## Mar aderid na dligthi-so: construction of textual networks in late medieval Irish 'digests'

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Eg. 88, f. 18rb3 Courtesy of ISOS and BL CIH 1297.37





#### Main desiderata

- Breatnach, Liam. "Law." In *Progress in Medieval Irish* Studies, edited by Kim McCone and Katharine Simms, 107–
   21. Maynooth: Department of Old Irish, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1996.
  - More critical editions: Senchas Már and Bretha Nemed
  - Dating and locating of the law tracts
  - Nature, date and interrelationships of glosses and commentary
  - Late medieval Irish law





- More critical editions
  - Cóic Conana Fuigill (Archan 2007)
  - Cáin Lánamna (Eska 2010)
  - Fragmentary text on marriage disputes (Kelly 2014)
  - Córus Bésgnai (Breatnach 2017)
  - Anfuigell (Eska 2019)
  - Bretha Comaithcheso (Charles-Edwards 2022)
  - Aidbred, Hepta 64, Muirbretha (Eska 2022)





- Dating and locating of the law tracts
  - Charles-Edwards, T. M. "Early Irish Law, St. Patrick, and the Date of the Senchas Már." Ériu 71 (2021): 19–59.
  - depending on progress in the diachronic studies of the Irish language
    - Chronologicon Hibernicum Project (2015-21)
    - LexiChron Project (2015-20)
    - A Chronology of the Medieval Irish Lexicon (2023-26)
    - DiAgnostic (2023-27)
  - Large-scale / quantitative study of the language of law texts





- Nature, date and interrelationships of glosses and commentary
  - Often incorporated in the critical editions
  - Inconvenient to study glosses and commentary across different tracts
    - Russell, Paul. "Laws, Glossaries and Legal Glossaries in Early Ireland."
       Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie 51 (1999): 85–115.
    - Breatnach, Liam. "The Glossing of the Early Irish Law Tracts." In Grammatica, Gramadach and Gramadeg: Vernacular Grammar and Grammarians in Medieval Ireland and Wales, edited by Deborah Hayden and Paul Russell, 113–32.
       Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 2016.
    - Buckley-Coogan, Jody. "Dlíthe Luath-Ghaeilge: Staidéar ar Theanga agus ar Dhátú Gluaiseanna agus Tráchtanna." Doctoral thesis, Queen's University Belfast, 2019.





- Late medieval Irish law
  - give regard to late medieval texts themselves rather than use them only to recover the 'original' canonical texts
  - The MacEgan Treatise (Kelly 2020)
  - history of legal families
  - development and interaction with other legal systems



#### **FLEXI**

- Fluid texts and scholars' digests: (re)production of law in medieval Ireland (FLEXI), funded by European Research Council (2023-28)
- 'Digests'
  - Corpus Iuris Hibernici (Binchy 1978)
  - four late medieval collections of citations and commentaries (Breatnach 2005: 322): A, B, C and D
  - compendia of earlier juristic writing and later comments, grouped into thematic sections



#### Previous studies

- Breatnach, Liam. A Companion to the Corpus Iuris Hibernici. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2005, 322–37.
- Breatnach, Liam. "The Glossing of the Early Irish Law Tracts." In *Grammatica, Gramadach and Gramadeg:*, edited by Deborah Hayden and Paul Russell, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2016, 113–32.



#### Digest A

- Dublin, Royal Irish Academy Manuscript 1243 (23 Q 6), section A, pp. 1–6
- acephalous, with lacunae between p.4 and p.5 (A9 and A10), and p.6 and p.7 (A16 and the next acephalous text).
- CIH iv.1139.1–1151.2.
- 1575, by a number of scribes from the MacEgan law school at Dún Daighre (Duniry, Co. Galway) (Mulchrone & FitzPatrick 1943: 3440–3).
- The extant text contains 16 sections.



#### Digest B

- London, British Library Manuscript Egerton 88, fols 16r–25v, 38r–41r
- CIH iv.1289.1–1324.20, 1371.1–1384.8.
- written by Domhnall Ó Duibhdábhoirenn and other scribes around 1569, at the law school at Park (O'Grady 1992 [1926]: 96–99; O'Sullivan 1999a).
- 57 sections.





#### Digest C

- Dublin, Trinity College Dublin Manuscript 1336 (H 3.17), cols 431–444,
- CIH v.1917.21—vi. 1941.27.
- lacuna between col. 444 and 445.
- originated from the MacEgan law school, mostly written by Aodhagán mac Aodhagáin and Gabrial (or Muirchertach); the time of writing is around 1574–7 (Abbott & Gwynn 1921: 127; O'Sullivan 1999b: 442).
- 40 sections.





#### Digest D

- Dublin, Trinity College Dublin Manuscript 1336 (H 3.17), cols 445–603
- CIH vi. 1941.28–2069.42.
- Acephalous.
- CIH vi. 2067.26: finit
- written by the main scribe of Digest C (Aodhagán) around the same time (Abbott & Gwynn 1921: 127; O'Sullivan 1999b: 442).
- 47 sections.





### 'Digests'

- same law school (scribes)
- many parallel sections but in different orders
- quotations from the Liber Sextus, promulgated in 1298
- no evidence yet of the authorship



Dublin, TCD MS 1336 col. 432 (courtesy of TCD & ISOS)

CIH 1919.9-20

द्वान्द्रमामाण्य द्वान्द्रमण्य स्वान्धिय क्रम्या वाद्रमा स्वान्धिय स्वान्धि

arar | carnustar fir imda costrasda. dorenar a setaibh oighe. diarop la firu p. 432 fó fúirestar .i. mádh amhlaid airgither í co maith 7 co tairismec iar pennait 7 iar neric .i. dia tarda freitech. IS ed is ainm médaigthe t laidighthe cneidhe ann croligi .b. t croligi cumaile .7rl. & ar ni coir gnuis bidbad iter cru cert núa 823.33,etc. .i. is nua no co níctar.

#### Do taithmech breithe túata híc.

Cid is breth? 7 cidh is breithem? 7 cid is breithemhnus? is ed is breithemh 1809.37ff. ann int ollam. is ed is breth ann breth an ollaman. 7 is ed is breithemhnus ann roscad 7 fasach 7 dicetal 7 testemain. 7 consuiter fir 7 dliged imale for 635.8,etc. neimed. .u. earnaile asa mberar in breithemnus: i rosgad, i fasac, i testemain, a cosmailus, a haicned. 7 an airet fogabtar an breithemhnus a húghdarras .i. a roscad, a fasach, a testemain, is a breith ass. 7 an uair na fuighbither, 1146.21ff.





#### C3: legal topic: the foundations of judgments and reasons to annul them

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Heading: 'On annulling a secular judgment here.' (1919.14)



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Quotation: 'As it says: everyone who adheres to one authority (?) is knowledgeable... and everyone is ignorant in another craft.' (1919.33-34)





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glosses and commentary





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#### Corresponds to A10 (CIH 1146.34-1147.2)

adeir. Di anceis imitecht. adreis riarra fri ollamain nairithi arnarub scis for 2215.13, etc. zon sicib ai nairbera. I mar ader Ecnaidh cach adnora ughdair zonreir i. is egnaidh in cach dha naghriu do rer ughdaar, o reir eolaig (?) .i. int ollam 35

i. sai na tri mberladh. 7 Osgar cach a gceird ar.ii. i. is balbh cach a nealadhain a cheile<sup>a</sup>. 7 mar ader. IS aire rosuiged conn 7 ciall 7 indtleacht



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#### From BNT: (2215.14, BL Nero A7 f.138a)

Cach comaccra for comrer a.i. caingen oc mbither(?) acra iter dis, a da 2214.21ff. mbreithem dia denum<sup>a</sup>; cach aonaccra for aonreir<sup>h</sup>; cach nimidh a riar; cach dan a dliged; cach rechd frisa forfuich iadnora ughduri. Oscer cach a 1519.20 ceird araile; ecna cach adnoire uile aonreir.





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#### O'Davoren's Glossary (1466.22-23):

2215.14,etc. Atnora .i. adhrad, ut est atnora ugdair t ecna cach ataora œnrer .i. lasi mbiat Aen cach .i. nech itir, ut est ní aera aen cach Atmad .i. abradh, ut est

dan a dliged; cach rechd frisa forfuich iadnora ughduri. Oscer cach a 1519.20 ceird araile; ecna cach adnoire uile aonreir.





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#### O'Davoren's Glossary (1466.22-23):

Udar .i. eolach, ut est adnoire udair zonreir .i. udar in dána, is e is coir dia 1466.22,etc. freagra, t eolach in dana

dan a dliged; cach rechd frisa forfuich 'adnora ughdur'. Oscer cach a 1519.20 ceird araile; ecna cach adnoire uile aonreir.





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Quotation: 'As it says: everyone who adheres to one authority (?) is knowledgeable ... and everyone is ignorant in another craft.' (1919.33-34)

#### O'Davoren's Glossary (1519.20-21):

tarna muna uam co muaro.

Osgar .i. aneolach, ut est osgar cach a ceird ar.ii. .i. aneolach cach a neladhain 2215.13,6tc. a celi; no os gin, 7 cerr balb; ł aisc iar cæ





# 'thorough mixture of the laws with one another'

- Eg. 88, f.16r, marg.sup. by Domhnall Ó Dubhdábhoireann (next to B1)
- Dar in leabarso mad fedaim anainm dia beratt in sinnser roim in sosar ann gac gne mar adeirid na dlithi so sis. tairis sin do den trecumusc da ndlith- trit a ceile ce beg in sen...gerrfa duine eigin bod aricht na potoigi

'According to this book, if I can, in God's name, I will put the senior before the junior in every legal case, as the laws below say. Moreover, I made thorough mixture of the laws with one another, and though the ... be small, some person will "cut the penis instead of the intestine".'

(partly quoted in Breatnach 2005: 53)





#### Production of the digests

- 'The Irish legal material...offers the picture of a ruin...others lump together, according to the field of law to which they relate, scraps of commentary from various sources. Or again, separate fragments of commentary are detached from their context and strung together without any system.'
  - (Thurneysen 1973 [1935]: 54-55)



#### Production of the digests

- 'All of these writers revealed in their commentaries an interest in system-building, and the systems they built are in many cases far from that of the Roman texts on which they are ostensibly commenting ...'
  - (Charles Donahue, quoted in Simms 1998: 24)
- 'that they were not even trying to explain Early Irish law but rather to extend its principles into a system that had a contemporary relevance for their own day'
  - (Simms 1998: 24)





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### late medieval Irish jurists

#### • B52:

- Tabra féin dobur n-aire nacar féd ant údar gac aonní do rádh, 7 cidbé gné sundradach dar labair sé co ndubairt sé gach aonghné 7 gac aonní dobo cosmuil ris sin do beth dá réir sin. mar aderid na dlithi-so sís
- 'Take heed that the author could not mention everything, and whichever particular aspect he spoke of, that he has said that every aspect and everything similar to it is to be in accordance with that, as these laws below say.'

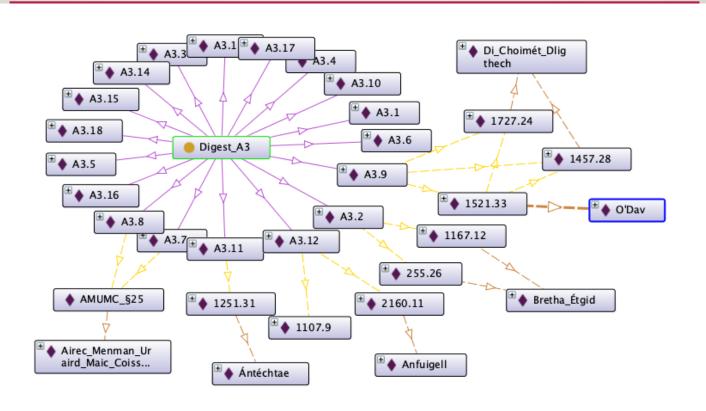


#### late medieval Irish jurists

- dar lium 'In my opinion...' (A7)
- foillsighim díbh 'I demonstrate to you…' (D23)
- réud adeirim go 'A thing I say is that...' (D24)
- aderim 'I am saying that...' (B32)
- Isí mo chétfaid... 'It is my opinion that...' (B7)
- do-bér dres eir 'I will spend a while on...' (B43)
- tigim faí 'I impugn it' (B49)



# 'thorough mixture of the laws with one another'







### systemisation

	topic	group		topic	group
		procedure and			
C1	evidence	<mark>judgement</mark>	C21	judge's vicarious liability	
C2	fixing judgement		C22	body-fine	
C3	annulling judgement		C23	vicarious entitlement	
C4	jurisdiction		C24	evasion from duty	
C5	sources of law		C25	compensation	
C6	initiation of suit		C26	dissolution of contracts	
C7	enforcement		C27	impugning contracts	
C8	initiation of suit		C28	contract of clientship	
C9	annulling contracts	contract	C29	fief	
C10	right of defence		C30	clientship	
C11	right to accuse		C31	surety	
C12	vicarious liability	vicarious liability	C32	compensation	
C13	vicarious liability		C33	contract	
C14	qualification to sue		C34	jurisdiction	
C15	liability for kinsmen		C35	sources of law	
C16	vicarious liability		C36	abetting	
C17	status		C37	lawful damage	
C18	reward for poem		C38	previous wrongdoing	
C19	accusing by oath		C39	judgement	
C20	loan		C40	usucaption	





#### systemisation

- C12: On discharging the ringleader and the people led, whichever of them is caught, here.
- C13: On discharging the people led if the ringleader undertakes compensation on their behalf, here.
- D12-13 (on the fixing and invalidation of land possession respectively),
- D14-15 (on the fixing and dissolution of contract respectively)



### Correspondences between B & C

	group	Corr. to B		group	Corr. to B
C1	procedure and judgement		C21		B51
C2		B23	C22		B6
C3		B20	C23		B7
C4		B20	C24		B19
C5		B21	C25		B40
C6		B50	C26		B42
C7			C27		B49
C8			C28		B44
C9	contract		C29		B45
C10			C30		B46
C11			C31		B39
C12	vicarious liability		C32		
C13		B12	C33		
C14		B13	C34		B2
C15		B30, B31	C35		B21, B22
C16		B32	C36		B14
C17			C37		B37
C18			C38		B16
C19		B27	C39		B18
C20		B25	C40		





	topic	group		topic	group
D1	suggestion	inheritance and	D20	witness judgement	
B1 B2	succession	kinship	B29 B30	witness, judgement	
	liability to enemy	liability	B31	liability, inheritance	
B3 B4	immunity of liability		B31	passage of liability	
	intention, liability			liability of kinsmen	
B5	laity and church		B33	usucaption	
В6	body-fine		B34	usucaption	
	compensation, superior's				
B7	entitlement		B35	kin relationship	
B8	son, inheritance		B36	lawful injuries	
B9	son, inheritance		B37	lawful damages	
B10	kin-slaying, inheritance		B38	inheritance	
B11	capital punishment		B39	surety	
B12	vicarious liability		B40	remediation of wrongdoing	
		procedure and			
B13	qualification to sue	judgement	B41	binding of contracts	
B14	abetting		B42	dissolution of contracts	
B15	remediation of wrongdoing		B43	usucaption	
B16	previous wrongdoing		B44	clientship contract	
B17	lordship		B45	clientship contract	
B18	judgement, limitation of period		B46	clientship and kinship	
B19	evasion		B47	annulment of usucaption	
B20	judge, legal knowledge		B48	usucaption	
B21	conflict of laws		B49	kin property	
B22	conflict of laws		B50	judgement	
B23	judgement		B51	vicarious liability	
B24	evidence		B52	immunity, miscellany	
B25	loan	contract	B53	foster-kin	
B26	usucaption	usucaption	B54	evidence	
B27	accusation, oath		B55	compensation	
B28	judgement, surety		B56	status	





#### **FLEXI**

- Premise: digests are intentional and principled products
- invaluable clues to the extent and the structure of the late medieval jurists' scholarship
- the compilatory principles of the digests,
- the intellectual networks they form with the larger Irish legal textual corpus



#### Main research questions

 1) What sources were available to the late medieval jurists in making the digests?

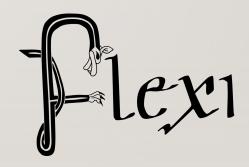
 2) How were the sources selected, organised and harmonised into an operational system?

 3) What were the main concerns of these jurists? How were they related to the social reality?

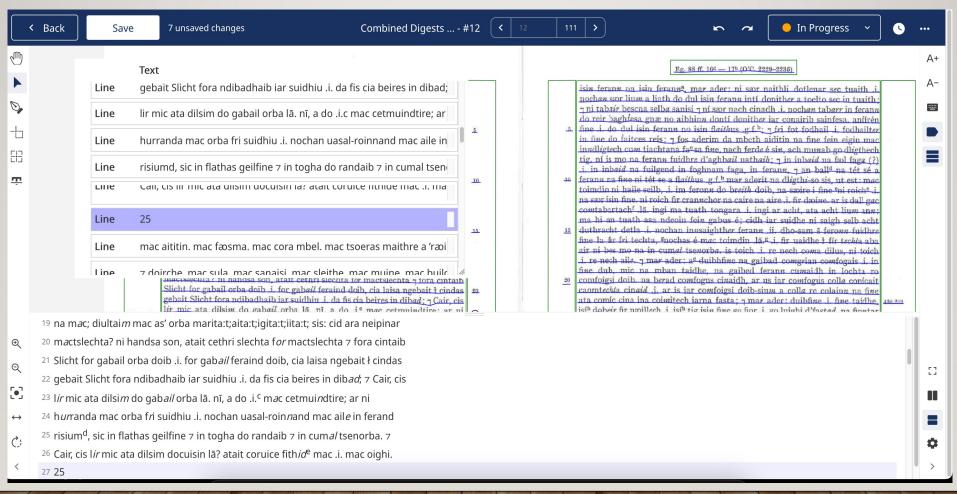


#### The FLEXI team

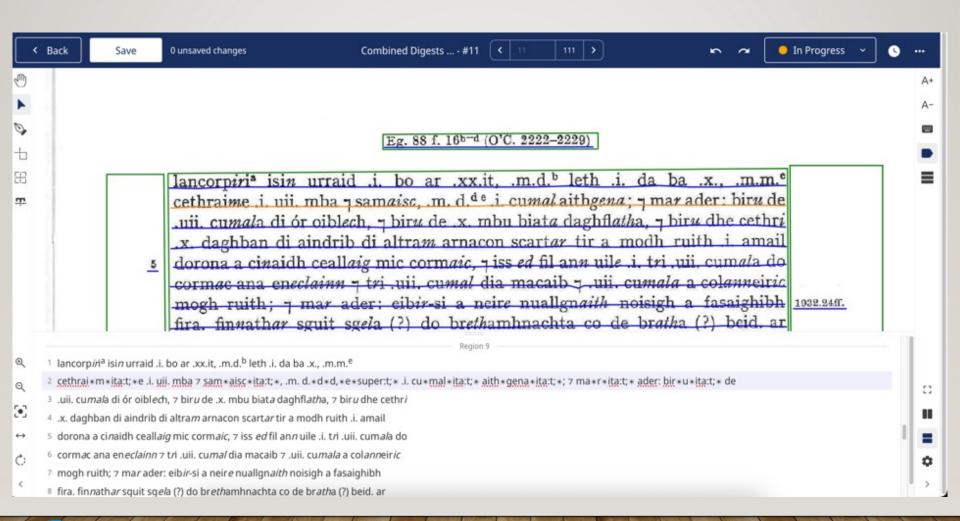
- PI: Fangzhe Qiu
- Technical researcher David Ó Laigheanáin
- Postdoctoral researcher Andrew Ó Donnghaile
- Research assistant Cassandra Pruetz
- More posts to be opened















luighe conach accra borblachis doni .i. a luighi 'ænar uadha madh gradh feine for gra feine; madh gradh flatha for grad for grad flatha, is lugha 7 nech diamadh logh enech na hiumarcrada ina diadh. madh grad feineh for grad flatha, is nech diamadh logh enech in accradh ina dhiagh; madh grad flatha for grad for grad feine, is a luighi 'ænur; madh righ tuaithe for righ tuath, is dias ina dhiagh; masa righ tuath for righ .u.idh, is 'riar ina diagh; masa ri .u.idh for righ erenn, is cethrar ina diagh. madh grad tuaithe for grad eclaisi, cidh uaisli cidh isli in grad tuaithi, iforin sacart, kdias ina diaidhk; madh for deochain, is fer ina dhiaidh; madh for espoc, is triar ina dhiadh; 7 cidhbé grad uile isinn eclais, is fer ina dhiadh; 7 na gradh file foa comgrad isin tuaith





atarradh anís Doní nach eitir cuis na tuaithi do chur ó breithemh na tuaithi uodein.

Ni segar cumthus tar cuinneilg mbrithemon mbanclotha .t. & cach cumtus dochuisin cein atcotar eitercert .¬rl-. & in tan is díice gach cest a medonc, is ann is coir .¬rl-. & forta riar o cach atgairter. & a fuigell a tuaith a mbí cona trebad. & forta conollam goth egnaid innraic i ngach crich bes deorata.





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c by- d by- = bechaib. e sic; stroke over second r made in error.
                          a reading uncertain.
                                                      b sic.
                                                                                                   h end of line smudged; possibly followed
                          f reading uncertain owing to stain. Sbj = bech (beich).
                                                                                    i following page (which was used as an outside cover)
                                      io inserted below line; = it teora.
                                                                                          k first a subscript. 1 opposite this in marg, sin.
                          almost completely illegible except for isolated words.
                                                                                                             opposite this in marg. dext. p.
                                                                                     n i.e. gatas gait?
                          .p. (i.e. prouerbium?). m error for accipiat.
     banbriathra banbechta .¬rl<sup>-0</sup> testimonium mulieris non accipitur. nisi prudens
a reading uncertain. b sic. c b7. d b7 = bechaib. e sic; stroke over second r made in error.
      reading uncertain owing to stain. <sup>9</sup> b

= bech (beich). h end of line smudged; possibly followed
    by um. i o inserted below line; = it teora. j following page (which was used as an outside cover)
     almost completely illegible except for isolated words. k first a subscript. opposite this in marg. sin.
     .p. (<u>i.e.</u> prouerbium ?). m error for accipiat. n i.e. gatas gait? o opposite this in marg. dext. .p.
```





#### CORPUS IURIS HIBERNICI¶

Do ciontugud fir tairche 7 fiallaig tairche ann so cibé cruth i mbé 
Mas tharga aisi 7 fesa tugustar orra, amail is diles fer tairci, is diles æs 
tairci. a mic arfeisir cin sluagh for ænfer 7 cin æinfir for sluag i. masa tharga 
eigni ł ainbfisi tugustar orra, cia tairigther cinco tairighther æs laime, is é 
fer tairci (cus. b

| Et mas .t.° aisi 7 .t.° eignie maræn, icuit .7. cumala amach; 7 icaid fer← tairci a triane 7 cobes fri fer don da dtrian .ii. a los a laime. 7 mana tairigther← s̄ fer .t.d anar, icaid .7. cumala amach; 7 in tan teagait-sium re dligi, icuit← da dtrian .uii. cumala uile a cuidbus cenmotha cuid fir. † .7. cumala gacha← fir a négcuibus ginmotha int anamrainde gabus æntrian .7. cumala 7 cuid←





- the latest, most precise models of region, line and character recognition for CIH
- thoroughly proofread text of all the digests as .pdf, tagged xml, and possibly .docx.
- web-based database of the digests texts with search tools and multiple ways of presentation.
- an improved semi-diplomatic edition





### Tokenisation of the digest texts

	Α	В	С	D	E	F	G	Н
1	Digest A	Text	Translation	CIH notes	Digest B	Text	Translation	CIH notes
	A3./	.i. int socnaiae.	i.e. the crowa		R17.10	.i. int socnaiono;	i.e. the crowa	
40	A3.8	¬ Ní aguir nach cion s doro log a fiach adroillith <i>er</i> ;	No one sues for any liability but that which reaches the value of his liability which is deserved		B12.11	¬ ni agair nach cin acht doro logh fiach adroilli;	No one sues for any liability but that which reaches the value of his liability which he deserves	
41	A3.9	is de ata doboi <i>n</i> g ag <i>r</i> ad eiric	therefore it is said: the suit levies the compensation		B12.12	is de ata: doboing agra eiric	therefore it is said: the suit levies the compensation	
42	A3.10	.i. doboi <i>n</i> g eiric cio <i>ntaig</i> agra inbleog <i>ain</i> ,	i.e. the suing of the vicarious person extracts the compensation of the offender,		B12.13	.i. doboing er <i>aic</i> ci <i>n</i> ta ag <i>r</i> a inbl <i>eogain</i> ,	i.e. the suing of the vicarious person extracts the compensation of the offender,	
43	A3.11	no bentar(?)p eiric dit isin nagra nindligthech.	or the compensation is extracted from you (?) in the suing of the unlawful.		B12.14	ł bongar eraic dit isin nagra ninndligi.	or the compensation is extracted from you (?) in the suing of the unlawful.	
44	A3.12	¬ Cainbera fiachu cairde a coimperta catha na tobuing eigin na forbflaith (?)q na ainbfios.	I adjudge fairly obligations of peace-treaty in judgments of battle, do not levy [through] force or overlordship or ignorance.		B12.15	¬ caoinbera fiach cairdi coimperta catha na tobaing egen na forbflathus na anfis;	I adjudge fairly obligations of peace-treaty in judgments of battle, do not levy [through] force or overlordship or ignorance.	
45	A3.13	¬ Slogh gi <i>n</i> arnaid <i>m</i> ni coir do neoch doneaclui <i>m</i> ,	A crowd without binding/guarantee, it is not lawful for anyone to bring them together,		B12.16	¬ slogh gin urndai <i>m</i> e ni coir do neoch doneglai <i>m</i> ,	A crowd without binding/guarantee, it is not lawful for anyone to bring them together,	
46	A3.14	ar nach ninddliged   dogniat samlaid is techta isria inge ma tar luige na dingnedis.	because any unlawful deed they perform thus, it is appropriate that he shall pay unless they have sworn they should not do so.		B12.17	ar nach nin <i>n</i> dl <i>ig</i> i dogniat saml <i>aid</i> is techta asria ingi mad ar luighi na dingnidis;	because any unlawful deed they perform thus, it is appropriate that he shall pay unless they have sworn they should not do so.	
47	A3.15	¬ Ar dosfeth feich <i>em</i> dosneat raith	For a litigant leads it [the suit?], a paying surety awaits it.		B12.18	¬ ar dosfét feichem dosnet raith	For a litigant leads it [the suit?], a paying surety awaits it.	





### Tokenisation of the digest texts

#### Goal:

- a linked database based on a defined ontology and Resource Description Framework (RDF) specifications.
- visualisation and network analysis of data
- assessing the text re-use and compilatory patterns in the digests.



### Marginalia reading seminar

- Weekly on Zoom
- all the scribal notes in the manuscript pages that contain the digests
- based on the ISOS images



ad·tluchur dúib!

Thank you!

Go raibh míle maith agaibh!

