or porridge).
- 89 He did not like fish to be eaten on days in which the brethren enjoyed relaxation, (that is, on Tuesdays and Thursdays, even if a feast should fall on those days,) as well as on Sundays. It was their practice to read aloud the four Gospels at supper time all through the year, that is, to read them through once a year, one Gospel each quarter, the Gospel of Matthew in the spring quarter, and so on.
- 90 He used to perform four cross-vigils in the day along with the office of tierce, followed by the recitation of the office for the dead, and after that, a cross-vigil with the *Beati* and the *Hymnum dicat* and *Unitas*. He said the Psalms as far as the last fifty, and performed a cross-vigil while saying the first fifty, and a second at the end of the middle fifty, but with this cross-vigil he said the *Cantemus*. He performed a third cross-vigil at *Domine probasti*, but said the Hymn of Mary and the Hymn of Michael alternately at that point: and performed the final cross-vigil with the thirty Pater-nosters. He called the *Beati* with which the Hymn of Michael was said 'Michael's *Beati*,' and the *Beati* with which the

7 bíaid Mhuiri don bhiaid le n-abradh Iomain Muire. Biaid bheag do bheireadh se d'ainm ar an mbíaid le ndéunamh ¹ an chroisfíghill deireadh laoi, do bhrigh nach ccantar *Unitas* no *Cantemus* uirre no le. Cantar *Magnificat* uirre, 7 *Ymnum*. Gach uair adeirthior *Benedictus* ag easbart, ag iarmheirghi 7 ceileabhrad anteirt (measuim gurb ar primh do beir se anteirt *eo quod sit ante tertiam*) adeirthior paidear 7 cré, óir ni fagaibthior an chré amuigh gan ghabhail. Gach biaidh ar a ccantar *Magnificat* 7 *Innum* 7 *Unitas* 7 *Cantemus*, *Ego vero orationem* as eadh chantar uirre. Bíaid iarmheirghi, *Magnificat* 7 *Averte faciem tuam* cantar uirre. Urnaighi dul do chodladh, *Averte faciem tuam* cantar uirre.

91 O ro criochnaighthior an iarmergi 7 na tri *Hymnum* for lex 7 *Innum dicat* a ccroisfíghill, *Ego vero* adeirthior ann 7 paidear. *Parce* iarsin, a choisreagad na dhiaidh sin, 7 biaid iarsin. Fa gnath leis a choisreagadh sul fa suidheadh se iar ndul astteach dho, da *madh* san eaglais no san proinnteach no ina theach urnaigthe no ina theach foirceudail do rachadh sé.

92 An tan do theigheadh siad don phroinntigh do chaitheamh bídh do beantaoi cluigin doibh, no do buailti maide eagine ar an mías-chuadh (measuim gurb soideach eigin práis no petair sin ina mbídís na miasa da ccoimhéud) no ar mheis fein, muna raibhe clog ann. Do chandaois paidear iarsin 7 *Alleluia* 7 *Qui dat escam omni carni, Confitemini Deo cæli* 7 *Gloria Patri*, etc., 7 *Edent pauperes et saturabuntur et laudabunt Dominum qui requirunt eum*: [f. 9^b] *Vivent corda eorum in sæculum sæculi. Gustate et uidete quoniam suavis est Dominus, beatus vir qui sperat in eo: Timete Dominum omnes sancti eius, quoniam non est inopia timentibus eum. Oculi omnium in te sperant, Domine, et tu das escam illorum in tempore oportuno: Aperis tu manum tuam et imples omne animal benedictione. Benedicantur nobis, Domine, omnia dona tua quae de tua largitate sumpturi sumus*, etc. *Jube, domine, benedicere*, etc. *Benedicat Dominus hæc omnia. Amen.* (Aille ² do bheir se dh'ainm ar an altughadh sin). Adeirdis paidear d'eis na haille sin.

¹ Read ndéunadh. ² ab alleluia.

Hymn of Mary was said 'Mary's *Beati*.' He gave the name of 'little *Beati*' to the *Beati* with which he performed the cross-vigil at compline, because neither *Unitas* nor *Cantemus* is sung after it or with it. The *Magnificat* and *Hymnum dicat* are sung after it. Whenever the *Benedictus* is said, at vespers, at matins and at the office of *anteirt* (I suppose he gives this name to prime, because it comes *ante tertiam horam*), the *Pater Noster* and the Creed are said, for the Creed is never omitted. With every *Beati* after which the *Magnificat* or *Hymnum dicat* or *Unitas* or *Cantemus* is sung, *Ego vero orationem* is also sung after it. After the *Beati* of matins the *Magnificat* and *Averte faciem tuam* are sung. After the prayers before retiring to rest *Averte faciem tuam* is sung.

91 When matins are finished and the three hymns (?) are sung to music and *Hymnum dicat* is recited in a cross-vigil, then *Ego vero* is said and *Pater Noster*, then *Parce*. After that he crosses himself, and then sings the *Beati*. It was his practice to cross himself before sitting down on going indoors, whether he were entering the church or the refectory or his oratory or his lecture-room.

92 When they went to the refectory for a meal a bell was sounded for them, or the handle of a knife was struck against a dish-cover, (this, I suppose, was some vessel of brass or pewter in which the dishes were kept), or on the dish itself, if there were no bell. Then they chanted the *Pater Noster* and *Alleluia* and *Qui dat escam omni carni, Confitemini Deo coeli, Gloria Patri*, etc., and *Edent pauperes et saturabuntur et laudabunt Dominum qui requirunt eum: Vivent corda eorum in saeculum saeculi. Gustate et videte quoniam suavis est Dominus, beatus vir qui sperat in eo: Timete Dominum omnes sancti eius, quoniam non est inopia timentibus eum. Oculi omnium in te sperant, Domine, et tu das escam illorum in tempore opportuno: Aperis tu manum tuam et imples omne animal benedictione. Benedicantur nobis, Domine, omnia dona tua quae de tua largitate sumpturi sumus*, etc. *Jube, domine, benedicere*, etc. *Benedicat Dominus haec omnia. Amen*. He calls this thanksgiving *ailla* (from *alleluia*). After this grace they said the *Pater Noster*.

- 93 Adeireadh an ti do bhíodh rompa (measuim gurb e sin an *Hebdomadarius*) 'Imannaire' (Imannaire, *ut recolo, erat terminus quo utebantur subditi petentes licentiam superiorum ad aliquid aggrediendum*). Adeireadh an dara fear do ba mho ugdardhas do bidh asttigh (measuim gurbh e sin an biocaire maol do bhíodh aca) 'Cead' .i. 'as cead duibh suidhe do c[h]om bidh.' Adeireadh an t-uachtaran annsin 'Améun.' Adeireadh an tánaise .i. an dara fear sin dob onoraighe dhibh arís 'Imannaire.' Adeireadh an t-uachtaran 'Benedic.' Adeireadh an tanaisi iarsin 'Dia libh.' Adeireadh an t-uachtaran 'Amen.' Adeireadh an tánaise arís 'Imannaire.' Adeireadh an t-uachtaran an 'Cead.' Adeireadh¹ iarsin 'Benedic.' Adeireadh an t-uachtarán 'Dia libh.' Adeireadh an tanaisi 'Améun.'
- 94 Ní labhradh enduine astigh ar an bhfad sin acht an dís sin dob uachtaraighe no fa sine asttigh. Do bhriseadh an t-úachtaran an t-aran 7 do roinneadh se a ccodchannaib beaga e, 7 do berthi cuid dibh sin do gach enduine dhiobh ar a bhois, 7 do chaithdis an beagan sin 7 adeirdis paidear roimh a chaitheamh, 7 as é sin ceud ní do itheadh siad iar suidhe dhoibh.
- [95]² An uair fá mithid an deoch do bheannachadh do beantaof an cluigine no sagh na sgine ris an mías-chuadh no ris an méis, no³ bascrann. Adeirdis ann sin *Confiteantur tibi Domine*, etc., as ionann e 7 an ní adeirmid fein (*adeir fear an leabair*⁴).
- 95 Ní diongnadaois figheall idir da notluig no dhá cháisg 7 ní buailtí fiach aibhne ann. Ni dentaof croisfighill fri *Hionnum* iarmerige leo 7 do maitheadh se na sailm urnaighthi adearthaof trath nona dhoibh an aimsir cheudna. An tricha paidear do chanadh se a cros-fhighill a ndeircadh laof, do ghabhadh se iad idir dha nodlaic 7 idir dha chaisg, ge nach diongnadh se crosfhighill maille riú.

¹ supply an tánaise. ² number placed here in MS. ³ no no MS. ⁴ these words underlined.

- 93 The monk who presided (I suppose he was the *Hebdomarius*) used to say '*Immanaire*,' which, as well as I remember, was the phrase used by subordinates in asking the leave of their superiors to begin anything. The person present who was next in authority (I suppose he was their 'tonsured vicar') would reply: 'Leave is given,' that is, 'You have leave to sit down to meat.' Then the president would say 'Amen.' The vice-president, that is, the person second in rank, would say again '*Immanaire*.' The president would say '*Benedic*.' Then the vice-president would reply 'God be with you.' The president would say 'Amen.' The vice-president would say again '*Immanaire*.' The president would reply 'Leave is given.' Then the vice-president would reply '*Benedic*.' The president would say 'God be with you.' The vice-president would reply 'Amen.'
- 94 All this time no one present would speak except the two who were senior in standing or in age. The president would break the bread, and divide it into small pieces, and a piece was placed on the palm of each man, and they ate this morsel and said the *Pater Noster* before eating it: and this was the first thing they ate after taking their seats. When it was time to bless the drink, the bell was struck, or the haft of a knife or a knocker was rapped on the dish-cover or on the dish. Then they said *Confiteantur tibi Domine*, etc.; this is the same as we say (remarks the writer).
- 95 They would perform no vigils between the two Christmasses or the two Easters, and no castigation was inflicted at those times. At the same season no cross-vigil was performed by them along with the *Hymnum dicat* at matins, and he excused the Psalms of prayer which were said by them at nones. The thirty *Pater Nosters* which he used to recite at compline in a cross-vigil, these he repeated between the two Christmasses and between the two Easters, though he did not make a cross-vigil along with them.

- 96^a Do nidís an fhighill ar maidin an la d'eis *epifania* 7 dia luain mionchasg 7 do nidís an chrosfhighill fri *Hionnum dicat* ag iarmergi an oidche d'eis lae *epiphaniae* 7 aidhche luain mionchasg. An bhiaid re ndendaóis figill ar maidin, do ghabhdaóis an bhiaid [sin] idir an da shollamain sin, ge nach diongnaidís fighioll na coimhidheacht. As e doba gnath doibh gach ní risa ndiongnadaóis figheall adeirdis an urnaighthi fein, biodh go maithfidhe an fhighheall : acht sailm urnaighthi ¹ [f. 10^a] mhaittear ag easbart idir dá nodlaig 7 dá cháisg acht ² ní maittear iad o mhion-chaisg go cingcidhis.
- 96^b Gibe la ara ttigeadh teacht Christ as an Egipt do onoraighdhís e mar an domhnach, 7 ní chualamar o Mhaol Ruain nar choir fighill noine do dheunamh, an la sin ar a ttiocfad se, da ttigeadh se ar mhairt no ceudaoin oir is iomdha feusdadh a CRiosd isin bhliadhain.
- 97 Adeirdis *Benedicite* idir proinn ³ 7 urnaighthi dul do chodladh ar ball na dhiaidh sin. Da tteagmhadh do neoch ol dighe no chaitheamh bidh ar bith o shoin amach dob eigan do ceileabhradh faidg (measuim gurbh ar *chompletorium* dobeir se an t-ainm sin) do radh o *Chum invocarem* go ruige *Nunc dimitt[is]*.
- [98]⁴ Ní maith, mar do níd daoine ann, dá teagmhadh doibh longadh d'eis cheileabratha faidhg *Benedicite* amhain do radh.
- 98 Da madh mor an ita do bhiaidh ar neach, ní ibdis deoch roimh iarmheirgh[e] : do ibhdís í idir iarmheirghe 7 ceileabhradh dul do chodladh. (Do teighdis aris do chodladh d'eis na hiarmheirge).
- 99 As amhlaidh do chanad se na psalma : do roinneadh se gach caogad diobh a cceathair. As í an cheud-ghabhail aige o *Beatus uir* go *Domine quis habitabit*. Do shleuchtadh se annsin 7 adeireadh se paidear 7 *Deus in adiutorium meum intende* go roiche *festina*, 7 adeireadh se iad sin roimh gach gabhail. O *Domine quis habitabit* go roiche *Dominus illuminatio* an dara gabhail, 7 paidear annsin 7 *cetera*, mar do bhí tús.

¹ urnaighthi repeated in MS. ² omit acht. ³ supply 7 easbartain.

⁴ number here in MS.

96 They performed the vigil at lauds on the day after Epiphany and on the Monday after Little Easter, and they performed the cross-vigil with *Hymnum dicat* at matins on the night after Epiphany, and on the night after Little Easter. Between these two high-days they recited the *Beati* which accompanied the vigil at lauds, though they did not perform the vigil itself along with it. Their practice was to say every prayer which would usually accompany the performance of a vigil, even though the vigil were excused. But the psalms of prayer which are excused at vespers between the two Christmasses and the two Easters are not excused from Little Easter to Pentecost.

On whatever day the Return of Christ from Egypt fell, it was honoured like a Sunday, and we have not heard Mael Ruain say that it was wrong to perform the vigil at nones on the day on which it fell, if it fell on a Tuesday or Wednesday, for Christ has many feasts in the year.

97 They said the *Benedicite* between supper [and vespers] and the prayers before retiring to rest immediately afterwards. If anyone happened to take a drink or eat any food later than that, it was necessary for him to say the office of *fadg* (I suppose that this is his name for compline) from *Cum invocarem* to *Nunc dimittis*. It is not right, as some do, if they happen to eat after the office of *fadg*, to say the *Benedicite* only.

98 If anyone were very thirsty, they did not drink before matins, but between matins and the office before retiring to rest. (They went to rest again after matins).

99 His way of chanting the Psalms was this. He divided each fifty into four parts. His first division was from *Beatus vir* to *Domine quis habitabit*. Then he made a genuflexion and said the *Pater Noster* and *Deus in adiutorium meum intende* down to *festina*, and he said these versicles before each division. The second division was from *Domine quis habitabit* to *Dominus illuminatio*; then the *Pater Noster*, et *cetera*, as above. From *Dominus illuminatio* to *Dixi custodiam*,

O *Domine illuminatio* go roiche *Dixi custodiam*, 7 paidear 7 sleuchtain annsin. An dara caogad ó *Quid gloriatur* go roic[h]e *Te decet*, 7 paidear ann sin 7 sleuchtain. O *Te decet* go roiche *Voce*. O *Voce* go *Misericordias*. O *Misericordias* go deireadh.

100 As ann do ghabhadh se cantic na gabhala deidheanaighe ag radh na psalm adeirtheas ag iarmheirghi oidhche shathairn, oir as leis na hocht psalmaibh deidheanacha don ghabhail-si do ceileabharthaóí an iarmheirghe oidhche shathairn. An treas caogadh o *Domine exaudi* go roiche *In exitu Israel*: o *In exitu Israel* go roiche *In conuertendo*: o *In conuertendo* go *Domine probasti*: o *Domine probasti* go deireadh. As ann do ghabhadh se *Magnificat* ar ball d'eis bhiaide. Gach re ngabhail diob sin adeireadh se 'na suidhe 7 an ghabhail oile 'na sheasamh, 7 as mar¹ do ba gnath a cantain.

101 An phaidear sin adeireadh se a ndeireadh gach gabhala as as do chuaidh sí a ngnathughadh .i. duine naomhtha do bhí ag Coill Uaithne (ní chuirionn se ainm sí.) Nir ghnath leis eirghi gan paidear do ghabhail roim eirghe, na suidhe gan paidear do radh roimh shuidhe dho. An tan do eirgheadh se do ghabhail na gabhala adeireadh se paidear [f. 10^b] ría n-eirghi dhó. An tan do chuireadh se crioch ar an ngabhail sin 'na sheasamh do shuidheadh se do ghabhail na gabhala oile 7 adeireadh se paidear ag suidhe dho, 7 as as sin do chuaidh an phaidear a ndeireadh gach gabhala a ngnathughadh.

102 Adubhairt Maoldithribh re Máol Ruain 'Do chuala me,' ar se, 'gurb í fighill as gnath le Duiblitir do dheunamh, na tri caoga psalm do radh ina sheasamh, 7 sleuchtain a ndiaid gach psailm.' 'Ní mholaim-si sin duit-si,' ar Maol Ruain, '7 ní mar sin as gnath linn an tshaltair do radh.' '7 cionnas as coir na cantice do ghabhail?' ar Maol dithreibh. 'Atad dá mhodh ar a n-abairtheas fad: an ceud-mhodh .i. a radh uile d'éis na salm, no tri cantice dhiobh do ghabhail a ndiaidh gach sailm², 7 as mar sin fa gnáth le Maol dithreibh a radh.

¹ supply sin. ² read gach caogad.

and then the *Pater Noster* and a genuflexion. [From *Dixi custodiam* to the end of the first fifty, etc.] The second fifty : from *Quid gloriatur* to *Te decet*, and then a *Pater Noster* and a genuflexion. From *Te decet* to *Voce*. From *Voce* to *Misericordias*. From *Misericordias* to the end.

100 The point at which he recited the canticle of the final division was while saying the psalms which are said at matins on Friday night, for the last eight psalms of this division were recited when matins were sung on Friday night. The third fifty : from *Domine exaudi* to *In exitu Israel* : from *In exitu Israel* to *In convertendo* : from *In convertendo* to *Domine probasti* : from *Domine probasti* to the end. The point at which he recited the *Magnificat* was immediately after the *Beati*. He said one division sitting and the next standing, alternately. That is how he was wont to chant them.

101 His practice of saying the *Pater Noster* at the end of each division came to him from a holy person who lived at Coill Uaithne (he does not record his name). It was his custom not to rise without reciting the *Pater Noster* before rising, nor to sit down without saying the *Pater Noster* before sitting down. When he stood up to recite a division he said the *Pater Noster* before rising. When he had finished that division standing, he would sit down to recite the next, and he would say the *Pater Noster* as he sat down. Hence it became the practice to say the *Pater Noster* at the end of each division.

102 Mael Dithruib said to Mael Ruain: 'I have heard,' said he, 'that it is Dublitir's custom to perform a vigil by saying the hundred and fifty Psalms standing, with a genuflexion after each psalm.' 'I do not recommend that practice to thee,' said Mael Ruain : 'that is not how we are accustomed to say the Psalter.' 'In what way should the canticles be recited?' asked Mael Dithruib. 'There are two methods of saying them. The first is, to say them all after the Psalms; or else to recite three of them after every fifty psalms.' This latter was Mael Dithruib's practice.

- 103 Do bhaof ancaire a cCluain Iraidh, fá mor a saothar. Do naidh se dá ceud sleuchtain ar maidin 7 ceud gach tratha 7 ceud ag iarmheirghe. Seacht cceud sleuchtain uile do niodh sé isna cet[h]ra huairibh fichead. Do hinniseadh sin do Mhaol Ruain. ‘Dobheirim-si dom breithir,’ ar se, ‘biaidh sé dreas d’aimsir roimh a bhás 7 ni dhiongna sé eun-shleachdain.’ Do fíoradh sin, óir do ghabhadh a chosa ris ionnus go raibhe se aimsir fhada roimh a bhas nar feud se einshleuchdain do dheunamh ar an iomarcaigh do righne se cheana.
- 104 Aighean no coire a ndéantar ionnlad nó ina comuisgthear fothragadh, ní ghnath leo lionn na feoil do bruith isin choir sin, 7 ní ghnath brothcan do dheunamh (*quod nunc nemo obseruat*) no go ccuirthear do chom an chearda, 7 go mbúailtear trí cuarta timcheal an t-ord greasuidheachta air.
- 105 Ní hurusa leis tíodhlaicthe ar bith do ghabhail on aos tuaithe : gabaid drong oile íad do chom a ttabhairthe dona bochtaibh, do brigh nach tiobhradaois aos na tuaithe dona bochtaibh íad. Dar lasna tuatadaibh as lór doibh do chom dola go slaitheas De ní do thabhairt da n-anmchaidibh, 7 go mbeid na hanmchaidre aca ar a ttoil fein o shoin amach. Gidheadh as fearr don mhuintir chuirios rompa beith foirbthe...¹
- 106 Gibe do gheunadh ferg ré neach da bhraithribh, taobh amuigh no ’na inntinn astigh, fa gnath aca trisd do chor air, (ní thuigim créud as mian leis san trisd sin), no da ttugadh se aithis do treusan feirg, do chuirthi trosgadh air ann. As eadh adeireadh Maol Ruain gur choir dó maitheamhnus dh’íarraidh ar an tí ro tharcainigh se san fheirg, dá naidh nach do mhuintir an tigi e; 7 da madh do mhuintir an tighe fein, ma do bhudh duine ar a raibhe meas maith e roimhe, adeiread se gur choir dho maitheamhnus d’íarraidh air; 7 mas giolla no scarbfhoghantuidh é, ní mholann don mhanach do ní an feirg maitheamhnus d’íarraid air, d’eagla.

¹ supply a nemhghabháil.

- 103 There was an anchorite in Clonard, whose labour was great. He used to make two hundred genuflexions at lauds, a hundred at each of the canonical hours, and a hundred at matins. Seven hundred genuflexions in all did he make in the twenty four hours. This was told to Mael Ruain. 'My word for it,' said he, 'there will be some space of time before his death when he will not be able to make a single genuflexion.' And this came true, for his legs became crippled, so that for a long while before his death he was unable to make a single genuflexion, by reason of the excessive number he had formerly made.
- 104 A basin or caldron which is used for washing, or in which a bath is prepared, in such caldron it was not their custom to brew liquor or boil flesh-meat, or to make porridge (a rule which no one now observes) until it has been sent to the smith and until it has been tapped all round three times with the craftsman's hammer.
- 105 He did not find it easy to accept any presents from the laity. Some accept them in order to give them to the poor, because the laity would not give them to the poor. Laymen fancy that in order to get to Heaven it is enough for them to give something to their confessors, and that their confessors will thenceforth be at their command. However, for those whose aim is to be perfect it is better [not to accept such gifts.]
- 106 If anyone became angry, either outwardly or inwardly in his heart, with any of his brethren, it was their custom to lay a curse upon him (I do not understand what he intends by this curse), or if he put an insult on him in anger, a fast was imposed on him as punishment. Mael Ruain used to say that it was right for him to ask pardon of the man he had insulted in anger, if he were not one of the community: and even supposing he were one of the community, if he were one who previously enjoyed good consideration, he said that it was right to ask his pardon; but if he were a menial or servant, he does not recommend the monk who showed anger to ask his pardon, lest the other should despise

go ccuirfeadh se a ttarcaisne e, acht trosgadh amhain do san fheirg do rinne. [Muna raibh eagla D'ia ar a shamhail sin do dhuine no muna raibhe eagla¹] An giolla ar nach b'ia eagla D'e, muna raibhe eagla aige roimh an manach, n'í mor a ccas² do chuirfeadh ann 7 n'í m'ór an cás...

¹ *These words cancelled.* ² *read an cás.*

him, but only to fast for the anger he had displayed. A menial who has not the fear of God in him, if he has no fear of the monk, will not have much respect for him, nor much respect...

RIAGAIL NA CÉLE NDÉ

Incipit Riagail na Celed nDe. O Moelruain cecinit.

- 1 [p. 9^b] Biait pointige 7 *Magnificat* fair 7 *Ego vero* 7 *reliqua*, hi sessam chanar.
- 2 Fogni ass tiug do mescad 7 mil fair oidche na prim-sollamun .i. hi notlaic 7 in di chaisc. Ni dlegair fledugud no ol corma *in his noctibus*, daig dula do laim arabarach.
- 3 Loimn n-aiss *in dominicis* in chorgais mair do aes durphendi. Cid nocht-selaind *imorro* i ndomnaigib in chorgaiss mair, ni aurchaill. Ni chaithed *imorro*¹ riam na iarum *nisi in feria Patriti*, 7 cid in tan dino doscuirither-si for ain no cetain is loimm n-aiss dognither inde. Hi ndoin² no al-lid, o docuirither sechtar aine, is and dognither selaind (.i. leath)³. Aran dino ni bi imthormach de lasna Celiuda De, cid isna sollamnaib, acht do dhig 7 andland 7 *aliis rebus*.
- 4 Braissech dino, ni dígband in⁴ aran, cia thecma ni di, daig is andlann side leo-sam .i. ass fuirri 7 ni himm. Ordu eisc dino no ni do mhoethail no do chaisse no ogh thirimn. no ublai, ni dígaib ni de arán indsin uli, mad bec de nach ae, *non autem omnia simul*. Ublai *vero* madat mora, is lor a .u. no .ui. lasin aran. Cidat beca dino, is lor .xii. dib.
- 5 Tri buinde no .iiii. de luss. Millsen dino no druchtan ni caiter leo-som, *sed fit* chaisse de. Dognither *imorro* gruthrach doib, acht ni theit binit ind, 7 ni aurchuill iarum. Bug⁵

¹ read Ni caithet imm. ² read Hi ndomnuch (*Plummer*). ³ *superscript*.

⁴ read ní dígaib ní dind. ⁵ read Bad.

RULE OF THE CELI DE

1 The *Beati* of the refectory is sung standing, and thereafter the *Magnificat* and *Ego vero* and other canticles.

2 It is usual to make a brew of thick milk, with honey added, on the eves of the chief festivals, namely, Christmas and the two Easters.

It is not lawful to make a feast or drink beer on these nights, because of going to communion the next day.

3 On the Sundays of great Lent a draught of milk is allowed to those undergoing strict penance. A *selann* at night is, however, not forbidden on these Sundays. Penitents get no butter before or after, but only on S. Patrick's Day, and further, when this feast falls on a Friday or Wednesday, a draught of milk is what is taken on it. On a Sunday, or on a festal day if it falls otherwise than on a fast-day, a *selann* (a half-quantity) is taken. Of bread the Celi De allow no increase, even on the festivals, but only of drink and of condiment and other things.

4 If there chance to be any kale, the quantum of bread is not diminished, because they regard kale as a condiment, and it is dressed with milk, not butter. As for a piece of fish, or a little biestings or cheese, or a dry egg or apples, none of these things diminish the quantum of bread, so long as not more than a little of any of them is eaten, nor all of them together. Of apples, five or six along with the bread are enough, if they are large; while if they are small, twelve are sufficient.

5 Three or four heads of leeks are allowed. Curds and whey are not eaten by them, but are used to make cheese. Flummery is made for them, and is not forbidden, provided

aire *dino* ni aurchuill, fobith is aran som. Meadg millsen *dino* ni hebar a oenur, acht cumaisether for grutin beos.

- 6 Is e in tuaslocud ar chaise .i. oga 7 blonoca 7 feoil oss n-allaid 7 mucc n-allaid.
- 7 Fogni *dino* forcraid fhiach for coice 7 bligre ¹ 7 cuchtrori, fobithin dorta in toraid, etir ass 7 arbar.
- 8 Bit lib na feola hi corgas mar in tan bis i *terci* a arille, acht *dino* mina be gell de anmannaib is ferr a denam.
- 9 Feli sruthi docurither for dardain no mairt fria corgusa dianechtair, leth-sélaind inntib 7 bochtan de chormaim no medg-usce. Mina be *dino* loim medg-usci nó cingit chormma, *fit* follach bec do mhenadaig and .i. cethruime. Cingit chorma *dino*, in tan donecmaic, ni hebar deog di cia nosbeth hittu, acht lommand, uair ergharid side hittaid 7 ni luga sians failte dib ar do dhig.
- 10 Ni dentar imorro selaind imbe, acht loim medg-usci inntib oidche mairte no dardain no satharn no domnaig, cid sechtar chorgus, cid feil sruthi, acht in fheil bis for luan focertar for mairt, a mbi for cetain focertar for dardain, a mbi for ain diden focertar for mairt iar ndomnach.
- 11 Loim lemnaicht, mina be *nach* n-ass n-aill, cethruime fair di *aqua*.
- 12 Ni nech budessin *dino* dosbeir fiach n-aibne ² lasna Celiuda De *sed alius*, [p. 10^a] 7 doberar o notlaic steill ³ 7 o mhinchaise cu notlaic mor *iterum*.
- 13 Inti teti *prius* ⁴ do midnocht, do shacarbaice namá theit 7 ni théit do chailech, 7 ni theit *iterum usque ad finem anni*. Teit iarum di midnocht di[a] bliadna, 7 do churp na cásc arabarach.

¹ read bligreóiri. ² nailme MS. ³ supply co caise. ⁴ read primum.

that no rennet is put into it. The reason why it is not forbidden may be that it counts as bread. Whey of curds is not drunk alone, but is mixed with small curds as well.

- 6 The relaxation at Easter permits eggs and lard and the flesh of deer and wild swine.
- 7 It is usual to lay additional penance on cooks and milkers and scullions on account of spilling the produce, both milk and corn.
- 8 Ye may have flesh meats in great Lent, when other things are scarce, yet unless lives are in danger, it is better to keep the fast.
- 9 On principal feast-days which fall on a Thursday or Tuesday outside Lent a half-*selann* is allowed, with a *bochtan* of beer or whey-water. If, however, a sip of whey-water or a *cingit* of beer is not to be had, then a small mess of gruel is made instead, that is, a quarter ration. When there chances to be a *cingit* of beer, it is not drunk at a draught, though they may be thirsty, but in sips, because these quench thirst, and thou hast no less sense of pleasure from them in thy drink.
- 10 No *selann* of butter is made, but instead of them a draught of whey-water is taken on the evening of a Monday or Wednesday or Friday or Saturday, even outside of Lent, or on a principal feast-day; but the feast-day which comes on a Monday is transferred to Tuesday, one which comes on a Wednesday is transferred to Thursday, and one which comes on a Friday is transferred to the Tuesday following.
- 11 To a draught of new milk, if there be no other milk [mixed with it], a fourth part of water is added.
- 12 With the Celi De, castigation is not inflicted on a man by himself, but by some one else; and it is administered between Epiphany [and Easter], and between Low Sunday and Christmas Day following.
- 13 He that goes for the first time to midnight mass [on Easter Eve] receives only the bread and not the cup, and he does not go again until the end of the year. He goes again to mid-

Tertia uice, di midnocht 7 di churp na casc 7 notlac *Tertia*¹ *uice*, ar notlaic 7 dí cháisc 7 cingcedis. *Quinto anno*, ar sollamnu 7 cind .xl. oidche beos. *Sexto anno*, cind cech mís. *Septimo anno*, cind cech coeathiges. *Post .iii. anno[s]* is and teit cech domnaig.

- 14 *Pater* sair *prius* 7 *Deus in adi[u]torium usque festina*, 7 da dhí láim suas fria nem 7 airrdhe na *croise* cot láim ndeiss iarum. *Similiter* in cech aird *sic* síis 7 suass. IS hi trá comrair chrábuid leosom, acht is crosfigell *prius*. Lúirech léire *dino* a ainm-side.
- 15 IN tan na tiagar do láim dia domnaig, tiagar dia dhardaín ina dhegaid, ar is rofhata anad cu dómnach aile doñtí teit do láim dogrés cech dómnaig, uair is aurdhalta leosom dogrés in dí lá sin fri hoifrend.
- 16 Ni hécen *dino* na min-choibsena do míimratib 7 coraib espai 7 écnach 7 ferg 7 *reliqua* do fhuirech cu dómnach, acht a fhaisitiu amail doragbaithe focetoir.
- 17 INTí dosbeir a choibsena do anmcharait, mad phendi ina rér, ni hecen dó a tabairt do anmcharait aile, acht in doragba *post*.
- 18 Ni tarba *dino* in coibsenuid minic o bís in brissiud minic beos.
- 19 Cenlá, ni dentar selaind and, acht loimm n-aiss no cingit chorma 7 mad thecma leig mela, ar is gnath side i sollamnaib 7 ard-fhélib, cen figill na cen fhiach aibne ind. Meadg-usce 7 aran ann : pritaither ann : proind iarum iar noin.
- 20 IN fhossaic *dino* : biat do chetul cen bether icon fhossaic. Procept na fhossaice tra iarum.

¹ read Quarta.

- night mass the year after, and receives the bread of Easter on the morrow. The third time, he goes to midnight mass and receives the bread at Easter and on Christmas Day. The fourth time, he goes at Christmas and at the two Easters and at Pentecost. In the fifth year, he goes at the high festivals, and also after every forty nights. In the sixth year, at the end of each month. In the seventh year, at the end of every fortnight. After seven years, he goes every Sunday.
- 14 The *Pater Noster* and *Deus in adjutorium* as far as *festina* are recited first facing east, with both hands raised to heaven and making the sign of the Cross with thy right hand : then thus similarly facing each quarter, downward and upward. This they call the Shrine of Piety; but first a cross-vigil is made, and the name of this is the Corslet of Devotion.
- 15 When anyone fails to go to communion on a Sunday, he goes on the Thursday following, because to wait until the next Sunday would be too long a delay for one who goes to communion regularly every Sunday : for these two days are always specially observed by them for attending mass.
- 16 Further, it is not necessary to put off minor confessions of evil thoughts and faults of idleness and bitter words and anger and so forth until Sunday, but they should be confessed immediately as they are committed.
- 17 He that makes confession to a soul-friend, if he does penance as he directs, need not confess to another soul-friend, excepting such sins as he may subsequently commit.
- 18 Frequent confession, however, does not profit, if the transgression be also frequent.
- 19 On Maundy Thursday no *selann* is made, except a draught of milk or a *cingit* of beer and, it may be, a spoonful of honey, for this is usual on solemn days and high festivals, without a vigil or castigation being imposed as punishment. Whey-water and bread are the diet for this day; a sermon is preached, and then dinner in the afternoon.
- 20 At the washing of feet the *Beati* is recited as long as the washing lasts. After that comes the Sermon on the Washing.

- 21 Celebrad espartan : in tan gaibther ecnaircc neich, a ainmm baiste issed fogni friss.
- 22 Sailm tra in tan gabar, cech la gabail díb i sessom, araile is-suide : uair in tan bither is-suide, dofuissim cotlad : dia mbether *dino* ní bus [s]hiriu is-sessam, is emilt.
- 23 Dí biait déc arra na .lll. cenimmachtad.
- 24 Follach inenadchi ¹ ar na féli[b] 7 arna dómnaigib do oess phendi, 7 ní bí saire fhigle doib acht in oen-noin cech feli sruthi etir chaise 7 cingcedis, mairt 7 dardáin etir di notlaic.
- 25 INtí tra nát caith feoil dogres dosgní pars mbic isin chaise fri foimtin terci no gortai do tecmaic isin bliadain, uair inti na tuaslaic ar chaise nista ara ndeni cusin caise aile *iterum*.
- 26 IN sacart doella a grada, cia beth ara phendi, nisoifre iarum, fobith ní hurusa oifrend [10^b] do fhir cen grada.
- 27 IN tan tra doscuirither feil sruth for sathurn, mad sechtar chorgus, dolluidther in figell nona. Mad cetain *imorro* no aín diden no luan, focertar a saire for mairt no dardain no satharn.
- 28 IS amnas tra caingen in anmchardine, fobíth ma doberar a frepaid coir is mincati a brissiud na a chomallud : mina thaidbre ² in t-anmchara *imorro*, dosteit a chin fair, fobíth is lor la foirne andsom tabairt a coibsen cen a pendat. IS ferr tra focra al-lessa doib-sium, cenni frecmai ³ na cóibsená.
- 29 IS and tiagar co hanmcharait aile, mad écen, iar cetugud don anmcharait tóisig.

¹ read menadche. ² read taibre. ³ read ceni frecmairc.

- 21 When intercession is made for any one at the celebration of vespers, his baptismal name is used.
- 22 When the Psalms are recited, one division is said standing and the next sitting, because when they remain seated, it begets sleep : while if they remain too long standing, it is wearisome.
- 23 Twelve repetitions of the *Beati* are a substitute for the hundred and fifty Psalms, without....
- 24 A mess of gruel is allowed to penitents on festivals and on Sundays, and they have no exemption from vigils, except for one evening of every principal festival between Easter and Pentecost, and on Tuesday and Thursday between Christmas and Epiphany.
- 25 He that regularly abstains from flesh takes a small particle at Easter, as a precaution against the occurrence of dearth or famine during the year; for he that does not relax on Easter Day has no opportunity to do so till the following Easter.
- 26 The priest who falls away from his Orders may not offer the sacrifice of mass thereafter, even though he do penance, since it is not admissible for a man without Orders to offer it.
- 27 When a chief festival falls on a Saturday, if it be outside Lent, the evening vigil is excused. If, however, it comes on a Wednesday or Friday or Monday, the indulgence is transferred to Tuesday, Thursday or Saturday.
- 28 Irksome, truly, is the business of soul-friendship, because if the proper remedy is prescribed, it is more often violated than fulfilled : while if the soul-friend does not prescribe it, the liability falls upon him; for there are many who deem it sufficient to make confession without doing penance. So it is better for the soul-friend to admonish them of what is profitable for them, even though he does not demand confessions.
- 29 Recourse may be had, if necessary, to another soul-friend, on obtaining leave from the original soul-friend.

- 30 Ni fosgní tra lasna Celiuda De cotlad i ndaurrthig. Issed *dino* fosgní leo-som .i. dias dib isin daurrthig co hiarmérgi 7 na .l. do chetul doib, 7 im nóin prainnit, 7 codlait co hoidche, 7 contuilet ó iarmérgi co matain. Dias eile *dino* o íarmérgi co matain, 7 cetul na .l. beos doib, 7 cotlaid iarum cu teirt 7 celebráit in teirt hi comain fria cach.
- 31 IS ed fosgni lasna Celiuda De .i. fer oc airlegend tsoscela 7 riagla 7 fertai noem cen bit oc praind, dáig na beth a menma isin praind *sed hin Deo*, 7 praindid o nóin in fer pritchas and, *et in die singuli 7rogantur*¹ *de*² *quod predicatum est*, dus in and bis a menma *in nocte* an ann.³
- 32 INti na búí oc tairisim oifroind dia domnaig .l. do chetul do ina shessam hi tig dúnta 7 a shúile senta, is e a luag in oifroind. Issed delece .i. cét slechtain 7 crosfhighill fri biait.
- 33 Cid mor in íttu for neoch níssib dig iar n-íarmérgi *dino* riam⁴ 7 celebrad dul il-lige *post*.
- 34 Mad notfergáither fria gilla 7 nisbí tríst no aithis, is ecen cét bemend fort lamu *prius* 7 beth for bargin 7 usce in oidche sin.
- 35 Ni dlegar *dino* do Chele Dé ól neich iar tabairt a fhuail.
- 36 Troscad mís la muintir Moelruain uli .i. leth-fít de arán 7 leth-fít de medg-usce.
- 37 IS coir *dino* obbad na cóibsean inti nad penni do reir anmcharut. Mina thecma do neoch anmcharait bus lor lais i fhocus (.i. bus eolach riagla an ímthechta in scriptuir 7 fri riagla na nocm), 7 conothar a mberend on anmcharait eolach

¹ read *interrogantur* (Plummer), ² supply *eo*, ³ read *an non* (Plummer).

⁴ read ní ib dig ria n-íarmérgi. Ibid eter íarmérgi *dino* riam.

- 30 With the Celi De it is not the practice to sleep in the oratory. Their practice is that two of them should remain in the oratory until matins, and recite the hundred and fifty Psalms : they dine in the afternoon and sleep until night, and sleep [again] from matins till lauds. Two others then remain from matins till lauds, and they also recite the hundred and fifty Psalms, and then sleep until tierce and say the office of tierce in company with all the brethren.
- 31 It is the practice of the Celi De that while they are at dinner one of them reads aloud the Gospels and the Rule and miracles of Saints, to the end that their minds may be set on God, not on the meal : and the man who preaches at that time has his dinner in the afternoon, and in the course of the [next] day they are questioned severally about the subject of the sermon, to see whether their minds were occupied with it on [the previous] night or not.
- 32 He that has not attended mass on Sunday must recite fifty [psalms], standing, in a closed house, with his eyes signed with the Cross : this is the price he pays for the mass. A hundred genuflections and a cross-vigil, with the *Beati*, discharge his obligation.
- 33 However much a man may suffer from thirst, he may not take a drink [before] matins. [He may drink between matins] and the office at bed time.
- 34 If thou art angry with a servant, and there is no cursing and abuse, thou must first receive a hundred blows on the hands, and [also] pass that night on bread and water.
- 35 It is not lawful for a Cele De to drink anything after making water.
- 36 All Mael Ruain's community keeps a fast once a month, namely, half-rations of bread and half-rations of whey-water.
- 37 It is proper to refuse the confession of one who does not perform the penance imposed by his soul-friend. If any one does not happen to find near by a soul-friend whom he considers sufficient (that is, one learned in the rules of

fri si cetna comarnic, beth nech *imorro* dia taidbre¹ a choib-sena for cech n-ae, 7 pendither iarum ir-reir na riagla min-choib-sena, ni aurchuill sicipe dia tabarthar, cid mac legind cid mac-clerech,

- 38 Cethardha na pennither hi tir nErenn .i. coiblige² mairb, diall fri coibdelaig³, toitim fo uasal-grad,⁴ forneis choibsen, *ut dicat* .i. issed so daroine in fer-so.
- 39 Atberat forend conid inille 7 conid ferr do anmain in phit beac [11^a] min *quam* in phit mór anmin. Feli na n-aspal 7 in litha sruthi 7 in domnaig, ni tormach pite is coir inntib *sed motatio* .i. ni bus mhiniu araile
- 40 Hittu dino in tan bís fos, fagubar bochtan do mhedg no blathaig 7 usce fair. It lomand ebar dhe.
- 41 Nech loinges rena thrath no chaithes inmar nach gnath do, throscaid ind dí oidche⁵ for usce 7 aran do.
- 42 Fial-tige dino 7 fual-tige, it adbai do demnaib indsin. Senad do neoch na tige⁶ sin 7 a shénad fén in tan tiassair inntib, ocus ni dlegair irnaigthe inntib sin, *sed Deus in adi[u]torium usque festina*.
- 43 Biad bis *in domu quando moritur aliquis in a consecrare et pauperibus diuidere bebet*,⁷ ar *cibus in una domu cum infirmo custodire*⁸ *vel cum mortuo, quamuis sanctus sit, manducari non debet*.
- 44 Is ead rosqualai Moelruain la sruthi di dergu in tire, is

¹ read taibre. ² id est mul[i]er, *superscr.* ³ .i. siair-no ingein, *superscr.* ⁴ .i. espoc no sacart, *superscr.* ⁵ read troscad ind, nó dí oidche, etc. ⁶ read tige. ⁷ read debet. ⁸ read custodiri,

conduct laid down in Scripture and in the Rules of the saints), and if the precepts he brings from the learned soul-friend whom he first met are observed, and if there be moreover some one to whom he may make confessions on each point, and if penance be done thereafter according to the rules of minor confession, it is no matter to whom his confession is made, even though it be to a student or to a young cleric.

38 There are four things for which no penance can be done in the land of Erin, namely, lying with a dead person, (*id est, mulier*): transgressing with a kinswoman (that is, a sister or daughter): falling into sin while holding higher Orders (that is, a bishop or priest): and divulging a confession, by saying, 'this is what this man did.'

39 Some persons aver that the small delicate diet is safer and better for the soul than the large coarse diet.

On the feasts of the Apostles and high festivals and Sundays a change of diet (that is, something more delicate than other fare) is proper, rather than an increase.

40 Further, when they are thirsty, a *bochtan* of whey or buttermilk, with water added, may be taken. This is to be drunk in sips.

41 Any one who eats before the time, or takes rich food that it is not customary for him to take, must fast for doing so two nights on bread and water.

42 Privies and urinals are abodes for evil spirits. The sign of the Cross should be made over these places, and a man should cross himself when he enters them, and it is not lawful to pray in them, except to repeat *Deus in adjutorium*, down to *festina*.

43 The food that is in a house when any one dies in it ought to be blessed and distributed among the poor: because food ought not to be kept in the same house with a sick man, or eaten in the same house with a dead man, however holy he may be.

44 This is what Mael Ruain heard said by venerable persons

diultadach Patraic hi nim 7 na hirsi tuc i nErinn nach oen deraig a thír acht assa hoirthiur ina hiarthar 7 asa tuaiscert ina descert.

- 45 Nicon fil ní dosgní duine tar cend anma indi atbaill nat cobair do, etir fhigill 7 apstanait 7 gabail n-ecnairce 7 bendachtu menci. *Filii pro mortuis parentibus debent penitere.* Bliadain lan dino do Móedoc Fherna cona muintir uile for usce 7 bairgin iar¹ tuaslucud anma Branduib meic Echach o ifurn.
- 46 Duine dino dia mbad áil apstanait 7 nisderna phit do tixail aire, ticsad ochtmad cu cend sé mis : a mbeirend iarum in duine cu cend se mis dia apstanait no di thixail neich aire do chodlad, fotlil coa ec. Mad ail do tuilled apstanait beos, tixad ochtmhad aile aire dia phít fo inn allt *chetna*, co roa a tri no a .iiii. no a .u. Ruc sa² indsin uli, acht ba min dorona Ni ba hanfhollain do dino a tixeba aire dia chotlad *per gradus*. Fer dino nacachta cu mor 7 donimaírg lubra no galar tria apstanit, becan do erail fair beos amail noedin. Dia fhuilnge *per sex menses*, beraid cu bas a erail fair beos.
- 47 Fothrucad hin n-imsitin is aurchail 7 is corbad don chach dosbeir tara cend in lind sin. Is faithciu don oes graid tarsa teit cend a cosmad 7 a coisecrad iarum.
- 48 Leth-fit do Dia 7 al-leth eli do thomailt deitt fen, arteit troscad innsin.
- 49 Bannscal alacht dia tic galar co mbi fochraib de bas, airlegthar in mbathis for usce 7 foseseagar³ in bandscaí tar cend na geni 7 doberar Fland no Cellach do ainmm fair, (ar is coitchend do fhir 7 do mhnaí cechtar de), 7 hibed

¹ read ar. ² read rúticsa (*Bergin*), or rouca. ³ read fosissedar.

about deserting the country. Any one who deserts his country (save by removing from the east of it to the west and from the north of it to the south) is a denier of Patrick in heaven and of the faith he brought to Erin.

- 45 There is nothing that a man does on behalf of the soul of one who dies that does not help it, whether vigil or abstinence, or requiem or frequent benediction. Sons ought to do penance for their dead parents. Maedoc of Ferns and all his community spent a full year on bread and water in order to gain the release of the soul of Brandub mac Echach from hell.
- 46 Now if a man should desire to practise abstinence, and if it has not been his habit to subtract from his rations, let him subtract one eighth for a period of six months. What he can bear then throughout that period in point of abstinence or in foregoing part of his sleep, will abide with him till his death. If he desires further abstinence, let him subtract another eighth of his rations in the same way, up to three, four or five eighths. He can bear all that amount, provided he does it gradually; also, what he subtracts by degrees from his sleep will not be harmful to him. A man however who disciplines himself severely, and whom sickness or disease distresses through his abstinence, must impose upon himself only a little additional, like a child. If he endures for six months, he will be able to bear the further imposition until death.
- 47 It is forbidden to bathe in polluted water, and it is a defilement for every one who pours such water upon his head. Persons in Orders whose head it touches must take care to anoint and cross themselves thereafter.
- 48 If thou give half thy ration to God and consume the other half thyself, this serves instead of a fast.
- 49 When disease attacks a pregnant woman so that she is near to death, the baptismal service is read aloud over water, and the woman makes confession on behalf of her unborn child, and the name of Flann or Cellach is given to it

in mathair in usce sin, cu teit tarsin ngein, 7 is bathis do.

- 50 Galar mistai bis for ingenaib eclaise, saire a figle doib oiret bis foraib, maiten 7 fescor, 7 brochán do denam [11^b] doib am theirt, secip aimser, fobith dlegar airmitiu in galair sin Nis tiagat dino do laim ind *quia oman de*¹ *sunt in illo tempore*.
- 51 Tuara imchuirther do chéin i ndomnach i n-edpairt do neoch, ni dlegar do a chaithem acht a fhodail do bochtaib.
- 52 Doberair dia sathairn im noin fiach aibne na hoidche luain
- 53 Ord berrtha dia mís dosgnither .i. dia dhardain.
- 54 IS amlaid dino gabthair dechmada .i. cech anmanna techtas duine do lecad tar bernai 7 cech dechmad mil dib² do Dia acht doimh nama, fobith gabar dia saethar cech dechmad carr.
- 55 Tri torba *in die* .i. ernaiithe 7 lubair 7 legend, rodbu force-tail no scribend no uaimm n-etaig no araill bus torba do neoch dorona, arna bether i n-espá and, *ut Dominus dixit: Non ap[p]arebis uac[u]us in conspectu meo*.
- 56 Ni aurberta bith comat guirt. Nis cotultai combad eim latt. Nis aculta nech comba deithbir.
- 57 Socrad eclaisi De co mbathis 7 comna 7 gabail n-ecnairec, co maccaib do legend, co n-idpairt chuirp Crist for cech n-altoir. Ni dliget dechmadu na bo chendaith³ na trian annoti na dire scoit do mhaínib mina bet a frithfholaíd techta na heclaisi innte do bathis 7 comnai 7 gabal n-ecnairec a manach etir biu 7 marbu, 7 cor-roib oifrend for altoir i ndomnaigib 7 sollamnaib, 7 cor-rabut aidme oga cech altoir

¹ read *quia immundae*. ² supply do thabairt. ³ read chennaithe,

(each of these being common to man or woman), and let the mother drink the water, so that it passes over the child, and this constitutes baptism for it.

- 50 During the monthly sickness of daughters of the Church they are excused from vigils, morning and evening, so long as it lasts, and gruel is to be made for them at tierce, at whatever time this happens, because it is right that this sickness should have attention. They do not attend communion in such case, for they are unclean at these times.
- 51 Food that is brought from a distance on a Sunday as an offering to anyone it is not lawful for him to eat, but he should distribute it among the poor.
- 52 The castigation of Sunday evening is administered on Saturday at the hour of nones.
- 53 Tonsure is regularly performed once a month, on a Thursday.
- 54 Tithes are collected in this way. Every animal that a mans owns is let out through a gap, and every tenth beast is given to God, except only oxen : because every tenth cart-load of [the fruit of] their labour is taken.
- 55 Three profitable things in the day : prayer, labour and study : or it may be, teaching or writing or sewing clothes, or any other profitable work that he can do ; so that none be idle, as the Lord has said : ' Thou shalt not appear in my sight empty.'
- 56 Do not eat till thou be hungry : do not sleep till thou be ready for it : speak to none till there be cause.
- 57 The free tenure of the Church of God, in return for baptism, and communion and intercessory prayer, with boys for study, and with the sacrifice of the body of Christ on every altar. Churchmen have no claim to tithes, nor to the heriot cow, nor to the third that belongs to the patron's church, nor to compensation for valuables, unless the church provides its proper equivalents in baptism and communion and inter-

dib. Nach eclais oc na bia a techta ni dlig lan-dire eclaisi De, acht is uaim thagut 7 latrand a hainmm la Crist.

58 Cech eclais tra i mbi fer graid do mhi[n]-eclaisib tuaithe ni dhlig¹ tuarastul a uird .i. tech 7 airlisse 7 dergud 7 d'celtt cecha bliadna, amail bias hi cumang na heclaisi, miach cona indud, bo blicht in cech raithe 7 ar-reir imm *cech* coir archena. Bathis *dino* uade-sim 7 comna (.i. sacarbaic) 7 gabail n-ecnairce beo 7 marb 7 oifrend cech dómnaig 7 cech prim-shollaman 7 cech prim-fheli, celebrad cech tratha, na .III. do chedul cech dia, acht mina thoirmesci forcetul no anmchairdius. Nach fer graid *dino* lasna bi dliged, na colus² a graid do thimntirecht, cona bi tualaing celebrad 7 oifriund for belaid rig 7 espoc, nis dlig saire fhir graid hi tuaithe no i n-eclais.

59 Nach espoc *dino* dosber uasal-grad³ for neoch na be tualaing n-airberta i crabud⁴ 7 legend, anmchairdessa 7 colas rechta 7 riagla 7 frepuide cuibde di cech pheccad archena, is bidba do Dia 7 duine in t-espoc sin, uair is immdergad do Crist 7 dia eclais a ndoroine, 7 *idieo* .ui. *annos penitere*⁵ 7 tabrad .vii. cumala oir fria henech in duileman beoss.

60 [12^a] IS de ata⁶ anmunna fher nErenn i timna Patraic, co raibe prim-espoc cecha prim-tuathi i nErinn fria hoird'nead

¹ for ni dhlig *read* dligid. ² coluch *with* uel s *superscr.* MS. ³ *read* uasal-gráda. ⁴ *read* a n-airberta eter chrábud, etc. ⁵ *read* poeniteat. ⁶ *read* foratá.

cessory prayer for her tenants both living and dead, and unless there be sacrifice upon the altar on Sundays and high-days, and every altar have its complete furniture. Any church which has not its proper provision [of equipment and services] has no claim to the full compensation due to a church of God; but the name that Christ gives it is 'a den of thieves and robbers.'

- 58 In any church, moreover, in which there is an ordained priest from the minor churches of the laity he has a claim ¹ to the stipend of his Orders, namely a house and garth and bed and a habit every year, so far as shall be in the power of the church: a sack [of seed-corn] with its yield, a cow in milk every quarter, and every reasonable demand of his generally. On his part again, the rites of baptism and communion (that is, the sacrament) and intercessory prayer for the living and the dead, and mass every Sunday and every chief high-day and every chief festival: celebration of all the canonical hours, and chanting of the hundred and fifty psalms daily, unless hindered by teaching or hearing confessions. Any ordained priest, therefore, who has no lawful title nor knowledge to discharge the duties of his Orders, so that he is incompetent to celebrate the hours and the mass in the presence of kings and bishops, has no claim to the privileges of an ordained priest in state or in church.
- 59 Any bishop, therefore, who confers higher Orders on any one who is not capable of exercising them, both as to piety and learning, and as to hearing confessions, and as to knowledge of law and rule, and appropriate remedies for every sort of sin, — that bishop is culpable before God and man, for what he has done is an affront to Christ and to his Church. Let him, therefore, do six years' penance, and let him give seven cumals of gold as satisfaction to the Creator as well.
- 60 Therefore it lies upon the souls of the men of Erin by the commandment of Patrick, that there be a chief bishop to every

¹ 'no claim' MS.

oessa graid 7 fri coisecrad eclais, fri hanmchardine do flaithib 7 oirchinnib 7 d'oes graid, fri noemad 7 bennachad a cland iar mbathis, fria forcongra lubrai cech eclaisi, 7 mac 7 ingean fria legend 7 crabud : ar mina-s-legat na meic in cech aimsir itbela in uile eclais, 7 ni bia cretim acht duibgenntligecht hi tir nErenn.

61 Nach oen dino atbera¹ dechmad a chuirp do Dia fria leigend, bid cuma do 7 noathnuiged eclasa Erenn 7 dosberad cretem innte iarna elod. Nach oen imorro beress a mac for cula o legend iarna idpairt do Dia 7 Patraic, is cuma do 7 nosberad audparta in betha uli for cula 7 conscarad eclais nime 7 talman.

62 Nach oen tra lasa legait na meic audparthar and do Dia 7 Patraic, dlegait side² fochraic 7 dulchinde i n-aimseraib corib .i. loilgech i fochraice na .III. cona n-imnaib 7 cantacib 7 liachtanaib 7 co mbathis 7 comna 7 gabail n-ecnarci 7 co n-eolas a n-ordaigthe olchena co mba tualaing airiten grad. Ag 7 mucc 7 tri meich bracha 7 miach arba bid ina duilchinde cecha bliadna cenmotha gaire 7 algine do étiud 7 biathad il-log mbendachtan. Acht iar taisfenad na salm 7 na n-imond focetoir dorenar in loilgech, iar taisfenad dino in ordusa dlegar in dulchinde 7 in decelt. Dligid imorro in tshui no in t-espoc dia taisfentar na sailm proind coicir de chormaimm 7 biud in oidche sin.

63 IS he tra doroiisce do shaethraib in saethar-sa .i. saethar hi crabud. Aire doberar flaitheus nime donti lasa legthar 7 notlega 7 dotcossig in nech bis icon legand. Nach fer graid lasa leghut

¹ read idbéra. ² side superscr.

chief state in Erin, for ordaining men to holy Orders, for consecrating churches, for receiving confessions from kings and erenaghs and priests in Orders, for hallowing and blessing their children after baptism, for appointing the labours of every church, and setting boys and girls to study and piety : for if the boys do not study at all seasons the whole Church will die, and there will be no belief, but black paganism in the land of Erin.

- 61 If any one therefore shall offer the tithes [of the fruit] of his body to God for the purpose of study, it will be the same as if he renovated the churches of Erin and restored its belief after it had vanished. Whereas if any one withdraws his son from study after offering him to God and to Patrick, it is as if he should revoke the offerings of the whole world and violate the Church of heaven and earth.
- 62 Any one moreover with whom the boys study who are thus offered to God and to Patrick has a claim to reward and fee at the proper seasons, namely, a milch-cow as remuneration for [teaching] the Psalms with their hymns canticles and lections, and the rites of baptism and communion and intercession, together with the knowledge of the ritual generally, till the student be capable of receiving Orders. A heifer and a pig and three sacks of malt and a sack of corn are his fee every year, besides tendance and a compassionate allowance of raiment and food in return for his blessing. But the milch-cow is made over immediately after the student has publicly proved his knowledge of the Psalms and hymns, and after the public proof of his knowledge of the ritual the fee and habit are due. Moreover the doctor or bishop before whom proof in the Psalms has been made is entitled to a collation of beer and food for five persons the same night.
- 63 This is the most excellent of all labours, to wit, labour in piety; for the kingdom of heaven is granted to him who directs study, and to him who studies, and to him who supports the pupil who is studying. It is the duty of every one

na meic-si is do dlegar a cuindrech 7 a cosc 7 a timorcun fri hurda eclaisi focetoir, ar is don eclais 7 do Dia ailter fri hairiten grad.

- 64 Nach fer graid gaibes eclais fora chubas is do dlegar anmchardine mhanach na heclaise sin, firu, maccu, mna sceo ingena. Nach oen *dino* nach airim maam n-anmcharut fair, cona bi do reir De no duine, ni dhlig comna do thabairt do no gabail n-ecnairce no a adnocul i n-eclais De, ar is uad rofemded bith do rer De isna heclaisib i tir nErenn, uair is amlaid is coir airmite in aesa graid 7 comallad a timnai, amail betis aingil Dé eter doinib. Fobith is treothu ata cosnaigthe *flaithiussa* nime, eter bat[h]is 7 comna 7 gabal n-ecnarci 7 audpait chuirp Crist 7 a fholai 7 procept *soscela* 7 cumtach eclaisi De 7 aentu rechta 7 riaglai, 7 issued on tolaigther do Dia hi talum.

- 65 Nach oen *dino* conscara eclais De .i. notren 7 notcrean ar saint 7 format, not^[12^b]rir-side sossad a anma in-nim, mad co tisad. Ar issued cundrad is messa dogni duine isin bith .i. reicc a shuide i n-eclais nime 7 reicc a anma fri diabul 7 reicc a chuirp a n-ilar mainche do thuillem donahib eclaisib, cu tomal log a cholla resiu bus marb. Is aire na bi ní do diless lais do churp no d'anmain no talum, acht is la diabul uile. Or inti bís oc coscrad *eclaisi* Dé is e *dino*¹ cotascara 7 cotasni inti nát bi ina timnaib i n-ucht *eclaisi* Dé. IS trít atbathutar cumachta cecha flatha 7 a cland 7 a flathemnas ina ndegaid. IS trit *dino* atbath cretium in Choimdhed i tuathaib 7 cenelaib. IS trit duinter dorrsi nime 7 eroslaicther

¹ read Dia.

in Orders with whom these boys study to correct and chastise them and to press them to take ecclesiastical Orders forthwith, because they are being bred up for the Church and for God with a view to receiving Orders.

64 It is the duty of any one in Orders who undertakes the charge of a church to hear the confessions of that church's tenants, men, boys, women and girls. If any one will not accept the yoke of a confessor, so that he is not under the authority of God or of man, he has no claim to be given communion, nor to have intercession made for him, nor to be buried in God's church; because he has refused to be under God's authority in the churches in the land of Erin. For it is right to show reverence to ordained priests, and and to fulfil their behests, just as if they were God's angels among men; seeing that it is through them that the kingdom of heaven is to be won, by means of baptism and communion and intercession, and by the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, and by preaching of the gospel, and by building up the Church of God, and by unity of law and rule; and this is what is pleasing to God on earth.

65 Any one therefore, who violates the Church of God, that is, who buys or sells her out of greed and envy, will be selling the resting-place of his soul in heaven, if [otherwise] he might reach it. For this is the worst bargain a man makes in the world, to sell his seat in the Church of heaven, and to sell his soul to the Devil, and to sell his body in order to earn much hire from the churches, so that he eats the wage of his flesh before he dies. For this cause he has nothing of his own, either body or soul or land, but all belongs to the Devil. For he who constantly violates God's church, it is God whom he violates and resists, even the man who abides not in His commandments in the bosom of the Church of God. Through him the powers of all princes have perished, and their children and their sovereignty after them. Through him moreover, belief in the Lord has perished in states and kindreds. Through him are the doors of heaven shut and the doors of hell open,

dorrsi hifirnn 7 anait angil De do thorruma in talman, acht tan tecait do thabairt digla forsan cinel daine-sea .i. droch-oirchindig díumsacha 7 droch-rig sanntacha tarmthiachut na timnu-sa Phatraic, eter choscrad eclaisi 7 ar-reicc 7 a creicc 7 cumdach uaille 7 diumsa, conid a n-ifiurn ata a nduilchinne-*post.* INtí dino conaing eclais De co n-umaloit 7 aurlata 7 comallad forsna timna-sa Patraic, ronbe *cét* diabla isin bith frecnaircc 7 *flaithius* nime cen forcend.

Roísam uile in flaithe sin, rosairillem, rosaittrebam *in secula seculorum. Amen. Finit.*

and the angels of God cease from watching over the earth, save when they come to wreak vengeance on this race of men, to wit, on wicked prideful erenaghs, and on wicked greedy kings, who transgress these behests of Patrick, both in violating the Church and in buying and selling her, and in exalting pride and vain glory, so that their reward hereafter is in hell: But he that protects the church of God with humility and obedience and observance of these behests of Patrick, may he receive a hundredfold in the present world, and [inherit] the kingdom of heaven without end !

May we all reach that kingdom, may we deserve it, may we dwell therein for ever and ever ! Amen.

NOTES ON TEACHING OF MAEL RUAIN

- c. 1. *deoch feadha*. This is written ' *deoch = ḟ7a* ' with a mark of aspiration over the 7. I can find no other instance of the expression, and am doubtful of its meaning.

selann (sellann) is explained by O'Davoren 1484 as ' the name of a measure ' : his further explanations are far from lucid, nor does Atkinson's article in the Glossary to the Laws make things much clearer. In the Tallaght documents the word implies some special indulgence in the way of food, especially butter, allowed either at certain festival seasons or to persons whose health needed it. See T 22, 49, 52, 63 ; C 3. In the Penitential ii. 3 (Eriu vii. 140) *cethramthu sella* seems to be written for *c. seilne*. Cf. also Cormac 1051, *puingin .i. selland imme*, and perhaps Cormac 1053, *puincern .i. cern tomaiss sella*. In T 68 the word is used exceptionally in connection with a fast. Colgan's gloss explains *selann* as equivalent to *anlann*, but that word signifies ' condiment ' generally, without reference to special indulgences. So too in c. 38 and c. 43 he substitutes *leth-anlann* and *anlann ime* for *leth-sélaínd* and *selaind imbe* of C 9 and 10.

corguis an erraigh 7 an ghemridh. There were three Lents in the year : *Fejunia tria* — xl. *ante Pascha*, et xl. *ante Natalem Domini*, et post Pentecosten xl. *dies et noctes* (Haddan and Stubbs, Cluncils and Documents iii 202). Cf. Plummer, V.S.H. i. cxx, note.

This chapter down to the words *ar choimlioct* corresponds to C 1-3. In C 12 the penultimate clause of c. 1 about *fiach aibne* is combined with the final clause of c. 3.

- c. 2. *d'im do cháisi*. The word which I have read as *d'im* is very doubtful in the MS.

On ' Each vespers of the two evenings of the feast of S. Patrick ' Dr. Plummer writes : ' A « double » or « semi-double » feast has two vespers, the vespers of the eve being the first vespers of the feast. ' Cf. c. 45 ' the three evenings of the

eight festivals'. In both passages *nóin* means the time of day, not the canonical hour of nones.

- c. 3. 'Dry' eggs, that is, hard-boiled. As to these articles of diet cf. Penit. ii. 7 (Eriu vii. 142).

The clause *Ni ibheadh medg binde*, etc. answers to the last clause of C 5, so that the words *gan ní goirt eigin* should correspond to C's *for grutin*. Perhaps Colgan (like the present editor) was unskilled in dairying.

- c. 6. Comparison with C 14 shows that *crosadh* is here put for *crosfhighill* — perhaps a mere slip on Colgan's part.
- c. 9. Flann mac Duibh Chonna is the same as Flann mac Duibhthuinne mentioned at LL 370 c 47, where he is said to be one of the *Oentu* of Mael Ruain. Cf. LL 374 c 47. (Plummer).
- c. 10, par. 2. Apparently both milk and water were served at table, and Mael Ruain's point was that either separate vessels should be used for drawing each liquid, or that if the same vessel were used for both, care should be taken not to waste any of the milk that might remain at the bottom.
- c. 11. Colgan seems to have lost his way in this labyrinthine sentence and inserted *dia luain* out of place.
- c. 16. *clais tarsna*: I do not know this phrase. Does it mean choir-seats facing the altar? or is *clais* a 'trench' marking the ambitus of the chancel?
- c. 18. The meaning seems to be (as Dr. Plummer suggests) that when a monk recited the Psalter in private, he recited only the first half of each verse, because he had no companion to repeat the antiphon. It was only when the recitation was performed *cum sociis* that the whole verse was repeated. Dr. Plummer thinks that *usque ad interposita* means 'excluding the antiphons' (or possibly the intercalated prayers and versicles mentioned in c. 99.) He refers to the story quoted in the Introduction to his edition of Bede, p. xii, which tells how the community of Jarrow perished by plague all but the abbot and one boy, and how the abbot ordained that they should recite the psalms without antiphons.
- c. 22. *mar ccoimhliondaais*. Perhaps *mar* is written for *muna*, as often at the present day.

It is not clear whether *peccatorum* means ' of (other) sinners ' or ' of (his own) sins '.

c. 26. ' The Litanies recurred at stated times in the ecclesiastical year ' (Plummer).

c. 35. This chapter corresponds to c. 4 of T. But the last two sentences of T are omitted, and Colgan has left a blank space showing that he was puzzled by the reference to the ' bread of Roscrea, ' but hoped to find an explanation which would enable him to complete his chapter.

Dr. Plummer remarks that this chapter suggests an Irish parallel to the struggle between the secular and regular clergy in England under Edgar and Duncan. The same state of feeling reappears in c. 82. See also my note on C 58, *infra*.

c. 36. *Mael Ruain* in the first sentence is a slip for *Mael Dithreibh*. See c. 102 below, where the remark about Dublitr is repeated. It is found also in T 5 and T 33. The account of Mael Ruain's way of saying the Psalms occurs in T 31 in a different context.

c. 40. *loilgeach 7 eudach = lulgach 7 dechelt*, T 7. In C 62 the tutor's honorarium is the same : *iar taisfenad na salm 7 na n-imond focetoir dorenar in loilgech, iar taisfenad dino in ordusa dlegar in dulchinde 7 in decelt*. Cf. also Metr. Dinds. III 310, 91-2 : *boi i faichill ri bliadain mhuic ac tuilliud oen-bó is oen-bruit*. I should interpret in the same light a line in a poem edited by Bergin in *Studies*, March 1925, st. 16 : *Dobheir ttr gan bhrat gan bhoin*. In this last instance the ' cow and cloak ' seem to be the usual rent, which the donor of the land remits in favour of the poet.

c. 43. In the second sentence *innta* must, I think, mean ' on them ', *i.e.* on those evenings, though in the corresponding phrase in C 10 *inntib* means ' instead of them ' *i.e.* instead of selanns of butter. Colgan seems to have misunderstood the force of the preposition. The third sentence answers to the second sentence of C 9.

c. 45. *eis-feoil* seems a misspelling of *ois-feóil* from *oss* (Plummer.)

c. 48. *sail* now means usually ' fat ' and this may be the sense here and in cc. 52, 58.

c. 53. *ag deunamh oibre* : here *obair* is used of a religious task : *saothar* ' labour ' is used in the same way at T 34. In the

last sentence where *obair* is used of manual work, the distinction is pointed out by the gloss *i. opus manuum*.

- c. 59 *ab tre feuchain ... no tre briathraibh*: here *ab* seems to represent the older *robo* 'or'.
- c. 64. Comparison of this chapter with T 15 shows that in the latter we should read *manip il-laithiu chóir condesar in tsuire figle, ce ataimther fiad chách* (or *hi fiadnuisi cháich*), etc. 'if the exception be not sought on a suitable day, (then) though it be granted', etc.: *ataimther* < *addaimther*. Colgan has left the chapter unfinished.
- c. 67. *adubhairt gurb fos ball don chleircheacht ar nach ccuala locht da fhaghail riamh* = T 76, *Issed asrubart-som, is hé bald for nad cualae lochtt bós*. Should we then read *foss* for *bós* in T? For the sentiment, cp. Molua's saying 'Ubi stabilitas in seruitio fuerit, ibi religio erit,' V.S.H. ii. 223.
- In the last sentence, *as i as fearr* seems a slip for *as eadh as fearr*.
- c. 69. This chapter combines the rule in T 20 with that in C 26. The former lays down that a priest who has gone astray may not receive episcopal orders, the latter that he may not celebrate mass.
- c. 71. *don tí chuirios ní maith ar bith do dheunamh uaidhe fein* must mean 'for him who puts off (or puts aside) doing any good action.' T 21 has *indtí dogni ní do maith fria menmain fadesin*, which seems rather to mean 'he who does a good deed in his own mind,' *i.e.* who has a good intention (but does not carry it into effect).
- c. 73. *na hae*. The plural is curious: see a note on the point in *Hermathena*, 1926, p. 69.
- c. 74. This chapter answers pretty closely to C 28, and less exactly to the first part of T 23. The last sentence reappears in a different form in T 54.
- c. 75. This is the same as the latter part of T 23. The last sentence of T 23 should be rendered 'However he would sometimes allow (penitents) to consult men of perfect life about a matter'.
- c. 77. *Anuair cuirfeas tu thú*, etc. This gives the story quite a different turn from that in T 24. F's version fits the context much better than T's *intan tra rocloither imtecht duini*. Pro-

bably *imtecht* is corrupt and we should substitute *tecosc* or some such word.

c. 80. In C 31 which has *fer oc airlegend tsoscela 7 riagla 7 fertai noem* we might suppose *riagla* to be gen. pl., *riagol* having passed into the *i*-declension, under the influence of *bliadain*. But in our text *riagla* must be singular, therefore presumably 'the Rule (of Mael Ruain)' must be meant here and in C 31. If so, the omission of the article in both texts is curious.

c. 81. *a ttáinig do naomh-leigheann go hÉirinn do leigeadh damh* = T 25, *a tanic do néb-légund a tír do legund*. We should therefore expect in F *do leughadh* 'to read', this being the usual spelling; whereas *teigeadh* is sometimes used as a variant of *leigean* 'to allow.' Perhaps *legund* in T is a mistake due to the preceding *néb-légund*, and we should restore *do léiciud dam* 'to be allowed to me'. Otherwise the words *7 do chor sulae taris* are mere tautology.

One of Mael Dithruib's wishes is missing both in T and in F, but not (as Colgan says) *two*.

c. 85. *a shúile dúinte*. C 32 has *a shúile senta* which can only mean, as far as I know, 'with his eyes signed with the Cross' (*sénta*)

c. 86. *Cuairt-c(h)oimhge* is to be regarded as a compound, equivalent to *conge conaire* 'journey-protection, safe-conduct'; see Plummer, V.S.H. i. clxxix note 1. *Hymnum Dicat*, and *Cantemus* are the Latin hymns of Hilary and Cú Chuimne (see Bernard and Atkinson, L. Hymn. i. 33, 36), and *Unitas* is the short canticle printed *ibid.* i. 42. The 'Hymn of Mary' is presumably the *Magnificat* and the Hymn of Michael is Colman mac Murchon's hymn *In trinitate spes mea* (Bernard-Atkinson, i. 43).

c. 90. This description of the cross-vigils differs slightly from that in T 30. But in both they are connected with the office of tierce. In the second sentence of T read *immon teirt*, not, as formerly suggested, *imm anteirt*

The latter part of our chapter has no counterpart in T or C. *Ego vero orationem*, Ps. lxxviii. 14 (Vulgate). *Averte faciem tuam*, Ps. l. 11 (Vulg.).

c. 91. This corresponds to part of T 8 (p. 130, 28--131, 2, and 131, 18): *O roscithet celebrad iarmergi is and canith Mael*

Dithruib Celebra Iuda 7 Cantemus 7 Auis Aue 7 reliqua 7 Ymmum Dicat iarum : i crosfigeill son. So the 'three hymns' of F are those of Cummine Fota (Bernard and Atkinson i 16), and Cú Chuimne, with a third which I cannot identify. *Parce* is no doubt the hymn of Mugint (Bernard and Atkinson, i 23).

- c. 92-94. There is nothing to answer to these chapters in either T or C. « Much of this is identical with the *Benedictio Mensae* in the ordinary Roman breviary. *Jube, domine, benedicere* is addressed to the ecclesiastical superior presiding » (Plummer)
- c. 93. *Imanaire* See the metrical rule edited by Strachan, Eriu i. 202 (cf. ii. 59):

*Ite do téora briathra (sech ní gairde ní siaa):
arco fuin, inondaire, asbera cet cech diaa.*

Strachan quotes (p. 208) two parallels from other rules, and suggests that *imondaire* (*imonaire, umanaire*) 'may represent *imman-d-airi*, 3 sg. subj. of *immairic*, with infixed rel. *n* and rel. *d*', and that *arco fuin imman-d-airi* may mean 'I pray that it may be for good'. But *im(m)anaire* seems to be used independently, and perhaps should rather be regarded as = *imm-unn-airi*, meaning something like *competat nobis*.

The same formula occurs in the unpublished *Bretha Nemed*. I quote from O'Donovan's transcript of Nero VII f. 132a (O' D. 2189): *aos aithridhe ascnam[a] sacarbuic a reir anmcarad co n-erroscuib crabaidh .i. ced 7 imanaire 7 arco fuin dom Dia.*

I know nothing of the *biocaire maol*.

- c. 94. *Confiteantur tibi Domine*: probably Ps. cxliv (cxlv) 10.
- c. 97. The MS has *Adeirdis Benedicite idir proinn 7 dul do chodladh ar ball na dhiaidh sin*, with *urnaighthi* added above *dul do chodladh*. It is clear that Colgan omitted *per inuriam* some words that stood in his original, and tried to repair his error by adding *urnaighthi*, but did not succeed in getting the passage right. I have suggested that *7 easbartain* should be added after *proinn*. But perhaps what really stood in the original was *idir proinn 7 dul do chodladh 7 urnaighthi dul do chodladh ar ball na dhiaidh sin*.

I have not found the term *fadg* elsewhere except in the poem printed in Z C P X, 46, st. 15. The same passage

is quoted in a glossary in H. 3. 18, p. 625, in a more corrupt form, as follows:

Paig .i. coimpléid, ut est: ni roches in laech do leirg a tigh pine (pende?) beós iar paig ara saer-ghéis do bháisi buirb aigi dáibh iman aen-mhéis n-aird.

Cum invocarem, Ps. iv.

- c. 101. The first sentence corresponds to the last of T 31 which should be read as the first of T 32, and should be emended thus: *In pater gebes-sim i forciund cacha gabála, is de daforgill-som ón* (as in T 32, lines 16-17): 'This is the reason why he vowed to perform the paternoster which he recites at the end of each division.'

In T the holy person of Coill Uaithne is a nun. The place is not mentioned in Hogan's Onomasticon.

- c. 102. Cf. c. 36.

- c. 103. Cluain Iraid = Clonard in Meath. But T 34 has *Cluain ua Duban* which may be the same as Cluain Dubáin, now Cloonoan near Corofin in Clare (v. Hogan, Onom.)

- c. 105. This answers to T 35, where *Muim* is obviously a mistake for *muini* 'gifts'. Colgan seems to have been puzzled by the last sentence of the chapter which he has left unfinished: I supply *a nemgabáil* from T, but T's version yields quite a different meaning. For the principle that gifts are to be accepted only from a virtuous giver, see Adamnán, Vit. Columb. lib. i. c. 50. The Patrician canons forbade the acceptance of alms from heathens, see Haddan and Stubbs, Councils ii 329, 13.

- c. 106. The first sentence of T 36 runs thus: *Dia fercaichther tra fria nech, cid sechtair cid frit muindtir, ma fasnather trist do tabirt for nech nó aithis, troscud ind.* Here the words *cid sechtair cid frit muindtir* answer to *taobh amuigh no 'na intinn astigh* in F, so that Colgan probably read *cid sechtair cid frit menmain*. And this is, I think, the right reading. Cf. Irish Penitential v. 13 (Eriu vii 168): *Nech mallachas a cheli, dainguideth 7 bith sechtmain dur-penne... má roi(n)derct(h)ar a brathair riam, no ma imbántar, no ma rangba crith, acht rutuaisi (artuaisi?) 7 ni fritorga, bith laithe for usciu 7 bargin dogni.* See also the Latin original quoted in my notes *ad loc.* It

would be easy for a scribe to confuse $\bar{m}\bar{m}$ (= *menmain*) with $\bar{m}\bar{l}$ (= *muintir*), especially as *manip muintir* occurs in the next sentence. The words *trist do thabirt for nech* certainly seem to mean cursing some one in anger, and correspond to *Nech mallachas a chéli* in the Penitential. The syntax of *ma fósnaither trist do thabirt* is, however, unusual: perhaps we should insert *co* ('to the point of') before *trist*. Colgan is naturally perplexed at the idea of the community laying a curse on a monk for a momentary loss of temper.

For the use of *frit menmain*, cf. the passage from T 21 quoted in the note on c. 71 supra.

NOTES ON RULE OF THE CÉLI DÉ

§ 1. *Ego vero* : Ps. lxviii. 14, Vulgate = Ps. lxix. 13, English Psalter. Cf. F 90, *sub finem*; *Gach biaidh ara ccantar Magnificat 7 Imnum 7 Unitas 7 Cantemus, Ego vero orationem as eadh chantar uirre.*

§ 3. I read *Ni caithet imm*, comparing F 1, *Ni caithdis im riamh na iaramh*, etc.

Hi ndoin no allid should no doubt, as Dr. Plummer suggests, be *Hi ndomnuich nó hil-lith*.

§ 5. Examples of *gruiten* 'small curds' are given in Meyer's index to Aisl. M. Conglinne, where *millsén, druchtán, gruthrach* will also be found. *Gruthrach*, which Reeves and Meyer render by 'curds', answers to Colgan's *buaidrén* (F 3).

The MS has *s fit chaisse de* : Reeves prints *acht fit chaisse de*. Dr. Plummer would read *fit chaisse*, 'ration of cheese', but the clause seems to correspond to F 3, *ge go ndendaois cáisi* (though I would there read *gin* for *ge*). The aspiration of *chaisse* may be due to the copyist's taking *fit* as a feminine noun.

§ 8. If *denam* is sound it can only mean *dénam in chorgais* : but I think we should read *is ferr a nemdénam* 'it is better not to do so', i.e. not to eat flesh.

§ 9. The first sentence of this section corresponds to the first of F 38. The second to the third paragraph of F 43. (Reeves' edition destroys the sense by placing a full stop at *chormma* and making *fit follach bec* begin a new paragraph). The last sentence of the section is a condensation of the anecdote in F 44 : the comparison shows that the *ni luga* of our text should be *is luga*, as the sense obviously demands, since the object of Mael Ruain's injunction is to prevent sensual pleasure.

§ 11. The meaning of this rule is made clearer by comparison with the first sentence of F 45. Perhaps *trít* has dropped out of our text after *n-aill*.

§ 12. Something is evidently lost after *o notlaic steill*. F 3, last sentence, has *a nothuig steil ar ball*, but the rule as formulated there does not seem to be consistent. The true sense is no doubt given by the final clause of F 3, *gan beith saor uaidi acht idir da caisg 7 idir da nodluig*. I have emended our text accordingly.

§ 13. I read *dia bliadna* 'that day year'.

The corresponding chapter, F 4, lays down that for their first nine years communicants are to receive only the consecrated bread (*corp Crist amháin*), but not the cup. It seems then that *do churp na casc* also means 'the bread at Easter'. Dr. Plummer, however, following Reeves, thinks that *corp* may mean the principal part of a festival, comparing *noco ndechuidh corp na sollumna as*, 'the principal part of the festival was not yet over' (H. 3. 18, p. 354 a).

§ 14. *Deus in adiutorium*: Ps. lxx (lxx) 1.

sic sis 7 suass. Reeves' edition here inserts a cross, but there is no such sign in the MS.

§ 16. *do coraib espai*: either 'faults of little import', = *do pheacadhaibh sologtha* in F 20; or 'faults of idleness', 'frivolity'. *Coraib* is from *cair*.

§ 23. *cen immachtad*: Dr. Plummer would render, 'nor is this surprising,' *i.e.* considering the great virtues of the *Beati*. If this is right, the words are probably the marginal comment of some scribe which has intruded into the text.

§ 24. The MS seems to have *follach inenadchi*, which would mean 'gruel on one night — (and no more)', and this may be the right reading. It is difficult to distinguish *in* from *m* in the MS. But cf. § 9, *follach bec do mhenadaig*; and Penit. ii. 7 (Eriu vii. 142) *bargein... foillec(h) bec fvirre do menadaich*.

§ 25. *nísta ara ndeni* perhaps means, as Dr. Plummer suggests, 'he has no right to do so'.

§ 26. This section answers partly to T 20, though there the point ruled is that priests who go astray may not receive episcopal orders, whereas here they are considered as disqualified for celebrating mass. In F 56 also the latter point is taken, while in F 69 both points are combined. The phrase

cia beth ara phendi of our text corresponds to *ceith dichrai a ndaithrigi* in T 20, and to *ge go ndiongnadh se peannaíd* in F 69. I regard *ara* as explicative (see Thurneysen, Grammar, § 886) : if so, *phendi* should be *pendea*. Dr. Plummer suggests *cia beth arra phende* 'though his penance be commuted', but there is nothing to correspond to this in T or F.

§ 28. The last clause answers to T 23 *Is maith immurgo lais do neuch doinchoisc a l'essai doib ceni frecmairc coibsina* (read perhaps *a l'essa do inchosco dóib*, etc.) Accordingly I would read in our text *ceni frecmairc*. Dr. Plummer prefers to keep *frecmai*, referring it to a verb *friscomaim* (*frith-com-o-*) and rendering 'though he does not entertain (lit. observe) confessions.' F 74, last clause, has : *As innill do dhuine féin comhairle a leasa do sheoladh doibh, gan a bhfaoisidin do ghabhail*.

§ 30. The alternation of *codlait... contuilet... cotlaid* is remarkable, especially as in the rest of the Rule (excluding § 57- end, which comes from another source) the distinction between prototonic and deuterotonic forms is observed, with a few exceptions : *cumaiscther*, § 5, *ergharid*, § 9, *fagubar* (?), § 40, *deraig*, § 44 (so also in T 17), *tixeba*, § 46. I am tempted to suggest that we should read *ní cotlat co haidchí* : the meaning would then be that the first pair dine early, go on duty in the oratory while the other monks are at dinner, and remain there till midnight. If this were accepted we should also have to change *cotlaid* in the next sentence to *collad*, (verbal noun, like *cétul*). But I do not know whether monastic custom is in favour of this change. The reading of the text certainly indicates a fairer arrangement of time : the first pair get a short sleep after their early dinner, go on duty at night-fall, and get a second spell of sleep between matins and lauds, while the second pair retire to rest at the usual hour, take duty from matins to lauds, and then are allowed to sleep again from lauds to tierce. The parallel passage in F 79 says nothing about the first pair sleeping in the afternoon.

§ 31. I have adopted Dr. Plummer's correction of the last two words of the section : but possibly we should keep the reading of the MS and translate 'whether their minds were

on this (thoughts of God) or on that (thoughts of their dinner).'

§ 32. We should presumably read *a shúili sénta*, although F 85 has *a shuile duinte*. Reeves' edition gives 'his eyes shut,' but this is probably a mere guess.

The phrase *Issed delece*, etc. occurs also in T 28, in quite a different context. Dr. Plummer suggests the rendering of *doléici* (*delece*) which I have adopted. It suits the context admirably here, but in T 28 the duty prescribed seems more onerous than that for which it is substituted.

§ 33. The text of this section is corrupt, and emendation is rendered difficult by an apparent contradiction between the parallel passages in T 48 and F 98. T says that those who suffered from thirst were allowed a drink (at any time) between tierce and matins but that from matins to tierce no one was allowed a drink « though he were at the point of death » : whereas F says that they did not drink before matins, but might do so between matins and bed-time prayers, *idir iarmheirghe 7 ceileabhradh dul do chodladh*; that is to say, after rising at midnight to say matins they might take a drink; after which they said the dormitory prayers before going back to bed. I take it that our text is based on F's version of the rule, but it cannot be right as it stands in the MS, first, on account of the position of *dino*; and secondly, even if we omit *dino*, because the meaning would be that a drink was *forbidden* only between matins and the dormitory prayer which followed immediately after. My emendation is an attempt to bring the text into harmony with F : I take *riam* and *post* as marking the limits between which drinking was permitted.

§ 37. This section is difficult to construe. It seems to be framed to meet the case of a layman who professes to be unable to find a confessor in whom he has confidence, and makes this an excuse for avoiding confession and penances. He is to observe the rules laid down for his guidance by whatever confessor he has formerly confided in, and for his present spiritual needs is to get shrift from any cleric he can find, however young and inexperienced, and follow his directions as to penance, at least in minor matters. I

propose to supply *ma* (out of *mina* above) before *conothar*, *beth* and *pendither* : but this is not very satisfactory, and the clause in parenthesis is certainly corrupt.

§ 40. At Dr. Plummer's suggestion I read *Hittu dino in tan bis fós, fagubar*, etc.; but this gives *fós* a very awkward position, and the form used elsewhere in this text is always *beós* (8 times). Reeves' edition has *fosfagubar*, but this form would be difficult to account for.

§ 41. I adopt Dr. Plummer's suggestion *inmar* instead of Reeves' *in mar*. The word is found in *Aislinge Meic Conglinne*, and is explained by Meyer as meaning 'juice, dripping, condiment.'

§ 45. *iar tuashucud* does not give satisfactory sense, so I adopt *ar tuashucud* from T 18.

§ 46. *a mbeirend* should no doubt be *a mberid* or *a mbéraid* : the termination *-enn* did not come into use before the eleventh century.

Rucsa is corrupt : the meaning required is 'he can bear,' so we should perhaps read *rouca* (O Ir. *roucci*.) Or better, as Bergin suggests, *ruticsa*, 'he can subtract.'

§ 47. For the meaning of *imsitiu* (<*imb · ess · smtiu*) see glossary to Mon. Tall.

§ 48. On *cosmait* from Lat. *consummatio*, see Stokes, V. Trip. index. « *Consummatio* is applied to confirmation as being the completion of baptism, but from this it is extended to any kind of anointing, » (Plummer). Meyer, Contrib. gives only the secondary meaning 'anoint.' As to *artéit* see note on T 41.

§ 50. Cf. Penit. ii. 36 (Eriu vii. 152) *Banscala intan bis a ngalar mistae foraib, ni tiagat do sacarbaic*.

§ 55, 56. These two sections are borrowed from *Regula Cholum Chille*, printed by Reeves, Primate Colton's Visitation, p. 111, and by Meyer, ZCP. iii. 29 §§ 16, 17, 19, 20, 21. *Nisaculta comba deithbir* : cf. *tó co toiscide*, 'silence till there be need', Eriu vii. 136.

§ 57. This section (with the omission of the last sentence,) is found also in the Book of Lismore, whence it is printed in Stokes' Lism. Lives, p. 135, with the heading *Riaghail Pátraic inso*. Compare the Rule of Patrick, §§ 8, 9, 10 (Eriu

i 219), and also the passage on the reciprocal obligations of Church and laity at Laws iii. 32.

As to the *bó chennaithe* cf. Laws i. 184, 20 *bo cona gamaind i cennaigne*; H. 5.15, f.16a (of distress on a dead man's effects) is in *t-étach budein ar trese, 7 in bó cendadaig* (read *chennaithe*) *ar cuicthi*, etc. As to *trian annoti* cp. Laws iii. 643—66, 1, *it da trian a ceannaighe (chennaithe) do eaglais bunuid, ocus trian do annoit*.

For *aidme oga cech altoir* the Lismore copy has *aidme og gach n-altoir*.

§ 58. Cp. Rule of Patrick, § 11, *Nach eclas hi mbi fer gráid di min-ecailsib* (*mindecailsib* MS.) *na tuaithe, cenmotát mór-eclaisi, dligid tuarustul a gráid. i. tech 7 airlisi 7 dergud 7 deigchelthaib* (sic) *7 acnamad rodfera cen turbaid cen dichell do neoch bes hi cumung na eclaisi .i. miach cona indiud 7 bó llicht in cech ráithe 7 biad sollarnan*. This seems to be nearer the genuine form. The purpose is to vindicate the rights of the clergy of the smaller churches, as well as those of the large churches (*cenmotát mór-eclaisi*); the latter could no doubt look after their own rights. § 13 of the Rule of Patrick goes further in the same direction, providing for cases of churches which are so small that three or four must combine to support one cleric.

The first sentence of the section in our text states the claims of the cleric on his church (as we should say, on the parish), the second the claims of the church on him. But the negative *ní dlig* of our text reduces the paragraph to incoherence. I would therefore read *dligid*. Or can it be that the alterations *ní dlig* and *míeclaisib* for *dligid* and *min-eclaisib* were deliberately made, and that they are another sign of the bias against the secular clergy already noted at F 35?

The last paragraph of this section, *Nach fer gráid*, etc. is taken from R. P. § 2.

§ 59. Cf. Rule of Patrick § 3, which has the reading that I have adopted in the first clause. Its text has *anmchairde na eolus*, which seems corrupt: the *anmchairdessa* of our text must be plural. For *bidba* R. P. has *bidba báis*.

§ 60. The formula *Is de foratá anmanna fer nÉrenn* occurs

in R. P. § 1, 5 and 9, and should be restored here. With this section compare R. P. § 1.

§ 61. Instead of *atbera*, I suggest either *adopéra* (cf. *atobopérat*, Eriu ii. 196) or the Middle-Irish form *idbéra*, answering to *iarna idpairt* below. The prototonic form *audparthar*, is used in § 62.

§ 62. *ordusa* : cf. *lebor ortosa*, V. Trip. 170, 7 (Plummer).

§ 63. The claim of both the clerical teacher and the clerical student to be supplied with food and clothing was assumed by the Würzburg glossator : see Wb 29a 13 and 29 b 13.

The rendering of the words *dontí lasa legthar*, etc. which I adopt is suggested by Dr. Plummer : *dontí* must be understood as repeated before *notlega* and *dotcossig*; and the infixed *-t-* in these verbs must be meant for the neuter *-d-*, the sense being 'him who thus studies... him who thus supports,' *i.e.* as described in § 62. If this is the meaning of *dotcossig*, it supports the reading of the MS in Wb. 9 a 6, *torad a laam is hed dodcoisged*.

In the last sentence *is do dlegar* means 'it is his right' rather than 'it is his duty,' which would require *is de dlegar*. So too in the first line of § 64.

§ 65. *notren 7 notcrean* should be *nodaren 7 nodacren*. I am uncertain about the meaning of a *n-ilar mainche do thuillem*. In the published edition of the Laws *mainche* is variously rendered, but I think that the word here means the hire of work done by a church-tenant (*manach*), and that the sentence is aimed at those who drive too hard a bargain with the church for their labour.

is é dino cotascara 7 cotasní, the reading of the MS can only mean 'it is he also who violates and contends with her,' the Church. But this reduces the sentence to an identical proposition. The rendering which I have given is suggested by Dr. Plummer : it involves altering the text to *is é Dia conscara 7 consní*, or possibly *cotascara 7 cotsní* 'whom he thus violates and vexes.' We may suppose that *Dia* was first corrupted to *dī* and that then some copyist, seeing that the verbs had no object, supplied the want by writing *cotascara 7 cotasní* at the expense of the sense.

NOTES AND CORRECTIONS TO 'MONASTERY OF
TALLAGHT'

- p. 127, 5. *indorsa* means here 'for example, as an illustration.'
So at 133, 13 and 135, 3.
18. *Fobenad* and *doairmescad* are 3 pl. pres.; the subject
is *scéla*.
- 19 seq. *Manip lór*, etc.: read *Manip lór dano réim ind also
cuibse bess isind eclais imbé 7 ma tairmesca cách
deit*: 'If the course of life of those who come to
confess in the church where thou art be not satis-
factory, and if each hinders thee.' Cf. 153, 15,
conditoirmesc Colcu díob.
- 128, 4. Read *ma dognet ní airiut* 'if they do anything at
thy bidding.' Cf. *dogniat ní airiut*, and other examples
of this idiom quoted by Stokes, Suppl. to Thes.
Palaeohib. 51.
- 7-14 In F 34 Colgan interprets the second sentence as if
docoiset referred to the monks, not to the poor. In
the third sentence, I would now emend *acht is dual
duit-siu chena na-rrabe sentaiscide diad na mbocht
di chrochtaib saille*, etc. 'But it is proper for thee,
moreover, not to keep a hoard of bacon and butter
after (distributing to) the poor.' *diad na mbocht* =
7 a riachtanus arna bochtaibh, F 34.
28. *ní ... gabt(h)a-som*, preterite passive, 'it was not
recited.' But this chapter has fallen into confusion
and Colgan reproduces only the last part in F 36.
- 129, 6. *i curp lai* 'in the principal service of the day':
cf. *corp na sollumna*, H. 3. 18, 354a. (Plummer).
- 130, 10. *conatallad*: Marstrander would refer this to *tallaim*.
If so, read *con-da-tallad*, 'that there should be
room for her': cf. *Ml. 30 c 17, feib dundalla*.
- 130, 8. 2 Here, and throughout T, *iarméirge* and *maten* are
rendered by 'nocturns' and 'matins,' In the

present volume I translate *íarméirge* by 'matins' and *maiten* by 'lauds'. See p. xxiii *supra*.

- 131, 1-12. *Auis aue* cannot (as I formerly suggested) be a corruption of *Averte faciem*, which would be inappropriate.
- 3-6. This sentence (= C 1) is displaced and should follow *im espartan* (l. 9).
12. Read perhaps *oróit Columbae* '*Iesu sancte*', etc.
- 132, 20. *mérai (méra)* is a bye-form of *sméra*: see *Hermathena*, 1926, p. 63.
- 133, 1. Read *il-laithiu chóir* and see note on F 64.
12. Translate: 'Now, for instance, the reaper, the thresher, the sledge-wielder, the ditcher—the additional task of each of them is the Three Fifties.' As to *indorsa*, see note on 127,5. The sledge or mallet was used in driving hedge-stakes, etc.: see *Laws* iv. 112, 13.
- 134, 5. Before *Indeuin crábid* an interrogative (*cissí* or *cote*) seems to have dropped out.
27. *derb-gelsid*, perhaps from *derb-gellim*, not (as suggested in the Notes) *dogellim*.
- 135, 1. *Feil sruith* 'a high festival' (Plummer): cf. C 30, *litha sruithi*.
9. *ind lítain* is probably a corruption of a proper name, and has nothing to do with *littin* 'porridge.' The sentence has no parallel in F.
22. *Arfoemad* etc.: see note on F 75.
27. *ind raibi athcomarc lat iar do chúl ria tudechd húc*: Meyer, ZCP x. 350, renders 'Hadst thou permission on thy behalf before coming here?': rather, 'permission at thy back,' i.e. to back up thy request.
- 36, 1. *gobuid*: a slip for *gobuind* = *gobaind*. Adamnán, Vit. Columb. i. 6, tells of a holy man who was punished for taking with him on a voyage a monk who had not obtained permission from his abbot.
14. *in tan tra rocloither intecht duini*: see note on F 77.
- 137, 17. The corresponding passage in F 86 shows that a line or two have dropped out after *immun Maire*.

- For the meaning of *cu ird-comgi*, see note on F 86.
26. For *Na* read *Nach*.
- 138, 7. *immannirt* should be emended to *immon teirt*: see note on F 90.
- 10, 12. For *sechis* read *acht is* (as in F 90). The contraction *s̄* is wrongly expanded.
- 139, 20. *co diad* 'to the end (of the first fifty)': so in l. 25 and 140, 1, *diat* = 'end of the second and third fifty.' In l. 26 read *exaudi*.
- 140, 5-6. This sentence belongs to c. 32: as to the meaning see note on F 101.
7. Read *oc Caill Uatne* = F 101, *ag Coill Uaithne*.
- 141, 11. For *muim* read *mutni* = *maini* 'gifts.'
22. Read *frit menmain*: see note on F 106.
23. *ma fosnather trist do tabirt* is a strange construction: insert *co* before *trist*, and render 'to the point of cursing.'
29. *tresind dochradsa fris* 'on account of this affront to him': but the whole sentence is obscure.
- 142, 2. Thurneyssen emends *arnachat-tarda eislis* 'that he might not show thee disrespect' (Kuhn's *Zeits.* 1917, 48.) F 106 has *d'eagla go ccuirfeadh se a t'ar-caisne é*.
- 143, 8-13. This seems to be founded on Deuteronomy xxiii. 18, where Vulg. *canis* = 'sodomite'.
- 27, 30. *indmat, indaim*: as to the forms, see Bergin in *Eriu* x. 112.
- 144, 1. *Aithrus* is probably a misspelling of *aires* 'appointment, interview.'
16. Cell Golpin may be Kilgulbin in Kerry (Plummer).
28. Read perhaps *ní bes érchóiliud lat* 'anything that you resolve on.'
29. *Bíat i fus cen scucht*, 'I will be here without moving,' (Plummer). Cf. F 12 *fuireach do chomhnuidhe isin áit inar gnáth let bheith*. *Bíat* is the Middle Irish form for Old Irish *bia*: see O'Malley, *Verbs of Existence*, *Eriu* vi. 40.
- 145, 15. Read *figill nona*: *nach* is a wrong expansion.

- 146,32seq. For a similar pious fraud, see the anecdote about Colum Cille in Mart. Oeng. 147.
- 147, 7. Read *cachae* as in l. 10. The mistake is due to *allae sin* in l. 6.
16. A parallel to this alternate mortifying and reviving will be found in the Life of Maedóc, c. 29 (V.S.H. ii. 152).
- 148, 22. *aircend* = *airchinn* 'front' in Ml. 131 c 12, Wb. 21 c 6: here it means 'beginning.'
23. *cupidinem*, 'appetite for food,' not 'lust.'
26. *Do selbi*: Thurneysen in Kuhn's Zeits. 1917, 63 regards this phrase as a predicative genitive.
- 149, 8. *fofeiscren*: to the illustrations given in the glossary, add ZCP xi. 84, *Dligid cach forcradach fescred*, and Meyer's note 5 in Sitz.-Ber. Preuss. Akad. 1919, 97.
- 150, 9. For *isuidiu* Plummer happily suggests *is úgiu*: 'because Mael Ruain (+ 792) was younger than Samdan' (+ 739). The Mid. Ir. *úgiu* for O. Ir. *óa* may be due to the scribe.
23. *conimthisi comarli hude*: Plummer renders 'that she may seek counsel from herself (*hu[a]de*)'. Marstander suggests 'that counsel may come from her to me.' (*con · im · thí-sí*).
28. Read *dasrenga ass* 'draws it out' (Marstrander). A similar anecdote is told of Mael Ruain in the Life of Maignenn, Silv. Gad. i. 41.
41. *taobatu fri banscala* 'association with women,' cf. SnR 6050, *a toebtu cen discailiud*; 6575, *ar mbeith iar mbes hi toebtaid*. (Plummer).
- 150, 11-13. Plummer refers *atrocuil* to *asrocóili* with infixed *-d-*, and suggests *fo láim* for *folam*: 'if his mind has resolved that (the thought) is not to be indulged by thee, even secretly,' etc. The person changes, as also in the first sentence of the chapter. For *fo láim*, cf. Rev. Celt. xiii 121.
21. Read perhaps *níco mór-brig laisim imbi-som* 'he does not trouble much about it:' cf. 152, 6, *níco mór-brig laisim and*.

- 152, 23. Translate « When it is irksome for all the elderly persons with whom thou livest not to be indulged. » etc.
- 153, 1. *do thuildiud* is misplaced, and should follow *pende* : tr. 'to earn increased penance for themselves.' 77 is probably for *eter* 'at all.'
2. Read : «that thou shouldst do.»
10. *conidcoisrecad epscob* 'till a bishop blessed him : ' and so in l. 15.
23. *Nico tald-som der dia gruad*: cf. V. Bran i. 46, 17, *Ni gattad dér dia gruaid*.
- 156, 4. Read *dosforslaic C. C.*
- 7-12. If this paragraph is to be read in close connection with what precedes it can hardly be interpreted literally : in the Irish climate the crops are only beginning to grow at Easter. Either we must understand the 'three months' to be those following Easter, leading up to a sort of harvest thanksgiving in August (like our 'Lady Day in harvest') : or else the whole passage is to be understood as metaphorical, the three months being those between Christmas and Easter, which are the seed time of the Christian life, and culminate in the Easter festival.
- 157, 1. *do air(i)semh offrind* : cf. *oc tairisim oifroind* 'attending mass,' C 32 (Plummer).
- 157, 34. *forfoelnangair* seems to be a deponential perfect of *folongim* with duplication of the preposition. This verb shows a great variety of forms : the most usual Mid. Ir. *ro*-perfect seems to be *foroelangair*, *-foerlangair* : see Strachan, Deponent, Trans. Philol. Soc. 1894, p. 530; Atkinson, Glossary to P.H. (*fo-roerlangair*) : Metr. Dinds. III. 442, 36 (*v. l.*) But one also finds (sing.) *foroelagair* (*fothroelagair*, Metr. Dinds. iv. 38) *-forlangair*, Irish Texts Soc. vi, glossary, with other forms given by Strachan.
- 158, 32. For *bós* we should perhaps read *foss* and translate : 'The one attribute with which I have never heard any one find fault is steadiness.' See note on F 67.

- 159, 23. *tairfid* is *ro*-pret. of *doadbat*, = deuterotonic *doár-buid*.
- 160, 3. *is disliu* (= *dilsiu*) *det-siu torutt na n-áerlam quam ildis*. Mael Ruain's decision is stated in the same words as Hilary's in c. 4. Cf. F 35.
9. *in prandio*: Plummer thinks that this means 'in the matter of refection.' The first part of the paragraph would naturally mean 'He does not think it right for any one to make confession on every point to the person to whom thou confessest:' but then there would be a sudden change of persons, and the paragraph as a whole seems to be adressed to the confessor, not to the penitent.
15. *Nicon gus*: Plummer would render 'He does not think it dangerous,' comparing O'Dav. 1044, *gus .i. gáibthech*.
- 162, 25. Translate: 'the fire kindled the monastery of Clonnacnoise': *atarann* from *adannaim* with otiose infix. Presumably we are not to understand that the monks themselves were burnt.
42. Delete 'that.'
- 163, 8. *cum decimis iis*. I withdraw my suggestion of *cum decem filiis*. Read perhaps *cum exisset* 'when he had left his home:' (*e*)*xis* may have been misinterpreted by a scribe as = *decimis*, and the bar over *iis* may be a mark of deletion.
24. Plummer suggests *ba adbal a sochraide*.
- 164, 4. Read 'I am the wretch whom Eochu mentioned,' (Plummer).
17. Read perhaps *dochrach són*, 'that is harmful:' the comment of some scribe.
22. *cobair foreissid*: cf. Meyer, Early Irish Poetry, p. 1, *cen nech foré cobair*. Plummer would render 'help which would avail, if an onset were made (by an ally) which would help: but an onset is made too late, which does not help.' This paragraph is excerpted in B. M. Add. 30512, f 33 *b*, with *nacon airitea* for *nadcon airiti*, but no other variant.

Printed by THE SAINT CATHERINE PRESS, LTD.
BRUGES (BELGIUM)
