

Three Historical Poems Ascribed to Gilla Cóemáin

Studien und Texte zur Keltologie 8

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Herausgegeben von

Erich Poppe

Band 8

Peter J. Smith

Three Historical Poems Ascribed to Gilla Cóemáin
A Critical Edition of the Work of an Eleventh-Century Irish Scholar

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To Aideen

7. *Donum Dei* gach dán binn
i gceartlár chuirp an léighinn;
geibh é agus casgair a chéill —
asgaidh Dé sein go soiléir.

31. Fios a seanchais ná a saoire
ní fhuighbhidís arddaoine;
léigidh so i ndán do dhéanaimh
nó no slán dá seinsgéalaibh

7. Every melodious poem in the very head of the body of learning
is *donum Dei*; recite it and dissect its sense — it is clearly the gift
of God.

31 Noble men would have no knowledge of their traditions and
nobility; allow these to be composed in poetry or else bid
farewell to their ancient histories.

From: *A Theachtairé tig ón Róimh* by Giolla Bríge Mac Con Midhe (d. circa 1272?), native of
Ard Sratha, Co. Tyrone and author of several poems to the Ó Domhnaill.

Source: N. J. Williams (ed. and trans.), *The Poems of Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe*, ITS 51
(Dublin, 1980), Poem XVIII, pp. 204-13: 204-205; 212-13.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	13
List of Abbreviations and Short Titles	15
Sigla	20
Concordance	21
1. Gilla Cóemáin and his Work	
1.1 Introduction: <i>Hériu ard</i> , <i>At-tá sund</i> and <i>Annálad</i>	23
1.2 <i>Góedel Glas ó tát Goídil</i> and <i>Tigernmas mac Follaig aird</i>	25
1.3 Other texts associated with Gilla Cóemáin	26
1.4 Identity of the Poet	30
2. Manuscripts and Ascriptions	
2.1 <i>Hériu ard</i>	32
2.2 <i>At-tá sund</i>	38
2.3 <i>Annálad</i>	41
3. Examination of the Manuscripts and Relationship of the Manuscripts	
3.1 Introduction	43
3.2 <i>Hériu ard</i> : Examination of the Witnesses	44
3.3 <i>Hériu ard</i> : Possible <i>Stemmata Codicum</i>	49
3.4 <i>At-tá sund</i> : Examination of the Witnesses	57
3.5 <i>At-tá sund</i> : <i>Stemma codicum</i>	58
3.6 <i>Annálad</i> : Examination of the Witnesses	60
3.7 <i>Annálad</i> : <i>Stemma Codicum</i>	63
3.8 Conclusion	66

4.	Editorial Policy	
4.1	Some Approaches to Textual Criticism	67
4.2	Approaches to Emendation	69
4.3	Reflections on the Editing of Gilla Cóemáin's Poems	69
4.4	Establishment of the Text of the Archetype <i>x</i>	70
4.5	External Evidence for Corroboration of Regnal Years	71
4.6	Technical Aspects of the Editing Process	72
5.	Analogues and Possible Sources	
5.1	Identifying the Analogues	75
5.2	Possible Sources for <i>Hériu ard</i>	82
5.3	Possible Sources for <i>At-tá sund</i>	83
5.4	Possible Sources for <i>Annálad</i>	84
6.	Metre	
6.1	Features of <i>Deibide</i>	85
6.2	Features of <i>Deibide Scáilte</i>	85
6.3	<i>Deibide Scáilte</i> as an <i>Óglachas</i> Metre	86
6.4	Metrical Analysis using Ó Cuív's Criteria	86
7.	Language and Dating	
7.1	Article	88
7.2	Gender	88
7.3	Nouns	89
7.4	Adjectives	90
7.5	Numerals	90
7.6	Infixed Pronouns	91
7.7	Prepositions	92
7.8	Verbs	92
7.9	Main Clauses and Relative Clauses	96
7.10	Dating	97

8.	Texts and Translation	
8.1	<i>Hériu ard inis na rríg</i>	100
8.2	<i>At-tá sund forba fessa</i>	162
8.3	<i>Annálad anall uile</i>	180
9.	Textual Notes and Commentary	
9.1	<i>Hériu ard inis na rríg</i>	204
9.2	<i>At-tá sund forba fessa</i>	220
9.3	<i>Annálad anall uile</i>	225
Appendices		
1.1	Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing <i>Hériu ard inis na rríg</i>	238
1.2	Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing <i>At-tá sund forba fessa</i>	245
1.3	Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing <i>Annálad anall uile</i>	248
2.	Metrical Ornamentation in the Poetry of Gilla Cóemáin, Flann Mainistrech, Gilla Mo Dutu and Airbertach Mac Coisse.....	250
3.	Concordance of Extra Quatrains in <i>Hériu ard</i>	251
	Bibliography	254
	Index of Personal Names	266
	Index of Place and Population Names.....	274

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Finally, a word should be said about the book itself. The main objective was to provide editions of three important Middle-Irish historical poems — *Hériu ard inis na rríg*, *At-tá sund forba fessa* and *Annálad anall uile*. It was also felt necessary to provide the general reader of medieval history with some idea of the breadth and depth of medieval Irish learning. Matters relating to style and syntax and indeed a fully comprehensive survey of the language of all of Gilla Cóemáin's poems have had to be deferred to a later work. Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that these texts will again lead to a greater appreciation of the richness of the Irish scholarly tradition.

As mentioned above, this work has been in gestation for a long time. It encompasses a very wide range of areas of specialist knowledge. Despite my best efforts and those of my readers, some errors will undoubtedly remain. For this I beg pardon of the reader, and add the caveat that all such errors are mine, and mine alone, and that no fault should attach itself to my editor or any of my readers.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to the Pro-Vice Chancellor for Research and Innovation at the University of Ulster, Professor B. Hannigan, for awarding me a grant towards the publication of this book.

Doire Cholm Cille
Nollaig 2007

List of Abbreviations and Short Titles

- AAbr Year from the Birth of Abraham.
- Ab Adam* *Ab Adam usque ad diluuium*, Latin chronological prose-text, Book of Ballymote, fol. 5vbm. Printed by H. L. C. Tristram, *SAM*, p. 280.
- Abfassungszeit* ‘Die Abfassungszeit und Überlieferung der Vita Tripartita’, K. Mulchrone, *ZCP* 16 (1927), pp. 1–95.
- AClon* *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, ed. D. Murphy (Dublin, 1896).
- Adam Primus Pater* *Adam primus pater fuit et Eua ced bean*, synchronistic prose-tract, Book of Ballymote, fol. 6ra. Printed by B. Mac Carthy, *CPV*, ‘B-Tract’, pp. 286–308.
- AFM* *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the Four Masters*, 7 vols, ed. J. O’Donovan (Dublin, 1848–51; 2nd ed. 1856. Reprint, Dublin, de Búrca 1990).
- AI* *Annals of Inisfallen*, ed. S. Mac Airt (Dublin, 1951).
- ÄID* *Über die älteste irische Dichtung*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1913–14).
- Aisl. MC* *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*, ed. K. Meyer (London, 1892).
- AMC* *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*, ed. K. H. Jackson (Dublin, 1990).
- Annálad* *Annálad anall uile*.
- Annals of Loch Cé* *Annals of Loch Cé: A Chronicle of Irish Affairs from AD 1014 to AD 1590*, ed. W. Hennessy (Dublin, 1871).
- AR* *Annal of Roscrea*, ed. D. Gleeson & S. Mac Airt, *PRIA* (C) 59 (1958), pp. 137–80.
- AT* *Annals of Tigernach*, ed. W. Stokes, *RC* 16 (1895), pp. 374–419; 17 (1896), pp. 6–33, 119–263, 337–420; 18 (1897), pp. 9–59, 150–97, 267–303. Reprint, Felinfach, (Llanerch Publishers), 1993, 2 vols.
- At-tá sund* *At-tá sund forba fessa*.
- AU* *Annals of Ulster (to AD 1131)*, ed. S. Mac Airt & G. Mac Niocail (Dublin, 1983).
- BL British Library.
- Bodl. Corm.* ‘On the Bodleian Fragment of Cormac’, ed. W. Stokes, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1891–2–3, pp. 149–206.
- CCath* *In Cath Catharda*, ed. W. Stokes, *Irische Texte* IV.2 (Leipzig, 1909).
- CCSL Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (Turnhout, 1953–).

List of Abbreviations and short titles

-
- CE *Lámhscríbhinní Choláiste Eoin, Port Láirge*, comp. P. Ó Fiannachta, *Clár Láimhscríbhinní Gaeilge: Leabharlanna na Cléire agus Mionchnuasaigh*, Fascúl I (Dublin, 1978), pp. 1–46.
- CF *Lámhscríbhinní Choláiste Cholmáin, Mainistir Fhear Maí*, comp. P. Ó Fiannachta, *Clár Láimhscríbhinní Gaeilge: Leabharlanna na Cléire agus Mionchnuasaigh*, Fascúl I (Dublin, 1978), pp. 59–175.
- CGH *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* I, ed. M. A. O’Brien (Dublin, 1962).
- CGSH *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. P. Ó Riain (Dublin, 1985).
- CI *The Chronicle of Ireland: Translated with an Introduction and Notes*, 2 vols, T. M. Charles-Edwards (Liverpool, 2006).
- CIH *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, ed. D. A. Binchy, 6 vols (Dublin, 1978).
- CLA *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, 13 parts & supplement, ed. E. A. Lowe (Oxford, 1934–72)
- CMCS *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* until 1993, thereafter *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*.
- CMT *Cath Maige Tuired*, ITS 52, ed. E. A. Gray (London, 1983. Reprint, Dublin, 1998).
- Cóir Anmann* ‘*Cóir Anmann: Fitness of Names*’, *Irische Texte* III.2, ed. Stokes, W. (Leipzig, 1897), pp. 285–444; 557. See now, *Cóir Anmann: A Late Middle Irish Treatise on Personal Names*, Part 1, Irish Texts Society 59, ed. S. Arbuthnot (London, 2005).
- CPV *The Codex Palatino-Vaticanus*, No. 830, RIA Todd Lecture Series III, ed. B. Mac Carthy (Dublin, 1892).
- CRR *Cath Ruis na Ríg for Bóinn*, ed. E. Hogan (Dublin, 1892).
- CS *Chronicum Scotorum*, Rolls Series 46, ed. W. M. Hennessy (Dublin, 1866. Reprint, Wiesbaden, 1964).
- d. died.
- DDána *Dioghluim Dána*, ed. L. McKenna (Dublin, 1938).
- DIL Royal Irish Academy *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Dublin, 1913–75. Reprinted in compact edition with continuous pagination, Dublin, 1983).
- DT *De Temporibus Liber* in *Bedae Venerabilis Opera*, ed. T. Mommsen, CCSL, 123 C (Turnhout, 1980), III, pp. 585–611.
- DTR *De Temporibus Ratione* in *Bedae Venerabilis Opera, Pars VI, Opera Didascalica*, ed. C. W. Jones, CCSL, 123 B (Turnhout, 1977), II, pp. 463–544.
- Duanaireacht* *Duanaireacht: Rialacha Meadarachta Philíocht na mBard*, Cáit Ní Dhomhnaill (Dublin, 1975).
- ECI *Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources* (Cambridge, 1972. Reprint, 1979).
- EIHM *Early Irish History and Mythology*, T. F. O’Rahilly (Dublin, 1946).
- Éisted a éolchu* *Éisted a éolchu cen on*, poem ascribed to Flann Mainistrech. See *LG* IV, Poem LVI, pp. 224–241 = *LL* I, pp. 41–46.
- EIV *The Early Irish Verb*, Maynooth Monographs 1, K. McCone (Maynooth, 1987. Revised second edition with index, Maynooth, 1997).
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List of Abbreviations and short titles

- FA* *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*, ed. J. Radner (Dublin, 1978).
- Fél.* *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé: The Martyrology of Óengus the Culdee* (London, 1905. Reprint, Dublin, (DIAS) 1984).
- FFÉ* *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* by Seathrún Céitinn, Vols. I–IV, ITS 4, 8–9, 15, ed. David Comyn (Vol. I only) & P. S. Dinneen (London, 1902–1914).
- Fiche Ríg* *Fiche ríge — cíá rím as ferr*, versified Biblical history ascribed to Airbertach mac Coisse, Bodleian, Rawl. B 502, fol. 46r. Edited by G. Mac Eoin in *Ériu* 20 (1966), pp. 112–39.
- Gen. Book of Genesis.
- GOI* *A Grammar of Old Irish*, R. Thurneysen (Dublin, 1946. Reprint, Dublin, 1966).
- GRSH* ‘*Genealogiae Regum et Sanctorum Hiberniae*’ by the Four Masters, ed. P. Walsh (Maynooth, 1918).
- Hériu ard* *Heriu ard inis na rríge*.
- Hieronymo-Eusebian Chronicle *Eusebii Pamphili Chronici Canones Latine Vertit, Adauxit ad sua Tempora Produxit S. Eusebius Hieronymus*, ed. J. K. Fotheringham (London, 1923).
Eusebi Chronicorum Canonum, Libri Duo, Vol. II, ed. A. Schoene (Berlin, 1875).
- IHS* *Irish Historical Studies* (1938–)
- IKHK* *Irish Kings and High-Kings*, F. J. Byrne (London, 1973. Dublin, 2001).
- Irish SAM* *The Irish Sex Aetates Mundi*, ed. D. Ó Cróinín (Dublin, 1983).
- ISP* *An Introduction to Irish Syllabic Poetry of the Period 1200–1600*, E. Knott (Cork, 1928. Second edition, 1935. Corrected reprint with addenda and corrigenda, Dublin, 1957, 1994).
- IT* *Irische Texte*, ed. E. Windisch & W. Stokes (Leipzig, 1880–1890).
- ITS Irish Texts Society (London, 1899–).
- JCS* *Journal of Celtic Studies* (Temple University, 1949–).
- Karlsruhe II* Text printed from Karlsruhe manuscript Aug. CXII, fols. 50ra–50va by Tristram, *SAM*, pp. 297–98 = R. McNally, *Der irische Liber de Numeris*, p. 102.
- LAU* *Language of the Annals of Ulster*, T. Ó Máille (Manchester, 1910).
- Laud Misc. Oxford, Bodleian manuscript in the Laud Collection, section ‘Miscellaneous’.
- Laud Sync.* ‘The Laud Synchronisms’, ed. K. Meyer, *ZCP* 9 (1913), pp. 471–85.
- LG* *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*, ed. R. A. S. Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*, Parts I–V, ITS 34, 35, 39, 41, 44 (Dublin, 1938–56).
- Liber de Numeris* *Der Irische Liber de Numeris*, Latin chronological prose-text printed from Colmar manuscript 39, fols. 132v–139r by H. L. C. Tristram, *SAM*, pp. 294–95 = R. McNally, *Der irische Liber de Numeris*, pp. 101–06.
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List of Abbreviations and short titles

- LL* *The Book of Leinster, Formerly Lebar na Núachongbála*, Vols. I-VI, ed. R. I. Best, O. Bergin, M. A. O'Brien, & A. O'Sullivan (Dublin, 1954-83).
- LU* *Lebor na hUidre: Book of the Dun Cow*, ed. R. I. Best & Osborn Bergin (Dublin, 1929; reprint, 1970. Reprint with corrigenda, 1992).
- Met. Dinds.* *The Metrical Dindshenchas*, ed. E. Gwynn, (Dublin, 1903-35).
- MGH, SS* *Monumentae Germaniae Historica Scriptores* (in folio)
- MID* 'Contributions to the History of Middle Irish Declension', J. Strachan, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* (1905), pp. 202-46.
- Mín* *Míniugud*: (Scowcroft's Recension *m*, Thurneysen's B III, Van Hamel's Bb, Macalister's *Míniugud*). Preserved in (i) Bodleian Rawl. B 512, fols. 90v-97v, (ii) RIA Stowe manuscript D i 3 (# 539), and (iii) The Great Book of Lecan, facsimile fols. 16v-21. See also Rawl. B 502 *Mín*. below.
- MS(S)* manuscript(s).
- MU* *Mesca Ulad*, ed. J. Carmichael Watson (Dublin, 1983).
- Nín mac Béil* *Nín mac Bél roga na rí*g, poem printed in B. Mac Carthy, *CPV*, pp. 310-316.
- NLI* National Library of Ireland.
- ÓCl* Ó Cléirigh, Míchél (OFM).
- Ogygia* *Ogygia: Seu Rerum Hibernicarum Chronologia*, R. O'Flaherty (London, 1685).
- Onom.* *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, comp. E. Hogan (Dublin and London, 1910).
- PH* *The Passions and Homilies from the Leabhar Breac*, RIA Todd Lecture Series II, ed. R. Atkinson (Dublin, 1887).
- PMLA* *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*.
- PPCP* *Pagan Past Christian Present*, Maynooth Monograph, Series 3, K. McCone (Maynooth, 1990. Reprint, Maynooth, 2000).
- Preh.* Prehistoric.
- PRIA* *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* (Dublin, 1902-).
- Prima Etas Mundi* *Prima Etas mundi .i. in ced ais don doman*, synchronistic prose-tract, Book of Ballymote, fol. 5ram. Printed by B. Mac Carthy, *CPV*, 'A-Tract', pp. 278-87.
- Prima Igitur Etas* *Prima igitur etas mundi ab Adam usque ad Noe*, synchronistic prose-tract, Book of Ballymote. Printed by Tristram, *SAM*, p. 281.
- q. quatrain.
- qq. quatrains.
- r. reigned.
- R1* Scowcroft's recension *a*. Preserved in *The Book of Leinster*, fols. 1-26; *The Book of Fermoy*, 23 E 29 (# 1134), late fourteenth century, fols. 1-8; RIA Stowe D iii 1 (# 671), late fourteenth century, fols. 9-22; Mullingar Gaelic
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List of Abbreviations and short titles

- MS 1, sixteenth century, fols. 17–24, fols. 32–51, fols. 52–61. See Scowcroft, *Ériu* 38 (1987), p. 85.
- R1–3 Redactions 1–3, *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*, Parts I–V, ITS 34, 35, 39, 41, 44, ed. and trans. R. A. S. Macalister (Dublin, 1938–56).
- R2 Scowcroft’s recension *b*, preserved in TCD E.3.5, no. 2 (# 1433), early sixteenth century; Bodleian Rawl. B 512, fourteenth-fifteenth century, new fols. 75B–90; The Great Book of Lecan, RIA MS 23 P 2, early fifteenth century facsimile fols. 1–16; NLI Phillipps 10266 (# G 10), late sixteenth century, fols. 1–2; RIA Stowe D iv 3 (# 1224), mid-sixteenth century, pp. 97–104. See Scowcroft, *Ériu* 38 (1987), p. 86.
- R3 Scowcroft’s recension *c*, preserved in The Great Book of Lecan, early fifteenth century facsimile, fols. 264–311; The Book of Ballymote, RIA 23 P 12, late fourteenth century, fols. 8–34ra; TCD H 2.15a (# 1316). See Scowcroft, *Ériu* 38 (1987), p. 87.
- Rawl. B502 Mín Acephalous text of independent version of *Míniugud* Recension of *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* in Rawl. B 502. Printed in *CGH* I, pp. 117–122.
- Rawl. Rawlinson.
- RC *Revue Celtique* (1870–1934).
- RIA Cat. Ir. MSS *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy* (1926–70).
- RIA Royal Irish Academy.
- SAM *Sex Aetates Mundi: Die Weltzeitalter bei den Angelsachsen und den Iren: Untersuchungen und Texte*, H. L. C. Tristram, *Anglistische Forschungen* 165 (Heidelberg, 1985).
- Sé Bliadna I* *Sé Bliadna .l. ’malle*, chronological poem from Book of Ballymote, fol. 5vbi. Printed by Mac Carthy in *CPV*, pp. 259–261.
- Sé Bliadna II* *Sé bliadna .l. gen ail*, chronological poem from BL, Additional 30512, fol. 34ra 1–17. Printed by Tristram in *SAM*, p. 283.
- SnaG* *Stair na Gaeilge*, ed. K. McCone, D. McManus et al. (Maynooth, 1994).
- SR *Saltair na Rann*, ed. W. Stokes, *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Series*, Vol. 1, Part III, (Oxford, 1883).
- TBC *Táin Bó Cúailnge*.
- TBDD *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, ed. E. Knott (Dublin, 1936. Reprint, Dublin, 1963, 1975).
- TCD Trinity College Dublin.
- TD *Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn*, 2 vols, ed. E. Knott, ITS 22, 23 (London, 1922, 1926).
- TDD Túatha Dé Danann.
- TTr1 G. Mac Eoin, ‘Das Verbalsystem von Togail Troí (H.2.17)’, *ZCP* 28 (1960–61), pp. 73–223.
- UCC University College Cork.
- UCD University College Dublin.
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List of Abbreviations and short titles

<i>VSR</i>	‘The Verbal System of the Saltair na Rann’, J. Strachan, <i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i> (1895), pp. 1–76.
<i>VST</i>	‘The Verbal System of the <i>LL Táin</i> ’, M. O Daly, <i>Ériu</i> 14 (1943–6), pp. 31–139.
<i>VTP</i>	‘Die Verbalformen der <i>Vita Tripartita</i> ’, K. Mulchrone, <i>ZCP</i> 16 (1927), pp. 411–51.
<i>YBL</i>	The Yellow Book of Lecan, TCD MS H 2.16, a collection of sixteen MSS dating from 1391–1572.
<i>ZCP</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie</i> (1897–).
Z-Tract	Synchronistic prose-tract Z, printed from Book of Ballymote and Book of Lecan by Mac Neill in <i>PRIA</i> 28, C (1910), pp. 123–48.

Sigla

B	Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, The Book of Ballymote, manuscript 23 P 12 [# 536]
Br¹	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, manuscript 2569–72 [# 4640], fols. 10–15
Br²	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, manuscript 2569–72 [# 4640], fols. 149–59
C	Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, manuscript C iv 3 [# 1192]
G	Dublin, National Library of Ireland, The Ó Cianáin Miscellany, manuscripts G 2–3
K	Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, manuscript 23 K 32 [# 617]
L	Dublin, Trinity College, The Book of Leinster, manuscript H 2.18 [# 1339]
L¹	Dublin, RIA, manuscript B iv 2 [# 1080], fols. 101r–111v, a copy of L in which the text is occasionally corrected
Lc	Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, The Great Book of Lecan, manuscript 23 P 2 [# 535]
Ld	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Leabhar na Rátha, manuscript Laud Miscellany 610 [Arch. F. C. 30] [# 1858]
M	Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, The Book of Uí Maine, manuscript D ii 1 [# 1225]
O	Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, manuscript B iv 2 [# 1080]
P	Dublin, National Library of Ireland [Phillipps 17082], manuscript G 131
R	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 512
S	Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, [Stowe] manuscript D i 3 [# 539]
T	Dublin, [bound with] Book of Leinster, Trinity College, manuscript H 2.18 [# 1339]
U	Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, B iv 1 b [# 1269], Section 3, Fragment F

Concordance

The distribution of our poems can be summarised thus:

- (i) *Hériu ard inis na rríg*: LL¹, S, Lc, GB, OBr¹Br²PKC
- (ii) *At-tá sund forba fessa* : LL¹, RM, U, PKC
- (iii) *Annálad anall uile*: LTL¹, RLdM, Br¹ (fragment)

	L	T	L¹	S	Lc	G	B	R	Ld	M	U	O	Br¹	Br²	P	K	C
(i)	×		×	×	×	×	×					×	×	×	×	×	×
(ii)*	×		×					×		×	×				×	×	×
(iii)	×	×	×					×	×	×			×				

*) I am most indebted to Professor Mark Scowcroft for drawing my attention to an additional copy of *At-tá sund* that has been preserved in RIA MS Stowe B iv 1b, Section 3, Fragment F. These loose fols. are contained in a box in the library of the RIA together with some other unrelated fols. Unfortunately, the text contains only quatrains 1–31 and is in many places illegible under normal light. The manuscript appears to belong to the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries.

1. Gilla Cóemáin and his Work

1.1 Introduction: *Hériu ard*, *At-tá sund* and *Annálad*

There are five poems which have been ascribed with a high degree of consistency to Gilla Cóemáin in manuscripts dating from the mid-twelfth to the nineteenth century. These are: *Hériu ard inis na rríg* (*Hériu ard*), *At-tá sund forba fessa* (*At-tá sund*), *Annálad anall uile* (*Annálad*), *Góedel Glas ó tát Goídil* (*Góedel Glas*), and *Tigernmas mac Follaig aird*. The first three have been edited in the present work. Two of our three poems, *At-tá sund*, and *Annálad* were written in the shadow of *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*,¹ but do not form part of that prose-verse text. However, it is fair to conclude that the first poem, *Hériu ard* did form a part of R1 (recension *a*)² from at least the twelfth-century since its first couplet is quoted in the Book of Leinster (L) copy of that redaction.³

Disentangling the origins of *Hériu ard* from those of *Lebor Gabála* is a difficult task because they share much of the same source materials. In his seminal two-part work on the evolution of *Lebor Gabála*, Mark Scowcroft has asserted that Gilla Cóemáin appears to have composed *Hériu ard*, *Góedel Glas ó tát Goídil* and *Tigernmas mac Follaig aird* as ‘companion-pieces to the prose-text’, that he added his poetry ‘finally to the recension on which it was based, and the prose-text underwent no subsequent revision’.⁴

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- 1) R. A. S. Macalister (ed. and trans.), *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*, (henceforth *LG*), I–V, ITS 34, 35, 39, 41, 44, (Dublin, 1938–56).
 - 2) R. I. Best, O. Bergin & M. A. O’Brien (ed.), *The Book of Leinster: Formerly Lebar na Núachongbála*, Vol. I, (henceforth *LL I*), (Dublin, 1954), pp. 1–99.
 - 3) The first couplet of *Hériu ard* is cited in the L-copy of redaction 1 (recension *a*) on fol. 24, line 44 (= *LL I*, p. 93, lines 2994–2997) at the end of the tract entitled *Do Flathusaib Hérend* on the pre-Christian kings of Ireland.
 - 4) R. M. Scowcroft, ‘*Leabhar Gabhála* — Part II: The Growth of the Tradition’, *Ériu* 39 (1988), p. 5. Scowcroft also remarks that ‘the poems are not always the source of the tradition, however. Often they are written to order, and a sizeable industry engaged in the versification of prose authorities’ (*Leabhar Gabhála: Part I — The Growth of the Text*, *Ériu* 38 (1987), pp. 79–140: 90. The presence of *Hériu ard* in (i) *mínugud*; (ii) redaction 1 / recension *a* and (iii) redaction 3 / recension *c* has been traced back by Scowcroft to μ : ‘To μ Gilla Coemáin contributes three poems, ...’ (*Leabhar Gabhála* — Part I’, p. 4). For Scowcroft’s discussion of the transformation of prose into verse by Gilla Cóemáin, see *Ibid*, p. 5, note 6.
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1. Gilla Cóemáin and his Work

J. Carey has expressed disagreement with Scowcroft's view of the status of such poems in *LG*.⁵ He remarked: 'The eleventh-century author of *Lebor Gabála* used a wide range of sources; but much of the basic doctrine and structure derives from the poems which I have discussed. The foundation stones on which he constructed the portion of the text dealing with the early settlements are seven poems by Eochaid, Flann, Tanaide and Gilla Coemáin'.⁶ In a later article, Carey appears to intimate that while Gilla Cóemáin may have converted prose to verse in order to compose *Hériu ard*, the overall trend was to write the poems first and then to write the corresponding prose-texts.⁷

Despite the close links between *Hériu ard* and *Lebor Gabála*, the poem seems to have occurred as an independent entity from as early as the twelfth century, since our earliest copy of its *full* text is presented in the *dúanaire* section⁸ of L rather than in the *Lebor Gabála* section⁹ of that manuscript.

The decision was taken to limit the scope of the current work to the three poems that occur as a discrete corpus in L.¹⁰ These are undoubtedly Gilla Cóemáin's most important poems in terms of content. They offer us an excellent insight into the technical aspects of the composition of *dúanta seanchais*.

Hériu ard inis na rríg 'Lofty Ireland, island of the kings', a poem of 151 quatrains catalogues the names of the legendary pre-Christian Kings of Ireland, together with the duration of their reigns and the manner of their deaths.¹¹ B. Mac Carthy published an edition and translation of this poem based on the TCD MS, the Book of Leinster [L], together with variants from the Dublin, RIA MS, the Book of Ballymote [B] in *The Codex Palatino-Vaticanus, No. 830*, RIA Todd Lecture Series 3 (Dublin 1892), pp. 142–213. R. A. S. Macalister printed a version of *Hériu ard* in *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*, Part V (Dublin, 1956), pp. 486–531, with readings from the Book of Leinster [L]; Dublin, RIA MS, Stowe D i 3 [S]; Dublin, RIA MS, the Great Book of Lecan [Lc]; and the Book of Ballymote [B]. R. I. Best & M. A. O'Brien

5) J. Carey, *The Irish National Origin-Legend: Synthetic Pseudohistory*, Quiggin Pamphlets on the Sources of Mediaeval Gaelic History 1 (Cambridge, 1994), p. 17, note 35.

6) Carey, *ibid.*, p. 22

7) J. Carey, 'Lebor Gabála and the Legendary History of Ireland' in Helen Fulton (ed.), *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society* (Dublin, 2005), pp. 32–48: 44–45, note 47: 'Briefly, the prose of the three earliest versions of Lebor Gabála points to a shared exemplar with wording almost identical to that of one of Gilla Cóemáin's quatrains (Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*, ii, pp. 20–1, 42–3; cf. 100–1): such correspondences are much more easily achieved when converting verse to prose than vice versa. In his poem 'Ériu ard, inis na rí'g', on the other hand, Gilla Coemáin's *cétfhlaith mórBanba a mMumain* (*ibid.*, v, pp 496–7; agreement of witnesses points to this as the original reading) looks like a poetical embellishment of prose *cétri Héirenn a mMumain* (*ibid.*, pp 198–9)'.
8) R. I. Best, M.A. O'Brien (ed.), *LL III*, (henceforth *LL III*), (Dublin, 1957), pp. 471–683.

9) *LL I*, pp. 1–99.

10) *LL III*, pp. 471–503.

11) For a full list of the manuscripts in which this poem is found see Catalogue of Manuscripts (Appendix 1.1).

edited *Hériu ard* in *The Book of Leinster: Formerly: Lebar na Núachongbála*, Volume III (Dublin, 1957), pp. 471–90, with selected readings from the Great Book of Lecan [Lc]; Dublin, NLI MS, Phillipps 17082 [P]; and Dublin, RIA MS, B iv 2, fols. 4r–10r [O] and B iv 2, fols. 101r–107v [L¹].

At-tá sund forba fessa ‘Herein is the apex of knowledge’, a poem of 37 quatrains, catalogues the names of the Christian kings of Ireland from the time of Lóegaire until the time of Brían Bórama, together with the duration of their reigns and the dynasties to which they belonged.¹² The L copy of the poem has been edited in *LL* III, pp. 491–95, with some readings from Dublin, RIA MS, the Book of Uí Maine [M]; RIA B iv 2, fols. 107v–109r [L¹]; and NLI G 131 (Phillipps 17082) [P]. The poem is not found in *LG*.

Annálad anall uile ‘All the annal-writing heretofore’, a poem of 58 quatrains, is in two parts. In the first part the reigns of various Irish kings from the pre-Christian era, as well as important events in Irish prehistory are synchronised with the reigns of kings and important events in the history of the Mediterranean world and the Near and Middle East. In the second part of the poem, the intervals of time between the deaths of various kings and significant battles of the historical Christian era until the date of writing, 1072, are recorded. Occasionally, events in Ireland are synchronised with important events occurring outside Ireland.¹³ The L copy of the poem has been edited in *LL* III, pp. 496–503 together with selected readings from the Book of Uí Maine [M]; B iv 2, fols. 109v–112 [L¹]; and the Book of Leinster, fol. 249a17–219b52 = 395a17–395b52 [T]. Charles O’Conor published an edition based on the text of Oxford, Bodleian MS, Laud Miscellany 610 [Ld] and RIA MS B iv 2 [L¹] together with a Latin translation in *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*. I (Buckingham, 1814), pp. xxxi–xlii. Whitley Stokes printed an edition based on L, accompanied by variant readings from Ld and Oxford, Bodleian MS, Rawlinson B 512 [R] together with a translation in *The Tripartite Life of Patrick with other Documents Relating to that Saint*, Part II, Rolls Series (London, 1887), pp. 530–41.

1.2 *Góedel Glas ó tát Goídil* and *Tigernmas mac Follaig aird*

Both *Góedel Glas ó tát Goídil*¹⁴ and *Tigernmas mac Follaig aird*¹⁵ appear to have formed an intrinsic part of *Lebor Gabála* since their composition. *Góedel Glas ó tát Goídil* ‘Góedel Glas from whom are descended the Goídil’, is a poem of 36–43 quatrains which details the names and movements of the descendants of Góedel son of Scota daughter of Pharaoh and of Néil son of Fénius Farsaid, from Egypt to Scythia,

12) For a full list of the manuscripts in which this poem is found see Catalogue of Manuscripts (Appendix 1.2).

13) For a full list of the manuscripts in which this poem is found see Catalogue of Manuscripts (Appendix 1.3).

14) G. Lehmacher (ed. and trans.), ‘Goedel Glass’, *ZCP* 13 (1921), pp. 151–63; Macalister, *LG* II (Dublin, 1939), pp. 90–107; Best, Begin & O’Brien, *LL* I, pp. 8–13.

15) *LG* V, pp. 432–37; *LL* I, pp. 64–66.

thence to Spain and finally to Ireland. The earliest copy of the poem is at fols. 3b10–4a46 in the L version of R1 and is preceded by an ascription to Gilla Cóemáin.¹⁶ It should be noted that there is no example of *Góedel Glas ó tát Goídil* occurring in a medieval manuscript outside the context of *LG*.

Tigernmas mac Follaig aird, a poem of 15 quatrains, concerns the reign of Tigernmas and refers in particular to his victories in battle. The earliest complete copy of the poem has been preserved in the L version of R1 at fols. 16b46–17a25. The poem is preceded by an ascription to Gilla Cóemáin.¹⁷ A total of nine complete copies of this poem appear to have survived. As in the case of *Góedel Glas ó tát Goídil*, there are no instances from the medieval period of *Tigernmas mac Follaig aird* occurring outside the context of *LG*.

In view of the fact that *Góedel Glas ó tát Goídil* and *Tigernmas mac Follaig aird* are so deeply embedded within the *Lebor Gablála* tradition it was felt that they could be best appreciated within the context of ongoing work on providing new editions of *LG*.

1.3 Other texts associated with Gilla Cóemáin

1.3.1 *A éolcha Érenn airde*

A éolcha Érenn airde, a poem of 43–48 quatrains catalogues the names of the kings of Ireland from the sons of Míl down to Nath Í.¹⁸ The earliest copy of the poem has been preserved in RIA MS D ii 1 (# 1225), the Book of Uí Maine, a late fourteenth- to early fifteenth-century manuscript, fols. 80 (139) va 30-vb 65.¹⁹ This particular copy of the poem bears no ascription. The earliest ascribed copies of the poem are found in NLI MS G 131, which is unsigned and undated, and was possibly copied by Cú Choigríche Ó Cléirigh, c.1630 [?], fols. 94–97;²⁰ and RIA MS C iv 3 (# 1192), which was written by Daibhidhe Ó Duibhgeannáin in the mid-seventeenth century, fols. 80r–81r.²¹ It should, however, be noted that there are two other seventeenth-century manuscripts which do not bear any ascription, namely, TCD MS H. 5.28 (# 1399), which was written by an unidentified scribe, possibly in the late seventeenth century, fols. 180v–182v;²² and RIA MS 23 K 32 (# 617), which is unsigned and

16) *LL* I, pp. 8–13: 8, lines 242–43.

17) *LL* I, pp. 64–66: 64, line 2041.

18) The first stanza on Book of Uí Maine facsimile fol. 80 (139) va 30 reads: *A eolca eirend airde / sloingidh do cach gan cairdi / calin rig rogab gogrind / do sil mac milead erind*. The final stanza on fol. 80 (139) vb 65 is: *A Meic Muire on bethil bain / a crist corp de angaind comlain / arig talman do chluin ceol / naleig manmahin ar aneol. A.*

19) K. Mulchrone, *RIA Cat. Ir. MSS*, fasc. 26, pp. 3314–3356: 3314–3342.

20) N. Ní Shéaghdha, *NLI Cat.*, fasc. 4, pp. 51–56: 54.

21) K. Mulchrone, *RIA Cat. Ir. MSS*, fasc. 26, pp. 3221–3223.

22) T. K. Abbott & E. J. Gwynn, *Catalogue of the Irish MSS in the Library of TCD*, pp. 263–65.

undated, and was possibly copied by Cú Choigríche Ó Cléirigh, c.1630, fols. 173–76.²³ This evidence may suggest that there was even in the seventeenth century some doubt as to whether Gilla Cóemáin had composed this poem. As to alternative authors, only two are suggested by two stray ascriptions. RIA MS 23 C 35 (# 395) which was written in the eighteenth century by Mícheál Ó Longáin the elder (?), fols. 54i–58m, bears an ascription to Ó Dúbhgáin that has been corrected to *Giolla Caoimhghin*.²⁴ The ascription is doubtful since the reference here is presumably to Seaán Mór Ó Dubhagáin who died in 1372.²⁵ RIA MS 23 O 25 (# 78), written in the nineteenth-century by Peadar Ó Longáin, fols. 167–171, suggests an alternative author in the person of Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh. But Lughaidh's *floruit* (c.1630) was clearly after the writing of the earliest extant copy of the poem in the Book of Uí Maine.²⁶

1.3.2 *A éolcha Alban uile*

A éolcha Alban uile, or the *Dúan Albanach*, a poem of 29 quatrains, which catalogues the names of the kings of Scotland from earliest times to the death of Máel Coluim Cenn-mór (d. c.1093), has been ascribed to Gilla Cóemáin in several manuscripts. The poem was edited by Jackson.²⁷ He believed that its language belonged to the eleventh century²⁸ and suggested that the poem may have been written around the time of Máel Coluim's death, if the form *déüg* is correct.²⁹ Jackson was suspicious of the ascription to Gilla Cóemáin, suggesting that it may have been influenced by the ascription to Gilla Cóemáin of *A éolcha Érenn airde*, which has a similar opening.³⁰ Believing that 1072 was the obit of Gilla Cóemáin rather than his *floruit*,³¹ Jackson went on to cast further doubt on the authenticity of the ascription by suggesting that the final stanzas of the poem did in fact belong to the original text, Jackson's

23) K. Mulchrone, *Catalogue of the Irish MSS in the RIA*, fasc. 16, pp. 1939–1945: 1939–1943. The presence of an ascription to Gilla Cóemáin in NLI G 131 and the absence of an ascription in 23 K 32 might suggest that Cú Choigríche was simply following two different exemplars.

24) E. FitzPatrick, *RIA Cat. Ir. MSS*, fasc. 9, p. 1084.

25) See J. Carney (ed. and trans.), *Topographical Poems by Seaán Mór Ó Dubhagáin and Giollana-Naomh Ó hUidhrín* (Dublin, 1943). Note that the subsequent poem in the book of Uí Maine is ascribed to Ó Dubhagáin.

26) See P. Walsh (ed. and trans.), *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill as Leabhar Lughaidh Uí Chléirigh*, Part I, ITS 42 (Dublin, 1948).

27) K. H. Jackson (ed.), 'The Poem *A éolcha Alban uile*', *Celtica* 3 (1956), pp. 159–67. See also K. H. Jackson (ed. and trans.), 'The Duan Albanach', *Scottish Historical Review* 36 (1957), pp. 125–37. For other editions: see J. Pinkerton, *An Enquiry into the History of Scotland II* (London, 1789), p. 321 ff.; C. O'Connor, *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*, Vol. I, Prolegomena (London, 1814), pp. cxxvi–cxxx; J. H. Todd (ed. and trans.), & A. Herbert, *Leabhar Breathnach annso sis. The Irish Version of the Historia Britonum of Nennius* (Dublin, 1848), pp. 270–87.

28) Jackson, '*A éolcha Alban uile*', p. 150.

29) *Ibid.*, p. 158.

30) *Ibid.*, p. 152.

31) *Ibid.*, p. 150.

a,³² thereby ruling out the possibility of stanzas being added by a scribe subsequent to the completion of the original composition. However, notwithstanding the possibility of the addition of stanzas by someone other than the original author, there appears to be little problem with the attribution of the poem to Gilla Cóemáin in the light of the fact that Gilla Cóemáin was alive in 1072.

The earliest extant complete copy of the poem is in Dublin, University College (UCD), Add. Irish MS 14, Mac Fhir Bhisigh's *Leabhar Genealach*, pp. 414–16.³³ The ascription is lacking in this manuscript. No manuscript dating from before the nineteenth century supports the attribution of the poem to Gilla Cóemáin. Indeed, all of the nineteenth-century manuscripts which bear this ascription are, according to Jackson, members of the same family, Jackson's *d*.³⁴ Furthermore, the ascription to Gilla Cóemáin is absent from both Céitinn's *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (1633–1634), in which lines 17–24 are given,³⁵ and from Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga* where lines 25–40 and 101–104 are quoted.³⁶ Jackson opined that the omission of any mention of Gilla Cóemáin in *Trias Thaumaturga* would suggest that Colgan was unaware of the attribution.

1.3.3 *Lebor Bretnach*

The ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* records the early history of Britain.³⁷ The text has been transmitted in various recensions.³⁸ One of these is the so-called 'Nennian' Recension. It appears to have been composed in the mid-eleventh century.³⁹ Some time in the second half of the eleventh century, the Nennian recension was translated into Middle Irish under the title *In Lebor Bretnach*.⁴⁰

32) *Ibid.*, p. 151.

33) According to Ó Muraíle, most of the *Leabhar Genealach* was written by Dubhaltach in Galway in 1649–1650, but the final ten pages constitute a separate manuscript which was written by Míchél Ó Cléirigh in Cork in July 1629. See N. Ó Muraíle, *The Celebrated Antiquary Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh* (Maynooth, 1996), p. 166.

34) Jackson, 'A eólcha Alban uile', pp. 155–56.

35) *FFÉ* I, ITS 8, p. 114.

36) J. Colgan, *Trias Thaumaturga* (Louvain, 1647), pp. 114–15.

37) For the text see T. Mommsen, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auctores Antiquissimi*, XIII (Berlin 1894–98), pp. 111–222. For an overview of the text, see D. Dumville, 'Historia Brittonum: An Insular History from the Carolingian Age', in A. Scharer & G. Scheibelreiter (ed.), *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter* (Munich, 1994), pp. 406–34.

38) D. Dumville, 'The Textual History of 'Lebor Bretnach': A Preliminary Study', *Éigse* 16 (1975–76), pp. 255–73. See p. 271 for the stemma.

39) D. Dumville, 'Nennius' and the *Historia Brittonum*', *Studia Celtica* 10/11 (1975/76), pp. 78–95: 94.

40) For the editions of the text, see J. H. Todd (ed. and trans.) & A. Herbert, *Leabhar Breathnach annso sis. The Irish Version of the Historia Brittonum of Nennius (Dublin, 1848)*; A. G. van Hamel (ed.), *Lebor Bretnach. The Irish Version of the Historia Brittonum Ascribed to Nennius, Edited from all the Manuscripts* (Dublin, 1932).

Two witnesses ascribe the translation of the text from Latin into Irish to Gilla Cóemáin. Dublin, RIA, the Book of Uí Maine [M] has the words: *Sequitur leabur bretnach. Incipit de britania airte quam nenius construxit. Gilla coemain roimpai i Scotie*.⁴¹ TCD MS 1336 (H 3.17 = H), written circa 1500, has: *Incipit de Britainia ante q'q' Nemius construxit; in puer autem Cææain conuertid i Scotig*.⁴² In this regard, note should also be made of the attribution of the *Lebor Bretnach* to Gilla Cóemáin in a passage from the Genealogies on the Saints in Laud Misc. 610: *Cairnech mac Luitheich meic Dalann meic Ithachair meic Ata. Is amlaid sin innisus Gilla Caemain i stairib na mBretnach quod do Bretnaib Cornn do 7 is uime at-berar Cornech fris*.⁴³

These ascriptions to Gilla Cóemáin have prompted various views on the authorship of the *Lebor Bretnach*. Heinrich Zimmer was the first to suggest that the Irish translation of the *Historia* had been made by Gilla Cóemáin.⁴⁴ Zimmer sparked a debate which has continued to our own day.⁴⁵ In a recent discussion of this subject, T. O. Clancy concluded that Gilla Cóemáin may have been ‘the recipient and disseminator’ of this ‘dossier’, a dossier, which he suggests ‘must have been compiled after 1058’.⁴⁶ Consideration of the ‘pros’ and ‘cons’ of the debate are beyond the scope of the current work. It will suffice to say that Gilla Cóemáin appears to have been linked with the *Lebor Bretnach* from an early period.

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- 41) Dublin, RIA, Book of Uí Maine, MS Stowe D ii 1 (# 1225), fol. 91 [35] vb (top. of col.). See K. Mulchrone, *RIA Cat. Ir. MSS*, fasc. 26, pp. 3314–3356: 3335.
- 42) Dublin, TCD MS H 3.17 (# 1336) col. 806. See T. K. Abbott & E. J. Gwynn, *Catalogue of the Irish MSS in the Library of TCD*, pp. 125–39: 136. This transcription is by D. Dumville, see ‘The Textual History of *Lebor Bretnach*’, p. 263.
- 43) D. Ó Cróinín (ed. and trans.), *The Irish Sex Aetates Mundi*, (henceforth *Irish SAM*), (Dublin, 1983), p. 50. See also Grosjean, *Irish Texts* 3 (1931), p. 97; P. Ó Riain (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, (henceforth *CGSH*), (Dublin, 1985), 381.2.
- 44) H. Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus. Über Entstehung, Geschichte und Quellen der Historia Brittonum* (Berlin, 1893), pp. 14–49. Note the statement on p. 14: ‘Wir konstatieren also zuerst: eine irische Übersetzung der *Historia Brittonum* wurde spätestens um 1071, eher früher von Gilla Coemgin angefertigt’.
- 45) R. Thurneysen, ‘Zu Nennius (Nennius)’, *ZCP* 20 (1936), pp. 97–132: 102; H. P. A. Oskamp, ‘On the Author of *Sex Aetates Mundi*’, *Studia Celtica* 3 (1968), pp. 127–40; D. Dumville, ‘The Textual History of *Lebor Bretnach*’, pp. 270, 272; D. Dumville, ‘“Nenius” and the *Historia Brittonum*’, pp. 78–95: 87–89.
- 46) T. O. Clancy, ‘Scotland, the ‘Nennian’ Recension of the *Historia Brittonum*, and the *Lebor Bretnach*’ in S. Taylor (ed.), *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland 500–1297: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson on the Occasion of her Ninetieth Birthday* (Dublin, 2000), pp. 87–107: 107.

1.3.4 *Sex Aetates Mundi*

The *Sex Aetates Mundi* presents biblical history within the framework of the Six Ages of the World.⁴⁷ Oskamp argued that the *Lebor Bretnach* and the Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi* are attributable to the same scholar, namely, Gilla Cóemáin.⁴⁸ He declared:

It seems likely, therefore that *Lebar Bretnach* in its definitive form and *Sex Aetates Mundi* were written down by Gilla Coemghin sometime during the second half of the eleventh century in the m[s] known as P in Van Hamel's stemma.⁴⁹

However, as Herbert has noted, 'All one may say at the present is that the *Irish Sex Aetates Mundi* was obviously compiled in a monastic milieu'.⁵⁰

1.4 Identity of the Poet

B. Mac Carthy in his edition of *Hériu ard inis na rríg* stated:

The author, Gilla Coemain (Devotee of St. Coeman; of, perhaps, Russagh, co. Westmeath), flourished in the second half of the eleventh century. The other chronological poem [*Annálad anall uile*] composed by him and already referred to* [Lect. I, p. 23] is dated A.D. 1072. One of the additional verses in L [= Book of Leinster] calls him son (*mac*); the B [= Book of Ballymote] copy, the grandson, or descendant (*ua*), of Gilla Samthainne — Devotee of (abbess) Samthann (ob. 739). He may thus have belonged to the Uí-Chairbre [= Cenél Coirpri]: a sept that inhabited the barony of Granard, co. Longford, in which the establishment of the saint in question is situated.⁵¹

Little can be added to what Mac Carthy has suggested regarding the identity of Gilla Cóemáin except to note that there are copious references to several saints called Cóemán, including Cóemán Brec of Ros Ech, and to Samthann in the hagiographical materials.⁵² The personal name Gilla Cóemáin does not occur in either the chronicles or in the published genealogies. Nor is the possible variant Gilla Mo-Chóemóc found in either source.

47) For the editions see, D. Ó Cróinín (ed. and trans.), *The Irish Sex Aetates Mundi*, (henceforth *Irish SAM*), (Dublin, 1983); H. L. C. Tristram, *Sex Aetates Mundi: Die Weltzeitalter bei den Angelsachsen und den Iren*, Untersuchungen und Texte (Heidelberg, 1985).

48) Oskamp, 'On the Author of *Sex Aetates Mundi*', p. 137.

49) Oskamp, *ibid.*, p. 140. According to Van Hamel (*Lebor Bretnach*, p. xvii), P is an inferred exemplar, the 'earliest stage in the evolution of *Lebor Bretnach* that can be attained from Version II, Version III and U'. Compare Van Hamel's stemma in *Lebor Bretnach*, p. xxvii with Dumville's stemma in 'The Textual History of 'Lebor Bretnach'', p. 271.

50) M. Herbert, 'The Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi*: First Editions', *CMCS* 11 (Summer, 1986), pp. 97–112: 107.

51) *CPV*, p. 98. The 'other chronological poem' to which Mac Carthy refers, *Annálad anall uile*, is edited in the present work. See III.6 and III.57.

52) *CGSH*, pp. 232, 264.

1.4 Identity of the Poet

While it is only in the final quatrain of the poem *Hériu ard inis na rríg*⁵³ that *mac/ua Gilla Samthainne* is linked with Gilla Cóemáin, all the medieval copies thereof contain the full name. I follow the testimony of our oldest witness, the Book of Leinster, in accepting the form *mac Gilla Samthainne*. It was the reference to Samthann in *Hériu ard* that led Mac Carthy to suggest a link between Gilla Cóemáin, Cenél Coirpri and Samthann's convent at Clonbroney, near Granard in Co. Longford.

Gilla Cóemáin's floruit is indicated in quatrains 6 and 57 of the poem *Annálad anall uile*, where he informs us that he is writing in the year 1072:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 6. A dó sechtmogat, séol nglan,
acht is ar míle bliádan
ó gein Críst co bliádain mbáin
sechtmaide uate Enáir. | Seventy-two years — a pure course—
save that it is in addition to a thousand years
from the birth of Christ until this year [inclusively]
on feria seven of January. |
| 57. A dó secht ndeich ar míle
ó gein Críst, cía chomríme,

cosin mblíadain-seo, cí at-ber,
i torchair Díarmait dúrgen. | Two [and] seven tens plus a thousand
from the birth of Christ — howsoever you may
compute [it] —
until this year — though I may say it —
in which resolute Díarmait fell. |

53) On the matter of the final quatrain of the L copy of the poem being in a different hand from that of the main body of the text, see *LL III*, p. 490.

2. Manuscripts and Ascriptions

2.1 *Hériu ard*

2.1.1 Medieval Manuscripts

Five medieval witnesses have been used in order to establish the text of the critical edition. These are:

L Dublin, Trinity College manuscript, H 2.18 (# 1339), *The Book of Leinster, Lebor na Núachongbála* was begun after 1151 and was finished sometime between 1201 and 1224.⁵⁴ R. I. Best suggested that this vellum manuscript was the product of a single scribe, Áed úa Crimthainn ‘despite the variety and inequality of the script’.⁵⁵ Later, William O’Sullivan argued that there were four main styles ‘of a single family’, which he labelled *A*, *F*, *T*, and *U*.⁵⁶

Hériu ard occurs on medieval fols. lxxxvi r1–lxxxvii r45 (= facsimile⁵⁷ fols. 127a1–129b45 = *LL* III, pp. 471–490). According to O’Sullivan, the opening page of the present text was written by Áed mac Meic Crimthainn (d. 1160) whom he called *A*, while the remainder of the poem and indeed the remainder of that section of *L*, including *At-tá sund* and *Annálad*, were written by an unidentified scribe whom he labelled *U*, with the exception of the final quatrain of *Hériu ard* which was added by *T*.⁵⁸ The *L* copy of *Hériu ard* contains a total of 152⁵⁹ quatrains (I.1–I.84, I.86–I.150, + I.150A¹, + I.150A², I.151)⁶⁰ including those written in the margins. It is

⁵⁴) See *Cat. of the Irish MSS in the Library of TCD*, pp. 360–364; *LL* I, p. xvii.

⁵⁵) *LL* I, Intro. p. xv.

⁵⁶) W. O’Sullivan, ‘Notes on the Scripts and Make-Up of the Book of Leinster’, *Celtica* 7 (1966), pp. 1–31, pls + tpls; esp. pp. 6–14.

⁵⁷) R. Atkinson (ed.), *Book of Leinster*, Lithographic Facsimile (Dublin, 1880).

⁵⁸) W. O’Sullivan, ‘Notes on the Book of Leinster’, p. 9.

⁵⁹) A further additional stanza, which has not been recorded in *LL* III, appears to have been written across the lower margin of p. 129. The text is almost illegible. However, the following words can be read: [Se]cht raind .víi. fi(--). fi(--). raind reil (large-scale erasure) [alionmaire lem?] (erasure) rigraide. This text is reminiscent of I.150B².

⁶⁰) On the evidence of *L*¹, Míchél Ó Cléirigh appears to have regarded Gilla Cóemáin’s ‘canonical text’ as being comprised of 151 quatrains, including the signature quatrain at the very end of

attributed to Gilla Cóemáin, not on the basis of an ascription, but rather on account of the text of I.151, the final verse, which appears on the lower margin of fol. lxxxvii r (= p. 129): *Gilla caemain cen gainne / mac gillai sár samthainne. / fáilid din gargnám rom gell / ar n-árim ardríg herenn* ‘Gilla Cóemáin without parsimony, / descendant of noble Gilla Samthainne; / joyful on account of the pleasant work which has held me in pledge, / after the enumeration of the high-kings of Ireland.’

One of the more problematic aspects of *Hériu ard* is the authenticity of this last quatrain (I.151). In contrast to the main body of the text, which has been written, initially by *A* and then by *U*, the closing quatrain in *L*, according to William O’Sullivan, is in the hand of *T*, which he has dated to 1186–1189.⁶¹ The fact that I.151 is in a later hand, though only twenty to thirty years later, may constitute grounds for challenging the authenticity of the attribution. However, the presence of a version of the signature quatrain in all extant copies of the poem⁶² suggests that I.151 is original to the text. The question remains, however, as to which version of the signature quatrain Gilla Cóemáin actually wrote. My decision to prefer *L* can only be tentative given that I.151 in *L* is in a later hand.

I suggest that the quatrain, which has here been labelled as I.150 (*Sé rí g déc sé fichit rí g*), is the penultimate quatrain. It occurs in all copies of the poem and corresponds directly to the line in Rawl. B 502 (*CGH* 136 b 33–4): *Conid iat-sain na sé rí g déc 7 na sé fichit ro fallnathar hÉrind ria cretim*.⁶³

Two extra quatrains are interpolated between I.150 and I.151. Quatrains, here labelled as I.150A¹ (*Ocht mblíadna Énna Enaig*) and I.150A² (*A()a () bi ()th na mband*) are added at the end of *L* in a later hand (p. 129, under last line of column b; and p. 130, under last line of column a respectively), presumably in an attempt to link the Uí Chennselig dynasty of the Leinster kings with the kings of Ireland. Both quatrains are omitted by Ó Cléirigh in *L*¹ (fols 107r-v).

S Dublin, RIA (Stowe) MS D i 3 (# 539) may have been written in the fourteenth century. *Hériu ard* occurs in section a, fols. 5rb29–6vb47 and on the lower margin of fol. 6v. The scribe has not yet been identified.⁶⁴ In her notes on the related manuscript, D iv 1, which is by the same hand, Mulchrone noted that ‘the handwriting has certain traits of resemblance to that of Ádham Ó Cuirnín who wrote the initial fols. of the Great Book of Lecan in 1418, the initial capitals of the two

the poem. He rejected quatrains I.150A¹ (the durations of the reigns of three Leinster Kings) and 150A² (the assertion that the three previously mentioned kings of the Laigin were also entitled to be considered amongst the kings of Ireland).

61) In response to an oral query regarding the *L* copy of *Hériu ard*, William O’Sullivan informed me that 150A¹ beginning *.Uiii. mbl-* at the bottom of column *b* is in the same hand as that of the main body of the text, whilst 150A², the quatrain that has been written across the bottom margin, is in the hand which is distinguished by an English Latin *d*, characteristic of the late thirteenth century.

62) See J. Carney, ‘The Ó Cianáin Miscellany’, *Ériu* 21 (1969), pp. 122–47.

63) *CGH*, p. 122.

64) K. Mulchrone, *RIA Cat. Ir. MSS*, fasc. 13, (Dublin, nd), pp. 1662–1671: 1662–1663.

2. Manuscripts and Ascriptions

scribes being similar.’⁶⁵ However, Mulchrone subsequently conceded the possibility that they may have been using the same exemplar.⁶⁶ According to Best, D i 3 formed part of the original or ‘true’ Yellow Book of Lecan.⁶⁷ This copy comprises 150 quatrains having omitted quatrains I.53 and I.99, and added I.149A¹. It is prefaced (fol. 5rb28) by a statement of the contents and the name of the author: *Conidh doaimse-raib ⁊ do aighedh narighsa anuas ro chan gilla cæm an airchedolsasis* ‘And it is concerning the regnal years and circumstances of the deaths of the above kings that Gilla Cóemáin sang this composition here below’.

Lc The Book of Lecan, Dublin, RIA MS 23 P 2 (# 535) was written in the early fifteenth century on vellum. *Hériu ard* appears on fols. 303ra19–304va36⁶⁸ (= facsimile fols. 302ra19–303va36). The scribe was Gilla Ísu Mac Fhir Bhisigh (d. 1417, *Annals of Connacht*).⁶⁹ The text contains 157 quatrains (151 quatrains of canonical text + I.23A, I.80A, I.92A, I.149A¹, I.149A², I.150B²). It is prefaced by an extremely faded summary of the poem and an ascription to Gilla Cóemáin: *Conadh doigedaib ⁊ daimseraib na ríge sin anuas oslaine mac dela co laegairi mac neill roim patraic do chan gilla cæmain hua gilla shamthaindi in duansa sis* ‘And it is concerning the circumstances of the deaths and the regnal years of those kings from Sláne son of Del down to Lóegaire son of Níall before Pátraic which Gilla Cóemáin grandson of Gilla Samthainne chanted this poem below’.

G Dublin, NLI MS G 2 forms part of ‘The Ó Cianáin Miscellany’ and has been dated to the fourteenth-fifteenth century. *Hériu ard* occurs on fols. 36r–43r. The scribe was Ádhamh Ó Cianáin (d. 1373, *AFM*).⁷⁰ The text contains 157 quatrains (151 quatrains of canonical text + I.23A, I.80A, I.92A, I.149A¹, I.149A², I.150B²). According to Ní Shéaghda, the ascription to *Giolla Caoimhghin*, which precedes the poem, is in the hand of Edward O’Reilly.⁷¹ It is worth quoting Carney’s remark here that ‘this MS. (G 2–3) is the earliest surviving compilation of traditional material after the Book of Leinster, and antedates considerably the Books of Lecan, Ballymote, Uí Maine etc.’⁷²

B The Book of Ballymote, Dublin, RIA MS 23 P 12 (# 536) was written in the fourteenth to fifteenth century on vellum. *Hériu ard* occurs on fols. 31rb30–33va44 (= facsimile fols. 45b28–48a43) and was copied by Robeartus Mac Sithigh, possibly

65) Ibid, p. 1658.

66) Ibid, p. 1658.

67) R.I. Best, ‘The Yellow Book of Lecan’, *JCS* 1 (1949–50), pp. 190–92.

68) This is the foliation given *recto*, upper outer corner.

69) *RIA Cat. Ir. MSS*, fasc. 13, pp. 1551–1682: 1551–1610, 1553, 1608.

70) N. Ní Shéaghda, *NLI Cat.*, fasc. 1: MSS G 1–G 14, (Dublin, 1967), pp. 12–28: esp. pp. 12–13; 22. For a detailed discussion of the manuscript and in particular the various styles of handwriting in NLI manuscripts G 2–3, which were originally a single manuscript, see J. Carney, ‘The Ó Cianáin Miscellany’, *Ériu* 21 (1969), pp. 122–47: 124 on ‘Style A’, that of Ádhamh.

71) Ní Shéaghda, *NLI Cat.*, fasc. 1, pp. 12–28: 22.

72) Carney, ‘The Ó Cianáin Miscellany’, p. 123.

as early as 1397.⁷³ There are 157 quatrains in the text (151 quatrains of canonical text + I.23A, I.80A, I.92A, I.149A¹, I.149A², I.150B²), which is preceded by the words, *Conid doaidegaibh ocus do aimsiribh na rígsa anuas rocan insencaidh .i. gilla coeman anaircetalsa sis* ‘And it is concerning the circumstances of the deaths and the regnal years of these kings above that the historian Gilla Cóemáin chanted this poetical composition’.

2.1.2 Seventeenth Century Manuscripts Referred to in the Edition

Míchél Ó Cléirigh and his associates compiled a modern recension of *LG*, embedded in which is a modern recension of *Hériu ard*. Witnesses to Ó Cléirigh’s recension have not been used in the edition.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, their extra quatrains are cited in order to provide the reader with a comprehensive picture of the tradition. The witnesses to the modern recension are:

O Dublin, RIA MS B iv 2 (# 1080). It comprises 159 quatrains (151 quatrains of canonical text + I.17A, I.23A, I.80A, I.92A, I.149A¹, I.149A², I.150B¹, I.150B²) and is written in the hand of Míchél Ó Cléirigh.⁷⁵ The text is preserved on fols. 4r–10r. The ascription reads *Gillæ Cæmháin cecinit*.

Br¹ Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 2569–72 (# 4640) dates to the early seventeenth century and is written on paper. *Hériu ard* occurs on fols. 10–15, contains 159 quatrains (151 quatrains of canonical text + I.17A, I.23A, I.80A, I.92A, I.149A¹, I.149A², I.150B¹, I.150B²) and is preceded by the words *Giolla Caomhain cecinit*. The scribe of this portion of the manuscript appears to be Míchél Ó Cléirigh.⁷⁶

⁷³) For a description of the manuscript see Mulchrone, *RIA Cat. Ir. MSS*, fasc. 13, pp. 1610–1655. On the distribution of the hands see T. Ó Concheanainn, ‘The Book of Ballymote’, *Celtica* 14 (1981), pp. 15–25: 16–19. For the dates of writing of B, see Ó Concheanainn, ‘The Book of Ballymote’, p. 20.

⁷⁴) On Míchél Ó Cléirigh et al, see N. Ó Muraíle, ‘The Autograph Manuscripts of the Annals of the Four Masters’, *Celtica* 19 (1987), pp. 75–95; P. Walsh, *The Four Masters and Their Work*, (Dublin, 1944); C. Giblin, ‘The Annals of the Four Masters’, in L. de Paor (ed.), *Great books of Ireland*, (Dublin, 1967), pp. 90–103, repr. in B. Millett & A. Lynch (ed.), *Dún Mhuire, Killiney, 1945–95* (Dublin, 1995), pp. 135–43; B. Ó Buachalla, ‘Annála Ríoghachta Éireann is Foras Feasa ar Éirinn: an Comhthéacs Comhaimseartha’, *Studia Hibernica* 22–3 (1982–3), pp. 59–105; B. Jennings, *Michael Ó Cléirigh, Chief of the Four Masters and his Associates*, (Dublin, 1936); P. Walsh, ‘The Work of a Winter’, *Catholic Bulletin* 28 (1938), pp. 226–34; P. Walsh, *The Ó Cléirigh Family of Tír Chonaill* (Dublin, 1938); P. Walsh, ‘The Four Masters’, *The Irish Book Lover* 22 (1934), pp. 128–31; P. Walsh, ‘The Convent of Donegal 1632–36’, *The Irish Book Lover* 23 (1935), pp. 109–115; A. Boyle, ‘Fergal Ó Gadhra and the Four Masters’, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5th ser, 100 (1963), pp. 100–14.

⁷⁵) FitzPatrick, *RIA Cat. Ir. MSS*, fasc. 24, pp. 3021–3029: 3022, 3023.

⁷⁶) In Todd’s account of the Brussels manuscripts (*PRIA* 3 (1845–47), pp. 477–502: 482), he described this manuscript as a ‘small quarto, containing poems in the Irish character and language, some in the handwriting of Michael O’Clery, others, — the greater part, I may say, — in another hand, with corrections, or rather annotations of O’Clery, appearing here and there

2. Manuscripts and Ascriptions

Br² Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 2569–72 (# 4640), apparently dates to the seventeenth century, and is written on paper. Fols. 149–59 of this manuscript contain a second copy of *Hériu ard*. The text has 159 quatrains (151 quatrains of canonical text + I.17A*, I.23A, I.80A, I.92A, I.149A¹, I.149A², I.150B^{1*}, I.150B²)⁷⁷ and bears the ascription *Giolla Caomhaoin cecinit*.⁷⁸ The separate pagination of these folios may imply that this material was originally bound separately from that contained in Br¹. D. Mc Carthy has suggested to me that this copy of *Hériu ard* may be associated with Seoirse Díolmháin, testator of *GSRH*.

P Dublin, NLI (Phillipps 17082) MS G 131 was written in the early seventeenth century on paper. The manuscript bears no date or inscription. The relevant portion appears to be in the hand of Cúchoigríche Ó Cléirigh.⁷⁹ Ní Shéaghda remarked that ‘It may be noted that this manuscript has much in common with Royal Irish Academy B iv 2 — a compilation by Mícheál Ó Cléirigh’.⁸⁰ *Hériu ard* occurs on pp. 57–68 (= fols. 31r–36v) contains 159 quatrains (151 quatrains of canonical text + I.17A, I.23A, I.80A, I.92A, I.149A¹, I.149A², I.150B¹, I.150B²)⁸¹ and bears the ascription, *Giolla Cæmáin*.

K Dublin, RIA MS 23 K 32 (# 617) bears neither a date nor a signature, but appears to have been written in the early seventeenth century by Cúchoigríche Ó Cléirigh (*floruit* c.1630).⁸² *Hériu ard* occurs on pp. 164–173 (= fols. 82v11–87r26), contains 159 quatrains (151 quatrains of canonical text + I.17A, I.23A, I.80A, I.92A, I.149A¹, I.149A², I.150B¹, I.150B²) and is prefaced by the words: *As donagabalaibh et dona riogaibh roghab ere cohaimsir chreidme do righne an senauctor oirrderc giolla cæmhain an duanso sios* ‘It is concerning the invasions and the kings who took possession of Ireland until the time of [the coming of] the Faith’ that the illustrious ancient author Gilla Cóemáin made this poem below’.

C Dublin, Royal Irish Academy MS C iv 3 (# 1192), was written by Dáibhidhe Ó Duibhgeannáin (*floruit* c.1650)⁸³ on paper. *Hériu ard* occurs on fols. 74v12–79v29, contains 159 quatrains (151 quatrains of canonical text + I.17A, I.23A,

through them’. Todd adds that in one colophon the place of writing is given as the convent of Donegal, and the date as November, 1635. The existence of these copies of the poem was also noted by Plummer in the Addenda to his unprinted *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, see typed copy in the Library, DIAS, p. 175. See J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, vol. 7 (Brussels, 1907), pp. 46–48: 46.

77) I.17A and 150B¹ have been added in the lower margin of Br², apparently in another hand.

78) See Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, vol. 7, (Brussels, 1907), pp. 46–48: 48.

79) Ní Shéaghda, *NLI Cat.*, fasc. 4, (Dublin, 1977), pp. 51–56: 51–53.

80) Ní Shéaghda, *NLI Cat.*, fasc. 4, p. 52.

81) I80A has been added in right margin of P.

82) Mulchrone, *RIA Cat. Ir. MSS*, fasc. 16, (Dublin, 1935), pp. 1939–1945.

83) Mulchrone, *RIA Cat. Ir. MSS*, fasc. 26, pp. 3221–3233: 3221–3222, 3227.

I.80A, I.92A, I.149A¹, I.149A², I.150B¹, I.150B²), and is preceded by the statement: *As dona gabhalaibh et dona rioghaibh rogabh ere co haimsir creidmhe do righne an sen auctor oirrderc Giolla Caomhain an duan so sios* ‘It is concerning the invasions and the kings who took possession of Ireland until the time [of the coming] of the Faith that the illustrious ancient author Gilla Cóemáin made this poem below’.

2.1.3 Dependent Copies

L¹ Dublin, RIA, MS B iv 2 (# 1080) was written by Míchél Ó Cléirigh in the seventeenth century (1627–1628) on paper. The manuscript was in the possession of Roderic O’Flaherty in 1672 and had passed into the possession of Charles O’Conor by 1768. A copy of the L version of *Hériu ard*, comprising 150 quatrains, is preserved on fols. 101r–107v. It ends with the words *Sliocht liubhair na húa chongbala* [sic].

2.1.4 Lost Medieval Manuscripts

In the preface to his edition of *Hériu ard*, Macalister states: ‘L 196 (facsimile p. 127a) printed in Mac Carthy’s *Codex Palatino-Vaticanus*, pp. 142 ff.: B 31 (facs. 45) b 28; M: Book of Lecan, 303 a 19. Also in V: Stowe D i 3’. In *LG V*, p. 489, note 13.2, beginning at quatrain 13, Macalister introduces variant readings from a further manuscript which he labels ‘D’. When the ‘Table of Abbreviations and Critical Symbols’ is checked in *LG I*, p. vi, it will be seen that D represents Stowe D iv 3 (# 1224). However, the relevant description by K. Mulchrone⁸⁴ makes no reference to this poem. Subsequent checking of the manuscript itself also confirmed that the poem is not preserved in this manuscript as it now survives.

2.1.5 Ascriptions

Out of the total of fifty extant copies of the poem, thirty-six actually bear an initial ascription to Gilla Cóemáin. L bears a signature quatrain in a late twelfth-century hand on the lower margin of fol. 129b45.⁸⁵

Redaction 1 (R1/recension *a*) and Míngud (*m*) of *LG* provide evidence for Gilla Cóemáin’s authorship of *Hériu ard*. L, the earliest witness to R1, contains the lines: *Is do amseraib ⁊ do aidaib na rígasain ro chan in senchaid .i. Gilla Coemain Heriu ard inis na ríg/magen molbthach ⁊c.*⁸⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library manuscript, Rawlinson B 512, (R) in which is preserved a fourteenth-fifteenth-century copy of the Míngud recension, incorporates the same words on fol. 97rb12.

⁸⁴) Mulchrone, *Irish MSS in the RIA*, fasc. 26, pp. 3307–3313.

⁸⁵) See *LL III*, p. 490.

⁸⁶) Scowcroft has ‘tentatively’ proposed ‘for a *terminus post quem* of 1122’ in ‘*Leabhar Gabhála* — Part I’, p. 130.

Outside of the *Lebor Gabála* tradition, evidence for Gilla Cóemáin's authorship of *Hériu ard* is to be found in the Book of Lismore version of *Suidigud Tellaich Temra* which states '...⁷ do réir Gilla Chaomain isan Eriu aird'⁸⁷

2.2 *At-tá sund*

2.2.1 Medieval Manuscripts Used in the Edition

Three medieval witnesses have been used in order to establish the text of the critical edition. These are:

L *At-tá sund* occurs on medieval fols. lxxxxvii *rb* 46–lxxxxvii *vb* 20 (facsimile pp. 129b46–130b20 = *LL* III, pp. 491–95). The ascription *Gilla Coemain cecinit* appears on fol. lxxxxvii (129b46 = *LL* III, p. 491, line 15258).

M The Book of Uí Maine, Dublin, RIA MS D ii 1 (# 1225), was written in the fourteenth to fifteenth century (1392–1407) on vellum.⁸⁸ *At-tá sund* occurs on fols. 82 [141] *v* 32–83 [142] *ra* 54; fol. 82 [141] is a single column. The scribe was Adam Cusin.⁸⁹ This copy contains 37 quatrains and bears no ascription or preface.

R Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. B 512 (# 11859) was written in the late fifteenth century to early sixteenth century.⁹⁰ Best suggested that Maelechlainn (fol. 2*rb*34–5), the scribe of the relevant section of the manuscript, is to be identified with a Maelechlainn Ua Maoilchonaire who died while on 'bardic circuit' in 1489 according to *AFM*.⁹¹ *At-tá sund* occurs on new Bodleian folios 3 *r* [118] a 1–3 *v* [119] b4.⁹² This copy contains 37 quatrains and does not bear an ascription.

⁸⁷) R. I. Best, 'The Settling of the Manor of Tara', *Ériu* 4 (1910), pp. 121–72: 144–45, § 22, note 19. This reference is absent from the YBL copy upon which Best based his edition. See *ibid.*, p. 144.

⁸⁸) Mulchrone, *RIA Cat. Ir. MSS*, fasc. 26, pp. 3314–3356: 3342.

⁸⁹) W. O'Sullivan, 'The Book of Uí Maine, formerly the Book of Ó Dubhagáin: Scripts and Structure', *Éigse* 23 (1989), pp. 151–166: 155, note 25; 164. See also N. Ó Muraíle, 'Leabhar Ua Maine alias Leabhar Uí Dhubhagáin', *Éigse* 23 (1989), pp. 167–95.

⁹⁰) As noted above, the opening lines of *Hériu ard* are cited on fol. 97*rb*12 of this manuscript in the context of the *Mínugud* recension (*m*) of *LG*. This particular copy of the *Mínugud* generally only gives the first quatrain of each poem.

⁹¹) For a full description of the manuscript, see B. Ó Cuív (comp.), *Catalogue of Irish MSS in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and Oxford College Libraries* (Dublin, 2001), pp. 223–254: 230. See also R. I. Best, 'Notes on Rawlinson B 512', *ZCP* 17 (1928), pp. 389–402: 397, note 1 and also pp. 390–395 for a list of contents of the manuscript. For the background to the manuscript, see F.J. Byrne, *A Thousand Years of Irish Script* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 27–28.

⁹²) F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of the Western MSS in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, Vol. III (Oxford, 1895), p. 203. See Ó Cuív, *Catalogue of Irish Language MSS at Oxford*, p. 239.

2.2.2 Manuscripts not Used in the Edition

U Dublin, RIA MS B iv 1 b (# 1269). This collection of fragments of loose paper and vellum manuscripts is preserved in box-cover.⁹³ A copy of *At-tá sund* is contained in Section 3, which the RIA Catalogue describes as, ‘a miscellaneous collection of nineteen damaged vellum fols.’⁹⁴ Mulchrone and FitzPatrick do not specify either the date or the provenance of Section 3. Fragment F of Section 3 contains the biblical passage which introduces *Lebor Gabála* together with 30½ quatrains of our poem. R. M. Scowcroft has recently catalogued this material in much greater detail than was originally the case and alerted me to the existence of this copy of *At-tá sund*. The folios have been badly damaged and the writing is in many places illegible. This witness has therefore been of very limited use for the purpose of the critical edition and has only occasionally been drawn upon.

L¹ Dublin, RIA, MS B iv 2 (# 1080). The L version of *At-tá sund*, comprising 37 quatrains, is given on fols. 107v9–109r20⁹⁵ and bears an ascription to Gilla Cóemáin. The text is followed by the words: *sliocht leabhair na hua congbhala* (fol. 109r22).

2.2.3 Seventeenth Century Manuscripts Referred to in the Edition

A small number of copies of *At-tá sund* were written by Ó Cléirigh’s circle. These have been largely discounted as they are of limited independent value in establishing the text of the critical edition. These are:

P Dublin, NLI (Phillipps 17082) MS G 131. *At-tá sund* is on pages 69–71, contains 38 quatrains and is preceded by the words: *Giolla Caomhain amal atbeir leabhar na húa chongbhala*. ‘Gilla Cóemáin as *Leabhar na Nuachongbhála* says’.

K Dublin, RIA MS 23 K 32 (# 617). *At-tá sund* occurs on pp. 236.–238.⁹⁶ This copy contains 38 quatrains and bears an ascription to Gilla Cóemáin: *Giolla caemain rochan indan so dona riograd cetrnasin ro gabsat righe Ereand ier ccreidim* ‘Gilla Cóemáin chanted this poem concerning that same group of kings who took possession of the kingship of Ireland after [the coming of] the Faith’.

C Dublin, Royal Irish Academy MS C iv 3 (# 1192). *At-tá sund* is on fols. 114vi–116,⁹⁷ contains 38 quatrains and bears the ascription: *Giolla Caomhain rochan an dúan so dona riogradh cetrnasin rogabhsat rige erend iar ccreidemh* ‘Gilla Cóemáin chanted this poem concerning that same group of kings who took possession of the kingship of Ireland after [the coming of] the Faith’.

⁹³) K. Mulchrone & E. FitzPatrick, *RIA Cat. Ir. MSS*, fasc. 27 (Dublin, 1943), pp. 3486–3489: 1269.

⁹⁴) Mulchrone & FitzPatrick, *ibid.*, pp. 3486–3488: 3487.

⁹⁵) E. FitzPatrick, *RIA Cat. Ir. MSS*, fasc. 24 (Dublin, 1940), pp. 3021–3029: 3026.

⁹⁶) K. Mulchrone, *RIA Cat. Ir. MSS*, fasc. 16, pp. 1939–1945: 1939.

⁹⁷) K. Mulchrone, *RIA Cat. Ir. MSS*, fasc. 26, pp. 3221–3223: 3221.

2.2.4 Ascriptions

L bears an ascription to Gilla Cóemáin,⁹⁸ as do three seventeenth-century copies of the poem (PKC). The ascription in B iv 2 [L¹] has no independent value. Only the Book of Uí Maine [M] and Rawlinson B 512 [R] lack the ascription. Thus, of the six manuscripts copied before 1700, four bear the ascription to Gilla Cóemáin. Charles O’Conor was responsible for substituting the name of Conaing Ua Maoil Chonaire for that of Gilla Cóemáin in C, a manuscript in the hand of Dáibhidh Ó Duibhgeanán.⁹⁹ In accepting Ua Maoil Chonaire as the author of *At-tá sund*, O’Conor may have had no authority other than that of O’Flaherty who also ascribed *At-tá sund* to Conaing Ua Maoil Chonaire on p. 2 of *Ogygia* and there quoted the first quatrain of the poem.

The precise identity of Conaing Ua Maoil Chonaire is unclear. While there is no obit in the annals for a Conaing Ua Maoil Chonaire, we know that a Tanaidhe Mór son of Duinín son of Néide son of Conaing Buide Ua Maoil Chonaire was installed as *ollam* of Connacht in AD 1270 and died in AD 1310 according to the *Annals of Loch Cé*.¹⁰⁰ The grandfather of Conaing Buide was Conaing Éolach.¹⁰¹ A *file* named Néide Ua Maoil Chonaire is cited in the *Annals of Connacht* under the year 1224. 2,¹⁰² and the obit of a *senchaidh* called Néide Ua Maoil Chonaire is recorded under the year 1136 in *AFM*.¹⁰³ It must be emphasised, however, that there is no evidence to suggest that the Conaing Buide Ua Maoil Chonaire of the above surname is to be identified with the Conaing Ua Maoil Chonaire of this particular ascription.

Of the thirteen manuscripts copied after 1700, seven bear no ascription; three ascriptions manuscripts contain ascriptions to Conaing Ua Maoil Chonaire; three to Gilla Cóemáin; and a single manuscript, RIA MS E vi 2 (# 237), p. 328, has an implausible ascription to Seaán Ua Dubhagáin (d. 1372).¹⁰⁴

The attribution to Gilla Cóemáin in L, copied some eighty years after his *floruit*, and the corresponding ascription in the majority of medieval and early modern witnesses, constitute strong evidence in support of his authorship.

⁹⁸) See *LL* III, p. 491, line 15259.

⁹⁹) Mulchrone, *RIA Cat. Ir. MSS*, fasc. 26 (Dublin, 1943), p. 3328.

¹⁰⁰) W. Hennessy (ed. and trans.), *Annals of Loch Cé* I (London, 1871), p. 468, s. *anno* 1270; I, p. 550, s. *anno* 1310.

¹⁰¹) G. Mac Eoin, ‘The Interpolator H in Lebor na hUidre’, in J. P. Mallory and G. Stockman (ed.), *Ulidia*, Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales, (Belfast, 1994), pp. 39–46: 44.

¹⁰²) A. Martin Freeman, *Annála Connacht* (1944; Dublin 1996), p. 4.

¹⁰³) *AFM* II, p. 1054, s. *anno* 1136.

¹⁰⁴) On the association of Seaán Mór Ó Dubhagáin with *At-tá sund*, see N. Ó Muraíle, ‘Leabhar Ua Maine alias Leabhar Uí Dhubhagáin’, *Éigse* 23 (1989), pp. 167–95: 192–93, note 68.

2.3 *Annálad anall uile*

2.3.1 Medieval Manuscripts

Four medieval witnesses allow us to establish the text of the edition. These are:

L Book of Leinster. *Annálad* is preserved on medieval fols. lxxxxvii b 21–lxxxxviii b 33 (= facsimile, pp. 130b21–131b33 = *LL* III, pp. 496–503). This copy contains 58 quatrains. The poem is preceded by the words *Gilla Coemain cecinit* (p. 130 b 21 = *LL* III, p. 496, line 15407).

M The Book of Uí Maine, Dublin, RIA MS D ii 1 (# 1225). *Annálad* is preserved on fol. 115 [174] ra 1–115 [174] va 8 and was copied by Adam Cusin, possibly not later than 1405. The text contains 58 quatrains and bears no ascription.

Ld Leabhar na Rátha, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS, Laud Miscellany 610 (Arch. F. C. 30) (# 1858) was written in the fifteenth century on vellum. According to Ó Cuív,¹⁰⁵ the volume comprises parts of two manuscripts: the Book of the White Earl (Séamus mac Séamuis Buitilléar, the Fourth Earl of Ormond), which was written between c.1410 and 1452; and the book of Éamonn mac Risteard Buitilléar, (nephew of the White Earl), which was written in 1453–54.¹⁰⁶ Anne and William O’Sullivan suggested that Éamonn’s portion of the manuscript, together with the Book of the White Earl, became known as *Leabhar na Rátha* ‘The Book of Pottelrath’.¹⁰⁷ *Annálad* belongs to Edmund Butler’s manuscript and is on fols. 33r1–33v31 and in the lower margin.¹⁰⁸

In his analysis of the handwriting of the scribes, Dillon merely stated that fols. 29vb–33v were in ‘various hands’.¹⁰⁹ In subsequent research, the O’Sullivans labelled the scribe of fols. 33r–33v, part of Section 4 of the manuscript, as *G*, namely, Gilla na Naemh Mac Aedhagáin.¹¹⁰ The poem contains 57 quatrains. It bears no ascription.

¹⁰⁵ Ó Cuív, *Catalogue of Irish Language MSS at Oxford*, pp. 62–87: 62.

¹⁰⁶ M. Dillon, ‘Laud Misc. 610’, *Celtica* 5 (1960), pp. 64–76: 64. Dillon (p. 64) states, ‘Except for two sections (ff. 59–72 and 123–146), the manuscript was written in 1453–54’. See also M. Dillon, ‘Laud Misc. 610 Contd.’, *Celtica* 6 (1963), pp. 135–55. A. and W. O’Sullivan, ‘Three Notes on Laud. Misc. 610 (Or the Book of Pottelrath)’, *Celtica* 9 (1971), pp. 135–51: 142.

¹⁰⁷ For the name of the Book, see inscription xciii in Dillon’s list of inscriptions in *Celtica* 6 (1963), pp. 135–55. See also A. and W. O’Sullivan, ‘Three Notes on Laud. Misc. 610’, pp. 137–38; and M. Dillon, ‘Laud Misc. 610’, p. 70.

¹⁰⁸ Ó Cuív, *Catalogue of Irish Language MSS at Oxford*, p. 80.

¹⁰⁹ Dillon, ‘Laud Misc. 610’, p. 70.

¹¹⁰ See A. and W. O’Sullivan, ‘Three Notes on Laud. Misc. 610’, p. 140, note 20 + plate 1.

R Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. B 512 (# 11859). *Annálad* occurs on fols. 3vb4–4rb28¹¹¹ and contains only 33 quatrains. Neither *At-tá sund* nor *Annálad* is preceded by an ascription or preface.

2.3.2 Manuscripts Not Used in the Edition

In attempting to establish the text of our critical edition of *Annálad*, two manuscripts from the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries have been discounted because they are of little or no independent value. These are:

T Book of Leinster: Dublin, Trinity College MS H. 2.18 (# 1339). *Annálad anall uile* is a folio which bears the number '12' but is actually bound as folio 294r of the Book of Leinster (= facsimile, pp. 395a17–395b52). According to Myles Dillon, the manuscript belongs to the sixteenth century.¹¹² The scribe of the manuscript remains unidentified. The poem contains 51 and $\frac{3}{4}$ quatrains and bears no ascription.

L¹ Dublin, RIA, MS B iv 2 (# 1080). A copy of the L version of *Annálad*, comprising 58 quatrains, occurs on fols. 109v–112. *Annálad* is preceded by the words *Gillae Coemain cecinit* and is followed by the note, *As leabhar na huacongabhála do sccriobhadh* (fol. 110v, lower margin).

2.3.4 A Seventeenth Century fragment

Br¹ Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 2569–72 (# 4640). A fragment comprising five quatrains of *Annálad* is also on fol. 15 of this manuscript. The fragment is preceded by the words *Giolla caomhain cecinit*.

2.3.5 Ascriptions

The poem is not found in *LG*. A total of thirteen copies of the poem appear to have survived. Of the six copies written before 1700, only two, L and its derivative L¹ bear an ascription to Gilla Cóemáin. The other four medieval copies of the poem are unattributed. Of the seven modern copies of the poem, only one, RIA MS 23 M 17, bears no ascription. The other six copies are ascribed to Gilla Cóemáin. The important statistics here are obviously those for the period before 1700, as the ascription in the later manuscripts has probably been derived from L.

In conclusion, the absence of the ascription to Gilla Cóemáin from copies MLdRT of the poem should not be taken as an indication of the unreliability of the ascription in L. This may be merely a reflection of the reduced status of the poem in the light of a changed political environment.

¹¹¹) Madan, *A Summary Catalogue*, p. 203. See Ó Cuív, *Catalogue of Irish Language MSS at Oxford*, p. 239.

¹¹²) M. Dillon (ed. and trans.), *Lebor na Cert: The Book of Rights*, ITS 46 (Dublin, 1962), Appendix A, *Timna Cathair Máir*, pp. 148–49.

3. Examination of the Manuscripts and Relationship of the Manuscripts

3.1 Introduction

The witnesses to the manuscript tradition of our poems have been examined with a view to identifying conjunctive and separative errors which will enable us to establish how those witnesses are related.

Martin West has defined ‘errors’ as ‘readings of secondary origin’ that is to say ‘corruptions and emendations’ that could not have been produced by two scribes working independently.¹¹³ Among the ways that ‘textual discrepancy’ can arise is by authorial revision after the first draft of the text has gone into circulation; revision aimed at ‘improvement’ by scholars other than the author (e.g. recension *z* of *Hériu ard*); orthographical modernization (e.g. Br¹ copy of *Hériu ard*); substitution of one word for another or addition of one word to another by mental association (e.g. LS, I.144b); unwitting transposition of word order in a phrase or line (e.g. LdM, III.37b); banalization of the text (e.g. L, II.24b); the influence of glosses; psychological errors such as haplography, dittography (e.g. S, I.143a), and simple omission (e.g. S, I.148c); misreading of letters and words (e.g. L, I.144d); and incorrect expansion of abbreviations (e.g. S, I.143c).¹¹⁴ I have hitherto encountered no evidence to suggest that Gilla Cóemáin revised sections of his poems after composition. However, that possibility cannot be ruled out.

Conjunctive Errors and Separative Errors

While errors that are unique to a specific manuscript are of limited value in establishing the history of the transmission of a text, they nevertheless allow us to assess the overall reliability of a manuscript. Having thus established the relative authority of any given manuscript, we may locate the witness at a level in the *stemma codicum* and in a sequence in the critical apparatus that is commensurate with that manuscript’s authority within the tradition.

¹¹³) M. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts*, (Stuttgart, 1973), p. 32.

¹¹⁴) The above summarizes the main kinds of ‘textual discrepancy’ as outlined by M. West as far as they may have affected our texts. See West, *Textual Criticism*, pp. 15–29.

For the sake of the present study seven kinds of scribal errors are distinguished: (1) spelling errors arising from miscopying; (2) metrical errors whereby one or more syllable is omitted or added in contravention of the prescribed syllable count; (3) computistic errors that can be confirmed by using external controls;¹¹⁵ (4) material errors which make incorrect statements of fact; (5) mechanical errors which have arisen from transposition of quatrains / lines / words or from the failure to expand an abbreviation correctly, or at all; (6) the omission of original quatrains; and (7) the interpolation of additional quatrains that can be proved to be extraneous to the archetype.¹¹⁶

I have tabulated the errors in the various witnesses to the manuscript traditions of our three poems below.¹¹⁷

3.2 *Hériu ard*: Examination of the Witnesses

On the basis of the features listed below we can establish the various families of manuscripts in which *Hériu ard* has been transmitted.

Conjunctive Errors, Additional Quatrains and Conjunctive Errors in OBr¹Br²PKC

I have only managed to identify two significant demonstrable errors in this group:

- (1) I.20c Gand, Genand marba de thám] Gann, Genann marb do tamh (6 syllables)
- (2) I.24 & I.25 have been transposed.

The manuscripts in this group contain eight additional quatrains:

- (1) I.17A (number of years from Flood to the beginning of the reign of the Fir Bolg)
- (2) I.23A (names of men who first committed regicide by weapon-point)
- (3) I.80A (Fiachu mac Muiredaig's reign)
- (4) I.92A (Badbhcadh's reign) [I.149 Nath Í's reign]
- (5) I.149A¹ (Láegaire's pre-Patrician regnal years)
- (6) I.149A² (Patrick's arrival among the Ulaid) [I.150 total number of pre-Christian kings of Ireland]

¹¹⁵) Errors involving computation fall into the most subjective category. It should be remembered that the medieval scribes with which we are dealing undoubtedly had sources that are no longer extant.

¹¹⁶) It must be conceded that such distinctions are largely 'artificial' to the extent that there is a constant overlapping of the various kinds of error. Nevertheless, these categories help us to distinguish between fairly simple metrical errors whereby a syllable is dropped or added and can easily be reinserted, and more serious errors such as material errors where a piece of information is factually wrong.

¹¹⁷) For a similar approach, see G. Hemprich, 'Das Gedicht *A éigsi Banba na mbend* von Giolla Íosa Mac Fírbhisigh (gest. 1301) und die irische Réim ríoghraidhe-Tradition', in H. Birkhan (ed.), *Kelten-Einfälle an der Donau*, Akten des Vierten Symposiums deutschsprachiger Keltologinnen und Keltologen, (Vienna, 2007), pp. 255–278: 259–61.

- (7) I.150B¹ (total numbers of years from the arrival of Fir Bolg until the advent of Patrick)
- (8) I.150B² (total number of quatrains) [I.151 signature quatrain].

Separative Errors in OBr¹Br²PKC:

- (1) original omission of I.17A in Br²; quatrain added later in lower margin (p. 149/ fol. 94r) in Br²
- (2) original omission of I.45 in Br²; quatrain added later in lower margin (fol. 95r) in Br²
- (3) Br² transposes quatrains I.63 and I.64
- (4) original omission of I.80A in P; added later right margin (p. 63)
- (5) original omission of I.85 in OBr²P; quatrain added later in lower margin in O (fol. 7r) and in Br² (p. 154/fol. 96r); added right margin P (p. 63)
- (6) original omission of I.150B¹ in Br²; quatrain added later in lower margin in Br² (p. 159/fol. 99r)
- (7) sequence of final quatrains in Br¹ and Br² is [149], 149A¹, [150], I.149A², I.150B¹ (added lower margin of p. 159/fol. 99r in Br², with insertion mark in left margin of text), 150B², [151].

Errors and Additional Quatrains in B

B has ten demonstrable errors:

- (1) I.20c Gand, Genand marba de thám] *gann geanand marbh do thamh* (6 syllables, also in OBr¹Br²PKC)
- (2) I.24 and I.25 transposed (as in LcG; transposition indicated in B by use of letters A and B)
- (3) I.34c lethbliadain a flaith, nír mór] *leit b. a flaithus nír lor* (8 syllables, also in G)
- (4) I.35b a deich remes in rolaích] *a .x. remes irolaich* (mechanical error, also in G)
- (5) I.70d fúair ing éca mac Áedáin] *fuair i .c.na mac ædhan* (material error, also in SLcG)
- (6) I.80b bliadain a cóic i Caíndruim] *bl- ar a .u. i cændruim* (8 syllables)
- (7) I.103a Dá bliadain fo thrí i tuilg thé] *Se bl- fo tri i tuil te* (spelling error, also in G)
- (8) I.120a Eterscél fer ríгда in raith] *Fuair eterscel i roid raith* (mechanical error, also in G)
- (9) I.128b d'Hérind fo ríagail Fíatach] *derind fa ragail fiatach* (spelling error).
- (10) I.145b Fíachach] *fiachra* (spelling error, also in G)

There are six additional quatrains in B which occur in sequence:

- (1) I.23A (names of men who first committed regicide by weapon-point)

- (2) I.80A (Fiachu mac Muiredaig's reign)
- (3) I.92A (Badbhcadh's reign)
- (4) I.149A¹ (Láegaire's pre-Patrician regnal years)
[I.150 total number of kings]
- (5) I.149A² (Patrick's arrival among the Ulaid)
- (6) I.150B² (total number of quatrains)
[I.151 signature quatrain].

Errors and Additional Quatrains in G

There are nine demonstrable errors in G:

- (1) I.4d marb de chumaid a óenmeic] *marbh do cumaidh ænmeic* (6 syllables)
- (2) I.24 & I.25 transposed (as in LcB)
- (3) I.34c lethblíadain a flaith, nír mór] *leth .b. aflaitheus nírlor* (8 syllables, also in B)
- (4) I.35b a deich remes in rolaích] a .x. *remheas irolaich* (mechanical error, also in B)
- (5) I.70d fúair ing éca mac Áedáin] *fuair i .c.na mac ædhain* (material error also in SLcG)
- (6) I.103a Dá bliadain fo thrí] Se .b. *fotri* (computistic error, also in B)
- (7) I.103a i tuilg thé] *ituilte* (spelling error, also in B)
- (8) I.127b fiche ocus a dó a daglind] *.xí. adeghlind = a dó déc a deglind* (6 syllables)
- (9) I.145b Fíachach] *fiachra* (spelling error, also in B).

G has the same additional quatrains in the same sequence as those found in B.

Errors and Additional Quatrains in Lc

There are only five errors in Lc:

- (1) I.6b trí cét blíadan baí i nHérind] *tri .c. bl- re ndilind* (material error: *ré* instead of *íar*)
- (2) I.23c 's é sin cétrí do rind] *coro marbsad in rig* (6 syllables)
- (3) I.24 & I.25 transposed (as in GB)
- (4) I.76b secht mblíadna a cóic ro cháemchaith] *rochaith ceithri certh .u. mb. = ro chaith ceithre certchóic mblíadan* (8 syllables)
- (5) I.117b do mac Rossa i rígbethaid] *do mac cais co rigbreathaib* (material error).

There are six additional quatrains in Lc in this order:

- (1) I.23A (names of men who first committed regicide by weapon-point)
- (2) I.80A (Fiachu mac Muiredaig's reign)

- (3) I.92A (Badbhadh's reign)
- (4) I.149A¹ (Láegaire's pre-Patrician regnal years)
[I.150 total number of kings]
- (5) I.150B² (total number of quatrains)
- (6) I.149A² (arrival of Patrick among the Ulaid)
[I.151 signature quatrain].

Errors and Additional Quatrains in S

There are thirteen errors in S:

- (1) I.13a Cóc rí rissin muriucht mass] Coíc rí riasan muiriucht (6 syllables)
- (2) I.43d i cath Slébi Belgadain] a cath sleib belgadain (6 syllables)
- (3) I.53 omitted S
- (4) I.70d fúair ing éca mac Áedáin] fuair *in* cetna mac ædain (material error, also in LcGB)
- (5) I.87a Áed mac Badairn ós Banba] Æd mac badairnd osbadhairnd osbanba (9 syllables)
- (6) I.99 omitted
- (7) I.128a Trí bliadna ríge co rrath] Da bl-. bliadain bl- cen brath = Dá bliadain bliadain bliadain cen brath (9 syllables)
- (8) I.143a Aided Fothaid iar fingail] Aighedh fothaigh iarfothaig iar fingail (9 syllables)
- (9) I.143c Fíacha] fiachra (material error) S
- (10) I.144b i cath Chommair] i cath dub comair la colla (8 syllables)
- (11) I.148c ní dalb ós Muir Icht elach] ni dalb os muir nelach (6 syllables)
- (12) I.150c dar éis Sláne na ngal ngrind] ota slang na ngal ngrind (6 syllables)
- (13) I.151a Gilla Cóemáin cen gainne] Giolla [added in lower marg. by later hand ?] Caomhain conhlain (6 syllables).

There is only one additional quatrain in S:

[I.150 total number of kings]

- (1) I.149A¹ (Lóegaire's regnal years)
[I.151 signature quatrain].

Errors and Additional Quatrains in L

There are twenty-five demonstrable errors in L:

- (1) I.9a Lecht Stairn isin debaid duind] Lecht stairn sin debaid duind (6 syllables)
- (2) I.11 & I.12 have been tranposed
- (3) I.15d gabsat in Irrus Domnand] gabsat irrus datta domnand (8 syllables)
- (4) I.23c 's é sin cétrí do rind] é sin cétrí do rind (6 syllables)

- (5) I.28d cor marb Éogan airdInbir] coros *marb eogan ardinbir* (8 syllables)
- (6) I.31b d'Érimón d'Éber foltcháem] dhérimón is déb- foltchaem (8 syllables)
- (7) I.47a Ré cóic cóic mblíadan co mblaid] Ré *chóic mbl-* co *mblaid* (6 syllables)
- (8) I.47d i Crúachain cétna Connacht] *issin chruachain cetna connacht* (8 syllables)
- (9) I.48c nír maith in mac mílib tor] *niru maith in mac mílib tor* (8 syllables)
- (10) I.49a Sé bliadna déc 's a cethair] Xui. bl- fa *chethair* (computistic error)
- (11) I.49b flaithus Fíachach fíalchrechaig] *flaith fiach- fialchrechaig* (6 syllables)
- (12) I.58c fúair a aidid la Sírna] *fúair aided la sírna* (6 syllables)
- (13) I.60c aided Sírna co slechtaib] *aided sirna slechtaib* (6 syllables)
- (14) I.85 has been omitted
- (15) I.92a Úgaine móрмаith, míad nglan] *Ugaine maith miad nglan* (6 syllables)
- (16) I.97b mac meic Rechtada Rígeirg] *mac meic rectaid rígeirg* (6 syllables)
- (17) I.103a Dá bliadain fo thrí i tuilg thé] *Deich mbl-* fo trí i tuilg te (computistic error)
- (18) I.112a Fintait Már a mMumain maith] *In fintait már a mmumain maith* (8 syllables)
- (19) I.128b d'Hérind fo ríagail Fíatach] *derind fo nirt fiach* (erasure) ach (6 syllables)
- (20) I.132c a noí Feidlimid, fír sin] a noí is fír sin (5 syllables)
- (21) I.138a Fergus Détach co ndíanblaid] *Fergus dubdetach cen dianblaid* (8 syllables)
- (22) I.144b i cath Chommuir la Colla] i *cath duib commair la colla* (8 syllables as in LS)
- (23) I.144d coros indarb Muredach] *conid romarb muridach* (material error)
- (24) I.148b 'ma-róen do Níall ria ronert] *maroen do niall ra nert* (6 syllables)
- (25) I.150d is é lín ro gab Hérind] *is é lín ro gab dar éis herind* (9 syllables).

There are two additional quatrains in L:

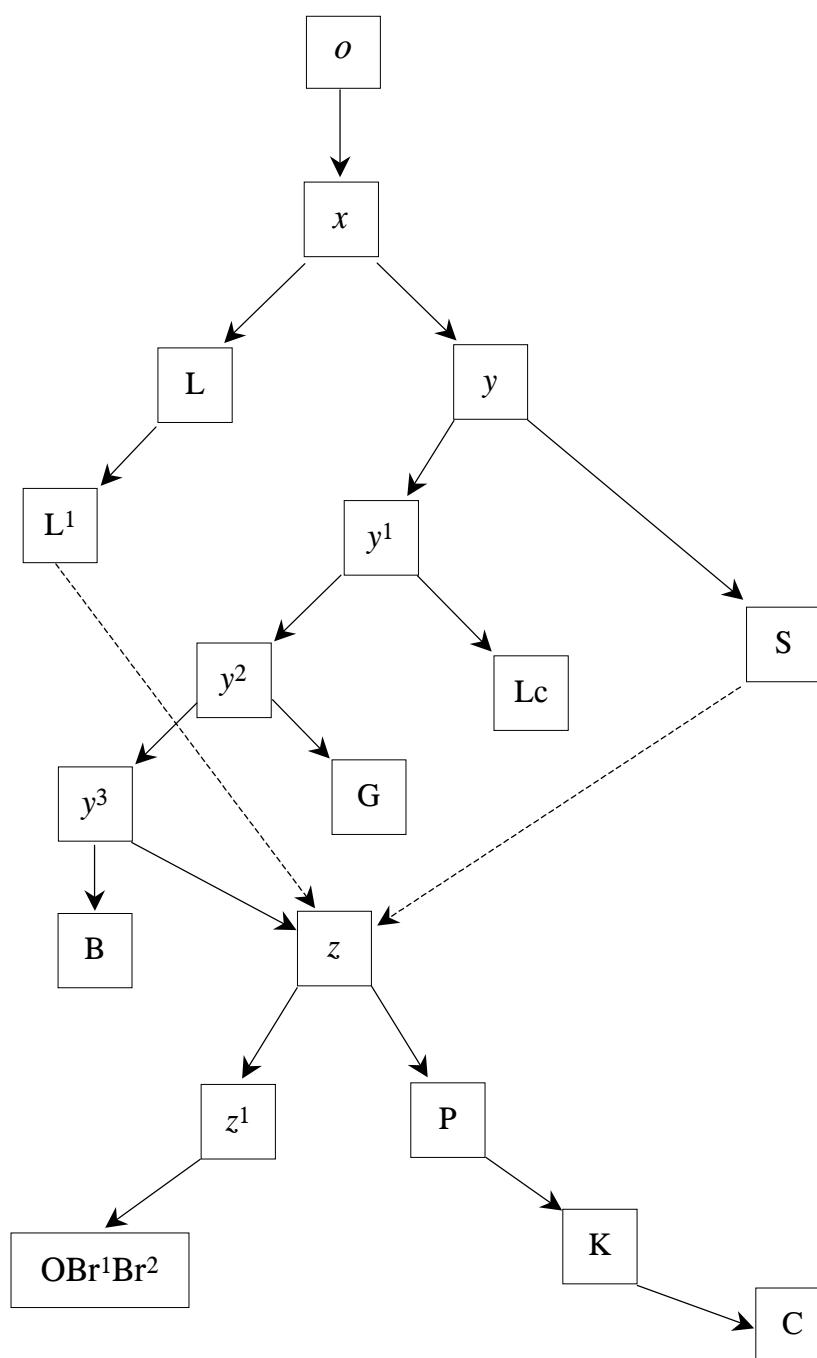
- (1) I. 150A¹
- (2) I. 150A².

Relative Authority of the Witnesses to the Manuscript Tradition

At first glance L appears to be very defective in that it has twenty-five errors. However, twenty of these are metrical errors of no great seriousness that have arisen out of scribal carelessness, and perhaps a limited knowledge of metrics. To its credit, L has only two computistic errors (I.49a & I.103a) in addition to a single material error (I.144d). Its only other serious errors are transposition of quatrains I.11 and I.12 and omission of quatrain I.85. L's additions are limited to two quatrains, I.150A¹ and I. 150A². Close to L in terms of authority stands S, then Lc, G, and finally, B.

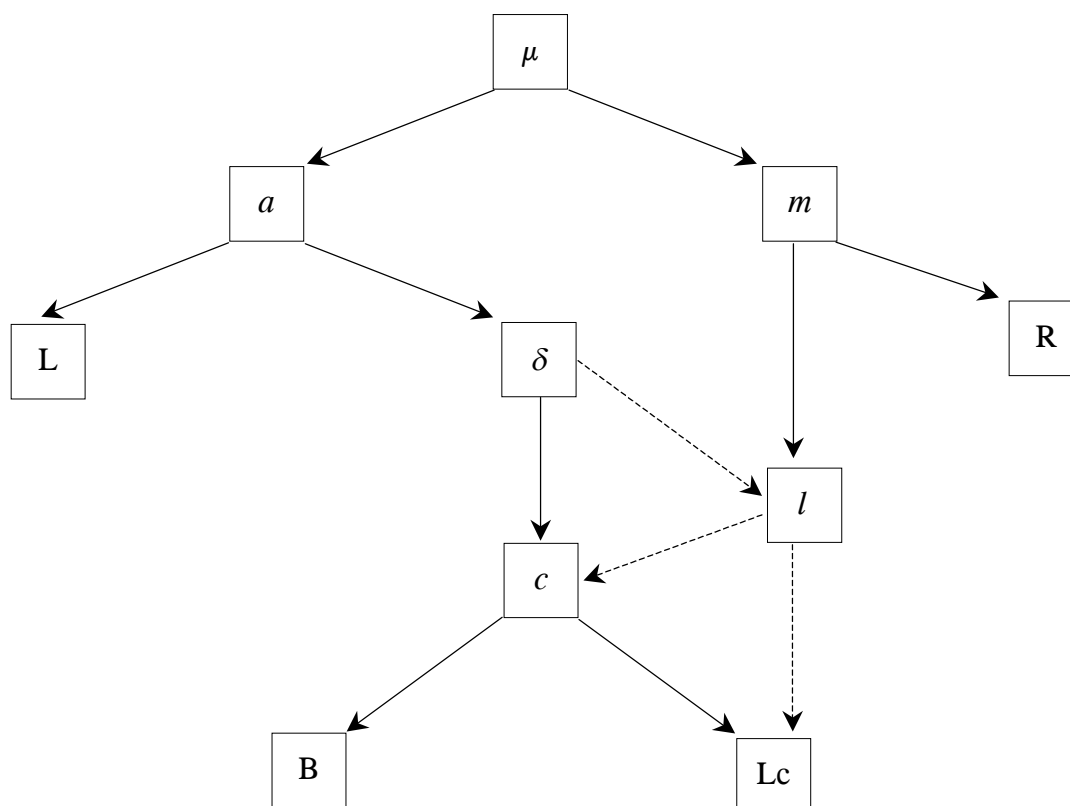
3.3 *Hériu ard*: Possible Stemmata Codicum

LL¹ with the lowest number of additional quatrains stand near the head of the tradition. Slightly lower down in the tradition comes S, followed by LcGB. At the lowest level of the tradition are OBr¹Br²PKC. Four families of manuscripts can therefore be distinguished: LL¹, S, LcGB, OBr¹Br²PKC. The relationship between the four groups of manuscripts is illustrated below. Possible contamination is indicated by broken lines. Manuscripts are indicated by their *sigla* in regular type-face, while inferred hyperarchetypes and archetypes are printed in italics.



3. Examination of the Manuscripts and Relationship of the Manuscripts

According to R. M. Scowcroft (in a personal communication), one would expect for *Hériu ard* in *LG* something like this:



Key to the Stemma: μ = the archetype; m = *mínugud*; Y = Stowe D i 3 = my S; R = Rawlinson B 512; B = the Book of Ballymote, Lc = The Great Book of Lecan. B and Lc descend from a conflation of recensions a (subrecension l) and $b + m$ (subrecension l). See also R. M. Scowcroft, '*Leabhar Gabhála: Part I: The Growth of the Text*', *Ériu* 38 (1979), pp. 79–140: 100.¹¹⁸

The assumptions here are that the detached copy in L belonged originally to *LG* where the scribe quotes the first line, and that scribes generally followed their archetypes. Possible contamination (i.e. attested elsewhere in *LG*) is indicated by dotted lines.

The two stemmata themselves do not disagree in principle. However, whereas R. M. Scowcroft takes the author of recension c to be following δ , I take him to be following l for the poem (recension m).

¹¹⁸) I wish to to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor R.M. Scowcroft for allowing me to publish this stemma which he sent to me in a recent written communication.

Relationships among OBr¹Br²PKC

At the bottom of our stemma of the manuscript tradition stand the seventeenth-century copies made by Míchél Ó Cléirigh (OBr¹), his cousin Cú Choigríche (PK), Dáibhidh Ó Duibhgheanáin (C), and a group of unidentified scribes (Br²).

Relationships within OBr¹Br²PKC, and indeed the relationship between this group of seventeenth-century manuscripts and the medieval manuscripts of *Hériu ard* are difficult to establish for a number of reasons. Firstly, the relevant manuscript evidence reveals clearly that Míchél Ó Cléirigh and his associates made very few scribal errors. Secondly, given the scholarly background of Muintir Chléirigh in Irish grammar, history and Irish metrics, it is to be expected that they would not have hesitated from emending perceived errors. Thirdly, the evidence demonstrates that while a common base text was used for the production of OBr¹Br²PKC, that common base text was checked against at least two other manuscripts and subjected to rewriting where the redactor felt necessary.¹¹⁹

An Early Modern Irish Recension *z* of *Hériu ard* Represented by OBr¹Br²PKC

The theory that has been pursued in this work is that, a redactor, *z*, possibly Míchél Ó Cléirigh, drew up a new recension of *Hériu ard* which required the tying up of several loose ends in the poem. Firstly, the redactor, *z*, added I.17A in which the time-lapse between the Flood until the arrival of the Fir Bolg has been computed (*Sé bliadna coícat, ní chél, / ocus míle maith móirthrén / ó dílind, ba borb an brath / co flaithius Fer mBolcc mbladach.*). Secondly, *z* (OBr¹Br²PKC) added I.150B¹ in which the interval from the arrival of the Fir Bolg until the arrival of Christianity with Patrick has been computed (*Dá míle bliadan dá cét / ceithre fichit 's a sé déc / ó thecht Fer mBolc, monor nglé, / gur bheandaigh Pátraicc Éire. / Éiriu.*).

The assertion that OBr¹Br²PKC share a common ancestor in *z* is proved by the existence of a shared metrical error at I.20c *Gand, Genand marba de thám] Gand, Genand marb de thám* (6 syllables) [B]OBr¹Br²PKC. Finally, examination of specific readings that are shared by the entire group prove beyond doubt that a process of re-writing was taking place. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the point:

I.83	Eocho mac Ailella Find, ro marb Argatmár imgrind, rí Carmuin is Cláre Clíach, i nÁne na n-armsciath. Edition/LS	Eoch- mac ailella find re .uii. .mb. a deiglind ri cermna 7 clairi is cliach in ane na nibarsciath LcGB	Eoch- mac oilella find. Romharbh airgedmar imgrind .uii. mbl-na ri claire is cliach. in aine na niobharsciath OBr ¹ Br ² PKC
I.96c	do-rochair dar bord, cíá bé Edition/LSLc	nogondorchair gu borb dhe GB	do rochair gerbo borb de OBr ¹ Br ² PKC
I.104a	Fiche acht sé bliadna ar blad LS	Tri .b. dheg data in blad LcGB	.UII. mbl-a .x. dhata in blad. OBr ¹ Br ² PKC

¹¹⁹) I hope to publish an edition of *z* together with a study of the manuscripts at a later date. The analysis conducted here merely represents an initial foray into this material.

The least evolved witnesses to the *z* recension are Br², then O and P. In faithful reflection of *z*, OBr² and P do not accord canonical status to the additional quatrains by incorporating them into the body of the main text in any consistent manner. Thus, in Br², I.17A has been written on the lower margin of fol. 94*r* in a hand other than that of the main scribe, and I.150B¹ appears only on the lower margin of fol. 99*r*. Moreover, in P, I.80A has not been admitted to the main body of the text, but has been merely consigned to the right margin (p. 63/fol. 34 *r*). The influence of L on *z* is evident in Br²O and P: all three inadvertently drop I.85 from the main text and all insert the quatrain later in their margins (fol. 7*r* of O; fol. 96*v* of Br², fol. 34*r* of P).

Sub-Recension *z*¹ and P

z splits into two branches: *z*¹ whence are descended OBr¹ and Br²; and a second branch headed by P and its descendants KC. A handful of substantive variants may be presented in support of the assertion that the tradition splits into *z*¹ and P:

- I.150B^{1a} II. mile bliadan .ii. cet] OBr¹Br², .II. m. bl- iii. c. PKC
 I.150B^{1b} ceitre .xx. sa .ui.x.] OBr¹Br², .I. na cend sa .v. x. PKC
 I.150B^{2a} UII. roind .uii. xx.] OBr¹Br², .IX. roind .uii. .xx. PKC.

O is characterised by its conservative orthography and its reticence in incorporating the additional stanzas. While the orthography of Br² is more ‘contemporary’ than that of O, the former is perhaps the most reticent of the seventeenth century witnesses regarding the incorporation of the additional stanzas.

Br¹ may represent a later draft of O. In contrast to OBr², Br¹ incorporates I.85 fully into the main text (fol. 12*v*28–29). Br¹, like all of the other seventeenth-century witnesses uses an Early Modern Irish spelling system whereas O, as noted above, uses a conservative spelling system that is more in keeping with Late Middle Irish. In O we find spellings like *cæcca* and *grecc* where Br¹ has *caocca* (I.2b) and *ghreg* (I.6a) respectively. Also, Br¹ differs from OBr² in its computation of the interval for the Flood until the arrival of the Fir Bolg. Br¹ gives a reading similar to that found in PKC at I.17Aa: *Se bl-a .l. ni chel*] OBr², *Fiche isacethair.l. ni chel*. Br¹, *iiii. bl-na xx^{et} ni chel* PKC. This may suggest that Br¹ has been contaminated by P.

The fact that P is the least elaborate of Cú Choigríche’s two copies suggests to me that this represents his earliest copy of *z*. P is very similar to O, but it introduces some new readings which are replicated by Cú Choigríche’s other copy, K, and its offspring, C. In KC all the extra stanzas have been fully integrated and no stanzas have been omitted. In this respect, it should be noted that C is later than all of our other manuscripts and repeats verbatim K’s preface to the poem.

To summarize, I posit a recension *z* which divides into two branches: *z*¹ containing O, its derivative Br¹, and a related witness Br²; a second branch, the work of Cú Choigríche Ó Cléirigh produced P, together with P’s offspring, K and C.

***Hériu ard*: Relationship between z [OBr¹Br²PKC] and y [SLcGB]**

It can be stated with confidence that the seventeenth-century manuscripts which embody z are linked to the y-branch rather than to the L-branch of the tradition for several reasons. Like SLcGB, OBr¹Br²PKC add 150B² (*Secht roind secht fichit, rand réidh, / is a deich co ndegméin; / is lér a línmaire lem / Réim Rígraide Fer nHérend. / Hériu.*) in which the total number of quatrains is recorded as 157. Second, like SLcGB, OBr¹Br²PKC add I.149A¹ (*Gabais Láegaire línmár / cethre blíadna, blad brígmár, / ría Pátraic brethach na penn / ba rí srethach saer Hérend. / Hériu ard inis.*)¹²⁰ on Láegaire's pre-Patrician reign.

The question remains as to which point z converged with y. The fact that z shares an error in I.20c with B might suggest that B could be the source of z. However, z cannot be a direct descendant of B as it fails to replicate B's unique errors at, for example, I.80b. Similarly, z cannot be a direct descendant of G as it does not share G's errors at, for example, I.4d. Similarly, z cannot be a direct descendant of Lc because it does not share Lc's errors, for example, at I.23c. Moreover, z cannot be descended solely from S, because unlike S, z does not omit quatrains I.53 and I.99. Finally, z cannot be descended solely from L as z shares no errors with L. In summary, there is no single manuscript which can be said to be the source of z.

I suggest that OBr¹Br²PKC are linked to the y-branch at y² or y³ rather than at the level of y itself, because, unlike S, but in keeping with LcGB, OBr¹Br²PKC add I.80A and I.92A.¹²¹ Secondly, z, like LcGB, transposes quatrains I.24 and I.25. I contend that z converged with y at y³ given its shared error with B at I.20c. It is further contended here, however, that z was contaminated by S to the extent that the redactor cross-checked his base text y² against another manuscript, which I believe to be S or a close copy thereof. When the redactor, found y³ to be lacking, he adopted the reading of y (SLc). This explains agreement of z with y (SLc) against erroneous y² (GB) at I.34c: *a flaith nír mór*] L, *a fhlaithus lor* SLcOBr¹Br²PKC, *a flaithius nír lor* (8 syllables) GB.

In view of the fact that Míchél Ó Cléirigh had already copied the L version of *Hériu ard*, we should not be surprised to find that z has also been contaminated by L as is illustrated by the omission of I.85 in OBr² and P; agreement between L and z at I.56a: *Fichi blíadan, blad cen geis*] *Fichi bl- blad cen geis* L, *Tricha bl- blad cen geis* S, *Tricha .b. blad nach dis* LcGB, *.XX. bl- blad cen geis* OBr¹Br²PKC; and conflation of the figure from y¹ with the text of L in I.53b: *a deich fa dó 'na degdái]* *a deich thucad na degdái* L, *om. quatrain* S, *a .x. fa do na deglaim*, LcGB, *a .x. fa dó na degdái* OBr¹Br²PKC .

In summary, z is descended directly from y³ (B), but has been heavily contaminated by S or a copy of S. It has also been contaminated, but to a lesser extent, by L, probably via L¹.

¹²⁰) My contention that I.149A¹ is not original to the poem is supported by the way in which S, in contrast to LcGB, illogically inserts the quatrain on Láegaire's pre-Patrician reign after I.150 rather than before I.149.

¹²¹) Note, however, that I.80A is added in the right margin (p. 63) of P.

B

B is the least authoritative of the *y*-group manuscripts. B cannot be descended from G as it does not pick up G's errors, for example, at I.127b and I.143d. Moreover, B cannot be descended from Lc as it does not pick up Lc's errors, for example, at I.23c and I.76b. Finally, B cannot be descended from S as it does not omit quatrains I.53 and I.99, nor does B duplicate the errors of S, for example, at I.13a, I.43d, I.87a, I.128a, I.143a, and I.148c. Similarly, B cannot be descended from L as it shares none of L's errors.

Evidence for y^3

The evidence for positing a hyperarchetype y^3 is limited to the existence of one shared error in B and z: I.20c *Gand, Genand marba de thám]* *Gann, Genann marb do tamh* (6 syllables).

G

G cannot be descended from B or Lc, as G is earlier than LcB. G cannot be descended from S because unlike S, G does not omit quatrains I.53 and I.99, nor does it share any of the metrical errors found in S. G cannot be descended from L as it shares none of L's errors.

GB: Evidence for y^2

However, G shares a few errors with B at I.35b *in rolaích]* *LSLc, irolaich* (error) GB and at I.34c *a flaith, nír mór]* *L, a fhlaithus lor SLc, aflaitheusnírlor* (8 syllables) GB.

These conjunctive errors at I.35b and I.34c suggest that GB converged at a shared sub-archetype and then proceeded to make their own unique errors.

Lc

Lc is not descended from B because B contains errors that are not replicated by Lc, for example, at I.20c, I.80b, and I.128b. Lc can be demonstrated not to be descended from G because Lc does not share G's metrical errors at I.4d and I.127b. Lc cannot be descended from S because unlike S, it does not omit quatrains I.55 and I.99, nor commit the metrical errors found in S at I.13a, I.43d, I.87a, I.128a, I.143a and I.148c. Finally, Lc cannot be descended solely from L as it does not share any of L's errors.

LcGB: Evidence for y^1

However, Lc shares certain features with GB that they have all inherited from a shared hyperarchetype. LcGB transpose quatrains I.24 (Núadu) and I.25 (Bres). LcGB add I.23A (*Anmand trí mac Nemid nú*¹²²), I.80A (*Fiacha mac Muiredaig*

¹²²) The verse in which the three sons of Nemed are identified as being the first people to commit

*móir*¹²³), I.92A (*Badbchad badbláech bernas cath*¹²⁴), I.149A² (*Is and do gob Pádraic port*) and I.150B² (*Secht roind secht fichit, rand réidh*), in which the total number of quatrains is recorded as 157. Furthermore, several conjunctive errors link LcGB. In I.28b LcG and B are erroneous, since although Fiachu was king after Delbáeth according to *Lebor Gabála*, it was actually Cacher who killed Delbáeth (R1 and Mín, *Leb. Gab.* IV, § 315; R2, § 354; R3, § 367). In I.55a the reading of LcGB can immediately be rejected as being erroneous since no extant parallel text supports it. None of the parallel texts supports the figure of 60 for Cobthach's reign as given in LcGB in I.94a. In I.103a there is no external evidence to support the erroneous computation of Amathair's reign in LcGB. Finally, LcGB modernise the language of the text as, for example, in I.125c: *co n-ébailt*] L, *conerbailt* S, *fuair bas* LcGB. On the basis of the above evidence I have posited a lost archetype *y*¹.

The separation of *y*¹ from *y*² is illustrated by Lc's independence from BG: Lc does not share BG's errors at: I.34c *a flaith nír mór*] L, *a fhlaithus lor* SLc, *aflaithiusnírlor* (8 syllables) GB; and I.97b *mac meic Rechtada Rígdeirg*] *mac meic reachtadha. rideirg* SLc, *mac meic rechteid rígeirg* (6 syllables) L, *ahocht dureachtaigh* GB. The error in I.34c could have been corrected independently by Lc, but it is unlikely that Lc could have independently corrected the error in I.97b. Moreover, Lc arranges the final additional stanzas in a different order to that found in GB. Lc has the order I.149A¹ (Láegaire's pre-Patrician regnal years), I.150 (total number of Pre-Patrician kings), I.150B² (total number of quatrains), I.149A² (arrival of Patrick among the Ulaid), I.151 (signature quatrain). In contrast, GB, with rather more logic, places I.149A² (arrival of Patrick among the Ulaid) before I.150B² (total number of quatrains). In view of these divergences between GB and Lc, I have posited within a *y*¹ a sub-archetype *y*².

S

Theoretically, S could be descended from B or G or Lc because they all share an error at I.70d (*fúair ing éca mac Áedáin*] L, *fuair in cetnamac aedain*. However, S cannot be descended from LcGB, because unlike LcGB, S does not transpose quatrains I.24 and I.25. Moreover, S adds only one additional quatrain as against six in LcGB.

In theory S could be descended from L as they both share an error at: I.144b *i cath Chommair*] *icath comair* LcGB, *i cath dub chommuir* (8 syllables) LS. However, the value of that error in determining the stemma is limited. The error could easily have been committed independently, either through the inadvertent inclusion of a gloss in the main text or through automatic association of *Commair* and *Dub*.¹²⁵

regicide by spear-point (I.23A) has been excerpted from the poem beginning *Fir Bolg bátar sunn sel LL I*, pp. 28–30.

¹²³) While the parallel texts support the assertion in I.80 that Fíachu killed Art mac Luigdech, there is no independent tradition for his ever having become king as stated in I.80A

¹²⁴) While the parallel texts support the assertion that Badbchad killed Úgaine Mór, none of these texts support the reference in I.92A that Badbchad ever became king of Ireland.

¹²⁵) Dub Comair was the name of the druid of Fíachu Sraiptine. *Cath Dub Comair*, on the con-

For a possible analogy, see the hypercorrect emendation in L of *détach* in I.138a to the more familiar *Dubdétach*. On the other hand, the latter could have been in *x*, but corrected by the scribe of *y*¹ and thereby not transmitted into LcGB. Furthermore, if S were descended from L it might be expected that S would share more of L's many errors such as its the omission of quatrain I.85; the addition of I.150A¹, I.150A²; the faulty transmission of the syllabic count at I.15d, I.21b, I.28d, I.49b, I.58c, I.112a, I.132c. and L's material error at I.144d. Considering that the only error that S and L share is at I.144b it is unlikely that S is descended from L.

Evidence for *y*

Having established that SLcGB are not descended from L, it remains to identify their filiation. All of these manuscripts add I.149A¹ (*Gabais Láegaire línmar*)¹²⁶ on Láegaire's pre-Patrician reign. Moreover, SLcGB share errors that are not found in L: I.70d (*fúair ing éca mac Áedáin*] L, *fuair in cetnamac ædain* SLcGB); I.72d (*la hÉnna nDerg mac nDüach*] *la henna nderg mac Duach* L, *la henna mac ndergn-duach* SLcGB) and I.141a (*sé mblíadan dá deich*] L, *.ui. mbl- sa .x.* SLcGB). This last conjunctive error is the most significant. The reading of twenty-six years as found in L is supported by Laud Sync., Rawl. B 502 Mín., Mín. and one copy of R1. Note the similar figures of twenty-five in *AT* (Rawl. B 502) and twenty-eight in *AT* (H 1.8) and *AU*. In contrast, the figure of sixteen in SLcGB is uncorroborated by any of the parallel texts. In view of the aforementioned shared errors and the fact that I.149A¹ enters the tradition in S, I have posited a hyperarchetype *y* at the head of this branch of the stemma.

Elimination of L¹

L¹ is a copy of L because like L, L¹ transposes quatrains 11 and 12, and omits quatrain I.83. The text is followed by the words *Sliocht liubhair na húachongbala* (fol. 107v4), thereby identifying L as its exemplar.

L and *z* (LS)

L cannot be descended from SLcGB as L predates all of these manuscripts. L represents a separate branch of the stemma but appears to converge with SLcGB etc at the hyperarchetype *x*.

fluence of the rivers Boyne and Blackwater near Navan, Co. Meath, was the name of the battle in which Fiachu fell. See *AT* in *RC* 17 (1896), p. 28.

¹²⁶) My contention that I.149A¹ is not original to the poem is supported by the way in which S, in contrast to LcGB, illogically inserts the quatrain on Láegaire's pre-Patrician reign after I.150 rather than before I.149.

3.4 *At-tá sund*: Examination of the Witnesses

Additional Quatrains in PKC

There is only one: II.20A

Errors in M

M has only four errors:

- (1) II.12b cóic Cináeda cathgairg] a .u. cinaidh cathgairg (6 syllables)
- (2) II.14c secht mblíadna fichet aile] coig fichet ele (5 syllables)
- (3) II.24b cussu taithigdis] gusataidís rigbhaird (6 syllables)
- (4) II.27c Níall Frossach, Áed ind ordain] níall frasach æd nordain (6 syllables).

Errors and Additional Quatrains in R

R has six errors:

- (1) II.4c Fiche, mar gíallmait dia chlaind] fiche mar giallmait cona claind (8 syllables)
- (2) II.14b Dondchaid meic Domnaill drechdeirg] domnaill meic dunnchada drechdeirg (8 syllables)
- (3) II.24d ocus Áed mac Ainmerech] 7 ædh mac mirech (5/6 syllables)
- (4) III.26c Fergus ocus Báetán bil] ferghus báetan bil (5 syllables)
- (5) III.28a Áed Findlíath, fer amar Lug] Oedh findlíath fer mar lugh (6 syllables)
- (6) III.33a Óenrí a Connachtaib na cath] Da rígh o chonnachtaib cloidh (material error).

Errors in LL¹

LL¹ has only four errors:

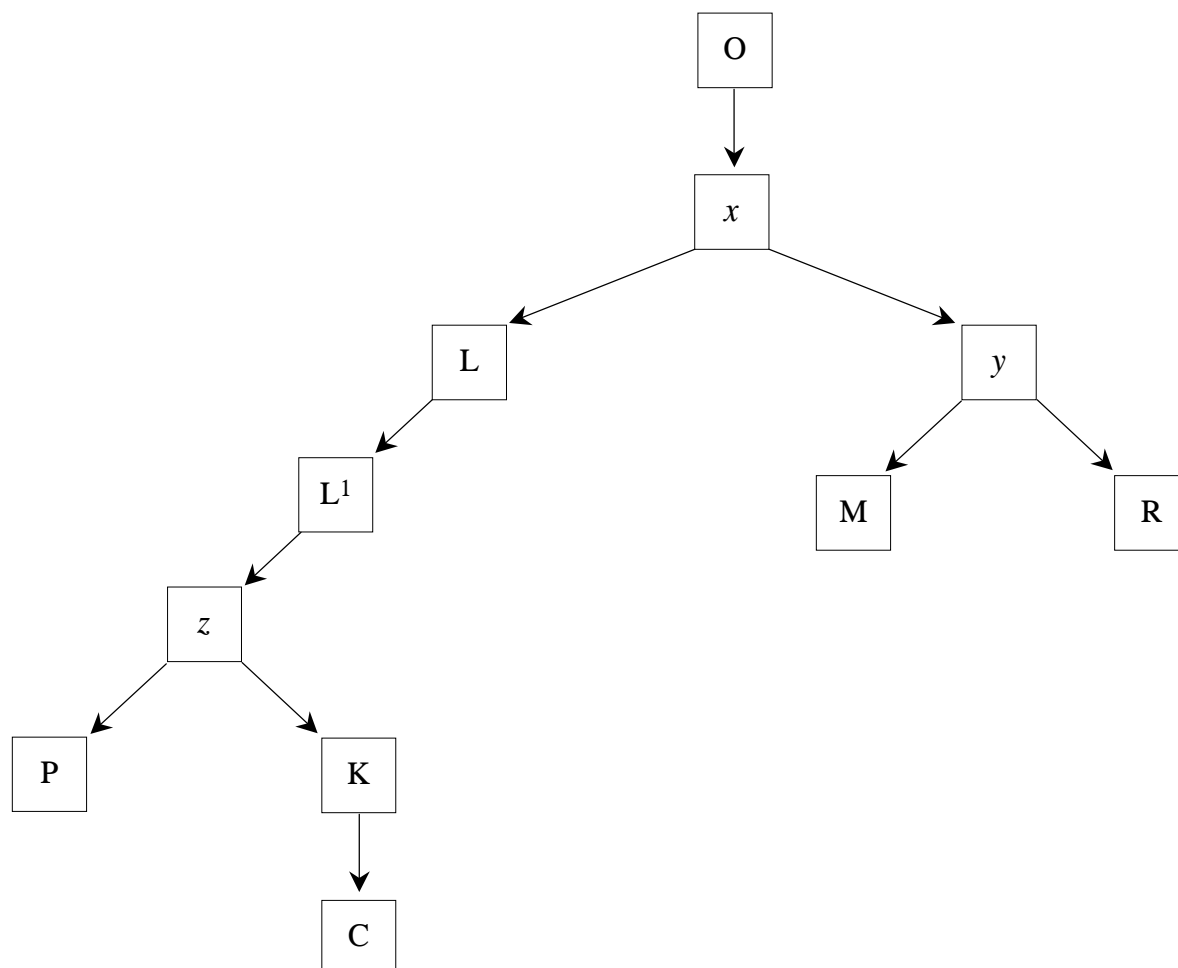
- (1) II.3c cethre blíadna déc 's a deich] xiiii. sa deich (5 syllables)
- (2) II.4a Óenblíadain déc i Temair] Oenbl- déc i temraig thair (8 syllables)
- (3) II.14c secht mblíadna fichet aile] a.xx.uui. aile (6 syllables)
- (4) II.15c sé blíadna déc co dremain] xui. co tremuin (5 syllables)

Relative Authority of the Witnesses to the Manuscript Tradition

The infrequency of errors in L suggests that it is the most reliable witness to the tradition. Comparison of the orthography of R with that of L and M suggests that R is less conservative than L in its orthography, but more conservative than M. The contrast is exemplified by orthographical variants such as II.19c *cen*] L, *can* R and *gan* M or II.17a *fo-fúair*] *fóúair* LR, *da fuair* M. This evidence may suggest that either R is truer to the exemplar or that M is more innovative than R. In view of this possibility, I have treated the witnesses in descending order of authority beginning with L, then R and finally M.

3.5 *At-tá sund*: Stemma codicum

There are three families of manuscripts: LL¹, PKC and RM. From the archetype *x* they split into the L-branch (LL¹PKC) and the y-branch (RM). They can be represented in a stemma thus:



Elimination of C

C (C iv 3) by Dáibhidh Ó Duibhgeannáin is at lowest level of the tradition. It is later than our other seventeenth-century copies to which it is most closely related. I take C to be based on Cú Choigríche Ó Cléirigh's K. C follows K's preface: *Giolla cæmáin rochan ind so dona riogaibh cétnasin ro gabsat righe Ereand ier ccreidiumh.*

The Seventeenth-Century Recension (z)

A new recension of *At-tá sund* appears to have been drawn up in the early seventeenth century, possibly by Cú Choigríche Ó Cléirigh. This recension has been labelled *z* and incorporates an extra stanza II.20A. Phrases of the text were rewritten to produce *z*. Several significant variants are yielded by a close comparison of the

medieval witnesses with PKC: II.6c *a ocht fichet fúair debech] a seacht fichet fuair debech* PKC; II.8c *trícha blíadan cona mblaid] xiii .b. cona mbloidh* PKC; II.11d *óen blíadain déc don degflaith] x. ndeigh bliadna don ardflaith* PKC; II.14c *secht mblíadna fichet aile] a .xx. .u. hi midhe* PKC; II.15a *Cethri blíadna déc cen don] A ceathair .x. iar sodan* PKC; II.18d *a deich dond ríge rochríochid] da se don ríge rochríochid*. A classic example of the kind of rewriting of the text in which the redactor was engaged is to be found in II.8c. In this instance the redactor has emended the figure to fit in with the evidence of the annals (Chron. Sync. *630–*643) rather than with the regnal years of *LG*.

A dearth of scribal errors means that it is almost impossible to trace the relationship between *z* and the medieval copies of this poem. However, it appears that the readings of *z* agree more frequently with those of *L* than either *M* or *R*. I suggest that *z* may be directly based on *L*¹ rather than on *L* since *z* agrees with the reading of *L*¹ at II.8b *a cóic déc] LR, a dho dheg M, atri x L*¹. Furthermore, agreement between PKC and *M* at II.6c suggests that *z* may have been contaminated by *M*: II.6c *ocht fichet] L, a hocht fichet R, A .xxiii.et MPKC*.

Elimination of *L*¹

*L*¹ is a close copy of *L*. Accordingly, we read the words *Sliocht leabhair na huacongbhala* beneath the text at the end of fol. 109r. *L*¹ shares several of *L*'s errors at: II.3c *cethre blíadna déc 's a deich] ceithre blíadna déc sa .x. R, xiiii. 's a deich* (5 syllables) *LL*¹, *.xiiii. blíadna deg sa .x. M*; at II.4a *Temair] R, teamair M, temraig thair* (8 syllables) *LL*¹; and at 14c *secht mblíadna fichet aile] secht mblíadna .xx. aile R, a .xxiii. aile* (6 syllables) *LL*¹, *coig fichet ele M*. At the end of the text (fol. 109r) reference is once again made to *L* as the exemplar. *L*¹ is therefore of little independent value in the present study.

L

L was written earlier than any of our other manuscripts and therefore cannot be dependent on any of them. Together with *L*¹, it constitutes a distinct family within the tradition.

R

R cannot be dependent on either *L* or *M* as it does not share errors with either of these witnesses.

M

M was written before *R* so cannot be derived from *R*. *M* cannot be directly descended from *L* because *L* contains several errors (exx. II.3c, II.4a, and II.15c) which are unique to that manuscript. However, *M* appears to share one material error with *L*: II.31b *Domnall, Donnchad] R, dondchad domnall LM*. *LM* have here listed Domnall Midi (XXIX, d. 763) after his son Donnchad Midi Dondchad mac Domnaill Mide (XXXI, d. 797) instead of before him as in *R*, *Sé ríge déc Éogain anall (CGH*

137 b 2) and K do. However, this is the kind of slip that easily could be made by two scribes working independently.

Evidence for a Shared Hyperarchetype *y*

Both R and M encountered a difficulty at II.14b: *Dondchaid meic Domnaill drech-deirg*] L, *donncadha meic floind laimderig* M, *domnaill meic dunnchada drech deirg* (8 syllables) R. This reading may suggest that RM shared an exemplar in which there was a flawed line *domnaill meic dunnchada drech deirg*. The scribe of M noticed the error and tried to remedy it by drawing on a king-list in which the names of Donnchadh mac Flainn and Domnaill mac Donnchada had been erroneously transposed. The result is that M has imported two errors from his king-list: one appears at II.14b and the other at II.18b. A similar scenario appears to have occurred at: II.17d *cen a n-aill do Níall Glúndub*] *cen anaill do Níall Glúndub* L, *fa rí g níall gribha glundubh* M, *ind oilech do niall glun ⁿdubh* R. The hyperarchetype must have been damaged, thereby obliging each scribe to draw on his own poetical skills. The result is two drastically different readings. RM share some remarkable variants which may also suggest a shared hyperarchetype. One of these is II.24b *cussu tathigdis*] *gusa tathighdís* R, *gusataidís* (6 syllables) M, *cussu rancatar* L.

Evidence for *x*

LMR may be linked by a single conjunctive error at *x*. LMR has the reading *óen bliadain déc* in II.11d. I suggest that Gilla Cóemáin's source had *.xii.* as in *CPV* (p. 95.13), *AI King-List* (§ 368) and the *Chronological Synchronisation* (710–722). I further suggest that this may also have been in *o*. In contrast, the hyperarchetype *x* appears to have had eleven as found in LMR, but nowhere else. I therefore suggest that the error arose in *x* as a result of the eye of the scribe being distracted by the word *óenbliadain* in the following line.

3.6 *Annálad*: Examination of the Witnesses

Errors in M

There are sixteen errors in M:

- (1) III.2a–b *Sé bliadna coícat, gním nglan, / míle ar sé cétaib bliadan*] *Deich .c. blīa cuic .c. coin / .l. cuic ar cægait di bliadnaibh* (computistic error, similar in RLd)
- (2) III.2b *míle ar sé cétaib bliadan*] *.l. cuic ar cægait di bliadnaibh* (9 syllables)
- (3) III.4d *a noí cóic cét ochtmoga*] *.ix. da míli ochtmoga* (computistic error)
- (4) III.7d *ór delbad domun drechmas*] *odelbad indoman drechmas* (8 syllables)
- (5) III.8b *co mesc Túir noithig Nebrúaid*] *comesc tuir neimnigh nertmoir* (material error)
- (6) III.9c *dá bliadain fichet ó šain*] *da blīa .lx. osein* (computistic error)

- (7) III.12 omitted
- (8) III.13d Hi flaith Lampadéis, léir blad] Flait*h* lapides leir blad (6 syllables)
- (9) III.13d Lampadéis] lapides (spelling error, also in LTL¹Ld)
- (10) III.14a Lampadéis] lapides (spelling error, also in LTL¹Ld)
- (11) III.25c a dó tríchat ó sain 'lle] adof*ichet* osin alle (8 syllables)
- (12) III.37b cóir ó šen dola íarma] osin cor dolai *iar*ma (spelling error: transposition of words)
- (13) III.38a Fichi blíadna íar mbás hú Chuind] Fich*i* blīan *iar* mbas uacuind (8 syllables)
- (14) III.40a Fichi a cóic ó šain, scél ngrind] Fich*i* blīan osin sgel ngrind (8 syllables)
- (15) III.46a Cethracha blíadna acht blíadain] Ceathracha (4 syllables omitted)
- (16) III.46b ó šein, is réil in riágail] (2 syllables omitted) isreil in riágail.

Errors in Ld

There are thirteen errors in Ld:

- (1) III.1c aiséidfet-sa sun*da* sain] aisnedfet sun*d* ase*in* (6 syllables)
- (2) III.2a–b Sé blíadna coícat, gním nglan, / míle ar sé cétaib blíadan] Deich .c. bli .u. c. cain / a .u. coicat doblīaib (computistic error, also in R, similar in M)
- (3) III.4d a noí cóic cét ochtmoga] annoí .u. mile octmoga (8 syllables/computistic error)
- (4) III.13b tarmthecht Mara rúaid Romuir] tairmtecht mara romair (6 syllables)
- (5) III.13d dered flatha Lampadéis] dered flath*a* lapades (spelling error as in LTL¹M)
- (6) III.14a Hi flaith Lampadéis] Hiflait*h* lapades (spelling error as in LTL¹M)
- (7) III.21c cóic cét acht fiche dia n-és] .u. c. auiii. xx. dia nes = cóic cét a hocht fichet dia n-és (8 syllables)
- (8) III.27b íar marbad in tuirc Thúathail] iar marba*d* tuatail (5 syllables)
- (9) III.31c 's a cethair fichet, derb lib] isa .iiii. .xxx. derb lib = is a cethair tríchat derb lib (8 syllables)
- (10) III.36a Certfiche ó šen i-lle] L, .XX. b. osin ale (8 syllables)
- (11) III.37b cóir ó šen dola íarma] ohe*in* coir dola *iar*ma (transposition of words)
- (12) III.45 omitted
- (13) III.50c bás Dondchada Mide maill] bas don*nc*ada maill (5 syllables)

Errors in R

- (1) III.2a–b Sé blíadna coícat, gním nglan, / míle ar sé cétaib blíadan] Deich c. blīa cúic .c. cain / a cúic .l.at do bliadnaib (computistic error as in LdM, similar in M)
- (2) Omission of III.6

- (3) III.7d ór delbad domun drechmas] oro delbad an domhan drechmas (9 syllables)
- (4) III.9d co Abrám cosin n-athair] co habraam cusin brathair (material error)
- (5) III.16c is 'na ré ro gabsat tair] naré rogabsad thoir (6 syllables)
- (6) III.18a Thenias ba hé ainm ind rí] Témár báhé ainm anrígh (spelling error)
- (7) III.20d i comflaithis Nabcodon] comfhlaith 7 nabgodon (6 syllables)
- (8) III.24c cor génair Mac maith Maire] corogeanair mac maith muire (8 syllables)
- (9) III.25c a dó tríchat ó sáin 'lle] adó .xx. osin alle (8 syllables as in M)
- (10) III.29d do rennaib trí mac Urgan] latrí macaib cruaid cuircrenn (spelling error) R
- (11) III.31a Cóic blíadna ó shein i-lle] Cuic blíā otha sein ille (8 syllables).

Errors and Additional Quatrains in LTL¹

There are twelve errors in LTL¹:

- (1) III.1c aiséidfet-sa sunda sain] aisneidfetsa sund sein (6 syllables) LTL¹
- (2) III.4d a nóí cóic cét ochtmoga] a nóí coicat ochtmoga (computistic error) LT, there is an attempt to correct the text in L¹: the final syllable *-cat* has been changed to *céd*.
- (3) III.5d anall ó thosach domain] anall o thús domain (6 syllables) LT, as in LT but corrected in gloss above line L¹
- (4) III.13d Lampadéis] lapades (spelling error) LTL¹LdM
- (5) III.14a Lampadéis] lapades (spelling error) LTLdM, (lapadeis) L¹
- (6) III.15d trebsat Fir Bolgg i nHérind] trebsat fir bolgg erind (6 syllables) LTL¹
- (7) II.21b comaimser is Mic Míled] i comamsir is meic miled (8 syllables) LTL¹
- (8) III.22c and-sain fechta, fáth ngaile] and fechta fáth ñgaile (6 syllables) LTL¹
- (9) III.28d Art, Cían, Cormac is Éogan] cian. cormac. is eogan (6 syllables) LL¹, cian cormac 7 eoghan T
- (10) III.31c 's a cethair fichet, derb lib] sa cethair derb lib (5 syllables) LT, (corrected above line by O'Conor (?)) L¹
- (11) III.33b ó ro scarad Níall ria nert] oroscar niall ria nert (6 syllables) LL¹, orosgar niall re nert (6 syllables) T
- (12) III.42d i torchair Áed mac Colgan] i tor- æd mend mac colgan (6 syllables) LTL¹

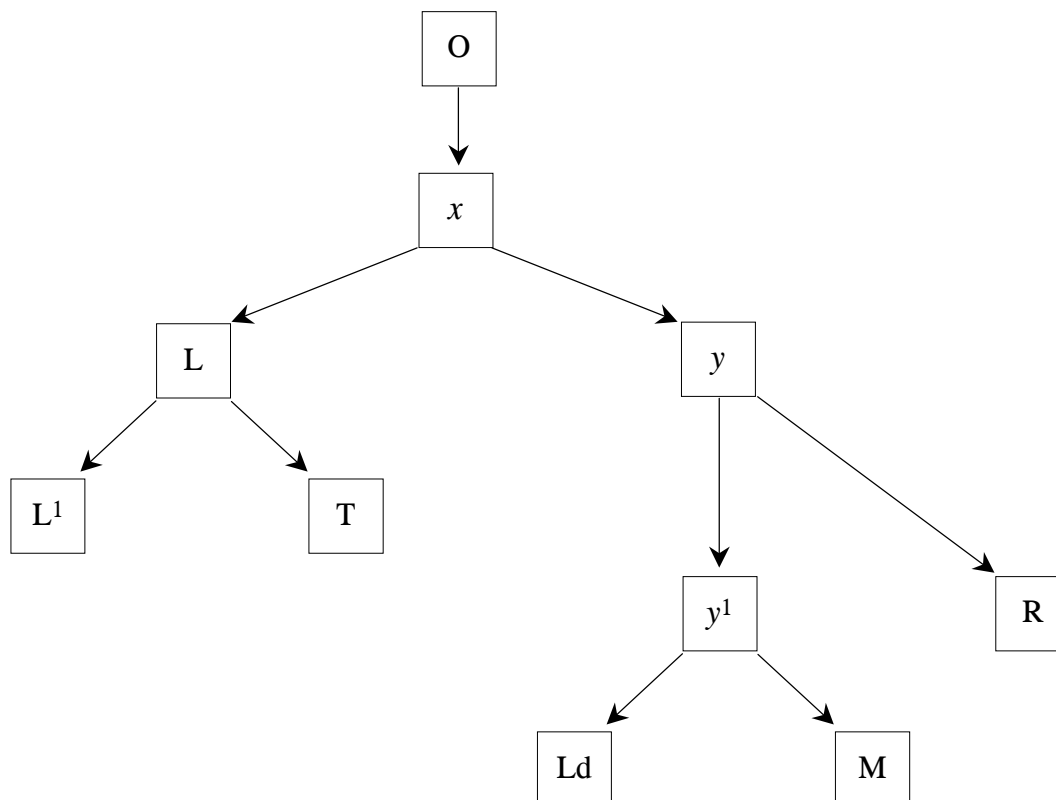
Note that Br¹ shares errors with LTL¹ at III.1c and III.5d. Br¹ has corrected L's error at III.4d.

Relative Authority of the Witnesses to the Manuscript tradition

In summary, of greatest authority in the textual transmission of *Annalad* is LL¹T followed by RLdM.

3.7 *Annálad*: Stemma Codicum

The stemma of *Annálad* contains two families LTL¹ and RLdM. At the archetype, *x*, the L-branch produces L whence its descendents T and L¹. In apposition stand the y-branch represented at a fairly high level by R and at a lower level by Ld and finally M. The relationship between the manuscripts can be represented thus in the form of a stemma:

**M**

At the lowest level of our stemma stand LdM. M is earlier than Ld and R and therefore cannot be a copy of either manuscript. Moreover, M cannot be derived from L as it does not share any substantial error with L at III.1c, III.5d, III.15d, III.21b, III.22c, III.28d, III.31c, III.33b, or III.42d.

It should be acknowledged that M does indeed share two scribal ‘slips’ with L at (1) III.23a [*lle*] *le* Ld, (8 syllables) *ille* LMR and (2) III.21d [*Nabcodon Astiagés*] LLd, sim. M, *nabcodón is astiáges* R. However, the above examples are weak evidence for concluding that M could be directly derived from L. Errors involving *isin/’sin ille/’lle* can easily be made independently by any number of scribes at any given time. As for III.21d, LLdM appear to be reading *Ast-i-a-gés* (four syllables) as against R’s *Ast-ia-gés* (three syllables). The fact that this lection involves a foreign name with which late medieval scribes would have been unfamiliar must throw it

into doubt as a genuine shared error. I believe that the ‘errors’ at III.23a and III.21d are too insignificant to allow us to conclude that M could be directly derived from L. M appears to belong to a separate branch of the stemma from L.

Ld

Ld cannot be a copy of M for the reasons that Ld does not omit quatrain III.12; nor, does it share M’s errors at III.14a, III.38a, III.40a, III.49a. Ld cannot be a copy of R for the reasons that Ld does not omit stanza III.6 as R does, nor does Ld share any of R’s errors at III.3c, III.9d, III.16c, III.18a III.27a. It must therefore be concluded that Ld cannot be copied directly from either L, or M or R.

Evidence for y^1 (LdM)

Ld and M appear to share three errors at (1) III.37b *cóir ó sen dolá iarma] iar sin* written as gloss above *iarma* L, *ohein coir dola iarma* Ld; *osin cor dolai iarma* M, (2) III.50b *co bás] L, obas* LdM; and (3) III.36a *Certfiche ó sen ille] L, Fiche blīan osin ille* LdM. The final conjunctive error is the least convincing because it involves nothing more than the common *ille/’lle* variation to which I have already referred on several occasions. On the basis of these few shared errors I have posited a sub-archetype y^1 at which MLd converge.

R

R does not share any errors with M other than the insignificant one at III.23a mentioned above and so cannot be copied from M. Ld has errors at III.1c, III.4d, III.13b, III.21c, III.27b, 31c, 50c. However, none of these has been duplicated by R, so R cannot be descended from Ld. Although L contains many metrical errors, R shares only two rather insignificant errors with L at (1) III.23a *’lle] le* Ld, (8 syllables) *ille* LRM and at (2) III.24c *cor genair] corgenair* LdM, *coro genair* (8 syllables) LR. As noted above, the slip *’lle* for *ille* and vice versa cannot be taken as a serious error. In the same category belongs *coro/cor*.

Evidence for y (R)

The relationship between R and LdM is difficult to establish given that the text of R is incomplete. However, it seems to me that R stands at a higher point in the stemma than does LdM. The reading at III.4d *a noí cóic cét ochtmoga] a .ix. d. .lxxx.^{ad}* R, *a noí coicat ochtmoga* L, *annoi .u. míle ochtmoga* (8 syllables) Ld, *.ix. da míli ochtmoga* M is of particular interest in this respect. Either R has inherited the correct reading or he has emended it to give the correct reading. In view of the fact that the scribe of R makes simple errors of transcription such as writing *srurur* for *Srú sair* (III.12c) and *Temar* for *Tenías* (III.18a), I think we should take the reading as being inherited rather than arising from scribal emendation. This may also explain the considerable agreement between LR against MLd in terms of form, as for example, in III.31b *co díscor] LR, co coscra* LdM. On the basis of this evidence, I have placed R at sub-archetype y rather than at y^1 .

RLdM are separated from L at *y* and interlinked by one conjunctive error at III.2a–b: *Sé blíadna cóicat, gním nglan, / míle ar sé cétaib blíadan*] L, *Deich c. blīa cúic .c. cain / a cúic .l.at do bliadnaib* R, *Deich .c. bl- .u. c. cain / a .u. coicat do-blīaib* Ld, *Deich .c. blīa cuic .c. coin / .l. cuic ar cægait di bliadnaibh* M. The required number here is 1656 years as in L rather than 1555 years as in RLdM. The shared sub-archetype of RLdM, *y*, must have had *Deich cét blíadan cóic cét cain / a cóic cóicat do blíadnaib* a mistake for *Deich cét blíadan sé chét cain / a sé cóicat do blíadnaib*, which in turn looks to be an attempt at rewriting the text that has survived in L. The reading at III.31c *’s a cethair fichet]* *’s a cethair* (5 syllables) L, *acethair trichat* R, *isa .iiii. .xxx.* (8 syllables) Ld, *a .iiii. xxx^a* M may also represent another conjunctive error linking RLdM at *y*. Finally, all *y*-copies of the poem appear to have dropped the preposition before the place-name in III.27d *’sin tulaig i Túaith Amrais]* *issin tulaig i tuadamair* L, *isin thulaig tuathamnais* R, *isin tulaig tuaithamnais* Ld, *isan tulaigh tuamnais* (6 syllables) M.

Evidence for *x*

The *y* hyperarchetype converges with the L-branch at the archetype *x*. A very small number of errors has extended across the split in the stemma. Unfortunately, both are fairly problematic. The first is: III.6a *sechtmogat]* *sechtmogat* with *se* made on *o* L, *.lxxx.* M, *ochtmogat* Ld. All of the early witnesses, including L wrote *ochtmogat*. However, this figure renders a total of 1,082 years, which is at odds with the figure of 1072 that is suggested by the synchronisation of the writing of the poem with the death of Díarmait in 1072 in the penultimate quatrain.

I suggest that the disparity can be explained thus. The scribe of the archetype *x* introduced the error by writing one more ‘*x*’ than was necessary. The scribe of *y* subsequently overlooked the error, thereby allowing it to be transmitted to MLd. In contrast, the scribe of L identified the error and emended it accordingly to *sechtmogat*. A further example is at III.7d *ór delbad domun drechmas]* *ordelbad doman drechmas* Ld, *oro delbad domun drechmas* (8 syllables) L, *odelbad indoman drechmas* (8 syllables) M, *oro delbad an domhan drechmas* (9 syllables) R.

L

Descending from *x* is L. L cannot be descended from any other manuscript since it is earlier than all of our other manuscripts. None of the errors which are shared by T and L¹ are shared by either MLdR. Therefore, LTL¹ appear to constitute a distinct branch of the stemma.

Elimination of TL¹

At the foot of the L-branch of the stemma stand the direct descendents of L, to wit, L¹ and T. They accordingly share L’s errors at III.1c, III.5d III.15d, III.21b, III.22c, III.28d, III.31c, III.33b, and III.42d.

In addition, Míchél Ó Cléirigh’s L¹ shares several glosses with L. One example is III.37b *cóir ó sen dolá íarma]* *iar sin* written as gloss above *íarma* L, *ohein coir*

dola iarma Ld, *osin cor dolai iarma* M. There are a few divergences between L and L¹ which may be due to Ó Cléirigh's intervention: III.52b *ó maidm*] M, *ó* written above *co maidm* L, *co maidm* L¹, *co maidm* Ld.

Since L¹ and T differ only so very slightly from L and therefore are of limited independent value in our study, their readings have not been included in the critical apparatus.

Annomalies in the Stemma of *Annálad*

One anomalous reading arises at III.13d *Lampadéis*] *lampadés* R, *lapades* L, *lapades* Ld, *lapides* M and III.14a *Lampadéis*] *lampadés* R, *lapades* LLd, *lapides* M. In this instance, we must presume that the mistake, arising from the conflation of Lampri-dés (20th king of the Assyrians, AAb 638–669) with Lamparés (22nd king of the Assyrians, AAb 690–719), whence scribal *Lampadés*, is due to the scribe of the archetype *x*. We must also presume that either only R has retained the reading of the archetype, or less probably, that R has independently corrected the spelling. What is certain is that *x* splits into two major branches, L and RLdM.

3.8 Conclusion

Using the stemmatic approach I have attempted to establish the relationship of the manuscripts for *Hériu ard*, *At-tá sund* and *Annálad*. This has been relatively successful for *Annálad* and *Heriu ard*, but has been more difficult to do for *At-tá sund*.

4. Editorial Policy

4.1 Some Approaches to Textual Criticism

There are at least five major approaches to modern textual criticism. The first of these, the so-called genealogical approach, has become closely associated with the name of the nineteenth-century German scholar Karl Lachmann (d. 1851).¹²⁷ Some scholars would argue that it was only with the publication of *Textual Criticism*¹²⁸ by Paul Maas that the principles of the Lachmannian or genealogical approach to text editing were fully formulated.

Lachmann set himself the objective of reconstructing the text at the level of the archetype, that is, the level just below the authorial original.¹²⁹ While attracted by the possibility of textual reconstruction above the level of the archetype, Maas demonstrated that reconstruction above that level was highly speculative.¹³⁰

The first stage in the Lachmannian approach involves: (1) the collection of witnesses to the tradition; (2) the comparison of variant readings yielded by an examination of those witnesses in order to distinguish ‘true’ readings as against ‘errors’; (3) the identification of shared errors and separative errors in those witnesses in order to establish families of witnesses; (4) the arrangement of the extant witnesses in order of relative authority within and outside of their own families on grounds of shared and separative errors; and (5) the representation of the relationship between the extant witnesses and ‘inferred’ lost witnesses by means of a family-tree like schema known as a *stemma codicum*. The readings which emerge at the top of the stemma are the ones which are most likely to be authorial, or at the very least archetypal.

The second major approach is the ‘best-text / best-copy’ method, an approach most closely linked with the name of Joseph Bédier (d. 1938). Bédier’s method involved the identification of the best manuscript witness to the tradition on codicological, historical and linguistic grounds. This *bon manuscript* was to be followed relig-

¹²⁷) See S. Timpanaro, *La Genesi del Metodo del Lachmann* (Florence, 1963).

¹²⁸) P. Maas, *Textual Criticism*, trans. B. Flowers from 3rd German edition (Oxford, 1958).

¹²⁹) D. C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction* (New York, 1994), p. 320.

¹³⁰) Greetham, *Textual Scholarship*, pp. 320–21.

iously as the basis of the edition with emendations being made only where the manuscript was clearly in error.¹³¹

The third approach involves the ‘statistical method’. All variants are gathered, compared and subjected to probability calculus as a means of establishing which variants are authorial and which are not.¹³²

In recent years, the introduction of computer-aided text editing by scholars like Peter Robinson has given rise to a new approach known as Phylogenetic Stemmatics (‘Cladistics’) whereby the methods used for analysing the relationships between living organisms are applied to establishing the filiation of manuscripts.¹³³

The fifth approach to textual editing has become known as New Philology,¹³⁴ a term that reflects a response to the Old Philology of the Lachmannian school. New Philology is premised on two important principles. The first is that we have very few manuscripts in which a text is autographed by its author¹³⁵ and the second is that workshop production of multiple copies of certain medieval texts was not uncommon.¹³⁶ Underlying the New Philology is the belief that all editions are in fact interpretations.

In contrast to the Lachmannian approach, or so-called, Old Philology in which the scribe and his manuscript were mistrusted, the New Philology places all its emphasis on the manuscript, ‘warts and all’ as being the most valid part of the process of textualisation. The quest for an authorial original or a reconstructed archetype — a closed text — is rejected in favour of the production of an open text.¹³⁷ Thus, the whole range of variants ranging from scribal errors to instances of rewriting are accepted as being of equal validity.¹³⁸ Such variants are not described as being ‘correct / true’ or ‘incorrect’; they are to be seen as nothing more or less than the *variance* of any given manuscript of any given text. Another important aspect of the New Philol-

131) See Greetham, *Textual Scholarship* p. 325. See J. Bédier, ‘La Tradition Manuscrite du lai du: L’Ombre: réflexions sur l’Art d’Éditer les Anciens Textes’, *Romania* 54 (1928), pp. 161–196; 321–356. Repr. as pamphlet, 1970.

132) See, for example, W. Greg, *A Calculus of Variants: An Essay on Textual Criticism* (Oxford, 1927).

133) P. M. W. Robinson & R. J. O’Hara, ‘Report on the Textual Criticism Challenge 1991,’ *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 3 (1992), pp. 331–337. Online: Report on the Textual Criticism Challenge 1991. Also P. M. W. Robinson, ‘Computer-Assisted Stemmatic Analysis and “Best-Text Historical Editing” in Pieter van Reenen & Margot van Mulken (ed.), *Studies in Stemmatics* (Amsterdam, 1996).

134) For a detailed account of the origins and development of New Philology, see K. Stackmann, ‘Neue Philologie?’ in J. Heinzle (ed.), *Modernes Mittelalter: Neue Bilder einer populären Epoche* (Frankfurt, 1994), pp. 398–427. See also J. Wolf, ‘New Philology / Textkritik’ in C. Benthien & H. R. Velten (eds.), *Germanistik als Kulturwissenschaft: Eine Einführung in neue Theoriekonzepte* (Hamburg, 2002), pp. 175–94.

135) Wolf, ‘New Philology’, p. 179.

136) Wolf, *ibid.*, p. 179.

137) Wolf, *ibid.*, p. 178. See also K. Stackmann, ‘Neue Philologie?’, p. 412.

138) Stackmann, *ibid.*, p. 412.

ogy is the acceptance of *mouvance* / *beweglichkeit*, the fact that verses in any given text are prone to shift their position from manuscript to manuscript.¹³⁹

4.2 Approaches to Emendation

There are two main approaches to emendation. When the ‘best-copy’ approach is used a copy-text is chosen and the readings of other manuscripts are then collated against the copy-text in order to distinguish ‘true errors and deteriorations from legitimately produced variants’.¹⁴⁰ Alternatively, no single manuscript is given precedence, rather individual readings are compared on a case to case basis and the most authorial reading is chosen in each instance for use in the edition. The resultant ‘eclectic’ text is thus based on several witnesses to the tradition.

The question of emendation is perhaps the most controversial aspect of textual editing. Emendation is a subjective exercise that depends on the editor’s judgement. The resultant edition can in theory be quite different from the author’s original and be nothing more than an ‘editor’s text’ which might lack the integrity of the text produced as a result of, for example, the open-text method.

4.3 Reflections on the Editing of Gilla Cóemáin’s Poems

Originally, the option of following the best-copy approach of Bédier was tempting. On the face of it, the Book of Leinster seems like an excellent candidate for the *codex optimus*, having being written about only one hundred years after Gilla Cóemáin’s floruit. The resultant text would be firmly rooted in Irish scribal tradition. However, L exhibits many scribal errors, mainly metrical but also material, as should be clear from the discussion above. These errors surely cannot all be the work of Gilla Cóemáin. An alternative approach might have been to simply follow the text of S and to emend on the basis of LLcGB.

On further reflection, it was decided that the Lachmannian approach would best suit the objective of attempting to recover the authorial text (*o*) or at least the archetypal text (*x*). It facilitates the elimination of derivative witnesses, allows us to identify which copies are closest to the archetype and indeed enables us to identify which of several variant readings is most likely to be authorial by virtue of their location within the stemma.

Nevertheless, the Lachmannian approach is fraught with difficulties in the context of our study. At the lowest level of our stemma for *Hériu ard*, great difficulties were encountered in establishing a linear filiation between the *z*-recension and the medieval witnesses because of conflation, that is to say, the simultaneous use by one scribe of more than one exemplar. A further problem encountered in this work was contamination, which is here defined as the influence of readings remembered by a scribe from his copying of the text in another manuscript on an earlier occasion. In

¹³⁹) Wolf, ‘New Philology’, p. 179.

¹⁴⁰) McGann, *A Critique*, p. 115.

connection with our study of the *z*-recension of *Hériu ard*, it is worth noting that one of New Philology's proponents, Stackmann, believed that 'there was no way back to the authorial original especially in the case of contaminated witnesses'.¹⁴¹

One of the limitations of stemmatics that was recognised, during my study of *Hériu ard*, was that whereas agreement between L and S(LcGB) allowed us to reconstruct the archetype (*x*), disagreement between the two branches of the stemma, whereby L and S(Lc(GB)) yielded two variants of equal merit, made the reconstruction of the archetype a very tentative exercise indeed.¹⁴²

Among the other difficulties which have been encountered in this work were the possible existence of error in the hyperarchetype *x* or in the authorial original (*o*). The Lachmannian approach presumes that the authorial original — the *Ur-Text* — is free of errors. The present work acknowledges the existence of error in the archetype, and in some cases, in the authorial original. Such 'errors' in our poems are generally of a computistic nature. That is to say they are errors which appear to have occurred because either Gilla Cóemáin has misread, for example, roman numerals in his sources, or, constructed a new synchronism and produced a new computation.

One of the inherent drawbacks in the Lachmannian approach is the need to hypothesise the existence of lost archetypes. The loss of witnesses to our manuscript tradition in Ireland and abroad means that our overall reconstruction of the historical textual tradition can therefore be merely hypothetical.

4.4 Establishment of the Text of the Archetype *x*

My objective has been to establish 'as nearly as humanly possible what the author wrote'¹⁴³ and thereby to present the text as the author intended, or as nearly as he intended. In this study the original text of each of our three poems, written c.1072, has been designated as *o*. It has been postulated that a later scribe or scribes drafted an archetype *x* for the three poems a generation after Gilla Cóemáin. It has further been postulated that *x* represents a faithful representation of Gilla Cóemáin's *o*. From archetype *x* are descended the extant copies of *Hériu ard*, *At-tá sund* and *Annálad*.

The stemmatic method has been used to bring us as close as possible to the archetype of all three poems. In the case *Hériu ard*, for example, *x* can be reconstructed with a high degree of certainty in instances wherever we find L in agreement (i) with S(LcG, or SG, or LcG) or (ii) with Lc/G where innovations have been introduced independently into S and Lc/G.

141) Wolf, 'New Philology', p. 178: 'Zumindest bei kontaminierten d. h. auf mehreren Vorlagen basierenden Handschriften sah er keinen Weg zurück zu einem Autororiginal'. See further, K. Stackmann, 'Neue Philologie?', p. 414.

142) Greetham, *Textual Scholarship*, p. 320.

143) M. Lapidge 'The Edition, Emendation and Reconstruction of Anglo-Saxon Texts' in R. Frank (ed.) *The Politics of Editing Medieval Texts*, Papers Given at the Twenty-Seventh Annual Conference on Editorial Problems, University of Toronto, 1-2 November 1991 (New York, 1993), p. 149.

In instances where a clean two-way split occurs between the L- and the y-branch, we are faced with making a choice between either the L or the y-hyperarchetype. I make the choice on a ‘case by case’ basis. Thus, for example, if the reading in L is grammatically superior, metrically superior to the other witnesses and its statement of fact is supported by authoritative external evidence, then I follow L. If the reading of the y-branch is grammatically, metrically and factually superior, then I follow y. Where the external evidence is of no help in allowing us to make the decision, the criterion *utrum in alterum abiturum erat?* (which reading was the more likely to be corrupted by the other?) is used. In instances where both branches appear to be equally plausible¹⁴⁴ and are equally well-corroborated, I follow L, the manuscript, which carries, what has been termed ‘residual authority’.¹⁴⁵ At least in the case of L, the readings are ‘definite’, that is to say, we know that we are not dealing with a contaminated text. Moreover, L’s grammatical forms generally indicate that it represents the earliest linguistic stratum of the text.

Given this strengths in L, we can find ourselves frequently resorting to a version of the copy-text approach to textual editing. In this regard we should note Tanselle’s summary of the theory of copy-text:

*Generally speaking, an editor has less to go on when judging variants in punctuation and spelling than when judging variants in wording, and for that reason the text chosen as copy-text often supplies most of the punctuation and spelling for the critical text. But the editor is free, of course, to make rational decisions regarding spelling and punctuation when the evidence permits; conversely, variants in wording can sometimes seem indifferent, and the impasse is resolved by adopting the copy-text reading ... [A] copy-text is simply the text most likely to provide an authorial reading ... at points of variation where one cannot otherwise reach a decision.*¹⁴⁶

4.5 External Evidence for Corroboration of Regnal Years

In attempting to establish the accuracy of statements of regnal years, I have drawn on the external evidence furnished by Rawl. B 502 Mⁱⁿ, Mⁱⁿ, R1 and Laud Sync. and, where the historical record begins, the Chronicle of Ireland. The credence given to the external evidence is weighted in favour of Rawl. B 502 Mⁱⁿ and Mⁱⁿ in the first instance, and thereafter R1, followed by Laud Sync.

¹⁴⁴ I follow M. West (*Textual Criticism*, p. 48) in his definition of ‘plausible’. The sense of the reading must fit with the author’s intention as far as we can divine that intention on grounds of context; the language, style, metre and so forth of the reading must correspond to the way in which the author might have expressed himself; and ‘it must be clear how the presumed original reading could have been corrupted into any different reading that is transmitted’.

¹⁴⁵ Greetham, *Textual Scholarship*, p. 353.

¹⁴⁶ G. T. Tanselle, ‘Recent Editorial Discussion and the Central Questions of Editing’, *Studies in Bibliography* 34 (1980), pp. 23–65: 64 (cited in J. J. McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Charlottesville, 1992), pp. 27–28).

4.6 Technical Aspects of the Editing Process

4.6.1 Presentation of Clear Reading Text

A ‘clear reading text’ has been presented. No editorial changes to the text have been indicated in the text itself. Abbreviations are thus silently expanded in the clear text, but printed in italics in the critical apparatus. Where some doubt remains as to the correct form as, for example in *blīa* for genitive plural *blīadna* or later *blīadan*, then abbreviated forms are printed in the critical apparatus as they appear in the manuscript. Additional quatrains from the medieval and early modern copies of the poems are printed in a smaller type-face in order to distinguish them from the core text. These quatrains are labelled with the number of the preceding quatrain of the canonical text and the letter A, thus I.17A, I.23A, and so on. Lenited *f* and lenited *s* have been represented as *ḟ* and *ṡ* respectively. Hyphens have been inserted in compound verbs to separate the preverb from the rest of the compound thus: *do-rochair*. Hyphens have also been inserted after *t* and *n* where they are prefixed to a vowel. Punctuation and capitalisation in the text have been supplied throughout. The macron has not been used. Length-marks have been supplied silently where omitted in the manuscripts. This policy extends to the diphthongs *ía*, *úa*, *áe*, *aí*, *óe*, and *oí*. It should be noted that a lemma generally not provided in instances where the form of a numeral is not in question as in: II.5d *secht*] *.uii*. LM, *secht* R. Nasalisation as a marker of the accusative singular has been restored in this edition where at least one witness supports restoration and where that restoration is confirmed by one of the parallel texts.¹⁴⁷ Chevilles are printed in the Irish text between commas and in the translation between m-dashes. Line-references to the edition in *LL* III have been recorded in the right margin of the text-page.

4.6.2 Orthography of Critical Editions

The orthography used in the clear reading texts is essentially that of L, the only witness to the tradition which has consistently preserved the spelling system of Middle Irish. Its orthography has therefore been adopted in the edition. Adoption of L’s orthography has meant that it has been possible to keep normalisation of the orthography to a minimum. However, there are a limited number of divergences from the orthography of L, especially where adoption of L’s orthography might obfuscate the way in which the end-rhyme operates, or to a lesser extent, where a spelling found in the manuscript of L has been ousted from the critical edition in favour of a more conventional spelling which is found in all of the other manuscripts. All such divergences have been indicated in the critical apparatus. One example is: I.1c *duine*] SLcGB, *duni* L. Unstressed vowels in final open position have, of course, coalesced as *schwa*. These are allowed to stand as they appear in L.

¹⁴⁷) See textual note I.10d. See also lines I.67d, I.72d, I.86d, I.112d.

4.6.3 Critical Apparatus

The apparatus has been included on the text-page. Each line in the text is keyed to a lemma in the form of a head-word, a square bracket to indicate the end of the lemma, and then the substantive variant readings from the various witnesses, each witness having been assigned a particular *siglum*. Since the present edition is based exclusively on the medieval manuscripts, the variant readings of the seventeenth-century manuscripts are only recorded where they supply additional quatrains as in the case of I.23A. Readings which merely involve orthographic variation have not been recorded in the apparatus, as for example at I.5c *can glór*] LGB, *conglor S*, *cen bron Lc*. The underlying readings in this lemma are *canglór L*, *gan glor GB*, *conglor S*, *cen bron Lc*. Exceptions to the practice of not recording orthographical variants include instances where there is some doubt over *u*-colouring in the dative singular, where there is uncertainty concerning the form of a proper noun, or to indicate. Editorial comments within the apparatus are shown in italics within parentheses. Numbers given in brackets indicate the number of syllables present in a specific line in any given witness. For example, III.9a *isin*] SLcB, *sin* (6 syllables) L, *isa G*.

4.6.4 Emendations

Emendations in the critical editions have been made on grounds of manuscript authority, as far as was possible. Divergences from this policy together with additional conjectural emendations have been suggested in the Textual Notes and Commentary. The preferred lection at any given point in the edition has been indicated by means of the positioning of the sigla in the lemma. Thus, for example, departures from the sequence LSLcGB in the case of *Hériu ard*, LRM in the case of *At-tá sund* and LRLdM in the case of *Annálad* indicate that a specific manuscript or group of manuscripts other than L has been preferred for the edition.

4.6.5 Translations

Facing the text-page is the translation. The translation is given in stanzaic form, a departure from the widespread contemporary practice of presenting translations of verse in prose form. This unusual approach was taken to highlight the sequential and chronological nature of the regnal lists which underlie the poems. An attempt has been made to provide translations that reflect as close as possible the syntax and sense of the Irish texts within the constraints presented by the differences between Irish and English in word-order and idiom. The reader should bear in mind that there are many instances in which it is difficult to know whether we are dealing with declarative main clause statements or relative clauses. This ambiguity is illustrated by examples like:

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| I.95. | Labraid Loinsech laech ro chaith
noí mblíadna déc co degmaith; | Labraid Loingsech, a warrior, who spent
nineteen years very well. |
|-------|---|--|

Because the past tense preverbal marker *ro* lenited the initial consonant of its verb, even in declarative main clauses at this period in the language, the couplet could also be taken as a non-relative declarative statement meaning ‘Labraid Loinsech, [the] warrior, / (he) spent nineteen years very well’.

4.6.6 Analogues and Chronological Framework

In order to provide a chronological framework for each of the poems and to enhance the reader’s understanding of the way in which the poems fit into the wider context of *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*, the Pre-Patrician Annals and the Post-Patrician Annals, reference is made wherever possible to D. Mc Carthy’s *Chronological Synchronisation of the Irish Annals*¹⁴⁸ and several other parallel texts or analogues below the translation. References to *LG* in this study are to paragraph numbers as given in Macalister’s edition of *LG*. The various redactions of *LG* are also referred to by Macalister’s labels. Extensive use has been made of CELT Corpus of Electronic Texts at <http://celt.ucc.ie/>. References to Stokes’s edition of *AT* as published in *Revue Celtique (RC)*, have been supplemented where possible by references to the electronic edition as published by CELT.

4.6.7 Textual Notes and Indices

Difficulties regarding the text and translation are discussed in the Textual Notes and Commentary. In compiling the Indices of Personal Names, Place-Names and Dynastic Names, extensive use has been made of the index in *CGH, Onomasticon Goedelicum*¹⁴⁹ and *The Annals of Tigernach: Index of Names*.¹⁵⁰ In instances where I was unsure which form of any given name should be used in the Indices, I have followed *CGH*.

¹⁴⁸) <http://www.cs.tcd.ie/Dan.McCarthy/chronology/synchronisms/annals-chron.htm>. Dates from the *Chronological Synchronisation* are indicated by the use of an asterisk.

¹⁴⁹) E. Hogan (comp.), *Onomasticon Goedelicum Locorum et Tribuum Hiberniae et Scotiae* (Dublin, 1910). Online at : <http://www.ucc.ie:8080/cocoon/doi/locus>

¹⁵⁰) D. Ó Murchú (comp.), *The Annals of Tigernach: Index of Names*, Irish Texts Society, Subsidiary Series No. 6 (London, 1997).

5. Analogues and Possible Sources

5.1 Identifying the Analogues

In an attempt to identify possible analogues to the poems of Gilla Cóemáin, I have compared the poems with several texts concerned with the kings of Ireland and the kings of the world. Where agreement is shown between our poems and what may be called the ‘parallel texts’ this is noted below the translations. The categories of texts examined were:

- I Continental chronicles and encyclopaediae:
the Hieronymo-Eusebian Chronicle;¹⁵¹ the writings of Paulus Orosius (*floruit* 414–417);¹⁵² and the writings of Isidore (AD 560–636).¹⁵³

¹⁵¹) The edition used in this study is that by J. K. Fotheringham (ed.), *Eusebii Pamphili Chronici Canones: Latine Vertit, Adauxit ad sua Tempora Produxit S. Eusebius Hieronymus* (Oxford, 1923). I have also referred to A. Schoene (ed.), *Eusebi Chronicorum Canonum, Libri Duo*, Vol. II (Berlin, 1875). For the background to the use of the Chronicle in Ireland see J. Morris, ‘The Chronicle of Eusebius: Irish Fragments’, *Institute of Classical Studies: Bulletin* No. 19 (1972), pp. 80–93: 80–81. M. Miller, ‘The Chronological Structure of the Sixth Age in the Rawlinson Fragment of the “Irish World-Chronicle”’, *Celtica* 22 (1991), pp. 79–111: 81.

¹⁵²) J. P. Migne (ed.), Paulus Orosius, *Historiarum Libri Septem, Patrologia Latina* 31 (Paris, 1846), col. 663–1174. For the background to the writings of Orosius in Ireland see J. J. Tierney, *Dicuili: Liber de Mensura Orbis Terrae*, SLH 6 (Dublin, 1967), p. 8, § 17. R. Baumgarten, ‘The Geographical Orientation of Ireland in Isidore and Orosius’, *Peritia* 3 (1984), pp. 189–203: 189–90, note 2.

¹⁵³) See edition of *S. Isidori Etymologiarum Libri XX* by F. Arevalo that was reproduced by J. P. Migne *Patrologia Latina* 82 (Paris, 1878), also, W. M. Lindsay, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi: Etymologiarum Sive Originum Libri XX* (Oxford, 1911. Reprint, 1971), 2 vols. For the background to the study of Isidore in Ireland, see M. Smyth, ‘Isidore of Seville and Early Irish Cosmography’, *CMCS* 14 (Winter 1987), pp. 69–102: 101. J. N. Hillgarth, ‘Ireland and Spain in the Seventh Century’, *Peritia* 3 (1984), pp. 1–16. M. Herren, ‘On the Earliest Irish Acquaintance with Isidore of Seville’, in E. James (ed.), *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 243–250. G. Calder, *Auraicept na nÉces* (Edinburgh, 1917), pp. xxxi–xl. Tomás Ó Máille, ‘The Authorship of the *Culmen*’, *Ériu* 9 (1921), pp. 71–76. P. Russell, ‘The Sounds of a Silence: The Growth of Cormac’s Glossary’, *CMCS* 15 (Summer, 1988), pp. 1–30. R. Baumgarten, ‘A Hiberno-Isidorean Etymology’, *Peritia* 2 (1983), pp. 225–228: 227. T. O’Loughlin, ‘The Library of Iona in the late Seventh Century: The Evidence from Adomnán’s *De Locis Sancti*’, *Ériu* 45 (1994), pp. 33–52. See also reprints of selected essays by J. N. Hillgarth in *Visigothic Spain, Byzantium and the Irish* (London, 1985).

5. Analogues and Possible Sources

- II Historical works of Bede (AD 672–735):
De Temporibus Liber (Books 16–22 of the *Chronica Minora*)¹⁵⁴ and *De Temporum Ratione* (Books 66–71 of the *Chronica Maiora*).¹⁵⁵
- III Hiberno-Latin computistic texts:
Liber de Numeris (AD 775–790);¹⁵⁶ *Karlsruhe II* (ninth century);¹⁵⁷ *Ab Adam* (tenth century);¹⁵⁸ and *Prima igitur etas* (tenth–eleventh centuries).¹⁵⁹
- IV Biblical history in Irish:
Saltair na Rann, a late-tenth-century (?) verse epitome of biblical history;¹⁶⁰ and the Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi*, an eleventh-century text concerning the ages of the world.¹⁶¹
- V Synchronistic prose tracts on world history and Irish pre-history:
Prima Etas Mundi/A-Tract;¹⁶² *Adam Primus Pater/B-Tract*¹⁶³ and the Z-synchronism.¹⁶⁴

154) *Bedaes Venerabilis Opera, Pars VI, Opera Didascalica*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 123 C (Turnhout, 1980), pp. 585–611.

155) C. W. Jones, *Bedaes Venerabilis Opera, Pars VI, Opera Didascalica*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 123 B (Turnhout, 1977), II, pp. 463–544. Reprinted from T. Mommsen, *MGH AA 13* (1898), pp. 247–327. For the background to the study of Bede’s works among the Irish see D. Whitelock, ‘After Bede’, in *Bede and his World*, Vol. I: The Jarrow Lectures: 1958–1978, pp. 3–15: 38. M. Miller, ‘The Chronological Structure of the Sixth Age in the Rawlinson Fragment of the “Irish World-Chronicle”’, *Celtica 22* (1991), pp. 79–111: 84. K. Meyer, ‘Eine irische Version von Beda’s Historia’, *ZCP 2* (1899), pp. 321–22. See also P. Ní Chatháin, ‘Bede’s Ecclesiastical History in Irish’, *Peritia 3* (1984), pp. 115–30.

156) Text printed from Colmar manuscript 39, fols. 132v–139r by H. L. C. Tristram, *SAM*, pp. 294–95 = R. McNally, *Der irische Liber de Numeris*, pp. 101–06.

157) Text printed from Karlsruhe manuscript Aug. CXII, fols. 50ra–50va by Tristram, *SAM*, pp. 297–98 = R. McNally, *Der irische Liber de Numeris*, p. 102.

158) Text printed from Book of Ballymote, facsimile 10b9–23 by Tristram, *SAM*, pp. 280–81.

159) Text printed from Book of Ballymote, facsimile 10b24–30 by Tristram, *SAM*, p. 281.

160) W. Stokes, *Saltair na Rann* (Oxford, 1883). G. Mac Eoin, ‘The Date and Authorship of *Saltair na Rann*’, *ZCP 28* (1960–61), pp. 51–67: 51, 67. Contrast with J. Carney, ‘The Dating of Early Irish Verse Texts, 500–1100’, *Éigse 19* (1982–83), pp. 177–216: 207–16.

161) H. L. C. Tristram, *SAM*; D. Ó Cróinín, *The Irish ‘Sex Aetates Mundi’* (Dublin, 1983). The edition referred to throughout the present study is that of Ó Cróinín. The two earliest copies of the text are preserved in the late eleventh-century manuscript, *Lebor na hUidre* and the early twelfth-century manuscript, Rawlinson B 502. The text seems to have been written in the eleventh century, and has been attributed to Dublithir Úa hÚathgaile (*floruit* c.1100). M. Herbert, ‘The Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi*: First Editions’, *CMCS 11* (Summer 1986), pp. 97–112: 101, 106, 107–108.

162) *CPV*, pp. 278–87. B. Mac Carthy (ibid, p. 245) asserted that the ‘original A-Tract (§§ b-h) can date from the end of the sixth century’. Tristram (*SAM*, p. 33) tentatively suggested assigning this text to the eleventh or twelfth century. O’Rahilly (*EIHM*, p. 411) also rejected Mac Carthy’s dating of the A- and B-Tracts.

163) *CPV*, pp. 286–309. Mac Carthy (pp. 245–46) stated that the B-Tract ‘contains nothing inconsistent with being compiled before the introduction of Incarnation dating into Ireland (AD 632–3)’. Tristram (*SAM*, p. 34) tentatively suggested assigning this text to the eleventh century.

VI Synchronistic lists of the kings of Ireland:

The Laud Miscellany 610 Synchronisms of the kings of Ireland (*Laud Synchronisms*);¹⁶⁵ and an early twelfth-century synchronism of the kings of Ireland entitled *Comaimserad ríg nÉrenn 7 ríg na cóiced iar cretim*.¹⁶⁶

VII King-Lists:

an eleventh-century king-list from fol. 15 of the Chronicle of Marianus Scottus (d. 1082–1083) which is printed in *CPV*;¹⁶⁷ an eleventh-century list of the Christian Kings of Ireland in Rawlinson B 502;¹⁶⁸ and an eleventh-century Annals of Inisfallen King-List (*AI King-List*, §§ 345–385).¹⁶⁹

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- ¹⁶⁴) J. Mac Néill assigned the label ‘Z’ to the synchronism beginning on fol. 21b22 of the facsimile of the Book of Ballymote together with passages from the Book of Lecan. He discussed Z in an article entitled ‘An Historical Tract Dated AD 721’ in *PRIA* 28, C (1910), pp. 123–148: 125–37. Mac Neill dated the compilation of the original of Z to the year AD 721 (p. 139). Furthermore, he noted (p. 139) that the ‘compiler believed himself to be writing in the ninety-fourth year from the accession of Domnall son of Áed, i.e. 721’. He further contended (pp. 139–40) that the text was originally written in Latin, but translated into Irish in the eleventh century. For a rebuttal of this discussion, see Scowcroft, ‘*Leabhar Gabhála* — Part I’, pp. 125–127. Scowcroft noted that, while ‘ultimately, the text does have an eighth-century source’ (p. 126), the text is a ‘purely Middle Irish composition’ (p. 127). Scowcroft’s critique of Mac Néill’s presentation of the text is noteworthy. See also O’Rahilly’s assertion (*EIHM*, p. 412) that the Z-Synchronism was an ‘attempt by some writer after Flann’s time to synchronise Irish events with the data provided by Flann’s poem’ [i.e. *Rédig dam a Dé do nim*].
- ¹⁶⁵) K. Meyer, ‘The Laud Synchronisms’, *ZCP* 9 (1914), pp. 471–85. The *Laud Synchronisms* consist of a list of the pre-Christian kings of Ireland beginning with the Fir Bolg, a list of the Christian kings of Ireland, lists of the Christian provincial kings and a list of the abbots of Armagh. For a full description of the structure of the text, see O’Rahilly, *EIHM*, pp. 412–414. Mac Neill dated the compilation of the *Laud Synchronisms* to ‘about the middle of the eighth century’ (*ZCP* 10, p. 90). This view was rejected by O’Rahilly who assigned their compilation to a ‘much later’ period (*EIHM*, p. 417).
- ¹⁶⁶) R. Thurneysen, ‘Synchronismen der irischen Könige’, *ZCP* 19 (1931–32), pp. 81–99, 133. This text synchronises the reigns of the kings of Ireland, from the time of Patrick until the death of Muirchertach mac Toirdelbaig in 1119 with those of the kings of Scotland and the kings of the provinces of Ireland. Thurneysen dated the text to some time after the death of Muirchertach in 1119 (p. 82).
- ¹⁶⁷) *CPV*, pp. 94–95. For a full list of the editions of the various books of the Chronicle of Marianus, see B. Ó Cuív, ‘The Irish Marginalia in Codex Palatino-Vaticanus No. 830’, *Éigse* 24 (1990), pp. 45–67. G. Waitz (ed.), ‘Mariani Scotti Chronicon’, *MGH, SS V*, pp. 481–568. The death of Flann mac Maíl Sechnaill (d. 916), the last name mentioned in the king-list, provides us with a *terminus post quem*.
- ¹⁶⁸) Edited from Oxford, Bodleian MS, Rawlinson B 502 fols. 137a8–137a22 by M. A. O’Brien in *CGH* 1 (Dublin, 1962; repr. 1976), pp. 124–25. The king-list is prefaced by the words *Haec sunt credentium regum nomina*. Since the list ends with the reign of Brían Bórama, it may be presumed that it was compiled sometime between Brían’s death in 1014 and 1120, the approximate date of writing of Rawlinson B 502. O’Brien indicated that many of the regnal years recorded after the names of the kings were added by a later hand. He noted that these regnal years are absent from the corresponding passage in Laud Miscellany 610. See also B. Ó Cuív (comp.), *Catalogue of Irish MSS at Oxford*, item number 34, pp. 163–200: 194.
- ¹⁶⁹) S. Mac Airt (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Inisfallen* (Dublin, 1944; 1988). Mac Airt (p. xx)

VIII The Pre-Patrician and Post-Patrician Annals.

The monks of Iona appear to have compiled a chronicle known to modern scholarship as the ‘Iona Chronicle’.¹⁷⁰ The most recent published account of its origin is that by T. Charles-Edwards who concludes that the Iona scholars revised and expanded their chronicle so that it included not only contemporary entries from as early as the last third of the sixth century,¹⁷¹ but entries stretching back to c.500¹⁷² which they had inserted retrospectively, fifth century material which they had abstracted from the Chronicle of Marcellinus (c.642),¹⁷³ and further supplementary material which was supplied by Bede’s *Chronica Maiora* (c.725).¹⁷⁴ The primary focus of the Iona Chronicle is East Ulster and Scotland.

Around 740 the Iona Chronicle was transferred to Ireland.¹⁷⁵ The exact location of the first Irish home of the Iona Chronicle, and indeed its subsequent homes, is a matter of debate — Bangor,¹⁷⁶ Clonard,¹⁷⁷ Armagh,¹⁷⁸ and Brega¹⁷⁹ having all been proposed. Close comparison of the post-Patrician content of the extant collections of Irish Annals — the Annals of Tigernach (*AT*),¹⁸⁰ The Annals of Ulster (*AU*),¹⁸¹ the

noted that the King-List ended in 1022 with the death of Máel Sechnaill and suggested (pp. xx–xi) that ‘the redactor of the present version of the World Chronicle’ [of which the king-list forms a part] ‘was the work of an earlier scholar perhaps during the period between Flann’s death and the accession of Tairdelbach Ua Briain, that is, between 1056 and 1072’.

- 170) See J. Bannerman. ‘Notes on the Scottish Entries in the Early Irish Annals’, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 11 (1968), pp. 149–70.
- 171) T. M. Charles-Edwards (ed.), *The Chronicle of Ireland: Translated with an Introduction and Notes*, vol. 1 (Liverpool, 2006), p. 58. Note, however, that A. P. Smyth, assigns the beginning of the Iona Chronicle to a slightly earlier date, c. 550. See Smyth, ‘The Earliest Irish Annals: their First Contemporary Entries, and the Earliest Centres of Recording’, *PRIA (C)*, 72 (1972), pp. 1–48: 10.
- 172) *CI*, vol. 1, p. 58.
- 173) *CI*, vol. 1, pp. 55–57.
- 174) *CI*, vol. 1, pp. 55–57.
- 175) G. Mac Niocaill, *The Medieval Irish Annals*, Medieval Irish History Series 3, (Dublin, 1975), p. 19.
- 176) For O’Rahilly’s theories regarding the existence of an ‘Ulster Chronicle’ and its compilation at Bangor, Co. Down, see *EIHM*, p. 253.
- 177) A. P. Smyth, ‘The Earliest Irish Annals: their First Contemporary Entries, and the Earliest Centres of Recording’, *PRIA (C)*, 72 (1972), pp. 1–48: 26–27.
- 178) Mac Niocaill, *The Medieval Irish Annals*, p. 22.
- 179) *CI*, vol. 1, p. 58.
- 180) W. Stokes (ed. and trans.), ‘The Annals of Tigernach’, *Revue Celtique* 16 (1895), pp. 374–419; 17 (1896), pp. 6–33, 116–263, 337–420; 18 (1897), pp. 9–59, 150–303; reprinted as 2 vols, Felinagh, 1993. John [=Eoin] MacNeill, ‘The Authorship and Structure of the Annals of Tigernach’, *Ériu* 7 (1913), pp. 30–113. P. Walsh, ‘The Annals Attributed to Tigernach’, *Ir Hist Stud* 2 (1940–41), pp. 154–9; reprinted in P. Walsh, *Irish Men of Learning* (Dublin, 1947), pp. 219–25.
- 181) W. M. Hennessy & B. Mac Carthy (ed. and trans.), *Annala Uladh: Annals of Ulster*, 4 vols. (Dublin, 1887–1901; reprinted [with fresh introduction and bibliography by N. Ó Muraíle]

5.1 Identifying the Analogues

Chronicum Scotorum (*CS*),¹⁸² the Annals of Inisfallen (*AI*),¹⁸³ the Annals of Clonmacnoise (*AClon*),¹⁸⁴ and the Annals of Roscrea (*AR*)¹⁸⁵ – show that they all embody to a lesser or greater extent a common core text which is considered to derive from the Iona Chronicle and its continuation.

O’Rahilly proposed that a split in the textual tradition of the Post-Patrician Annals occurred in the early tenth century with the transferal of a copy of the Chronicle to Clonmacnoise¹⁸⁶ thereby giving rise to the Clonmacnoise version and a northern version of the Post-Patrician Annals. The Clonmacnoise version is now represented by the Clonmacnoise group of texts,¹⁸⁷ namely, *AT*, *CS*, *AClon*, *AI*, and *AR*, while the northern version was eventually embedded in *AU*.

The general consensus has been that the non-Irish material in the Pre-Patrician Annals, and the Christian material from the Incarnation to c.400, was derived from Jerome’s Chronicle and subsequent works down to the time of Bede’s *Chronica Maiora* and therefore cannot date to before 725.¹⁸⁸ On the other hand, Morris sug-

Dublin, 1998). S. Mac Airt & G. Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)* (Dublin, 1983) [all published]. A. Gwynn, *Cathal Óg mac Maghnusa and the Annals of Ulster*, ed. N. Ó Muraíle (Enniskillen, 1998). D. Mc Carthy, ‘The Chronological Apparatus of the Annals of Ulster, AD 431–1131’, *Peritia* 8 (1994), pp. 46–79. D. Mc Carthy, ‘The Chronology of the Irish Annals’, *PRIA* (C), 98 (1998), pp. 203–55. D. Mc Carthy, ‘The Chronological Apparatus of the *Annals of Ulster* AD 82–1019’, *Peritia* 16 (2002), pp. 256–83. K. Hughes, *ECI*, pp. 99–100, 107.

- 182) These annals were originally edited by W. M. Hennessy as *Chronicum Scotorum*, Rolls Series, 46 (London, 1866; reprint, Wiesbaden, 1964) from a manuscript in the hand of the seventeenth-century scribe Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh. Hughes (*ECI*, p. 107) believed that *CS* was based on a copy of the Chronicle of Ireland which had been taken to Clonmacnoise sometime after 913, and had been supplemented with additional entries. N. Ó Muraíle, *The Celebrated Antiquary: Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh (c.1600–71): his Lineage, Life, and Learning* (Maynooth, 1996), pp. 97–107, 308–9.
- 183) R. I. Best & E. Mac Neill (ed.), *The Annals of Inisfallen Reproduced in Facsimile from the Original Manuscript* (Dublin, 1933). S. Mac Airt (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Inisfallen* (Dublin, 1951). A. Gwynn, ‘Were the “Annals of Inisfallen” written at Killaloe?’, *N Munster Antiq J* 8 (1958), pp. 20–33. R. H. Leech, ‘*Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* and the *Annals of Inisfallen*’, *N Munster Antiq J* 11 (1968), pp. 13–21. G. Mac Niocaill, *The Medieval Irish Annals* (Dublin, 1975), pp. 24–5.
- 184) D. Murphy (ed.), *The Annals of Clonmacnoise, Being Annals of Ireland from the Earliest Period to A.D. 1408: Translated into English A. D. 1627 by Conell Mageoghagan* (Dublin, 1896. Facsimile Reprint, Llanerch Publishers, 1993).
- 185) Partially Edited by D. Gleeson & S. Mac Airt from Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 5303, pp. 25–65 in ‘The Annals of Roscrea’, *PRIA* 59 C (1957/58), pp. 137–80. [Gleeson & Mac Airt omitted the annals in pp.1–24.]
- 186) See *EIHM*, p. 258.
- 187) See K. Grabowski & D. N. Dumville, *Chronicles and Annals of Medieval Ireland and Wales: the Clonmacnoise Group of Texts* (Woodbridge, 1984).
- 188) S. Mac Airt, *AI*, p. xvii. Cf. E. Mac Néill, ‘The Authorship and Structure of the “Annals of Tigernach”’, *Ériu* 7 (1914), pp. 30–113; A. G. van Hamel, ‘Über die vorpatrizianischen irischen Annalen’, *ZCP* 17 (1928), pp. 241–260; R. M. Macalister, ‘The Sources of the Preface to the ‘Tigernach’ Annals’, *Irish Historical Studies* iv:13 (1944–45), pp. 38–57.
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gested that the Pre-Patrician Annals owed their non-Irish material to a now lost Latin translation of the Chronicle of Eusebius, which he called the ‘607 edition of Eusebius’.¹⁸⁹ Similarly D. Mc Carthy, having examined textual and chronological features of the Annalistic and Bedan world-history, concluded that the non-Irish material is derived from what he calls ‘Rufinus’s Chronicle’ which Rufinus compiled using Eusebius’s chronicle and other chronicles of Antiquity between c.402 and his death in c.410.¹⁹⁰ Mc Carthy is of the view that Rufinus’s Chronicle was transmitted to Ireland with the work of Sulpicius Severus (d. c.425), and was subsequently extended, possibly by Colum Cille himself, to form the Iona Chronicle.¹⁹¹ The chronological system of the Pre- and Post-Patrician Annals of this compilation can be reconstructed with the aid of D. Mc Carthy’s *Chronological Synchronisation of the Irish Annals*.

Other annalistic compilations that have been consulted include the Cottonian Annals,¹⁹² the Fragmentary Annals,¹⁹³ and the Annals of the Four Masters (*AFM*).¹⁹⁴

IX *Rédig dam a Dé do nim*:¹⁹⁵

a composite poem of seven sections was written by Flann Mainistrech mac Echthigirn (d. 1056);

189) J. Morris, ‘The Chronicle of Eusebius: Irish Fragments’, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 19 (1978), pp. 80–93: 80, 89.

190) D. Mc Carthy, ‘The Status of the Pre-Patrician Irish Annals’, *Peritia* 12 (1998), pp. 98–152: 134, 148–150, 151

191) D. Mc Carthy, ‘The Pre-Patrician Irish Annals’, pp. 151–152.

192) A. Martin Freeman, ‘The Annals in Cotton MS Titus A. XXV’, *RC* 41 (1924), pp. 301–330; 42 (1925), pp. 283–305; 43 (1926), pp. 358–84; 44 (1927), pp. 336–61. Mac Niocaill (*The Medieval Irish Annals*, p. 30) noted that the first section of the text in a single hand, dates to not later than c. 1228.

193) Edited and translated by J.N. Radner, from Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale manuscript 5301–5320 as *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland* (Dublin, 1978). Radner argued that all five sections of the Fragmentary Annals ‘came from the same original compilation’ (p. xii) and that they represented ‘one independent abridgement of the Irish World Annals’ (p. xiv). She contended that the source of Fragments I–III was what she terms ‘The Durrow Chronicle’ (p. xxi), and the source of Fragments IV–V was what she has called ‘The Osraige Chronicle’ (p. xxv). She conjectured that the original text may have been compiled under the patronage of Cerball mac Dúnlaing (p. xxv) around the middle of the eleventh century (pp. xxvi, xxxiii).

194) J. O’Donovan, *AFM*, 7 vols. (Dublin, 1848–51). These annals were compiled by Míchéil Ó Cléirigh, Muirghius Ó Maoil Chonaire, Fearghus Ó Maoil Chonaire, and Cú Choigríche Ó Cléirigh at Eas Ruadh on the Droghaais between 1632 and 1636. On the text see N. Ó Muraíle, ‘The Autograph Manuscripts of the Annals of the Four Masters’, *Celtica* 19 (1987), pp. 75–95.

195) S. Mac Airt (ed.), ‘Middle-Irish Poem on World-Kingship’, *Études Celtiques* 6 (1953–1954), pp. 255–80; 7 (1955–1956), pp. 18–45; 8 (1958–1959), pp. 98–119; 284–97. See esp. *Études Celtiques* 6 (1953–54), pp. 255–56. Mac Airt described the work thus: ‘Flann’s composition represents the Eusebio doctrine of successive world-kingships, a poem each being devoted to the following dynasties in turn: Assyrian, Mede, Persian, Greek, Macedonian, Babylonian (Asia Minor), Roman. But his sources are not confined to the Hieronymo-Eusebian chronicle; the information is of the composite character of the “Irish World Chronicle” which (in its penultimate state) was a compilation made from many authorities’.

- X Anonymous computistic poems in Irish:
Sé Blíadna .I. 'malle (Sé blíadna .I.), a poem of six quatrains;¹⁹⁶ *Sé blíadna .I. gen ail*, a poem of seven quatrains;¹⁹⁷ and *Nín mac Béil roga na rrí*, a poem of 21 stanzas;¹⁹⁸
- XI *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*:
a poem of 35 quatrains which catalogues the *aideda* (circumstances surrounding the deaths) of the kings of Ireland from Lóegaire to Brían Bórama. Regnal years are not given in this poem. *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú* is prefaced by the words *Fland Manistrech cecinit* in the Book of Leinster (p. 131b). There is no good reason to reject this ascription to Flann Mainistrech;¹⁹⁹
- XII *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*:
a poem of 52 quatrains giving details of the *aideda* of the pre-Christian kings of Ireland beginning with Eochu Feidlech and finishing with Nath Í.²⁰⁰ It should be noted that regnal years are almost completely absent from this poem. *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain* is prefaced by the words *Fland cecinit* (p. 132b), presumably Flann Mainistrech, in the Book of Leinster;²⁰¹
- XIII Genealogical Prose-Tracts I (Rawl. B 502, fol. 137a23–25 = *CGH*, p. 125)²⁰² and II (Rawl. B 502, folio 137 a 42–44 = *CGH*, p. 126):²⁰³
Tract I is an early eleventh-century statement of the dynastic affiliations of the kings of Ireland while Tract II is a contemporary early eighth-century statement.
- XIV *Cía lín don rígraid ráin rúaid* (Genealogical Poem I) is a late tenth-century

¹⁹⁶⁾ Text printed from Book of Ballymote, facsimile, fols. 10b24–30 in *SAM*, pp. 281–82. Tristram (ibid, p. 34) suggested a twelfth-century date for the poem in view of the internal reference to the date [1126] of writing.

¹⁹⁷⁾ Text printed from London, British Library MS, Additional 30512, fols. 34ra1–17 in *SAM*, p. 34. Tristram (ibid, p. 34) suggested an eleventh or twelfth-century date for this poem.

¹⁹⁸⁾ Text printed in *CPV*, pp. 310–317. Tristram (*SAM*, p. 34) suggested a tenth–eleventh century date for this text.

¹⁹⁹⁾ See *LL III*, pp. 504–508, lines 15640–15780. Seven copies of the poem are preserved in the RIA alone. For the list, see K. Mulchrone, E. Fitzpatrick and A. I. Pearson, *RIA Cat. Ir. MSS: Index I* (Dublin, 1948), p. 492.

²⁰⁰⁾ R. M. Scowcroft (*‘Leabhar Gabhála — Part I’*, p. 131) indicated that the kings who preceded Eochu Feidlech are listed in an unpublished poem of 80/81 quatrains, beginning *Érimón is Éber ard*. See, for example, the copies in the Great Book of Lecan, fols. 14, 23v [50] b 43; 33, 42 r [87] a m.

²⁰¹⁾ See *LL III*, pp. 509–515, lines 15781–15989. Six copies of the poem are preserved in the RIA alone. For the list, see *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the RIA: Index I*, p. 492. All of these are unanimous in their ascription of the poem to Flann.

²⁰²⁾ Tract I appears to have been written very shortly after the death of Máel Sechnaill in 1022.

²⁰³⁾ Internal evidence suggests that the *Genealogical Prose Tract II* was written in the early eighth century, sometime after the deaths of Conall Cáel (d. 654), Fergal mac Maíle Dúin (d. 722), and Cináed mac Irgalaig, the eighth king of Síol nÁedo Sláne (d. 728), and before the rise of the first king of the Clann Cholmáin with the ascendancy of Domnall Midi mac Murchada (d. 763).

poem on the over-kings of Ireland and *Sé ríǵ déc Éogain anall* (Genealogical Poem II) is an early eleventh-century poem on the same subject.²⁰⁴

XV *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* (LG).

The poems edited in this study have been compared with the four medieval recensions of LG namely, R1, R2, R3 and the *míniugud*. The relationship between the various recensions of LG have been discussed in detail by R. M. Scowcroft in two important articles.²⁰⁵

A copy of *Hériu ard* appears to have been embedded in R1 (recension *a*).²⁰⁶ S forms part of the *míniugud* redaction (Mín / *m*). As noted above, further evidence of the existence of *Hériu ard* within the *míniugud* is provided by the citation of the first couplet of *Hériu ard* on fol. 97rb12 of Rawl. B 512. Our Lc and B copies formed part of R3 (recension *c*). G is independent of LG. However, it is noteworthy that the scribe of G, Ádhamh Ó Cianáin, wrote the Book of Fermoy copy of R1 (recension *a*).²⁰⁷

5.2 Possible Sources for *Hériu ard*

In the *Réim Rígráide* section of the poem Gilla Cóemáin manages to present within the rules of syllabic verse three and frequently four elements of information: the name (*ainm*) of the relevant king in the accepted chronological order, the duration of his reign (*aimser*), the circumstances surrounding his death (*aided*), and sometimes the place of death. Because of the canonical nature of the medium here and Gilla Cóemáin's clearly stated objective of producing a synthesis of Irish pre-history (see I.18), a single source would have been inadequate for his purposes. Comparison of *Hériu ard* with the various versions of the LG prose text and the *Laud Synchronisms* bears this out.

²⁰⁴) *Cía lín don rígráid ráin rúaid* (Genealogical Poem I), CGH, pp. 125–26, and *Sé ríǵ déc Éogain anall* (Genealogical Poem II), CGH, pp. 126–28. The *terminus post quem* of Genealogical Poem I is AD 956, the date of the death of Congalach Cnogba, the last of the Sílnáeda Sláine kings mentioned in the poem. 1022, the year of the death of Máel Sechnaill, the last of the kings of Ireland from the Clann Cholmáin, is the *terminus post quem* of *Sé ríǵ déc Éogain anall*. The absence of any reference to Brían Bórama in *Sé ríǵ déc Éogain anall* suggests that the poem was written early in Máel Sechnaill's reign or very shortly after his death. The enmity between the two men must have been still too fresh in the minds of Máel Sechnaill's supporters for Brían to be acknowledged as over-king of Ireland by the Uí Néill.

²⁰⁵) R. M. Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála — Part I: The Growth of the Text', *Ériu* 38 (1987), pp. 79–140 and 'Leabhar Gabhála — Part II: The Growth of the Tradition', *Ériu* 39 (1988), pp. 1–66. For a summary of the relationships of the recensions see 'Leabhar Gabhála — Part II', p. 2. See also J. Carey, *The Irish National Origin-Legend: Synthetic Pseudohistory*, Quiggin Pamphlets on the Sources of Mediaeval Gaelic History 1 (Cambridge, 1994).

²⁰⁶) See LL I, p. 93, lines 2996–2997.

²⁰⁷) See Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála — Part I: The Growth of the Text', p. 85.

I suggest that Gilla Cóemáin drew on three texts simultaneously: (i) Scowcroft's μ , which contained material common to the *Míniugud* and R1, (ii) a version of R2, and (iii) a version of the *Laud Synchronisms*. He appears to have used the *Laud Synchronisms* as a control when he wished to check the accuracy of a particular set of regnal years or when this information was lacking in all available versions of *LG*. R3 may be discounted as a possible source of *Hériu ard* because it appears to have been written some time after *Hériu ard*.²⁰⁸

5.3 Possible Sources for *At-tá sund*

For the composition of lines II.1–20a Gilla Cóemáin used a king-list which underlies the corresponding portion of R1, and possibly a version of the *Laud Synchronisms*. He may also have had in front of him a version of the king-lists embodied in *CPV* and *AI-King-List*. But this need not have been the case: the same material might also have been culled from the *Laud Synchronisms*. or R1.

II.22–23, concerning the dynasties of Ireland which contributed the Christian kings of Ireland, shows strikingly strong parallels with two genealogical tracts preserved in Rawl. B 502,²⁰⁹ which I have labelled Genealogical Prose Tracts I (*CGH*, p. 125) and II (*CGH*, p. 126).

Corresponding verse texts which have been labelled Genealogical Poems I (*Cía lín do rígraid ráin rúaid*, *CGH*, pp. 125–126) and II (*Sé ríge [dég] Éogain anall*, *CGH*, pp. 126–128) show parallels with quatrains II.24–35. So close are the parallels in particular with Genealogical Prose Tract II and *Sé ríge dég Éogain anall* that we may conclude that quatrains II.22–35 of *At-tá sund* are based on a text containing *senchas* similar to that found in *Sé ríge dég Éogain anall*. Genealogical Prose Tract I and its corresponding verse text *Cía lín don rígraid ráin rúaid* have less in common with *At-tá sund*, probably because they represent an earlier stage in the evolution of the tradition.

²⁰⁸) R3 is based primarily on R1, which included *Hériu ard*. See Scowcroft's stemma on the recensions of *LG* in 'Leabhar Gabhála — Part I', p. 100, and *ibid*, p. 99 where he notes that R3 (Recension c) is the 'union of *f* [the exemplar of the Book of Fermoy copy of R1] and *l'* [the copy of R2 preserved in the Great Book of Lecan (facsimile fols. 1–16), in Stowe D v 1 and D iv 1]. See also Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála — Part II', p. The *terminus ante quem* for R3 is c.1373, the date of writing of the Book of Fermoy. The language of R3 is patently more modern than that of Míin, R1 and R2.

²⁰⁹) K. Meyer (ed.), *Rawlinson B 502, A Collection of Pieces in Prose and Verse in the Irish Language Compiled during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries Now Published in Facsimile from the Original Manuscript in The Bodleian Library with Introduction and Indexes* (Oxford, 1909). For a description of the manuscript, see Ó Cuív (comp.), *Catalogue of Irish MSS at Oxford*, item number 34, pp. 163–200. See also F. J. Byrne, *1000 Years of Irish Script* (Oxford, 1979), 13 (section 4); P. Ó Riain, 'The Book of Glendalough or Rawlinson B. 502' *Éigse* 18 (1981), pp. 161–76; P. Ó Riain, 'NLI G 2 f. 3 and the Book of Glendalough' *ZCP* 39 (1982), pp. 29–32; C. Breatnach, 'Rawlinson B 502, Leabar Glinne Dá Locha and Saltair na Rann', *Éigse* 30 (1997), pp. 109–32; C. Breatnach, 'Manuscript Sources and Methodology: Rawlinson B 502 and Leabar Glinne Dá Locha', *Celtica* 24 (2003), pp. 40–54.

Differences between all four parallel texts and *At-tá sund* which should be noted are: the omission of any reference to a king of Ireland being supplied by Munster (II.23a, II.32c–d), and the omission of any reference to any king of Tara holding the kingship of Ireland (II.23d, II.34a–d).

In the case of *At-tá sund* the additions are limited to one quatrain, which I have here labelled II.20A. The function of this stanza is to harmonise the apparent contradiction involving the simultaneous kingships of Máel Sechnaill and Brían Bórama.

5.4 Possible Sources for *Annálad*

For the composition of III.1–25 and III.26–33, Gilla Cóemáin drew mainly on the Pre-Patrician Annals, the origins of which have already been traced by Dan Mc Carthy to Rufinus's Chronicle.²¹⁰ A version of the Post-Patrician Annals is Gilla Cóemáin's source for the annals material in III.34–57. His particular copy of the Chronicle of Ireland may have only had Kalend markers rather than explicit dates. This would perhaps explain the discrepancy between the fact that while *Annálad* shows very consistent agreement with the annals in terms of the time-lapse between any two points in time, the actual date implied by *Annálad* is frequently in disagreement with the annals. However, it should be noted that in terms of dates, *Annálad* is in closer agreement with CS than with any of the other extant sets of annals. This may suggest that Gilla Cóemáin's source for the material from the post-Patrician era was the Clonmacnoise version of the annals.

²¹⁰ See D. Mc Carthy, 'The Status of the Pre-Patrician Irish Annals', p. 22.

6. Metre

6.1 Features of *Deibide*

Hériu ard, *At-tá sund* and *Annálad* are written in a syllabic metre²¹¹ called *deibide scáilte fota*, the scheme of which is $7^x 7^{x+1 \text{ or } 2}$ $7^x 7^{x+1 \text{ or } 2}$, where each line contains seven syllables and x indicates the number of syllables in the end-word of any given line.

In *deibide* the poem is divided into quatrains and each quatrain is in turn divided into two couplets: *a–b* and *c–d*. As noted above, each line contains seven syllables. The following ornamental features characterize *deibide*: (i) alliteration within each line, (ii) alliteration in line *d* between the last two stressed words in that line, (iii) internal perfect rime between each stressed word in line *c* (other than the last) with each stressed word in line *d* (other than the last), and (iv) end-rime called *rinn ocus airdrinn* whereby the end-word of *b* must be one syllable longer than the end-word of *a* and the end-word of *a* will make perfect rime with the unstressed syllable(s) of the end-word of *b*. The same will be true for *c* and *d*.²¹²

6.2 Features of *Deibide Scáilte*

The adjective *scáilte* ‘loose’ is used to describe the variety of *deibide* used in our poems because its ornamental features are found sporadically rather than consistently. Alliteration in each line and internal rime in the second couplet is found only irregularly. Moreover, instead of conforming consistently to the strict pattern of $7^1 7^2$ or $7^2 7^3$, the *rinn ocus airdrinn* found in *deibide scáilte* often takes the looser pattern of $7^1 7^3$ as in *tain : hóenšechtmain* (I.6c–d), or $7^2 7^2$ as in *fingail : inbaid* (I.143a–b). Similarly, imperfect end-rimes and internal rimes were considered acceptable. One example is *deich : cuingeid* (I.141a–b), in which *ch* of class χ is paired with *-d* of class *l*.²¹³

²¹¹) E. Knott, *An Introduction to Irish Syllabic Poetry of the Period 1200–1600* (corrected reprint of 2nd edition, Dublin, 1957; 1994), p. 1.

²¹²) For a full description of the rules of *deibide* according to *dán díreach*, see B. Ó Cuív, ‘Some Developments in Irish Metrics’, *Éigse* 12 (1967–68), pp. 273–90: 277.

²¹³) See Knott, *ISP*, p. 5.

6.3 *Deibide Scailte* as an *Óglachas* Metre

From c.1200 to c.1650 Irish syllabic poetry distinguished four kinds of versification among which are *dán díreach* and *óglachas*.²¹⁴ Knott defined *dán díreach* as ‘strict versification’, syllabic verse with stringent rules of rime, consonance, alliteration, etc’ and *óglachas* as ‘a loose imitation of *dán díreach*’, adding that ‘the syllabic system is followed, but rimes are fewer and simpler than in strict verse, and there are no rules of consonance or alliteration’.²¹⁵ Ní Dhomhnaill describes *óglachas* as ‘*an fhilíocht shiollabach is simplí agus is lú rialacha*’.²¹⁶ In the terminology of the Classical Modern Irish bardic schools *deibide scailte* would have been described as being written in *óglachas* rather than in *dán díreach*.

6.4 Metrical Analysis using Ó Cuív’s Criteria

The metrical features of all three poems have been examined using Brian Ó Cuív’s three criteria for tracing the evolution of *dán díreach*, the strictest variety of syllabic verse: (i) the presence of *rinn ocus airdrinn* between the end-words of *a–b*, and *c–d*, (ii) the occurrence of internal perfect rime in the second couplet, and (iii) the use of alliteration in all lines of the quatrain.²¹⁷

From the point of view of the present work, the interesting part of Ó Cuív’s analysis is his figures for three poems which can, with reasonable certainty, be attributed to Flann Mainistrech (1) *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, 35 qq (*LL III*, pp. 504–8); (2) *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, 52 qq, (*LL III*, pp. 509–15); (3) *Mugain ingen Chonchraid chain*, 15 qq, (*LL III*, pp. 590–1); and his figures for *Ériu óg inis na náem*, a poem which is attributed to Gilla Mo Dutu Úa Casaide.²¹⁸

Gilla Cóemáin surpasses the mid-eleventh century poet Flann on *rinn ocus airdrinn* except in his performance in his least ornate poem, *Annálad*. In scoring higher than Flann for the use of *rinn ocus airdrinn* of 7¹:7² or 7²:7³ in *Hériu ard* and *At-tá sund*, Gilla Cóemáin reflected a trend whereby *rinn: airdrinn* of the *dis: Deilginis* type was growing increasingly rare as the eleventh century progressed. M. A. O’Brien’s study of the long composite Early-Middle-Irish poem, beginning *Cóic ríg tríchat tríallsat róe* in ‘A Middle Irish Poem on the Christian Kings of Leinster’²¹⁹ provides good evidence for this development.

As might be expected, the performance of the twelfth-century poet Gilla Mo Duta in respect of *rinn ocus airdrinn* is comparable with the level of *rinn ocus air-*

214) C. Ní Dhomhnaill, *Duanaireacht* (Dublin, 1975), p. 41–44.

215) E. Knott, *ISP*, p. 2,

216) Ní Dhomhnaill, *Duanaireacht*, p. 42, § 80.

217) Ó Cuív, ‘Some Developments in Irish Metrics’, p. 278. See my Appendix for relevant figures.

218) *CPV*, pp. 408–36; also *LG*, ITS 44, 540 ff.

219) M. A. O’Brien, ‘A Middle Irish Poem on the Christian Kings of Leinster’, *Ériu* 17 (1955), 35–51: 36. O’Brien notes: ‘rimes of the type *dis: Deilginis*, not permitted in *dán díreach*, are more than twice as frequent in part one — forty examples to eight in the later poem’.

drinn found in the most ornate poems of Gilla Cóemáin to the extent that he has a score of over 70%. In contrast, the early eleventh-century poet Airbertach, achieves a level of *rinn ocus airdrinn* that is only on a par with that found in Gilla Cóemáin's least ornate poem, *Annálad*.

Flann is consistently superior to Gilla Cóemáin in terms of internal rime. Indeed, Gilla Cóemáin's internal rime is particularly sparse in *Annálad*. This fact is at odds with O'Brien's researches. He appeared to suggest that internal rime in the second couplet was rare in the tenth century, but grew increasingly common in the eleventh century.²²⁰ It may be that Gilla Cóemáin was simply less ambitious in his use of internal rime. In general Gilla Cóemáin's poetry is more ornate in its use of internal rime between lines *c* and *d* than is the case in the work of the early eleventh-century poet, Airbertach, but the overall average is brought down by the low figure for internal rime in *Annálad*.²²¹ As might be expected, Gilla Mo Dutu outperforms Gilla Cóemáin in this regard.

Gilla Cóemáin's performance in alliteration is about the same as that of Flann's, but deteriorates badly in the case of *Annálad*, dropping to about 56–66% depending on how rigorously the rules on alliteration are applied. Our poet excels Airbertach in his use of alliteration, but once again the margin is fairly small in *Annálad*. Predictably, Gilla Mo Dutu's use of alliteration exceeds that of Gilla Cóemáin.

The most notable feature of this study is that Gilla Cóemáin's ornamentation in *Annálad* is strikingly limited, perhaps because of the difficulty he experienced in handling foreign personal and place names.

The comparative evidence presented here allows us to come to two conclusions. Firstly, individual poets were capable of using different levels of ornamentation. Secondly, Ó Cuív's contention that there was a trend towards the increased use of stricter ornamentation as the Middle-Irish period progressed is borne out. However, the inconsistent nature of the evidence suggests that the trend toward the use of increased ornamentation can only be used as a rough guide in the process of textual dating.

²²⁰) See O'Brien, 'A Middle Irish Poem on the Christian Kings of Leinster', pp. 35–36. O'Brien contended that qq. 1–38 were drafted c.915–940, that qq. 39–40 were added shortly after 940, and that qq. 41–55 were composed c.1024–1036. On the matter of internal rime in this composite text, O'Brien noted that internal rime was completely absent from the first part of the poem, but was found thereafter in every verse except qq. 41, 53, and concluded that 'it may well be that the author of the second poem was tending towards the more rigid practice of the later *dán díreach*' (p. 36).

²²¹) G. Mac Eoin (ed. and trans.), 'A Poem by Airbertach mac Cosse', *Ériu* 20 (1966), pp. 112–39; G. Mac Eoin, 'The Date and Authorship of *Saltair na Rann*', pp. 51–67; G. Murphy (ed. and trans.), 'A Dé dúilig' in *Early Irish Lyrics* (Oxford, 1956), pp. 36–37; P. Ó Néill (ed. and trans.), 'Airbertach mac Cosse's Poem on the Psalter', *Éigse* 17 (1977), pp. 19–46.

7. Language and Dating

7.1 Article

Irish has lost many forms of the article by the time our poems were written. There are no instances of the old neuter article *a n-*. Singular *in* prevails in the nominative, accusative, and genitive masculine, and in the nominative and accusative feminine. However, in the nominative sg. feminine before a vowel there are instances of older *ind* (*do-rodbad ind omna ard* (I.100c), *ind Hériu* (I.32b)). There are also instances of *ind* in the genitive sg. masculine before initial vowels, initial *f* and occasionally before initial *r* (*ind óir* (I.30c), *ind airm* (I.66c), *aided ind Fínd chétna chlé* (I.68c), *cnáim ind íaich ettig finnúair* (I.139d), *Áed ind ordain* (II.27c), *ba hé ainm ind rí* (III.18a), *i mmedón flatha ind fir find* (III.18c)). Compare the above examples with instances of *in* in the genitive sg. masculine: *Ceithri meic in laích* (I.8a), *in rolaích* (I.35b).

Na prevails in the plural of all cases, both masculine and feminine. For instance, for Old-Irish genitive plural *inna* we find *na* in: *co mbertaib na mbergg* (I.90c).²²²

7.2 Gender

There is some evidence for the vestigial survival of neuter gender of *cét* in L as exemplified by: I.5b *trí cet mblíadan*, I.11a *Dá cet*, III.4b *cethri chét*. See also I.5b, I.12a, III.3a, III.4a, III.8a, III.10d, III.13c, III.23a, III.24a.²²³

There is some evidence of the influence of the neuter gender in I.75b *dá n-ocht*] LS, with which contrast *da ocht* LcGB. According to *GOI* (p. 242) and *DIL* (D.3.7ff), *dá*, a cardinal numeral, nasalised the following word in Old Irish in the neuter nominative, accusative and genitive.

²²²) See L. Breatnach, *SnaG*, p. 259, § 7.6.

²²³) See *SnaG*, p. 261, § 8.4. Jackson noted that the decline of the neuter gender was ‘quite well advanced by the time of *SR*’ (*AMC*, p. 79). He concluded that the ‘neuter disappeared as a living gender in the 11th century’, in the light of, amongst other evidence, the occurrence of the last neuter noun nasalising its adjective in *AU* in 998 AD (*AMC*, p. 80; cf. *SnaG*, p. 241, § 5.4).

7.3 Nouns

7.3.1 Cases: Middle-Irish Features

Singular Genitive of *o*-Stem Nouns

Jackson notes that *o*-stem nouns ending in *-án*, *-én* form their gen. sg. ‘almost always without palatalisation in *AMC*’.²²⁴ Breatnach cites examples from *Hériu ard: tsál* : (*in tene*) *geláin* I.61c–d; *n-án* : (*in tene*) *gelán* I.149c–d.²²⁵ Compare *osin tsál* : (*in tene*) *geláin* I.61c–d.

Survival of Dative Singular *u*-Colouring

Dative singular *u*-colouring survived in some monosyllabic *o*-stem nouns in Middle Irish. Examples include: *a Cnucc Usnig* II.32b, *im’ churp* III.58b, and *do niurt Nath Í* I.149b. Compare: *it’churp* *SR* 1153, *ós cech drung* *SR* 855, but *dom’ chorp* *SR* 1544.

Singular Dative of Consonantal Stems

Furthermore, the short dative was supplanted by the long dative in nouns such as, (*grind* :) *i nHérind* I.6a–b. As Jackson²²⁶ pointed out, Mac Eoin²²⁷ regarded the use of the short dative as one of his Early Middle-Irish features. The evidence supports this assertion. Only the long dative forms of *Ériu*, see above instances, *Muma* and *gléo* are found in our texts: *ail* : *mMumain* I.37a–b, *i nglíaid* III.55a.²²⁸ Mulchrone notes that the last examples of the short dative *Ére* in *AU* appears in the year AD 901.²²⁹

7.3.2 Shift in Stem Flexion

Shift from *ā*-Stem to *ī*-Stem Flexion

Middle-Irish genitive plural *bliadan* (e.g. I.5b) for Old Irish *bliadnae* is an example of the partial merger of the *ā*- and *ī*-stems. In *SR* Strachan counted eleven examples of *bliadna*, confirmed by rime, as against only three of *bliadan*.²³⁰ The evidence for latter form in *VTP* is not strong: *bliadan* R, *bliā-* E 206.24.²³¹ As the Middle-Irish

²²⁴) *AMC*, p. 83. On proper nouns ending in *-án* in the genitive singular, see *GOI*, p. 677, n. 58. See also *LAU*, pp. 23–24.

²²⁵) *SnaG*, p. 242, § 5.5.

²²⁶) *AMC*, p. 84.

²²⁷) *Ériu* 28 (1960), pp. 22–24.

²²⁸) See K. Mulchrone, ‘Die Abfassungszeit und Überlieferung der Vita Tripartita’, *ZCP* 16 (1927), pp. 1–95: 51. Cf. *LAU*, § 161.

²²⁹) ‘Abfassungszeit’, p. 51; cf. *LAU*, § 161.

²³⁰) *MID*, pp. 202–46.

²³¹) ‘Abfassungszeit’, p. 50.

period progressed, the Old-Irish historical form *blíadnae* became a rarity. In contrast, there are numerous instances of *blíadan* in the poems of Flann. See, for example, *mblíadan* (: *fiálgan*) by Flann, *LL* 23420.²³² Other examples which are confirmed by rime include *glan* : *ndagblíadan* I.92a–b and *blad* : *mblíadan* I.114a–b.

Shift from *i-* to Lenited Guttural Stem Flexion

There is a degree of resistance to the Middle-Irish shift from *i-* to lenited guttural stem flexion as exemplified by the reading: I.3b *Chesra*] *cesra* LS as distinct from *ceasrach* GB, *chesrach* Lc. See also I.39c.²³³

Shift from *u*-Stem to *o*-stem Flexion

The shift from *u*-stem to *o*-stem inflexion is exemplified by the genitive plural *-gním* in the line *magen molbthach na mórgním* I.1b. The genitive plural of the Old-Irish *u*-stem *gním* was *gnímae*. Other examples of this particular shift in stem-class are genitive plural *cath* (: *Apthach*) for Old Irish *cathae*, I.67a; genitive singular *clis* (: *Miss*) for Old Irish *clesso/clessa*, I.73c; genitive plural *recht* (: *Necht*) for Old Irish *rechtae*, I.120c; genitive plural *llúaitbres* (: *thes*) for Old Irish *tresae*, I.133c.²³⁴

7.4 Adjectives

The adjectival dative plural ending in *-(a)ib* was lost. In *ré macaib calma Congail* (I.76d) Old Irish would have had *calmaib*. As Jackson noted ‘The dative plural of all declensions ended in *-(a)ib* in O[ld] I[rish]. In M[iddle] I[rish] they lost the *-b*, leaving *-a/-e*, the same as the nom[inative] and acc[usative]; so *marbaib*, *maithib* became *marba*, *maithe*’.²³⁵ Strachan stated that the form in *-b* is ‘the normal form’ in *SR*, but notes four exceptions.²³⁶ Jackson, in contrast, commented that the plural dative in *-ib* is rare in *AMC*, but contended that this feature ‘does not suggest a late date for *AMC*’.²³⁷

7.5 Numerals

The Old-Irish feminine dual form *dí* has been preserved in *Dí blíadain Rudraige* I.20a. However, this is the only instance of this feature.²³⁸ Compare *dá blíadain déc* I.57b, I.73a, *Dá blíadain déc Bríain na mbend* II.20a.

²³²) *SnaG*, p. 247, § 510.

²³³) *SnaG*, p. 251, § 5.14.

²³⁴) See Strachan who also has *cath SR* 873; *gním SR* 626, 698, 2390; *recht SR* 1575 (*MID*, pp. 230–231). See also *GOI*, p. 196. Mulchrone commented that old *u*-stems were regularly inflected as *o*-stems in the genitive plural in the late eleventh century (‘Abfassungszeit’, p. 46).

²³⁵) *AMC*, p. 89; cf. *MID*, p. 246.

²³⁶) *MID*, p. 246.

²³⁷) *AMC*, p. 89.

²³⁸) See *SnaG*, p. 260, §8.3.

Téora, the old feminine form of *trí* has survived in one phrase only, *acht téora bliadna 'sin Brug* II.17c. *Trí* has supplanted *téora* everywhere else: *trí bliadna* I.33a, *Trí bliadna Maíl Choba chais* II.8a.²³⁹

Similarly, masculine (and neuter) accusative *cethri* has supplanted masculine nominative *cethair* as in *cethri meic* I.8a for Old Irish *cethair maic*.²⁴⁰ Other examples include: *cethri meic* I.39b, I.110a, I.132a, I.144c, III.53a; *cethri fichit find-bliadna* I.27b; *cethri deich mbliadna* I.65c; *cethri deich datta* I.139a; *cethre cóic mbliadan 's a trí* I.149a; *cethri cé* III.4b. See *DIL* C.157.59–60.

Moreover, masculine (and neuter) accusative *cethri* has also supplanted *cethéora* : *cethre bliadna* I.20d; *cethri ráithe* I.67a. See also II.3c and II.15a.²⁴¹

7.6 Infixed Pronouns

3 Sg. Masculine Infixed Pronoun

The 3 singular masculine *-dn-* has spread beyond Old Irish class C at the expense of 3 singular masculine class A infix pronoun *a n-*.²⁴²

A: Non-Relative

Exx.: I.19b *corod marb*; I.21d *conid ro marb*; I.24b *rod marb*; I.46c *rod marb*; I.61d *ra loisc* (?); *I.79b *níro n-omnaig* (proleptic); I.84c *ro scarsat*; I.95d *ro marb*; I.94c *coro loisc*; I.107c *ro mudaig*; I.116d *coros marb* (*coros marb* with *s* inserted later ‘until he killed him’); I.119d *ra loisc tene*; I.136c *ro mudaig cíarbo chara*; I.139c *ro mbáid*; I.140c *ro mudaig*; I.141d *ro mudaig*; I.146b *ro marb*; I.149d *ra loisc* .

B: Relative

Exx.: I. 22b *rod marb*; I.39d *rod marb*; I.92d *ro marb*; I.100d *a rro ndlig*; I.131d *ro marb* (relative after fronting); I. 148d *ro marb*.

3 Sg. Feminine Infixed Pronoun

The 3 singular feminine class C has developed a by-form *-das-/dos-*²⁴³ as in *conos tuc* (SR 1666) = *condos-*.

Exx.: I.1d *conos fúair Bith húa Lamíach* ‘until Bith ... found her (Eiriú, feminine)’; I.5d *conas ragaib Partholón* ‘until Partholón settled it (Ireland)’. I.90d *coros marb Rechtaid Rigderg* ‘until Rechtaid ... killed her (Macha, feminine)’.

²³⁹) See *SnaG*, p. 261, §8.4.

²⁴⁰) *AMC*, p. 91; *GOI*, p. 242.

²⁴¹) See *SnaG*, p. 261, §8.5.

²⁴²) *SnaG*, p. 266.

²⁴³) See *GOI*, p. 260.

Vestigial 3 Sg. Neuter Infixal Pronoun

Exx: I.9c *ní chél* ‘I will not conceal it’; III.57b *cía at-ber* ‘though I say it’.

These examples are not clear cut. By the time of Gilla Cóemáin, *ní* would have been leniting the initial consonant of the verb. Similarly, the preverb *as-* had given way to *at-* as the system of infixal pronouns began to break down and *-t* became petrified.

3 Pl. Infixal Pronoun

Exx: I.78d (*secht mblíadna do Lugaid lainn /) íar sin ros mudaig Conaing* ‘... / after that Conaing extinguished them’; I.144d *coros indarb Muiredach* ‘until Muiredach banished them (the Three Collas)’; III.8d *cía nos ríagla* ‘even if you check them’.

7.7 Prepositions

There is only one instance of *ar* for *íar*: *íar n-árim ardríg Hérenn] ar nárim ardríg her-* L. See for example *íar ndílind trí cét mblíadan* I.5b. The Old and Early Middle-Irish preposition *tre* (*SnaG*, p. 330, § 13.26) has been superceded by *tria*. See, for example, *tria chath* I.72c. The simple prepositions *ar* and *for* seem to be used interchangeably. There are 10 examples of *ar*, and 11 examples of *for* in *Hériu ard*. According to Jackson, ‘confusion of *for* and *ar* and their meanings is well established in *AMC*’.²⁴⁴ See *DIL* A.2.369.4 ff. and F 2.302.8 ff. He argued that this development goes back to *LU*, remarking that examples in *SR* may be ‘scribal’.²⁴⁵

7.8 Verbs

7.8.1 Movable *ro* versus fixed *ro*

A small number of examples of fixed *ro* have survived: *co n-érbailt* (I.6c, I.35c, I.132d), *do-rochair* (I.30a, et passim, III.41c) and *do-rodbad* (I.100c).

7.8.2 Negative Particles: Survival of *Nocon*

The Old Irish negative particle *nícon* became *noco(n)* in Early Middle Irish, and subsequently *nocho(n)*.²⁴⁶ *Nocon* is found in *Hériu ard* in the phrase *nocon fitir duine a díach* (I.1c).

7.8.3 The Deponent Voice

Verbs which originally had deponent endings have lost them and assumed active inflection.²⁴⁸ In one instance, the deponent ending has been clearly lost: *ro-laim* (: Old

²⁴⁴) *AMC*, p. 98.

²⁴⁵) *AMC*, p. 98. See also *SnaG*, p. 326, § 13.4; p. 327, § 13.13.

²⁴⁶) *AMC*, p. 105; *SnaG*, p. 280, § 11.7.

Irish *ro-lámair*) II.11a. Apart from *-fitir* (I.1c) and *cor génair* (III.24c) there are no examples of the historical deponent in the poems.

7.8.4 Development of New Personal Endings and Preservation of Old Endings

Development of New Middle Irish 1 Plural Ending

The Middle-Irish ending in *-mait* for Old-Irish *-mai/-mi* (rel. *-mae/-me*) is common in Middle Irish from the time of *SR*. Amongst the forms which Breatnach cites are *guidmit*, *SR* 3597; *recmait LU* (H), *anmaít-ni*, *LL* 11598 (*TBC*). Note that *guidmit* occurs in *Wb* 15 d 18.²⁴⁸ Examples in our texts include *Gíallmait* II.4c (Old Irish *gíallmai*), the Middle-Irish 1 plural absolute present indicative of *gíallaid*.

Preservation of Old Plural Passive Preterite Ending

In *Hériu ard* we find the preservation of the Old-Irish plural passive preterite ending in *-tha < -tha(i)* in *ro marbtha* I.33d rather than the adoption of the late-Middle-Irish plural passive preterite ending in *-(a)it*.

7.8.5 Formation of New Simple Verbs

Old Irish compound verbs have been transformed into simple verbs.²⁴⁹ Examples in our texts are: I.144d *coros indarb* from Middle Irish *indarbaid*;²⁵⁰ I.82d *ro in-narbsat*, from (a) Middle Irish *indarbaid* or (b) Old Irish verbal noun *indarbae* (neuter *io*-stem); I.11d *nocor toglad* from Middle Irish *toglaid*; I.101c *ro trascrad* from Middle Irish *trascraid*; I.18c *cor innisiur* from Middle Irish *indisid*.

7.8.6 Loss of Distinction between *ro*-Preterite and the Simple Preterite

The semantic distinction between the *ro*-preterite and the simple preterite was being lost as early as the ninth century.²⁵¹ In Old Irish the preverbal particle was used to create a perfect, while in Middle Irish *ro* became merely a sign of the general past tense. This is the meaning in *ro marb* I.95d, *ro chaith* I.11c, I.22c *ro thairind* I.57c, *ro gab* II.1c, *ro gabsat* III.16c. In this edition the augmented forms are called ‘*ro*-preterite’ as a means of distinguishing them from the historical Old Irish preterite.

²⁴⁷) See *AMC*, pp. 108–9. McCone traces the genesis of this development to the Old Irish Glosses, particularly the Milan Glosses (*EIV*, p. 216, § 6.4.1).

²⁴⁸) *SnaG*, p. 295; *EIV*, p. 174.

²⁴⁹) See *SnaG*, pp. 282–283: §§ 11.16, 11.19.

²⁵⁰) In his discussion on the evolution of simple verbs from Old Irish compound verbs, McCone actually cites this verb and points to the possibility of it being based not only on the Old Irish prototonic form, but also on the Old Irish verbal noun (*EIV*, pp. 192–93).

²⁵¹) See *EIV*, pp. 184–87: 184.

7.8.7 Past Tense Forms

***t*-Preterite**

3 sg. prototonic

Exx.: co n-ébailt I.124b, I.125c; nacon érbailt I.132d; co n-érbailt I.6d, I.35c, etc;
co n-érracht I.123c; dia toracht I.59b; co toracht I.7c, I.44c, III.33c.

According to Jackson, this category was already dying in Middle Irish and was in the process of joining the *s*-preterite.²⁵² Jackson noted that *SR* has twenty-eight verbs with *t*-preterite formation, while *TTr1* has seven, *CCath* has eight, and *AMC* has five examples. Jackson further remarked that ‘the *t*-preterite seems to have undergone a catastrophic collapse between the late 10th century and the middle of the 11th century’.²⁵³ Its survival in our poems may be evidence of the relative conservatism of their language.

***s*-Preterite: Active**

3 sg. absolute

Ex: gabais I.14b, I.52b, I.62a, I.151a

3 sg. conjunct

Exx.: coro bris I.10b; ro chaith I.11c, etc.; níro chaith I.121c; ro cháemchaith I.76b; ro chétgab I.2c; a rro ndlig 101d; ro fheith [= O. Ir. ro fáith] I.130b; rodos feith I.139b; ros feith I.65d; ro gab I.17d; ro gab I.150d; conos ragaib I.5d; dia ragaib III.10c; ro glacc I.136a; coros indarb I.116d, I.144d; ro lín I.86a; ra loisc I.149d; coro loisc I.94c; diaro loisc I.119d; nír maith I.48c; rod marb I.22b, I.24b, etc.; ro marb I.42d, I.83b, etc.; cor marb I.28d; coro marb (coros marb SLc) I.79d, I.116d; corod marb I.19b; coros marb I.90d; conid romarb I.21d; ro mudaig I.107c, I.136c, etc.; níro n-omnaig I.79b; ruc I.152c, III.14b; ro scar I.59d; tarlaic I.27d; ro thairind I.57c, I.61a; ro thecht I.131a; ro thend I.131b; dar thríall III.19b; ro mbáid I.139c; ro gab II.1c, II.2a.

3 pl. absolute

Exx.: gabsat II.32d; trebsat III.15d.

3 pl. conjunct

Exx.: ro chinset I.82a; ro gabsat III.16c; ro gabsatar I.142a; dar gíallsat III.48b; ro indarbsat [< O. Ir. *indrarbaratar, cf. inrarpatar MI. 23 d 8] I.82d; ro scar-sat I.84c.

3 pl. prototonic

Ex: rucsat I.16d.

Most noteworthy in this category is the typical Middle-Irish spread of the weak *s*-preterite formation at the expense of the unreduplicated *ā*-preterite formation in

²⁵²) *AMC*, p. 132.

²⁵³) *AMC*, p. 132.

verbs like *ro fheith*, *ro feith*.²⁵⁴ 3 pl. absolute *s*-preterite forms like *gabsat* and *trebsat* have lost their Old-Irish palatal quality. Jackson noted that the 3 plural absolute ending in *-sait/-sit* survived ‘for a time in M[iddle] I[rish] side by side with conjunct *-sat/-set* used for absolute’.²⁵⁵ Also of interest here is the spread of a hybrid *s*-preterite deponential flexion in *-satar /-setar* to historically active verbs like *gaibid* so that we have Middle Irish *ro gabsatar* (I.142a) where Old Irish had *gabsait/ro gabsat*.²⁵⁶

Unreduplicated *ā*-Preterite

3 sg. deuterotonic

Ex: *ro-laim* [< O. Ir. *ro-lámair*] II.11a.

Irregular Reduplicated Suffixless Preterite: Active

3 sg. deuterotonic

Ex: *fo-fúair* II.17b.

3 sg. prototonic

Exx: *fúair* I.53d, etc., II.6c; *conos fúair* I.1d; *tánic* III.14c; *thánic* II.35c; *ránic* II.28c.

3 pl. prototonic

Exx: *co táncatar* I.12c; *táncatar* I.12c, I.13b, III.19d; *ráncatar* III.19d.

Unreduplicated Suffixless Preterite: Active

The unreduplicated suffixless preterite is well preserved:

3 sg absolute

Ex: *luid* III.12c

3 sg. deuterotonic

Exx: *do-cer* I.43c, etc.; *do-rochair* < **to-ro-cer-* I.10c, etc.; *dia at-mbath* III.40c; *do-rochair* III.41c.

McCone has suggested that ‘despite its lack of *t*-suffix, *do:cer* seems originally to have followed the inflection of the *t*-preterite ...’.²⁵⁷

3 sg. conjunct

Ex: *cor génair* III.24c

3 sg. prototonic

Exx: *noco torchair* I.21b, I.124d; *co torchair* I.28b, I.31c, etc., II.35d; III.26d, III.29c; *i torchair* I.38d, III.42d, III.57d; *co torchair* III.26d, III.29c.

²⁵⁴) For other examples of the spread of the *s*-preterite at the expense of Old Irish unreduplicated *ā*-preterite formation, see *ro guid* (LL 39035) versus O. Ir. *ro gáid*; *ro theich* (SR 6912) versus O. Ir. *ro táich* (EIV, p. 211).

²⁵⁵) AMC, p. 113.

²⁵⁶) See EIV, pp. 238–240; also *SnaG*, p. 301, §12.38; cf. *GOI*, p. 418.

²⁵⁷) EIV, p. 54, § 2.7.

Suppletive Perfect

3 sg. deuterotonic

Ex: do-rat I.69b, I.98b

3 pl. deuterotonic

Ex: do-ratsat I.17a

Special Preterite Formations

Ex: At-bath I.3a, I.3d, I.4a etc.

7.8.8 Copular Forms

In this corpus there is only one example of *rop* for the old independent perfect form of the copula *ropo* (I.134b). Similarly, the dependent perfect forms of the copula in *nírbo* and *cíarbo* survive in this corpus alongside *nírb* and *cíarb*: *cíarbo chara* I.136c, *nírbo fota* I.147b, but *nír fota* I.25c.

7.9 Main Clauses and Relative Clauses**Nasalising Relative Clauses**

The nasalising relative clause is becoming obsolete. One example is at I.100c–d: *do-rodbad ind omna ard / a rro ndlig Conla cleathgarg* ‘The lofty tree-trunk was destroyed when Conla of the harsh spears made his claim on him’.

Other Possible Relative Clauses

The fronting of adverbial phrases and clauses in so-called ‘cleft’ sentences may signal the spread of the relative clause beyond its more restricted Old-Irish application.²⁵⁸ Some examples are: *i mMaig Inis do thám trá / fúair crád rí milis Macha* (I.53c–d) ‘in Maig Inis from plague indeed did the affable king of Macha die’; *ceithri deich mblíadan mbríge / ro fheith Núadu nertríge* (I.65c–d) ‘[for] four decades of vigorous years did Núadu of strong leadership stand guard’ or [it was] four decades of vigorous years that Núadu of strong leadership stood guard’; *and-sin fechta ... cath Móna truim Trógaide* (III.22c–d) ‘[it was] then that was fought the battle of heavy Móin Trógaide’. In such instances it is difficult to be sure which kind of clause we are dealing with since lenition after the main clause particle *ro* is common as exemplified by I.96a–b: *Ro chaith Méilge, maith a lí, / noí mblíadna déc, ba degrí* ‘Mélge spent — good his splendour — seventeen years, he was a good king’.

²⁵⁸) On the replacement of Old Ir. non-relative by Mid. Ir. relative constructions after clefted prepositional phrases, see *EIV*, pp. 180–181.

7.10 Dating

It seems reasonable to assume that *Hériu ard*, *At-tá sund* and *Annálad* were written sometime in the second half of the eleventh century given Gilla Cóemáin's references in *Annálad* to 1072 as being the year of writing. The linguistic evidence of the surviving texts of his poems is of little value in supporting this date and does not point to any precise period.

8. Texts and Translation

Text I: *Hériu ard inis na rríg*

Text II: *At-tá sund forba fessa*

Text III: *Annálad anall uile*

I. *Hériu ard inis na rríg*

1. Hériu ard inis na rríg
magen molbthach na mórgnám,
nocon fítir duine a díach
conos fúair Bith húa Lamíach.
2. Ladru is Bith, Fintan fáthach, *[14665]
coíca ingen ingnáthach
lucht ro chétgab Banba mbind
cethracha lá ria ndílind.
3. At-bath Cessair do thám thrait [14670]
tíar i Cúil Chesra a coícait;
don robanuch, ruathar ngand,
at-bath Ladru i nArd Ladrاند.
4. At-bath Fintan, fáth fíre, [14675]
'sin Mumain do mallchríne;
Bith ina sléib, lúaided seirc,
marb de chumaid a óenmeic.
5. Óenblíadain déc, datta in blad, [14680]
íar ndílind trí cét mblíadan
don Hérind galaig can glór
conas ragaib Partholón.
6. Partholón puirt Gréc glan grind
trí cét blíadan baí i nHérind
co n-érbailt de thám íar tain
noí míle ra hóensechtmain.

1c	duine] SLcGB, duni L
2a	fáthach] LSLcB, triar fear G
2b	coíca ingen ingnáthach] LSLcB, <i>ceasair</i> go .l.aidh ingean G
2c	mbind] SLcGB, bind L
2d	lá] LSG, trath Lc, lá, <i>interlinear gloss</i> † tráth B
3a	thrait] <i>trait</i> LS, <i>illeg.</i> Lc, <i>tric</i> G, <i>tricc</i> , <i>interlinear gloss</i> treid B
3b	tíar] LLcB, <i>thiar</i> SG; a] L, <i>om.</i> a SLcGB; Chesra] cesra LS, chesrach Lc, <i>ceasrach</i> GB
3c	robanuch] L, robanach SG, romanach Lc, rabanach B; ngand] SLcGB, gand L
4a	At-bath] LSLc, <i>Marbh</i> GB; fáth] L, fath Lc, fáith S, <i>isfath</i> GB
4b	'sin] LLc, sa SGB
4c	seirc] LS, serc LcGB
4d	de] L, do SLcGB; a] LSB, ind Lc, <i>om.</i> a (6 syllables) G
5b	trí cét mblíadan] .ccc. mblān L, .ccc. bl- SB, tri .c. bl- LcG
5c	can glór] LGB, conglor S, cen bron Lc
6a	Gréc] g-c LSB, greg GLc; glan] L, glain SLcGB
6b	trí cét blíadan] .ccc. bl- LS, tri .c. b- LcG, .xxx. blā B; i nHérind] LSGB, re ndilind Lc
6c	de] L, do SLcGB

*) Line numbers correspond to line numbers in *LL III*.

1. Lofty Ireland, island of the kings,
praiseworthy place of great deeds,
no one knows of her fate
until Bith grandson of Lamech found her.
2. Ladru and Bith, prophetic Fintan
[and] fifty wondrous women
were the people who first took possession of fair Ireland
forty days before the Flood.
3. Cesair died of a swift plague
in the west in Cúl Cesra with her fifty maidens;
of excessive intercourse with women — a mean onslaught —
did Ladru die in Ard Ladrann.
4. Fintan died — a matter of truth —
in Munster of slow old age;
Bith in his mountain — he used to incite love —
died of grief for his only son.
5. For eleven years — pleasant the fame —
[and] three hundred years after the Flood
was valiant Ireland without a sound
until Partholón took possession of it.
6. Partholón of the fort of the pure and vigorous Greeks
was three hundred years in Ireland
until there died from plague thereafter
nine thousand within a single week.

— In the following, references to regnal years in the relevant section of *CGH* are generally not given since the figures have been added by a later hand in most instances.

qq.1–4: See *Slíab Betha* in *Met. Dinds.* IV, pp. 76–77.

2a–d: *LG II*, §§ 170, 177, 193. Eochaid úa Flainn’s poem, *A chóemu cláir Cuind*, *LG III*, Poem XXX, pp. 44–45, q. 6.

3a: No reference.

3b: R1 (*LG II*, § 170), R2 (*LG II*, § 183), R3 (*LG II*, § 196). *A chóemu cláir Cuind*, *LG III*, Poem XXX, q. 5c–d.

3c: R2 (*LG II*, § 177), R3 (*LG II*, § 193).

3d: R1 (*LG II*, 170), R2 (*LG II*, 177), R 3 (*LG II*, 187). *Dún Másc* in *Met. Dinds.* IV, pp. 314–315, lines 17–18.

4a–b: *A chóemu cláir Cuind*, *LG III*, Poem XXX, p. 44, q. 4. See also *De Súidigud Tellaig Temro*.

4c: R2 and R3 (*LG II*, §§ 182; 195). *A chóemu cláir Cuind*, *LG III*, Poem XXX, p. 44, q. 3.

4d: No reference.

5a–d: R2 (*LG II*, § 172; *LG III*, § 208).

6a–b: *A chóemu cláir Cuind*, *LG III*, Poem XXX, p. 52, q. 21.

6c–d: R1 (*LG II*, § 205), R2/R3 (*LG III*, § 221). *A chóemu cláir Cuind*, *LG III*, Poem XXX, p. 52, q. 22. *Éistet, áes ecna aibind*, *LG IV*, Poem LXV, p. 254, q. 6.

8. Texts and Translation

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|---|---------|
| 7. Óentrícha blíadan can brón
ba fás Hériu íar Partholón
co toracht Nemed a-nair
dar muir cona mórmaccaib. | [14685] |
| 8. Cethri meic in laích don lind
Starn, Fergus, Ardán, Annind;
do-chóid Nemed éc de thám
fichi cét i crích Líathán. | [14690] |
| 9. Lecht Stairn isin debaid duind
la Febal i Ces Choraind;
marba de gaillind, ní chél,
Annind ocus Íarbonél. | [14695] |
| 10. And sin luid Fergus ria chlaind
coro bris cathraig Conaind;
do-rochair Fergus 'na feirg
la Morc mac Deiled drechdeirg. | [14700] |
| 11. Sé bliadna déc is dá chét
re árim, ní himmarbréc,
ro chaith Neimed cona chlaind
coro toglad Tor Conaind. | [14705] |
| 12. Dá chét blíadan, blad cech druing,
ón maidm sin cathrach Conaind
co táncatar clanna Stairn
assin Gréic úathmair acgairb. | |

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- | | |
|-----|--|
| 7a | Óentrícha blíadan] L, Ænbl-.xxx. S, Cert tricha bl- LcGB |
| 8b | Ardán] LG, iardan SB, iarnan Lc |
| 8c | éc] LS, deg LcGB; de] L, do SLcGB |
| 9a | isin] SLcB, sin (6 syllables) L, isa G; duind] LSGB, thend Lc |
| 9b | Febal] Lc, febail LSG, feb- B; Choraind] L, coraind SLcGB |
| 9c | marba] LG, marb SLcB; de] L, do SG, din LcB; gaillind] LSLcG, giallind B; ní chél] LG, nochochel SLcB |
| 10a | And sin] LSLc, Iarsin GB; ria] LSG, re Lc, le B |
| 10b | coro bris] S, 'in ras.: hole in membrane between co and ro' bris (LL III, p. 472, note 1) L, nogorbris LcGB; Conaind] L, conaing SLGcB |
| 10c | 'na feirg] na f-g LG, naferg S, coferg LcB |
| 10d | rechdeirg] L, drechdherg S, drechd-g LcGB. <i>Quatrains 11 and 12 are transposed in L</i> |
| 11a | dá chét] da chet Lc, da cet LSGB |
| 11b | re árim] L, renairim SLcB, rianairemh G |
| 11d | coro toglad] L, nocor togladh SLcGB |
| 12a | Dá chét blíadan] Da ched bl- Lc, Da cét bl- LSGB; cech] L, don SLcGB |
| 12b | Conaind] LB, conain- S, conaing LcG |
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7. Thirty years without sorrow
was Ireland a desert after Parthalón
until Nemed came from the East
across the sea with his great sons.
8. The four sons of the warrior from the sea were:
Starn, Fergus, Ardán and Annind;
Nemed died of a plague
[as did] twenty hundred in the land of [Uí] Líatháin
9. The death of Starn in the blood-stained combat
by Febal in Ceis Coraind;
dead by a foreign weapon-point — I will not conceal it —
Annind and Íarbonél.
10. Then Fergus went in front of his family
and he destroyed the fortress of Conand;
Fergus fell as a warrior
by Morc son of red-faced Dele.
11. Sixteen years and two hundred
by computation — it is no exaggeration —
did Nemed spend with his family
until the Tower of Conand was sacked.
12. Two hundred years — renown of each band —
from that rout of Conand's fortress
until the families of Starn came
from terrifying and very fierce Greece.

7a-d: R1 (*LG III*, § 237) and R2/R3 (*LG III*, § 247). *A chóemu cláir Cuind*, *LG III*, Poem XXX, p. 52, q. 23.

8a-b: Starn, Fergus and Annind are also mentioned in R1 (*LG III*, § 237) and R2/R3 (*LG III*, § 249).

8c-d: Fermoy copy of R1 (*LG III*, § 241) and Book of Lecan copy of R3 (*LG III*, § 254).

9a-b: *Ériu oll oirdnit Gáedil*, *LG III*, poem XLI, pp. 168, q. 9a.

9c-d: No parallel.

10a-d: R1 (*LG III*, §§ 242–45) and R2/R3 (*LG III*, §§ 255–59). See *Met. Dinds.* IV, p. 248, line 26.

11a-d: No parallel.

12a-d: R2 (*LG IV*, § 286) and R3 (*LG IV*, § 300).

8. Texts and Translation

	13. Cóic ríge rissin muriucht mass táncatar dar muir mórglass hi trí longuib, ní fáth fand, Galiúin, Fir Bolg, Fir Domnand.	[14710]
	14. Flaith Fer mBolg Rudraige in rí, gabais for Trácht Rudraigi, i nInbiur Sláine na srían Sláine re feraib Galían.	[14715]
	15. Fir Domnand co trí rígaib lám des fri Hérend n-íraig Sengand, Genand agus Gand gabsat in Irrus Domnand.	[14720]
	16. Óenchóiced ic Feraib Bolg; cóiced fer nGalían cen anord; ocus trí cóicid in rand rucsat Fir datta Domnand.	
	17. Do-ratsat in cethrar cain ríge nHérend dia mbráthair conid é Sláine sáer seng cétrí ro gab tír nHérend.	[14725]
17A	Sé bliadna cóicat, ní chél, ocus míle maith móirthrén ó dílinn, ba borb an brath, co flaithius Fer mBolcc mbladach.	OBr¹Br²PKC

13c	hi] L, a S, na LcGB; ní fáth fand] LLc, colín band S, gollin cland GB	
13d	Galiúin] L, galioin S, gailieoin G, gaileoin Lc, gal- B	
14b	gabais] LSLc, rogabh GB; for] LS, oc Lc, a GB	
14c	Inbiur] L, inber SB, inb- LcG	
14c-d	Sláine na srían / Sláine re Feraib Galían] <i>in ref. marks in L</i>	
15a	co] LSGB, <i>conna (8 syllables)</i> Lc	
15b	n-íraig] L, hírglainn S, irglainn LcG, fir glain B	
15d	gabsat in Irrus Domnand] gabsad an irrus domnand SLcGB, gabsat irrus datta domnand (8 syllables) L	
16a	Bolg] SLcGB, <i>added in marg. with caret marks; also below line by another hand (LL III, p. 473, note 1)</i> L	
16b	nGalían] ngailian SLcGB, galían L; cen anord] L, nglanord SLcGB	
16c	trí cóicid] trí coicidh S, trí chóicid LLc, trí .u.idh GB	
16d	rucsat] LSLc, gabsad GB	
17a	cethrar] LcS, cethrur LG, .iiii. B	
17d	tír] LS, iath LcGB	
17Aa	Sé bliadna cóicat, ní chél] Se bliadhna .i. ní chel. O, om. <i>quatrain from main text but added later on lower margin of page in Br², Fiche is a cethair ní chel Br¹, bliadhna xx.^{et} ní ceil P, Ceithre bliadna fichet feigh KC, iiiii.</i>	
17Ab	ocus míle maith móirthrén] et míle maith moirthren OPKC, <i>added on lower margin of p. in Br², is míle maith an moirsgel Br¹</i>	
17Ac	ó dílinn, ba borb an brath] o dhilinn ba borb an breth OBr ¹ Br ² PKC	
17Ad	co flaithius Fer mBolcc mbladach] OBr ¹ Br ² PKC	

13. Five kings [were] with the fine fleet
which came over the great grey sea
in three fleets — it is no weak reason —
the Galíain, the Fir Bolg and the Fir Domnand.
14. The lord of the Fir Bolg, King Rudraige
landed on the strand of Rudraige,
in Inber Sláne of the bridles
Sláne [landed] at the head of the men of Galían.
15. The Fir Domnand with three kings [sailed]
clockwise around wrathful Ireland
Sengand, Genand and Gand
took possession of Irrus Domnand.
16. The Fir Bolg had one fifth;
the men of Galían had one fifth without disorder;
and three fifths the share
which the pleasant Fir Domnand took.
17. The four fair ones gave
the kingship of Ireland to their brother
so that the noble and slender Sláne was
the first king who ruled the land of Ireland.
- 17A Fifty-six years — I will not conceal it —
 and a good, mighty and vigorous thousand
 from the Flood — abrupt was the doom —
 to the sovereignty of the Fir Bolg.

OBr¹Br²PKC

13a–d: R1, R2 and R3 (*LG IV*, §§ 278–79; 286–87; 294–95).

14a–16d: Contrast with *LG* (*LG IV*, §§ 279; 286–87; 295).

17a–d: R2 (*LG IV*, § 288) is closest in detail to *Hériu ard*.

8. Texts and Translation

	18. Étid ri haidid cach fir ra ainm ocus ra amsir coro innisiur dúib uile ríga Fótla foltbuide.	[14730]																																										
	19. Blíadain do Sláne don láech corod-marb galar garbgáeth; adnacht i nDumu Sláne cétrí Hérend echbáne	[14735]																																										
	20. Dí blíadain Rudraige ruith co n-érbailt isin ardBruig; Gand, Genand marba de thám, cethre blíadna a flaith forlán.	[14740]																																										
	21. Cóic blíadna Sengaind iar sain noco torchair la Fíachaig; cóic blíadna Fíachach — finnaid! conid romarb rúadRindail.																																											
	22. Sé blíadna Rinnail don raind rod marb Odbgen mac Sengaind; Odbgen ro chaith a cethair, do-rochair la airdEchaid.	[14745]																																										
<table border="0" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 5%; vertical-align: top;">18b</td> <td style="width: 85%;">ra ainm ocus ra amsir] L, re nainm 7 re nain 7 re naimsir S, re ainm 7 re aimsir Lc, renam-annaibh re naimsir GB</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top;">18c</td> <td>coro innisiur] L, corindisir SLc, gonindisiur G, co indisiur B; dúib] LG, daib SLcB</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top;">18d</td> <td>foltbuide] foltbuidhe SLc, foltbude L, fodglaine G, fondglaini B</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top;">19b</td> <td>corod marb] L, coromarb S, corus marb LcB, gunus marbh G; garbgáeth] LSG, garb bæth Lc, garbaeth B</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top;">19d</td> <td>echbáne] LLcGB, iathbaine S</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top;">20a</td> <td>Dí] L, Da SLcGB; ruith] LSG, in raith Lc, in ruith B</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top;">20b</td> <td>co n-érbailt] erbailt ‘with i expunged’ (LL III, p. 473, note 2) L, condechaig ec S, co fuair ec LcGB</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top;">20c</td> <td>marba] LS, fa marb LcG, marbh B (6 syllables); de] L, do SLcGB</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top;">21a</td> <td>sain] sein L, sin SLcGB</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top;">21b</td> <td>noco torchair] SLcB, co torchair (6 syllables) L, nogondorchair G; la Fíachaig] SG, la fiach- LLcB</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top;">21c</td> <td>Fíachach] fiach- SLcB, fiachaich G, fiachrach L</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top;">21d</td> <td>conid ro marb] LS, conus romarb LcGB</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top;">22b</td> <td>rod marb] LS, cormarb LcGB</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top;">22d</td> <td>do-rochair] L, condorchair SG, cotorchair Lc, condorchair B; la airdEchaid] la airdech-LSB, la hairdeachaidh G, la hardeoch- Lc</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>			18b	ra ainm ocus ra amsir] L, re nainm 7 re nain 7 re naimsir S, re ainm 7 re aimsir Lc, renam-annaibh re naimsir GB		18c	coro innisiur] L, corindisir SLc, gonindisiur G, co indisiur B; dúib] LG, daib SLcB		18d	foltbuide] foltbuidhe SLc, foltbude L, fodglaine G, fondglaini B		19b	corod marb] L, coromarb S, corus marb LcB, gunus marbh G; garbgáeth] LSG, garb bæth Lc, garbaeth B		19d	echbáne] LLcGB, iathbaine S		20a	Dí] L, Da SLcGB; ruith] LSG, in raith Lc, in ruith B		20b	co n-érbailt] erbailt ‘with i expunged’ (LL III, p. 473, note 2) L, condechaig ec S, co fuair ec LcGB		20c	marba] LS, fa marb LcG, marbh B (6 syllables); de] L, do SLcGB		21a	sain] sein L, sin SLcGB		21b	noco torchair] SLcB, co torchair (6 syllables) L, nogondorchair G; la Fíachaig] SG, la fiach- LLcB		21c	Fíachach] fiach- SLcB, fiachaich G, fiachrach L		21d	conid ro marb] LS, conus romarb LcGB		22b	rod marb] LS, cormarb LcGB		22d	do-rochair] L, condorchair SG, cotorchair Lc, condorchair B; la airdEchaid] la airdech-LSB, la hairdeachaidh G, la hardeoch- Lc	
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18. Listen to the fate of every man
with his name and with his reign-length
so that I may relate to you all,
the yellow-haired kings of Ireland.
19. A year for Sláne the warrior
until a disease of rough winds killed him;
the first king of Ireland of white steeds
was buried in Dumae Sláne.
20. Two years of Rudraige of the wheel
until he died in the lofty Brug;
Gand, Genand died by plague,
four years was their entire reign.
21. Five years of Sengand after that
until he fell by Fíachu;
five years of Fíachu — know ye! —
until red Rindal killed him.
22. Six years of Rindal from the apportioning,
whom Odbgen son of Sengand killed;
Odbgen spent four years [as king],
he fell by lofty Eochu.

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- 19a–b: R1, R2, R3 and Mín (*LG IV*, §§ 280; 288; 296; 303). *Fir Bolg bátar sunna sel*, *LG IV*, poem XLVII, p. 48, q. 2.
- 19c–d: R1, R2, R3 and Mín (*LG IV*, §§ 280; 288; 296; 303).
- 20a: R1, R2 and Mín (*LG IV*, §§ 280, 288, 296, 303). *Fir Bolg*, *LG IV*, poem XLVII, p. 48, q. 3a.
- 20b: R1, R2, R3 and Mín (*LG IV*, §§ 280, 288, 296, 303). *Fir Bolg*, *LG IV*, poem XLVII, p. 48, q. 3b.
- 20c: R1, R2, R3 and Mín (*LG IV*, §§ 280, 288, 296, 303). *Fir Bolg*, *LG IV*, poem XLVII, p. 48, q. 3d.
- 20d: R1, R2, R3 and Mín (*LG IV*, §§ 280, 288, 296, 303) and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 471.6). *Fir Bolg*, *LG IV*, poem XLVII, p. 48, q. 3c.
- 21a: R1, R2, R3 and Mín (*LG IV*, §§ 280, 288, 296, 303) and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 471.6). *Fir Bolg*, *LG IV*, poem XLVII, p. 48, q. 4a.
- 21b: R1, R2, R3 and Mín (*LG IV*, §§ 280, 288, 296, 303). *Fir Bolg bátar sunna sel*, *LG IV*, poem XLVII, p. 48, q. 4b.
- 21c: R1, R2, R3 and Mín (*LG IV*, §§ 280, 288, 296, 303) and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 471.7). *Fir Bolg*, *LG IV*, poem XLVII, p. 48, q. 4c.
- 21d: R1, R2, R3 and Mín (*LG IV*, §§ 280, 288, 296, 303). *Fir Bolg*, *LG IV*, poem XLVII, p. 48, q. 6a.
- 22a: R1, R2 and R3 (*LG IV*, §§ 280, 288, 296). *Fir Bolg*, *LG IV*, poem XLVII, p. 48, q. 6b.
- 22b: R1, R2, R3 and Mín (*LG IV*, §§ 280, 288, 296, 303). *Fir Bolg*, *LG IV*, poem XLVII, p. 48, q. 6c–d.
- 22c: R1, R2, R3 and Mín (*LG IV*, §§ 280, 288, 296, 303) and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 471.9). *Fir Bolg*, *LG IV*, poem XLVII, p. 50, q. 7a–b.
- 22d: R1, R2, R3 and Mín (*LG IV*, §§ 280, 288, 296, 303). *Fir Bolg*, *LG IV*, poem XLVII, p. 50, q. 7d.
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8. Texts and Translation

	<p>23. Eochu mac Eirc in rí raith, deich mblíadna a flathius lánmaith; 's é in sin cétrí do rind ro gáet ar tús i nHérind. Hériu.</p>	[14750]
23A	<p>Anmanda mac Nemid nú: Cesorb, Lúain ocus Luachrú; 's íat ro marb cétfér do rind, Eocho mac Erc at-berim. Éiru</p>	LcGB [+OBr¹Br²PKC]
	<p>24. Núadu Argatlám na n-ech, rod marb Balar Balcbémnech; fiche blíadan a flathius ós Héirind i n-ardmathius.</p>	[14755]
	<p>25. Bres mac Eladan meic Néit ropo ruiro co roméit; secht mblíadna dó, nír fota, éc at-bath don rúadrota.</p>	[14760]
	<p>26. Ro gíallad do Lug don láech dá fíchit blíadan mbarrgáeth; mór-écht do-rigne Mac Cuill — bás huí Dén Cécht i Caíndruim.</p>	[14765]

23a	Eochu] L, Eochaidh SGB, Eoch- Lc; in rí] LSLcG, irí B	
23b	deich mblíadna a flathius] .x. mblā afathius L, .x. mbl- aflaidhus SLc, remheas .x. .b. GB; lánmaith] LSLc, mbith maith GB	
23c	is é sin cétrí do rind] é sin cétrí do rind (6 syllables) L, ise sin cedfer dorind S, coromarbsad inrig (6 syllables) Lc, gurumarbsadar inri GB	
23d	ro gáet ar tús i nHérind] LS, tri meic nemid mic badrai LcGB	
23e	Hériu] L, om. SLcGB	
23A:	adds quatrain LcGB; reading based on Lc; quatrain also in OBr ¹ Br ² PC	
23Aa	Anmanda mac Nemid] Lc, Anmand tri mac nemhidh GBOBr ¹ Br ² PKC; nú] nu Lc, no GBO Br ¹ Br ² PKC	
23Ab	cesorb] LcOBr ¹ PKC, ceasard GBr ² , cesard ^b B; Lúain] Lc, luamh GB LcOBr ¹ Br ² PKC; ocus] 7 LcGB	
23Ac	cétfér] LcGBOBr ¹ Br ² P, an rí KC	
23Ad	Eocho] GB, eoch- Lc; at-berim] adberim Lc, iner- GBOBr ¹ Br ² PKC	
23Ae	Ériu] GBOBr ¹ Br ² PKC, eri. ard B, om. dúnad Lc	
24b	rod marb] L, romarb SLcGB	
24d	i n-ardmathius] LLcGB, nanardmaithus S	
26b	dá fíchit] da fíchet L, da .xx. SB, dafích- Lc, xxx. G; blíadan] bl- L, .b. LcGB, mbl- S; mbarrgáeth] mbarrghæth G, barrgáeth L, mbarrbæth S, barrbæth Lc, bladhcæmh B	
26c	mór-écht] L, truagh eacht SLcGB; do-rigne] do righne SLcGB, doringni L	
26d	huí] h LLc, ua GB, Dén] den SGB, Dían LLc; Caíndruim] LSGB, cæmdruim Lc	

23. Eochu son of Erc, the bounteous king,
ten years was his fully good sovereignty;
that is the first king who was killed
at the beginning by spear-point in Ireland.
Ireland.

23A The names of the sons of Nemed, then: **LcGB[+OBr¹Br²PKC]**
Cesard, Lúain and Lúachrú;
it is they who killed the first man with a spear-point
Eochu son of Erc, I say
Ireland.

24. Núadu Argatlám of the steeds,
Balar Balcbémnech killed him;
twenty years was his sovereignty
over Ireland in lofty goodness.

25. Bres son of Elathu son of Nét
was an overking of exceeding greatness;
seven years for him — it was not long —
he died a death from the red bog-water.

26. Lug the warrior was obeyed
for two score of exceedingly wise years;
a great feat did Mac Cuill commit —
the death of the grandson of Dían Cécht in Caíndruim.

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- 23a–b: R1, R2, R3, Míin (*LG IV*, §§ 280, 288, 296, 303) and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 471.10). *Fir Bolg*, *LG IV*, poem XLVII, p. 50, q. 8a (= *LL I*, pp. 28–30: p. 30, lines 933–936).
- 23c–d: R1, R2, R3, Míin (*LG IV*, §§ 280, 288, 296, 303). *Déne mo fresnis, a mic*, Poem XLVIII, *LG IV*, p. 52, q. 2.
- 24a–b: R1, R2, R3 and Míin (*LG IV*, §§ 304 ff, 310, 314, 322, 329, 356, 362, 364, 366). See also *Éstid a éolchu*, Poem LVI, *LG IV*, pp. 228, q. 7a–b.
- 24c–d: R1, R2, R3 (*LG IV*, §§ 304 ff, 310, 314, 322, 329, 356, 362, 364, 366), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 471.13). *TDD fo díamair*, Poem LIV, *LG IV*, p. 222, q. 6. No regnal years are given for this king in Míin (*LG IV*, § 310).
- 25a–c: R1, R2, R3, and Míin (*LG IV*, § 310, 312; 328–329; 362, 364) and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 471.13). *TDD fo díamair*, Poem LIV, *LG IV*, p. 222, q. 5a–b.
- 25d: See *Met. Dinds.* III, p. 218, lines 25–29 and *Éstid a éolchu*, *LG IV*, poem LVI, p. 228, q. 11.
- 26a–b: R1, R2, R3, Míin (*LG IV*, §§ 312, 314, 332, 364, 366) and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 471.15). *TDD fo díamair*, Poem LIV, *LG IV*, p. 222, q. 7a–b.
- 26c–d: R1, R2, R3, Míin (*LG IV*, §§ 312, 314, 332, 364, 366). *Éstid a éolchu*, *LG IV*, poem LVI, p. 232, q. 22c–d.
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8. Texts and Translation

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| 27. Eochu Ollathair íarma,
cethri fichit findblíadna;
bás in Dagdai deirg na ndrend
dond erchor tarlaic Ceithnend. | [14765] |
| 28. Deich mblíadna do Delbáeth dil
co torchair do láim Chachir;
deich mblíadna Fíachach findgil
cor marb Éogan airdInbir. | [14770] |
| 29. Noí mblíadna fichet 'ma-lle
Mac Cuill, Mac Cécht, Mac Gréne,
trí meic Cermata co n-úaill
i rríge ós Banba bratrúaid. | [14775] |
| 30. Do-rochair Mac Gréne gil
i Taltin la hAmairgin;
Mac Cuill la Éber ind óir;
Mac Cécht do láim Hérimóin.
Hériu. | [14780] |
| 31. Blíadain i rríge 'ma-róen
d'Érimón d'Éber foltcháem
co torchair Éber iar tain
do láim Hérimóin imglain. | |

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| 27a | Eochu] L, Eoch- S, Eochaid LcG; íarma] L, <i>iarom</i> SLcGB |
| 27b | findblíadna] L, find bliadhan S, find .b. LcGB |
| 27c | deirg] S, d-g GB, derg LLc; ndrend] LSLcG, ndream B |
| 27d | dond] L, don SLcGB; tarlaic] L, do <i>theilg</i> SLcGB; Ceithnend] L, cetleand SLcG, ceilt- B |
| 28a | do] SLcGB, don L |
| 28b | co torchair] L, condor <i>chair</i> S, nocondorchair LcG, co toracht B; do láim Chachir] LS, lafiach-. Lc, fiachaigh G, do <i>laim</i> fiach- B |
| 28d | cor marb] cor marbh SLcGB, coros marb (<i>8 syllables</i>) L |
| 29a | Noí] .IX. L, Secht SLc, .X. GB; fichet] .xx.it S, fich- Lc, .xx. GB, .1.at <i>added in margin with caret marks</i> L |
| 29c | co n-úaill] LS, com buaid LcGB |
| 30a | gil] S, gel LLcGB |
| 30b | hAmairgin] ham <i>hairgin</i> SLc, hamairgen LGB |
| 30c | Éber] L, heber BG, hemer Lc, hemir S; ind óir] inn óir L, inoir SLcGB |
| 30e | Hériu] H. L, <i>om.</i> dúnad SLcGB |
| 31b | d'Éber] is déb- (<i>8 syllables</i>) L, deb- B, deimir S, demer LcG; foltcháem] LLc, folt <i>chæm</i> SGB |
| 31c | co torchair] co tor- LB, condor <i>chair</i> SG, go ro <i>chair</i> Lc |
| 31d | imglain] L, inglain S, findglain GB, arnaid Lc |
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27. Eochu Ollathair after that,
four score fair years;
the death of the red Dagda of the combats
from a shot which Ceithnend cast.
28. Ten years for dear Delbáeth
until he fell by the hand of Cacher;
ten years of fair and bright Fíachu
until Éogan of lofty Inber Mór killed him.
29. For twenty-nine years together were
Mac Cuill, Mac Cécht and Mac Gréne,
the three sons of Cermat with pride,
in kingship over red-cloaked Ireland.
30. The lustrous Son of Grían fell
in Tailtiu by Amairgen;
Mac Cuill by Éber of the gold;
Mac Cécht by the hand of Érimón.
Ireland.
31. A year in kingship together
for Érimón and Éber of the comely hair
until Éber fell thereafter
by the hand of exceedingly pure Érimón.

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- 27a–b: R1, R2, R3, Mín (*LG IV*, §§ 313, 333, 365, 366), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 471.16). *TDD fo díamair*, Poem LIV, *LG IV*, p. 222, q. 7c–d.
- 27c–d: R1, R2, R3, Mín (*LG IV*, §§ 313, 333, 365, 366), *Éstid a éolchu*, *LG IV*, poem LVI, p. 236, q. 32.
- 28 a: R1, R2, R3, Mín (*LG IV*, §§ 315, 354, 367, 315) and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 471.19).
- 28b: R1, R2, R3, Mín (*LG IV*, §§ 315, 354, 367, 315). *Éstid a éolchu*, *LG IV*, poem LVI, p. 236, q. 33a–b.
- 28c: R1, R2, R3, Mín (*LG IV*, §§ 315, 354, 367, 315) and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 471.19).
- 28d: R1, R2, R3, Mín (*LG IV*, §§ 315, 354, 367). *Éstid a éolchu*, *LG IV*, poem LVI, p. 238, q. 34a–b.
- 29a–d: *LG IV*, §§ 315, 354, 367 and Laud Sync. *ZCP 9*, p. 471.20. *TDD fo díamair*, Poem LIV, *LG IV*, p. 222, q. 9;
- 30a–b: R1, Mín (*LG V*, § 469), and R3 (*LG V*, § 480). *Éstid a éolchu*, *LG IV*, poem LVI, p. 238, q. 37d.
- 30c: R1, Mín (*LG V*, § 469), and R3 (*LG V*, § 480). *Éstid a éolchu*, *LG IV*, poem LVI, p. 238, q. 37b.
- 30d: R1, Mín (*LG V*, § 469), and R3 (*LG V*, § 480). *Éstid a éolchu*, *LG IV*, poem LVI, p. 238, q. 37a. See also III.19d.
- 31a–b: R2 (*LG V*, § 476) and R3 (*LG V*, § 484, 486); implied also in R1 and Mín (*LG V*, § 471).
- 31c–d: R1 and Mín (*LG V*, § 471), in R2 (*LG V*, § 476) and R3 (*LG V*, § 486).
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8. Texts and Translation

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| 32. Hérimón airdaire cen on
ba leis ind Hériu a óenor;
ré secht mblíadan déc don dos,
éc at-bath i nArgetros. | [14785] |
| 33. A thrí meic trí bliadna ar blad
co bás Mumne i mMaig Crúachan;
Luigne is Láigne na lland
ro marbtha i cath Aird Ladrand. | [14790] |
| 34. Lechta cethri mac nÉbir
la Íriél Fáid finnfénnid;
lethbliadain a flaith, nír mór,
Áer, Orba, Fergna, Ferón. | [14795] |
| 35. Íriél Fáid fiched gail gaíth
a deich remes in rolaích
co n-érbailt i mMaig Múade
de galar olc óenúaire. | [14800] |
| 36. Ethriél mac Íriéoil na n-ech,
certfiche bliadan mbuidnech
co torchair i rRaírind rúaid
do láim Conmaíl chlaidebrúaid. | |
| 37. Conmáel mac Ébir cen ail
cétflaith mórBanba a mMumain;
árim trí ndeich mblíadan bras
co torchair la Tigernmas. | [14805] |
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| 32c | secht] L, uii. LcG, .ui. S, .uiii. B |
| 33a | blad] LSLcB, bla G |
| 33b | Mumne] LSLcG, Muimin B |
| 33c | is] 7 LSLcGB |
| 34a | nÉbir] S, <i>nemir</i> GB, ébir L, eimir Lc |
| 34b | Íriél] iriel L, hirial SLcGB; finnfénnid] L, <i>fíréinnidh</i> S, <i>fírfendidh</i> GB, <i>fa fhendich</i> Lc |
| 34c | a flaith —nír mór] L, a <i>fhlaithus</i> lor SLc, <i>aflaithiusnílor</i> (8 syllables) GB |
| 34d | Aer] L, ér SLcGB |
| 35a | Íriél] Iriel L, <i>Iarel</i> S, Hirial Lc, Irial GB; fiched] LSLc, <i>fetheadh</i> GB; gaíth] L, <i>ngaíth</i> SLcGB |
| 35b | in rolaích] LSLc, <i>irolauch</i> (sic) GB |
| 35c | múaide] Múade L |
| 35d | de] L, do SLcGB; olc] LG, uilc SLcB |
| 36a | Ethriél] Ethriel L, <i>Eithréil</i> S, Eithrial LcGB |
| 36b | certfiche] cert .xx. LSLcG, <i>om.</i> cert B; buidnech] LSLc, <i>mbuidhneach</i> GB |
| 37b | cétflaith mórBanba] LS, <i>cetrig erenn</i> LcGB |
| 37c | bras] LB, <i>mbras</i> SGLc |
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32. Renowned Érimón without blemish
— Ireland was his on his own;
a period of seventeen years for the champion,
he died a natural death in Argetros.
33. His three sons, three years of fame,
until the death of Mumne in Mag Crúachan;
Luigne and Láigne of the blades
were killed in the battle of Ard Ladrind.
34. The deaths of the four sons of Éber,
by Íriél Fáith, a fair soldier;
their reign was half a year — it was not much —
Áer, Orba, Fergna, Ferón.
35. Íriél Fáith who used to seethe with wise valour,
ten was the reign of the great warrior
until he died in Mag Múade
of a severe disease [which lasted] a single hour.
36. Ethriél son of Íriél of the steeds,
exactly twenty, host-attended years
until he fell in red Raíriu
by the hand of Conmáel of the ruddy sword.
37. Conmáel son of Éber without blemish
the first prince of great Banba from Munster;
a reckoning of thrice ten mighty years
until he fell by Tigernmas.

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- 32a-c: This reign of 17 years, presumably including 1 year of joint kingship with Éber, is also in R1, Mín (*LG V*, § 475), and Laud (*CGH* 136 b 35).
- 32d: R1, and Mín (*LG V*, § 475); R2 (*LG V*, § 477) and R3 (*LG V*, §§ 486, 489).
- 33a: R1, Mín and R2 (*LG V*, § 499); and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 474.24).
- 33b: *Toísig na llongse dar ler*, *LG V*, Poem LXVII, p. 108, q. 13d.
- 33c-d: R1, Mín, R2, and R3 (*LG V*, § 499). *Toísig na llongse dar ler*, *LG V*, Poem LXVII, p. 108, q. 12a-b.
- 34a-b: R1, Mín and R3 (*LG V*, § 500). *Toísig na llongse dar ler*, *LG V*, Poem LXVII, p. 108, q. 12c-d.
- 34c-d: Mín and the Book of Lecan copy of R3 (*LG V*, § 500).
- 35a-b: R1, the Synchronisms in R2, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 501), Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 474.26), and *CGH* 136 b 42. *Íriél ósar na clainne*, *LG V*, Poem XCII, p. 428, 8c.
- 35c-d: The same place of death is given in R1, R2, R3 and Mín (*LG V*, § 501).
- 36a-b: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 502), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 474.26). *Éthriél mac Íriail ro clos*, *LG V*, Poem XCIV, p. 430, q. 1b.
- 36c-d: R1, R2, R3 and Mín (*LG V*, § 502). *Éthriél mac Íriail ro clos*, *LG V*, Poem XCIV, p. 430, q. 1c-d. See also *Ethréil mac Íaréoil fátha* in *LG V*, poem CIII, q. 1.
- 37a-b: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 504) and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 474.27). *Conmáel cétflaith a mMumain*, *LG V*, poem XCV, p. 430, q. 5a-b.
- 37c-d: R1, R2, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 504). *Conmáel cétflaith a mMumain*, *LG V*, poem XCV, p. 432, q. 5c-d; and *Tigernmas mac Follaig aird*, *LG V*, poem XCVI, p. 434, q. 3a-b.
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8. Texts and Translation

38. Tigernmas ba trén a rig;
secht mblíadna ar secht ndechib [14810]
co n-érbailt issin tám thend
i torchair ár fer nHérend.
39. Eochu Étgudach amra
cethre blíadna ós brecBanba [14815]
ní dalb i cath Temra tricc
rod marb Cermna mac Ébric.
40. Cermna, Sobairche, séol mbil,
dá mac Ébric meic Ébir;
dá fichit blíadan co mblaid,
cétríg Hérend a Ultaib. [14820]
41. Aided Sobairche 'na dún
la Echaid Mend darin múr;
aided Cermna 'sin chath chas
la Echaid Find Fáeburglas.
42. Fiche blíadan, blad co n-aíb, [14825]
flathius Echach meic Conmaíl;
Fíacha Labrainne na llerg
ro marb Echaid Fáeburderg.
43. Fiche a cethair cen chaimme
ba flaith Fíacha Labrainne; [14830]
do-cer rí féne Fabair
i cath Slébi Belgadain.

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- 38b secht mblíadna ar secht ndechib] .uii. mbl- ar secht ndechib L, .uii. mbl- dó ar .uii. ndeichib SLc, .lxx. seacht doblíadnaibh G, Ix secht do bliadnaib B
- 38c co n-érbailt] LS, condeb- G, conderb- B, condrochair Lc
- 39a Eochu] L, Eochaidh SG, Eoch- LcB
- 39c Temra] SGBLc, temrach L
- 39d rod marb] L, rómharbh SLcG, gur marb B
- 40b Ébir] LcB, eimir SG, ebr (*sic*) L
- 40c dá fichit] da fichet LG, da xx SB, da fich- Lc
- 40d cétríg Hérend] LGB, cédrí éirind SLc
- 41b la Echaid] la ech- L, laheochaidh SG, la heoch- LcB
- 41b Mend] SLCGB, mind L
- 41c chas] L, chais S, cas LcGB
- 41d la Echaid] la heochaidh SGLcLB
- 42b Echach] L, eachach G, each- SLcB
- 42c Fíacha] LSGB, fiach- Lc
- 42d ro marb] 'followed by erasure of several letters, seemingly romarb (*bis*)' (LL III, p. 467, note 2) L, romarb SLcGB; Echaid] L, eochaigh S, eochó G, eoch- LcB
- 43d Slébi] LLcGB, sleib (6 syllables) S
-

38. Tigernmas, his fore-arm was strong;
seven years plus seven decades
until he died in the severe plague
in which there fell the destruction of the men of Ireland.
39. Splendid Eochu Étgudach
for four years over many-coloured Banba;
it is no lie that in the sudden battle of Tara
Cermna son of Ébrec killed him.
40. Cermna [and] Sobairche — a safe course —
the two sons of Ébrec son of Éber;
two score years with renown,
the first kings of Ireland from amongst the Ulaid.
41. The death of Sobairche in his fort
by Eochu Menn across the rampart;
the death of Cermna in the serried battle
by Eochu Find Fáeburglas.
42. Twenty years — a fair renown —
the reign of Eochu mac Conmaíl;
Fíacha Labrainne of the battle-fields
killed Eochu Fáeburderg.
43. For twenty-four without crookedness
was Fíacha Labrainne prince;
the king of the warriors of Fabar fell
in the battle of Slíab Belgadain.

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- 38a–b: R1, R3, (*LG* V, § 505), and *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 474.29). *Tigernmas mac Follaig aird*, *LG* V, poem XCVI, p. 432, q. 1; and poem CIII, p. 452, q. 3. No regnal years are given for Tigernmas in Míin.
- 38c–d: Contrast with R1, R2, R3, Míin (*LG* V, § 505).
- 39a–b: R3 (*LG* V, § 506) and *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 10, p. 474.34). *Tigernmas mac Follaig aird*, *LG* V, poem XCVI, p. 436, q. 14.
- 39c–d: R1, Míin (*LG* V, § 507), and R3 (*LG* V, § 506).
- 40a–d: R1, R3, Míin (*LG* V, § 507) and *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 475.1).
- 41a–b: R1, R3, Míin (*LG* V, § 507). *Toísig na llongsi dar ler*, *LG* V, Poem LXVII, q. 10a–b; the quatrain *Aided Sobairce 'na dún* is cited in *LG* (*LG* V, poem XCVII, q. 1) = *LL* I, lines 2105–2108.
- 41c–d: R1, R3, Míin (*LG* V, § 507). *Eochu fáebur na féne*, *LG* V, poem XCIX, p. 444, q. 2a–b.
- 42a–b: *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 475.3). *Eochu fáebur na féne*, *LG* V, poem XCIX, p. 444, q. 1.
- 42c–d: R1, R2, R3 and Míin (*LG* V, § 508). *Éistet, áes ecna aibind*, *LG* IV, poem LXV, q. 60; *Eochu, fáebar na Féne*, *LG* V, poem XCIX, q. 7. See also *Met. Dind.* IV, 46.61
- 43a–b: *Fíacha Labraind láech*, *LG* V, Poem C, p. 446, q. 4c–d.
- 43c–d: R1, R2, R3 and Míin (*LG* V, § 509). *Éistet, áes ecna aibind*, *LG* IV, poem LXV, p. 276, qq. 63–64; *Fíacha Labraind láech*, *LG* V, Poem C, p. 446, q. 4a–b.
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8. Texts and Translation

44. Blíadain fora deich fa dó
fot flatha Echach Mumo,
co torchair in cáemdos cain [14835]
lasin nÓengus nOlmucaid.
45. Sé blíadna fo thrí — in tucaid? —
ba rí int Óengus Olmucaid;
do-cer i Carmon in chleth [14840]
la hÉnna n-adbol nAircthech.
46. Árim noí mblíadan fa thrí
d'Énna Airgdech ba hairdrí;
ro marb Rothechtaid mac Maín
i mMaig rúaid Raigne rochaín.
47. Ré cóic cóic mblíadan co mblaid [14845]
ro gíallad do Rothechtaid;
do-rochair la Sétna nArt
i Crúachain cétna Connacht.
48. Cóic blíadna do Sétna Art [14850]
do-cer in rí rá romac;
nír maith in mac mílib tor
dia athair a sárugod.

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- 44b flatha] LSLc, flait^{his} GB
44d nÓengus nOlmucaid] L, oengus nolmucaid^h B, ængus olmucaigh SLCg
45 *originally omitted in Br², added later in lower margin*
45a fo thrí] fotri SLCGB, fa dí L
45a in tucaid] L, indúcaid S, tucaid LcGB
45b int Óengus] LGB, ængus SLC
45d nAircthech] nairc^{thech} Lc, nairct- L, nairgd^{hech} S, nairg- G, nairc^{nech} B
46a mblíadan] LSLcB, .b. G
46b ba hairdrí] SLC, don ardrí LG, don air^{drig} B
46c ro marb] romarb S, rod marb L, domarb Lc, gur marb GB
46d Raigne] 'at line-end barely traceable' (LL III, p. 476, note 3) L, raighne SLCGB; rochaín] rocaín LSB, rochaim LcG
47a Ré cóic cóic] Re .u. coic S, Re chóic (6 syllables) L, Re dha .u. LcG, Re da (cúig above) .u. B
47c do-rochair] LSLc, condor^{cair} G, condro^{chair} B; nArt] L, art SLCGB
47d i] a SLCGB, issin (8 syllables) L
48a do] LSLc, dun GB
48b do-cer] LS, cor cer LcGB; rá romac] L, re romac LcB, ria romac G, ria mormac S
48c ní^r maith] SLCGB, níru maith (8 syllables) L; tor] LLcGB, thoir S
48d dia] LSG, do LcB
-

44. A year plus ten by two
the length of the reign of Eochu Mumo
until the fair, comely champion fell
by Óengus Olmucaid.
45. For six years by three — can you understand? —
was Óengus Olmucaid king;
the chief fell at Carman
by mighty Énna Airgdech.
46. A reckoning of nine years by three
for Énna Airgdech, he was high king;
Rothechtaid son of Máen killed him
very fair Mag of ruddy Raigne.
47. For a period of five times five years with renown
was Rothechtaid obeyed;
he fell by Sétna Art
in foremost Crúachu of the Connachta.
48. Five years for Sétna Art,
the king fell against his great son;
the son with thousands of champions did not forgive
his father for insulting him.

44a-b: R1, R3 and Míin (*LG V*, § 510).

44c-d: R1, R3 and Míin (*LG V*, § 510). *Éistet, áes ecna aibind*, *LG IV*, poem LXV, q. 66.

45a-b: Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 475.6).

45c-d: R1 (*LG V*, § 511), R2 (*LG V*, § 551), R3 (*LG V*, § 512), and Míin (*LG V*, § 511). *Óengus Olmucaid at-bath*, *LG V*, poem CII, p. 450, q. 1.

46a-b: R1, Míin (*LG V*, § 512) and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 475.9).

46c-d: R1, R3, Míin (*LG V*, § 512), and R2 (*LG V*, § 551).

47a-b: Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 475.9).

47c-d: R1, R3 and Míin (*LG V*, § 513).

48a-b: R1, Míin (*LG V*, § 514) and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 475.10).

48c-d: R1, R3 and Míin (*LG V*, § 514).

8. Texts and Translation

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49. Sé blíadna déc 's a cethair
flaithus Fíachach fíalchrechaig;
Fíacha flaith sochair na slóg [14855]
do-rochair la Munemón.
50. Munemón cóic blíadna ar blaid
fat flatha meic Cais Chlothaig;
at-bath rí Dairbre do thám
i mMaig Aidne immelbán. [14860]
51. Árim deich mblíadan cen brón
do mac mórgarg Munemón
do-cer Ailderg-dóit in daig
la hOllomain i Temraig.
52. Trícha blíadan fora deich [14865]
co éc Olloman, étsid!
rí na n-éces, ard a rath,
'ca ndernad cétfess Temrach.
53. Trén a mac Fínnachta Fáil,
a deich fa dó 'na degdáil; [14870]
i mMaig Inis do thám trá
fúair crád rí milis Macha.
54. Mac d'Ollomain Slánoll súairc
deich mblíadna a secht for sóerchúairt;
at-bath cen chlómchlód for dath [14875]
i mmedón tige Temrach.
-

- 49a Sé blíadna déc] Xui. bl- L, Se bl- dec SLcGB; 's a] sa SLcGB, fa L
49b flaithus] SLcGB, flait- L; Fíachach] fiach- L, fiaca- S, fiacha (*added above line*) Lc, fiacho
G, fiacra B
49c flaith] LLc, fer SGB
49d do-rochair] LS, du dorchair GB, condrochair Lc
50c at-bath] LS, docer LcGB
50d Aidne] LSG, ailbe Lc, ailbhi (*aidhme, gloss above line*) B
51a Árim deich] LS, Ceirtricha LcGB
51a mblíadan] mbl- LS, .b. LcGB; cen] SLc, can L, gan GB
51b mórgarg] LLc, morglan S, miadh glan GB
51c do-cer] LS, adbath LcGB; Dóit] LSLc, data GB; in daig] SLcGB, in raith L
51d Temraig] '*in stain*' (LL III, p. 477, note 5) L, temr- SB, temraich Lc, teamraigh G
52b co éc] L, cohec SLc, gabhais G, gabais (*interlinear gloss: ollam fodla*) B
52c-d a rath 'ca ndernad cétfess Temrach] *runs across the top of col. b. (LL III, p. 477, note 6) L*
52d 'ca ndernad] LSLc, lendernadh GB
53 S *omits quatrain*
53a '*letter erased after mac, seemingly ar- compendium*' (LL III, p. 477, note 8) L
53b fa dó] fado LcGB, thucad L; 'na degdáil] L, ndeglaim (6 syllables) LcG, nadeglaim B
54b sóerchúairt] '*s add. over o*' (LL III, p. 477, note 9) L, særcuairt SLcGB
54c chlómchlód] L, chlæchlodh SLcGB; for] LSGB, a Lc
54d i mmedón] L, ar læchlar SLc, for læchlar GB
-

49. For sixteen years and four was
the sovereignty of Fíachu of plentiful booties;
Fíachu, prosperous prince of the hosts
fell by Munemón.
50. Munemón: five years of renown
the duration of the reign of the son of Cas Clothach;
the king of Dairbre died of a plague
in Mag nAidne of the white borders.
51. A reckoning of ten years without sorrow
for the son of great and fierce Munemón;
Ailderg-dóit the flame fell
by Ollom at Tara.
52. Thirty years plus ten
until the death of Ollom — hark ye!
the king of learning — high his bounty —
by whom the first Feast of Tara was held.
53. Strong was his son, Fínnachta of Fál,
twice ten his goodly portion;
in Mag Inis from plague indeed
did the affable king of Macha die.
54. The son of Ollom was noble Slánoll,
[he spent] ten years [and] seven on noble circuit;
he died without change of colour
within the palace of Tara.

49a–b: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 515) and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 475.11).

49c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 515).

50a–b: R1, R3 (*LG V*, § 516) and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 475.12).

50c–d: R1, R3 and Mín (*LG V*, § 516).

51a–d: Mín (*LG V*, § 517) and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 475.13–14).

51c–d: R1, R3 and Mín (*LG V*, § 517).

52a–b: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 518) and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 475.15). Cf. *LG V*, poem CV, *Ollam Fódla, fechair gal*, p. p. 456, q. 2 (50/40 years).

52c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 518). *Ollom Fótla, fechair gal* (See also *LG V*, poem CV, p. 454, q. 1).

53a–b: R1, R3 and Mín (*LG V*, § 519); and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 475.22).

53c–d: R1, R3 and Mín (*LG V*, § 519).

54a–b: Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 475.22). Compare *CGH 156 b 51*.

54c–d: Full details of *aided* including place of death are given only in Mín (*LG V*, § 520; variant number 8).

8. Texts and Translation

55. Trí sé mblíadan, búan in rath,
ro chaith Géde Ollgothach,
co torchair Géde in garta
la Fíachaig mac Fínnachta. [14880]
56. Fichi blíadan, blad cen geis,
fat flatha Féic Findollcheis;
do-cer rí Cera na clad
i cath Brega la Berngal.
57. Berngal mac Géde in gáeth grind,
dá blíadain déc a daglind; [14885]
ro thairind 'sin gleicc a gail
Ailill mac meic d'Ollomain.
58. Ailill ocht mblíadna fa dó
degmac Slánuill, ní sáebró; [14890]
fúair a aidid la Sírna
la ríge Temra tóebidna.
59. Temair Fáil fúair charait caín
dia toracht Sírna slattcháin; [14895]
a thríchait cét láech iar ló
ro scar ríge fri Ulto.
60. Ro chaith Sírna co sríanaib
ré trí secht do sóerblíadnaib;
aided Sírna co slechtaib
i nAlind la Rothechtaid. [14900]

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- 55a Trí sé mblíadan] *Tri she mbl-*. S, *Trí secht mbl-* L, Da .b. deg LcG; X.íi. bl- B; búan in rath] LS, reil a rath LcGB
- 55b ro chaith] LS, *fari* LcG, *robri* B
- 55c co torchair] *co tor-* L, *condhorcair* S, *do rochair* LcB, *dodorcair* G
- 55d Fíachaig] L, *fiacha* S, *fiachu* G, *fiach-* LcB
- 56a Fichi blíadan] L, *Tricha* bl-. SLcGB; cen geis] LS, *nachdis* LcGB
- 56b fat flatha Féic] L, *flaithus fiach-*S, *rochaith Fiacho* LcGB; Findollcheis] *findolcheis* S, *for longeis* L, *findilchnis* LcGB
- 57a gáeth] L, *gec* SLcGB
- 57c ro thairind] LS, *dotorind* Lc, *gurtorind* GB; gail] L, *gal* SLcGB
- 57d d'Ollomain] L, *ollaman* SLcG, *ollomain* B
- 58a ocht] .uiii. SLcGB, .iii. L; ní sáebró] LSLc, *nírsæbhgho* G, *nisæbhgo* B
- 58c fúair a aidid] *fuair a aighidh* SLcGB, *fúair aided* (6 syllables) L
- 58d tóebidna] L, *taibthirma* SLcGB
- 59a caín] SLcGB, *caím* L
- 59b dia toracht] LS, *dia tanic* Lc, *othoracht* GB
- 59c a thríchait cét láech] LS, *conatri .c. læch* LcGB; iar] L, *ar* SLcGB
- 59d fri] S, *ri* L, *re* LcGB
- 60b ré trí secht do sóerblíadnaib] *re trí .iii. do særbl-*. SLcGB, *re trí sectaib soerblāib* L
- 60c aided Sírna co slechtaib] *aided Sirna slechtaib* (6 syllables) L, *aided Sírna co sercblaidh* SLcGB
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55. For thrice six years — long-lasting the bounty —
did Géde Ollgothach spend,
until Géde of the hospitality fell
by Fíachu son of Fínnachta.
56. For twenty years — renown without prohibition —
the length of the reign of Fíachu Findollcheis;
the king of Cera of the earthen ramparts fell
in the battle of Brega by Berngal.
57. Berngal son of Géde the wise and perceptive one,
twelve years his goodly reign;
Ailill grandson of Ollom
diminished his valour in the struggle.
58. Ailill, twice eight years,
[for the] the goodly son of Slánoll — it is no false good fortune —;
he met his death by Sírna,
the king of pure-sided Tara.
59. Tara of Ireland found a fair friend
when Sírna the handsome scion reached it;
with his thirty hundred of warriors after a day
he took the kingship away from the Ulaid.
60. Sírna of the bridles spent
a period of thrice seven of noble years;
the death of Sírna, with slaughters,
in Ailenn by Rothechtaid.

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- 55a–b: Fermoy copy of R1 (*LG V*, § 521), Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 10, p. 475.24) and *AClon* (p. 35).
55c–d: R1, R3 and Mín (*LG V*, § 521).
56a–b: Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 475.25).
56c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 522).
57a–b: Laud Sync. (p. 475.27) and *AClon* (p. 35).
57c–d: R1, R3 and Mín (*LG V*, § 523).
58a–b: See *LG V*, § 525 and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 475.43).
58c–d: R1, R3 and Mín (*LG V*, § 525).
59a–d: R1, R3 and Mín (*LG V*, § 525). See III.22a–b.
60a–b: Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 475.32).
60c–d: Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 a 1), *Sírna sáeglach, sáer in flaith* (*LG V*, poem CVI, p. 458, q. 1), and III.22.

8. Texts and Translation

61. Rothechtaid Rotha, in rí rot,
remis secht mblíadan mbithboc;
oc Dún Sobairche ósin tsál
ra loisc in tene gelán.
62. Gabais Éllim co ngíallaib [14905]
ríge ós Hérind óenblíadain;
do-rochair Éllim co n-aíb
la mac Ailella Olchaín.
63. Árim noí mblíadan nammá [14910]
ro gíallad mac Ailella;
do-rochair Gíallchad, gart grind,
la hArt Imlech mac Éllim.
64. Árim sé mblíadan fa dó [14915]
d'Art íaram, ní himmargó,
la Núadait Fáil, fichtib bla,
do-rochair Art Imlecha.
65. Aided Núadat, ro-fess lib, [14920]
la Bress Ríg mac Airt Imlich;
cethri deich mblíadan mbríge
ro feith Núadu nertríge.
66. Noí mblíadna Bressi na mberg
rapo mór tressi a thrénredg;
aided meic Airt ind airm chrúaid
i mmulluch Cairn chaiss Chonlúain.

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- 61a Rotha, in rí rot] *rotha* anrí rot S, ro *thairind* rot L, raich inri rot Lc, raith *inrirod* G, *ratha* inri rod B
- 61b ré] re S, remis SLcGB; secht mblíadan] LSB, uii .b. G, ocht mb. Lc
- 61c oc Dún Sobairche] LSG, *orig. om. but added in margin by main hand* B, anduntobairici Lc; tsál] LSGB, lind Lc
- 61d ra loisc] ra loisc L, ro loisc SLc, doloisc B, *romharbh* G; in tene gelán] in tene geláin L, saiged garb gelan SG, *intine tæbglind* Lc, tene garb gelan B
- 62c do-rochair] LS, *condorchair* LcGB
- 63d la hArt] LSLcGB; Imlech] LGLc, *imlig* S, *imlich* B
- 63+64 *transposed in Br²*
- 64a sé] LG, .iii. S, .ix. LcGB
- 64b ní himmargó] LLcGB, *ganimargó* S
- 64d do-rochair] L, *atoracht* S, *adrochair* Lc, *dudorchair* G, *dudrochair* B; Imlecha] LSLc, *imleachda* GB
- 65c deich mblíadan mbríge] .x. mbl- mbrighi SLcGB, deich bl- bríge L
- 65d ro feith] L, ro feich Lc, ros feith S, *dochaith* GB; nertríge] LLcGB, in nnert righi S
- 66a mberg] L, *mbedhg* SLcGB
- 66b rapo mór] LS, *robolor* LcGB
- 66c ind] *inn* LB, an S, in LcG
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61. Rothechtaid Rotha — the daring king —
a reign of seven ever untroubled years;
at Dún Sobairche above the sea
the (fire of) lightning burned him.
62. Éllim seized kingship, with hostages,
over Ireland for a year;
handsome Éllim fell
by the son of Ailill Olchaín.
63. [It was for] a reckoning of nine years only
that the son of Ailill was obeyed;
Gíallchad fell — a pleasant generosity —
by Art Imlech son of Éllim.
64. A reckoning of six years by two
for Art then — it is no great falsehood —
by Núadu of Ireland — with scores of cries —
did Art Imlech fall.
65. The death of Núadu — it is known to you —
by Bress Ríg son of Art Imlech;
for four decades of vigorous years
did Núadu of strong kingship stand guard.
66. Nine years of Bress of the plunders,
great was the strength of his mighty charges;
the death of the son of Art of the hard weaponry
at the summit of winding Carn Conlúain.

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- 61a: R1 and R3 (*LG V*, § 526).
- 61b: R1, Mín (*LG V*, § 526), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 a 2*), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 475.43).
- 61c–d: R1, R3, and Mín (*LG V*, § 526).
- 62a–b: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 527), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 a 6*), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 476.1).
- 62c–d: R1, R3, and Mín (*LG V*, § 527).
- 63a–b: R1, Mín (*LG V*, § 529), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 a 6*), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 476.1).
- 63c–d: R1, Mín (*LG V*, § 529), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 a 8*).
- 64a–b: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 529) and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 476.6).
- 64c–d: R1, R3, and Mín (*LG V*, § 529).
- 65a–b: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 530), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 476.7).
- 65c–d: Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 a 10*).
- 66a–b: Mín (*LG V*, § 531), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 a 11*), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 476.8).
- 66c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 531), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 a 11*), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 476.8).
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8. Texts and Translation

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| 67. Cethri ráithi rúthi cath
dond Eochaid urdaire Aphach;
do-cer Eochaid Átha Lúain
la Find mac mBrátha mbratrúaid. | [14925] |
| 68. Blíadain secht mblíadna fo thrí
fot flatha Find Formaíli;
aided ind Find chétna chlé
la Sétna mbind mac mBresse. | [14930] |
| 69. Sétna Indarraid arsaid
do-rat chrod do chétamsaib
certfíchi blíadan cen brón
coro riagad la Símon. | [14935] |
| 70. Símon Brec, sé blíadna ar becht,
rop é in t-iarla cen anrecht;
la Dúach Find mac Sétna sláin
fúair ing éca mac Áedáin. | [14940] |
| 71. Ed deich mblíadan co mbladaib
ro chaith Dúach mac Indaraid;
do-rochair rí Cláire i cath
i mMáge la Murethach. | |
| 72. Muredach, mí for blíadain,
ropo rí co rogiallaib;
fúair Muridach celg tria chath
la hÉnna nDerg mac nDüach. | [14945] |
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| 67a | rúthi] L, ruite S, ruidi GB, resin Lc |
| 67b | dond] L, don SLcGB |
| 67c | Eochaid] LLcB, eoh- S, eochaidh G |
| 67d | mBrátha] mbratha G, brátha LLcGB, mblat/ha S; mbratrúaid] mbratruaidh G, mbratruadh S, bratrúaid LLcB |
| 68a | Blíadain] LS, Remus LcGB; secht mblíadna fó thrí] LLcGB, .ui. bl- fo .iii. S |
| 68b | fot flatha] LSLc, flait/his GB |
| 68c | ind] L, an S, in LcGB; chlé] LS, gle LcGB |
| 68d | mbind mac] ‘i <i>made on</i> l’ (LL III, p. 479, note 2) L, mbind mac S, mac bind Lc, find mac GB; mBresse] mbrese B, brese LSLc, mbrece G |
| 69a | Indarraid] SLcGB, airegda L |
| 69b | chrod] L, crod SLcGB |
| 69d | coro riagad] LSG, noco riaglad (<i>interlinear gloss</i> .i. crocad) Lc |
| 70a | ar] LS, is LcGB |
| 70b | rop é] LSLc, bari GB |
| 70d | fúair ing éca mac Áedáin] L, fuair in cetnamac aedain SLcGB |
| 71a | Ed] LS, Re LcGB |
| 72c | celg] LSG, ceilg LcB; tria] LSLc, i GB |
| 72d | la hÉnna nDerg mac nDüach] la henna nderg mac Duach L, la henna mac ndergnduach SLcGB |
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67. Four quarter-years of the launching of battles
for distinguished Eochu Aphthach;
Eochu of Áth Lúain fell
by Find son of Bráth of the red cloak.
68. A year [and] seven years by three
the length of the reign of Find of Formáel;
the death of that same sinister Find
by melodious Sétna son of Bress.
69. Venerable Sétna Indarraid
gave payments in cattle to the first mercenaries
for exactly twenty years without sorrow
until he was put to death by Símon.
70. Símon Brec for exactly six years,
was the ruler without injustice;
by Dúach Find son of noble Sétna
the son of Áedán suffered the fate of death.
71. A period of ten famous years
did Dúach son of Indarad spend;
the king of Clár fell in battle
on the Mag by Muiredach.
72. Muiredach, a month and one year,
he was king with pre-eminent hostages;
Muiredach suffered treachery as a result of his battle
with Énna Derg mac Dúach.

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- 67a-b: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 532), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 a 16*), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 476.9).
- 67c-d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 532)
- 68a-b: No parallel. See Textual Notes and Commentary.
- 68c-d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 533), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 a 19*).
- 69a-b: R1, R3 and Mín (*LG V*, § 534).
- 69c: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 534), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 a 21*) and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 476.11).
- 69d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 534), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 a 21*).
- 70a-b: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 535), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 a 23*), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 476.12).
- 70c-d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 535), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 a 23*).
- 71a-b: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 536); Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 a 25*); and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 476.13).
- 71c-d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 536); and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 a 25*).
- 72a-b: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 537); Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 a 27*).
- 72c-d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 537); Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 a 27*).
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8. Texts and Translation

73. Dá blíadain déc, réil a rath,
 ropo rí mac déin Dúach; [14950]
 marb cuingid cach cliss — cuimnig! —
 i Sléib Miss co móruidnib.
74. Noí mblíadna riaglom, réil bla,
 Lugaid Íarndond mac Énna; [14955]
 do-rochair in ruri rán
 i rRáith Chlochair la Sírlám.
75. Sírlám saiged slúag Muimnech,
 dá n-ocht mblíadan mbrecbuidnech;
 fúair a thairbirt isin tress
 la Eochaid n-airdaire nÚarchess. [14960]
76. Eocho Úarchess, ard a fílaith,
 secht mblíadna a cóic ro cháemchaith;
 do-rochair rí Banba ar blaid
 ré maccaib calma Congail.
77. Eocho is Conaing co ngail [14965]
 dá mac Congail Chostadaig;
 bátar dá rechtíarla in raith
 ré cóic mblíadna i comflaith.

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- 73a a] LLcB, an SG
 73c cuingid] LcGB, cuingigh S, cuinnid L; cach cliss] gach cliss S, *cach* liss L, *in* chnis Lc, *i chnis* B, *icuis* G
 73d co] LSG, la LcB
 74a riaglom] LSLcB, riaglaim G; réil] LSG, ler LcB
 74b Lugaid] Lc, lugdach L, lug- SB, luighdigh G; Íarndond] iaríndond L, *iardond* SLc, *iarduind* GB
 74c do-rochair] LSLc, *condorcair* GB
 75b dá n-ocht] LS, *da ocht* LcGB; mbrecbuidnech] mbrecbuidneach LcG, brecbuidnech LB, *mbrethbuidhnech* S
 75c isin] SB, *sin* (6 syllables) L, *isa* LcG
 75d la Eochaid] la Eoch- L, laheoch- SLcB, laheochaidh G
 76a Eocho] L, Eoch- SLc, Eochaidh GB; fílaith] LS, blad LcGB
 76b secht mblíadna a cóic ro cháemchaith] L, .uiii. mbl- .u. ro *cæmcaith* S, *rocaith* iiiii .u. *blíadna* GB, *rocaith ceithri cert* .u. mb. (8 syllables) Lc
 76c do-rochair rí Banba ar blaid] LS, *dothoit ribanba comblaid* LcGB
 76d ré] re SLc, ri LGB
 77a Eocho] L, Eoch- SLcB, Eochaidh G; is] SLcGB, 7 L; co ngail] L, *congail* Lc, *gongail* G, *congail* B, *comblaidh* S
 77c rechtíarla] LSLc, *nertiarla* GB; in] ‘*add. above line*’ (LL III, p. 480, note1) L
 77d ré cóic mblíadna] L, re .u. cert blā SLcGB, re .uiii. *cert.b.* Lc; i comflaith] LSLc, *comdaith* GB
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73. For twelve years — clear his virtue —
was the son of swift Dúach king;
the champion of every feat [was] dead — remember [it]! —
on Slíab Mis with great warrior-bands.
74. Nine years let us compute — manifest fame —
Lugaid Íarndond son of Énna;
the very splendid overking fell
in Ráth Clochair by Sírlám.
75. Sírlám who used to attack the host of Munstermen,
twice eight varied and retinue-rich years;
he suffered his defeat in the combat
by distinguished Eochu Úarches.
76. Eochu Úarches — lofty his sovereignty —
seven years [and] five did he spend pleasantly;
the king of Banba fell illustriously
before the brave sons of Congal.
77. Eochu and valiant Conaing,
the two sons of Congal Costadach;
the two lawful, bounteous rulers were
for a period of five years in joint sovereignty.

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- 73a–b: R1, R3, Míin (*LG V*, § 538); Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH 135 a 29*); and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 476.17).
- 73c–d: R1, R3, Míin (*LG V*, § 538); and Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH 135 a 29*).
- 74a–b: R1, R3, Míin (*LG V*, § 539); Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH 135 a 29*); and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 476.17).
- 74c–d: See Textual Notes and Commentary.
- 75a–b: Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH 135 a 30*) and the Fermoy copy of R1 (*LG V*, § 540).
- 75c–d: R1, R3 Míin (*LG V*, § 540), Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH 135 a 30*).
- 76a–b: R1, R3, Míin (*LG V*, § 541); Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH 135 a 34*); and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 476.19).
- 76c–d: R1, R3, Míin (*LG V*, § 541) and Rawl Míin (*CGH 135 a 34*).
- 77a–d: R1, R3, Míin (*LG V*, § 542), Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH 135 a 40*), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 476.20).
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8. Texts and Translation

78. Eochu Fidmuine na fergg do-cer la Lugaid Lámderg; secht mblíadna do Lugaid lainn, íar sin ros mudaig Conaing.	[14970]
79. Conaing mac Congail, cleth glan, níro n-omnaig nech riam; fichi ro chaith for cach leth coro marb Art mac Lugdech.	[14975]
80. Art mac Lugdech, láechda a gluinn, blíadain a cóic i Caíndruim; do-rochair Art 'sin debaid la Fíachaig mac Muredaig.	[14980]
80A. Fiacha mac Muiredaig móir, ocht mblíadna im chornaib comóil do-fúair i mBoirind a bráth la hOilill mac meic Lugdach.	LcGB [+OBr¹Br²PKC]
81. Mac Airt óenblíadain déc daith Ailill Find féta in fírflaith; do-rochair i cath Odba la Argatmár n-imcholma.	
82. Ro chinnset a céim curad Eocho, Lugaid láechcurach; co cend secht mblíadan dar sál ro innarbsat Argatmár.	[14985]

78a	Eochu] L, Eoch- SLc, Eochaidh G, Eocho B; Fidmuine] L, fiadminde S, fiadmuine LcGB
78b	do-cer la] LS, romugaid Lc, ros mudhaigh GB
78c	secht] LS, ocht LcB, .uiii. G
78d	íar sin] LSLc, nogo GB; ros mudaig] LLcGB, romugaidh S
79b	níro n-omnaig] níronómnaig L, niroomnaig SLc, nochor omhnaigh GB; nech] SLcGB, rí L; riam] riam LSG, ria am LcB
79c	ro chaith for] LS, rochaith ar Lc, ro teacht ar GB
79d	coro marb] L, coros marb SLc, gunus marbh GB
80b	i] LSGLc, ara (8 syllables) B
80c	do-rochair] LSLc, condorchair G, co toracht B; 'sin] LLc, isin (8 syllables) S, sa LcGB; debaid] debaig SLcGB, debuid L
80d	Fíachaig] fiacha SB, fiachra L, fiach- Lc, fiacho G
80A	LcGB <i>add extra quatrain. Also in O, with glosses from Lc; also in Br¹Br²KC; orig. omitted, later added in right margin (by different hand?)</i> P
80Aa	Fíacha] Fiach- LcB, Fiacho G
80Ab	ocht] LcGB, im] LcB, in G, os OBr ¹ Br ² PKC
80Ac	do-fúair] do uair Lc, co fúair BG; im] am LcGB
81b	fírflaith] fírflaith SB, fírflaith LGLc
81d	la Argatmár] L, la hairgedmar SLcGB; n-imcholma] nimchalma Lc, imcholma LSGB
82b	Eocho] L, eoch- SLcB, eochaidh G; láechcurach] L, láechMuman SLcGB
82c	mblíadan] LSLcB, .b. G

78. Eochu Fidmuine of the warriors
fell by Lugaid Lámderg;
seven years for joyful Lugaid,
after that Conaing overcame him.
79. Conaing son of Congal — a pure pillar —
did not ever fear anyone;
twenty did he spend over each Half
until Art son of Lugaid killed him.
80. Art son of Lugaid — heroic his deeds —
a year [and] five in Caíndruim;
Art fell in the conflict
by Fíachu son of Muiredach.
- 80A Fíachu son of great Muiredach,
eight years about the communal drinking cups
until he met his doom in Boirend
by Ailill grandson of Lugaid.
81. The son of Art, for eleven swift years
[was] calm Ailill Find the just king;
he fell in the battle of Odba
by exceedingly brave Argatmár.
82. Eochu and Lugaid of the war-currachs
established their status as champions;
for seven years overseas
did they banish Argatmár.

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- 78a–b: Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 a 43), R3 (*LG V*, § 543) and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 476.23).
78c: R1 and Mín (*LG V*, § 543).
78d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 543), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 a 43).
79a–d: No parallel.
80a–b: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 545), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 476.27).
80c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 545), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 476.27).
81a–d: No parallel. See Textual Notes and Commentary.
82a–d: See *LG V*, § 547, *CGH* 135 a 53, and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 476.28).

8. Texts and Translation

83.	Eocho mac Ailella Find, ro marb Argatmár imgrind rí Carmuin is Cláre Clíach i nÁne na n-armsciath.	[14990]
84.	Árim trí ndeich mblíadan mbán ro gíallad do Argatmár; ro scarsat ria gargblaid nglain Dúach Ladgair ocus Lugaid.	[14995]
85.	Deich mblíadna do Dúach Ladgraig ós Héirind cen imardaid; bás in buidnig máir maídmig do láim Luigdech lánLaídig.	
86.	Lugaid Laídech ro lín mag ocht mblíadna a bríg for borrfad; do-cer cráeb chumnech in Chairn la hÁed mbuidnech mac mBadairn.	[15000]
87.	Áed mac Badairn ós Banba árim trí secht sáerchalma; bás ríge Maige crúaid Cétne i nEss Rúaid na roécne.	

83b	ro marb Argatmár] ro marb argatmár LS, re .uii. .b. a LcGB; imgrind] L, airmgrind S, deiglind LcGB
83c	rí Carmuin is Cláre Clíach] SGB, ricermna 7 clairi is cliach Lc, rí carmuin clare 7 cliach L,
83d	n-armsciath] na narmsciath (6 syllables) L, nanibarsgiath LcG, niubarsciath SB
84a	ndeich] L, .x. SLcGB
84c	ro scarsat] L, roscarsadh S, scarsad LcGB; ria gargblaid nglain] LS, regargblaid agail Lc, regargblaidh sregoil GB
84d	Dúach Ladgair] L, duach ladgraid Lc, duach ladhgair SG, duaac ladhgair e B
85	<i>L omits quatrain; text supplied from S. Quatrain omitted from main text and added in lower margin in OBr². Also omitted from main text of P, but added later in right margin. Integrated into main text of K and C</i>
85a	Ladgraig] ladgraidh SLc, ladhgair GB
85b	imardaid] imardaig S, ardadbail LcGB
85c	bas in buidnig máir maídmig] bas an buidhnigh mair muighmigh S, bas inmail muirnig maigmig LcGB
85d	Lugdech] luig- S, lug- LcB, luighduigh G; lán] SGB, luath Lc; -Laídig] laighidh SGLc, l-b
86a	mag] LS, blad LcGB
86b	ocht] LcGB, .uii. S
86c	do-cer] LS, cor toit LcGB; in Chairn] LcGB, '[in] cairn in marg. (with caret marks in text), semi-effaced...' (LL III, p. 481, note 1) L, in cairnd S
86d	la hÁed mbuidnech mac mBadairn] la haed mbuidnech mac mbaduirn LGB, la hæd mac mbuidnech mbadhairnd S, la æd .m. buidnec bad-. Lc
87a	ós Banba] osbanba LcGB, nós Banba (sic) L, osbadhairnd osbanba (9 syllables) S
87d	na] 'n made from r by erasing shaft: r Facs.' (LL III, p. 481, note 2) L; na roécne] LS, narigeicne LcGB

83. Eochu son of Ailill Find,
the very strong Argatmár killed
the king of Carman, of Clár Clíach
in Áine of the battle-shields.
84. [It was for] a reckoning of thrice ten fair years
that Argatmár was obeyed;
Dúach Ladgair and Lugaid
separated him from his fierce and pure renown.
85. Ten years for Dúach Ladgair
over Ireland without challenge;
the death of the great boastful host-attended one
by the hand of ample Lugaid [Laídech] who was fully celebrated in lays.
86. Lugaid Laídech who flooded a plain [with troops]:
for eight years his vigour a-swelling;
the remembered branch of the Carn fell
by the host-attended Áed son of Badarn.
87. Áed son of Badarn over Banba
for a reckoning of thrice seven noble [years];
the death of the king of hard Mag Cétne
in Ess Rúad of the great salmon.

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- 83a-d: R1, R3, Míin (*LG V*, § 548), Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH 135 a 56*), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 473.24).
- 84a-b: R1, R3, Míin (*LG V*, § 548), Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH 135 a 56*), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 473.24).
- 84c-d: R1, R3, Míin (*LG V*, § 548), and Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH 135 a 56*).
- 85a-b: R1, R3, Míin (*LG V*, § 549), Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH 135 b 1*), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 473.25).
- 85c-d: R1, R3, Míin (*LG V*, § 549), and Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH 135 b 1*).
- 86a-b: Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH 135 b 2*).
- 86c-d: R1, Míin (*LG V*, § 550), and Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH 135 b 2*).
- 87a-b: Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH 135 b 4*) and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 473.27).
- 87c-d: See Textual Notes and Commentary.

8. Texts and Translation

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| 88. Do-rochair Díthorba dond
risna cúanaib i Corond;
fiche is blíadain glan glé
rí for fíanaib Fáilinse. | [15005] |
| 89. Fiche is a hocht co mblaid
do Chimbáeth mór mac Fintain;
Cimbáeth caín cétflaith Emna
éc at-bath rí roThemra. | [15010] |
| 90. Remis ocht mblíadan co mblaid
dia éis íaram don rígain,
Macha co mbertaib na mbergg,
coros marb Rechtaid Rigderg. | [15015] |
| 91. Rechtaid, ro chaith fichit féig,
mac Lugdech Laídig lángéir;
rí Clochair is Chind Maige
do-rochair la Úgaine. | [15020] |
| 92. Úgaine móрмаith, míad nglan,
flaith cethri deich ndagblíadan:
ní cían, ós bruinne in Braga,
ro marb buille Badbchatha. | |

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| 88a | Do-rochair] LSLc, dorchair G, adrochair B |
| 88b | risna cúanaib] L, riasna cuanaib S, laisna cuanaib LcGB |
| 88c | glan glé] LGB, blad ^h nglé SLc |
| 88d | rí for fíanaib Fáilinse] rí for fianaib failindse S, rí for fíannaib fáilinse L, fa ri ar fiannaibh failindse LcGB |
| 89a | is a hocht] 7 .uiii mbl-. S, 7 a .uiii. LLcGB; co mblaid] L, ar blaidh S, iarsin LcGB |
| 89b | Fintain] findtain SLcGB, fíntain L |
| 89c | caín] LS, cæm LcGB |
| 90d | coros marb] LSLcB, gunus marbh G |
| 91a | féig] LSLc, fen GB |
| 91b | lángéir] LS, lanfheil LcGB |
| 91d | do-rochair] LSLc, condorchair G, condrochair B; Úgaine] L, húghuine SLcGB |
| 92a | Úgaine móрмаith, míad nglan] Úgaine móрмаith míadh ngal SLcG, maith <i>added later as suprascr.</i> B, Úgaine maith míad nglan ‘ñ <i>suprascr.</i> ’ (6 syllables) L |
| 92b | ndagblíadan] L, ndegbl- SLcGB |
| 92c | ní cían] L, nidalb SLcGB; os bruinne] LSB, os buindi LcG; in Braga] LLcGB, in brogha S |
| 92d | ro marb] LSLc, gurmarbh GB |
-

88. Princely Díthorba fell
before the bands of soldiers at Corann;
for twenty and one years, pure and illustrious,
[he was] king over the men of the island of Fál.
89. Twenty-eight with renown
for great Cimbáeth son of Fintan;
comely Cimbáeth, first lord of Emain
died a natural death as king of great Tara.
90. A reign of eight years with renown
after him for the queen,
Macha with feats of plunders,
until Rechtaid Rigderg killed her.
91. Rechtaid, son of most intense Lugaid Láidech,
spent a keen score;
the king of Clochar and Cenn Maige
fell by Úgaine.
92. Great and good Úgaine — a pure dignity —
a reign of four decades of good years:
it is not distant — overlooking [the plain of] Brega
did Badbchad's blow kill him.

88a–b: Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 b 5).

88c–d: Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 b 5).

89a–b: R1, R3, Mín (*LG* V, § 551), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 b 7), Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 475.28), and *AT* (*RC* 16, p. 384).

89c–d: Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 b 7).

90a–b: Stowe manuscript of Mín (*LG* V, § 552) and *AClon* (p. 39).

90c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG* V, § 552), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 b 26).

91a–b: R1, R3, Mín (*LG* V, § 554), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 b 380, and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 473.33).

91c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG* V, § 554), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 b 38).

92a–d: Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 b 38). Cf. III.23.

8. Texts and Translation

92A.	Badbchad badbláech bernas chath scainrech congalach cothach; óenlaithe co leith a lind, ro marb Lóegaire ós Bóind.	LcGB [+OBr¹Br²PKC]
93.	Dá blíadain Lóegaire Luirc i rríge ós Banba breabuic ra lochrad in chráeb cen chol la Cobthach Cáel i Carmon.	[15025]
94.	Cobthach cóic deich mblíadan mbúan ro ríarad in rí rorúad coro loisc tene isin tig ic ól na flede ic Labraid.	[15030]
95.	Labraid Loingsech, láech ro chaith noí mblíadna déc co degmaith; Labraid Bérré cosin mblaid, ro marb Méilge mac Cobthaig.	[15035]
96.	Ro chaith Méilge, maith a lí, secht mblíadna déc, ba degrí; do-rochair dar bord, cía bé, 'sin chath la Mog Corb Cláre.	[15040]

92A	LcGBOBr ¹ PKC <i>add extra quatrain.</i>
92Aa	Badbchad badbláech bernas cath] Lc, Badbchad ba láecha bernas cath (8 syllables) G, Badbchath badri bernus cath B, Badhbchad bearnadh bruighead cath OBr ² PKC, Badhbchad badhblach bruighedh cath Br ¹
92Ab	scainrech congalach cothach] scainrech congalach chothach LcGGBr ² KC, scainredh congalach cocthach OBr ¹ P
92Ac	óenlaithe co leith a lind] enlaithe co leith a lind LcGB, laithe coleth robe alinn OBr ¹ Br ² PKC
92Ad	ro marb] LcBG, gur marb GOBr ¹ Br ² PKC; Lóegaire os Bóind] lægaire os boaind LcB, lægaire osboind GOBr ¹ Br ² PKC
93b	breabuic] L, blathbuic SLcGB
93c	ra lochrad] L, connochair S, dalothradh LcGB
94a	cóic] LS, se LcGB
94b	ro ríarad] LSGB, rogiallad Lc; in rí] LSGB, don rig Lc
94c	coro loisc] LS, ro loisc Lc, gurloisg GB; tene isin tig] LS, intene nathig Lc, tene tall nathaigh GB
94d	ic] LSLc, la GB
95b	co degmaith] LS, fa deglaith LcG, fa degmaith B
95d	ro marb] LSLc, dumarbh GB
96b	secht] LLcB, .uiii. S, iixx. G
96c	do-rochair] LSLc, nogondorchair GB; dar bord cía bé] LSLc, guborbdhe GB

- 92A Badbchad [he was] a war-like champion who breached battle
 a battlesome, martial and warlike troop; **LcGB [+OBr¹Br²PKC]**
 one and a half days was his reign,
 Láegaire killed him over the Boyne.
93. Two years of Láegaire Lorc
 in kingship over many-coloured gentle Banba;
 the sinless scion was despoiled
 by Cobthach Cáel at Carman.
94. Cobthach, for five long-lasting decades
 was the very strong king obeyed
 until a fire burned him in the house
 while consuming the feast at Labraid's.
95. Labraid Loingsech, [he was] a warrior who spent
 nineteen years very well;
 Labraid of Bérré with renown,
 Mélge son of Cobthach killed him.
96. Mélge spent — good his splendour —
 seventeen years — he was a good king;
 he fell overboard — howsoever it may be —
 in the battle with Mug Corb of Clár.

92A: No parallel.

93a–b: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, §§ 554, 555), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 b 39*), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 473.37).

93c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, §§ 554, 555), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 b 39*).

94a–b: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, §§ 555, 556), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 b 40*), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 473.38).

94c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, §§ 555, 556), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 b 40*).

95a–b: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 557), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 b 43*), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 474.1).

95c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 557), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 b 43*).

96a–b: Mín (*LG V*, 557, 558), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 b 44*), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 474.2).

96c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, §§ 557, 558), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 b 44*).

8. Texts and Translation

97. Mog Corb a mMumain cen meirgg,
mac meic Rehtada Rigdeirg;
do-cer cóemdos Cind Mara
la hÓengus húa Labrada.
98. Óengus Ollam a hocht déc, [15045]
do-rat socht for slúag sáerGréc;
do-cer rí Éle cen ail
la mac Mélge meic Cobthaig.
99. Mac Mélge Irireo án, [15050]
remis secht mblíadan mbithlán;
la Fer Corbb mac Moga Cuirb
do-cer rí Broga in breccuirnd.
100. Blíadain ara deich d'Fír Chorb, [15055]
ropo ruithnech a ríord;
do-rodbad ind omna ard
a rro ndlig Conla clethgarg.
101. A cethair fa chóic cen chéu [15060]
do mac airdirc Iriréo;
'sin Temraig mogda, cén mair,
at-bath Conla húa Cobthaig.

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- 97b mac meic Rehtada Rigdeirg] *mac meic reachtadha rideirg* SLc, *mac meic rectaid rígeirg*
(6 syllables) L, *ahocht dureachtaigh* GB
- 97c do-cer] LS, *dothoit* Lc, *gurtoit* GB
- 97d la hÓengus] LSLcB, *laængus* G
- 98b do-rat] LSLc, *ro lai* GB; for] LS, *ar* GLc, *tar* B
- 98c Éle] SLcGB, *edne* L
- 98d mac] SLcGB, '*add. above line*' (LL III, p. 483, note 2) L; Mélge] *melge* SLcGB, *meilge* 'i
subscr.; *two letters erased before meic*' (LL III, p. 483, note 3) L
- 99 *om. quatrain* S
- 99a án] LcGB, '*r erased before án*' (LL III, p. 483, note 4) L
- 99b secht] GB, *ocht* LLc; mbithlán] GB, *bithlán* L, *mbithban* Lc
- 99d Broga] L, *in brogha* LcGB; breccuirnd] L, *breacuirb* LcGB
- 100a Blíadain fora deich d'Fír Chorb] LcGB, *Bliadain ara deich d'fir chorb* L, Bl- .x. mbl-. *dfir*
chorb S
- 100b ríord] *righord* SLcGB, *ríordd* L
- 100c do-rodbad] L, *rotrascradh* SLcGB; ind] *inn* L, *an* S, *in* LGcB
- 100d a rro ndlig] L, *uair rodligh* SLc, *febh nosdlig* GB
- 101b do mac airdirc Iriréo] SLcGB, *remis irdairc Irereo* L
- 101c 'sin Temraig mogda, cén mair] L, *isin team- mongaigh maith* SLc, *itemraich monghmaith*
dun muigh GB
- 101d at-bath Conla húa Cobthaig] LGB, *docer condla .h. cobthaig* Lc, *fuair digh tondaigh*
andeagflaith S
-

97. Mug Corb from Munster without decay
son of the son of Rechtaid Rigdeirg;
the fair [sheltering] tree of Cenn Mara fell
by Óengus grandson of Labraid.
98. Óengus Ollam for eighteen [years]
brought peace over the host of the noble Greeks;
the king of Éile without blemish fell
by the son of Mélge son of Cobthach.
99. Splendid Iriréó son of Mélge,
a reign of seven fully good years;
by Fer Corb son of Mug Corb
did the freckle-fisted king of the Brug fall.
100. A year on ten for Fer Corb,
his royal dignity was resplendent;
the lofty trunk was destroyed
when Conla of the harsh spears made his claim on him.
101. Four by five without gloom
for the famous son of Iriréó;
in majestic Tara — long may it last —
did Conla grandson of Cobthach die.

97a–b: R1, R3, Míin (*LG V*, § 559), Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH 135 b 45*), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 474.3).

97c–d: R1, R3, Míin (*LG V*, § 559), and Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH 135 b 45*).

98a–b: R1, R3, Míin (*LG V*, §§ 561, 568), Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH 135 b 48*), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 474.4).

98c–d: R1, R3, Míin (*LG V*, §§ 561, 568), and Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH 135 b 48*).

99a–b: No parallel.

99c–d: R1, R3, Míin (*LG V*, §§ 561, 568), and Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH 135 b 48*).

100a–b: R1, R3, Míin (*LG V*, § 562), Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH 135 b 50*), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 474.6).

100c–d: R1, R3, Míin (*LG V*, § 562), and Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH 135 b 50*).

101a–b: See Textual Notes and Commentary.

101c–d: R1, R3, Míin (*LG V*, § 563), and Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH 135 b 51*).

8. Texts and Translation

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102. Cóic bliadna fichet fíre,
ré Ailella i n-ardríge;
Amathair mac Fíir Chuirp caiss
é ro glacc in nduirb ndrechmais.
103. Dá bliadain fo thrí i tuilg thé [15065]
mac Fíir Chuirp i cáemríge;
do-cer la Eochaid co n-aíb
Amathair Flidais Foltcháin.
104. Fiche acht sé bliadna ar blad [15070]
ba rí Eocho Altlethan
co torchair tíar ina thaig
la Fergus fíal Fortamail.
105. Fergus fúair óenbliadain déc, [15075]
maith ro ríarad in rogé; [15075]
do-cer, bid cumnech in cath,
la Óengus Turmech Temrach.
106. Trí fichit bliadan co mblaid [15080]
d'Óengus Turmech i Temraig;
ba sním ri cúane Chnuic Breg
éc rí; Túage ocus Talten.
107. Cóic bliadna 'na ré cu rrath
Conall cíalla Collomrach;
Nía Segamain ro mudaig,
rí feramail findChodail.

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- 102a Cóc] LS, Se LcGB; fichet fíre] fichead fire SLcGB, .xx. fria ré L
102b ré Ailella in airdríge] re oilella an airdrige SLcGB, ailella na ardrige L
102c Amathair] L, adamair SLcGB; caiss] LSGB, chais Lc
102d in nduirb] in duirb LSLcGB; ndrechmais] ndreach/mais GB, drechmais LSLc
103a Dá bliadain fo thrí] Da bl- fo .iii. S, Deich mbl- fo trí L, Se .b. fotri LcGB; i tuilg thé] atuilcthe SLc, i tuilg te L, ituilte GB
103b cáemríge] cæmrige SLcGB, comríge L
103c la Eochaid] eoch- L, la heoch- SLcB, laheochaidh G
103d Amathair] L, adamair SLcGB
104a Fiche acht sé bliadna ar blad] LS, Tri .b. dheg data inblad LcGB
105c in cath] L, a S, icath LcGB
105d la Óengus] L, la hængus SLcGB
106a co] LSLc, ar GB
106c sním ri] LLcGB, bet re S
107a Cóc bliadna 'na ré] L, Tarraigh .u. bl-. S, Tarraid .iii. mb. LcGB; cu rrath] L, cen brath SLcGB
107b cíalla] L, calma SLcGB
107c ro mudaig] ro múdaig L, ro moghaidh S, rus mumaig Lc, rosgeodhain GB
107d rí] SLc, fer L, triath GB
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102. Twenty-five years of righteousness,
the reign of Ailill in high kingship;
Amathair son of curly-haired Fer Corb
it is he who seized the fair-faced worm.
103. For two years times three in ardent strength
[was] the son of Fer Corb in fair kingship;
Amathair Flidais Foltcháin
fell by fair Eochu.
104. For twenty save six years of renown
was Eochu Altlethan king
until he fell yonder in his house
by generous Fergus Fortamail.
105. Fergus received eleven years,
well was the splendid scion obeyed;
he fell — the battle will be remembered —
by Óengus Turmech of Temair.
106. Thrice twenty renowned years,
for Óengus Turmech in Temair;
great grief to the warriors of Cnoc Breg was
the death of the king of Túag and Taitiu.
107. Wise Conall Collomrach,
five prosperous years his era;
Nía Segamain overcame him,
the manly king of fair Codal.

102a–b: R1, R3 (*LG V*, § 564), *AClon* (p. 45).

102c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 565), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 b 53).

103a–b: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 565), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 b 53), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 474.9).

103c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 565), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 b 53).

104a–d: No parallel

104c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, §§ 566, 568), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 b 55).

105a–b: Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 b 56).

105c–d: R1, Mín (*LG V*, § 567) and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 b 56).

106a–b: R1, Mín (*LG V*, § 568), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 1), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 474.12).

106c–d: R1, Mín (*LG V*, § 568), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 1).

107a–b: Stowe copy of Mín and R3 (*LG V*, § 570). Contrast with 2 in Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 472.26, *recte* p. 472.21).

107c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 570), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 3), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 472.26, *recte* p. 472.21).

108a–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 570) and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 472.26, *recte* 472.21).

8. Texts and Translation

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|------|---|---------|
| 108. | Fúair Nía Segamuin a secht
ósind Éirind cen andreacht;
do-rochair in cairptech cass
la hÉnna nAirctech n-amnass. | [15085] |
| 109. | Énna Airctech, ardd a blad,
ro chaith cethre chóic mblíadan;
rí Banba do-cer i cath
la Crimthand calma Coscrach. | [15090] |
| 110. | Cethri blíadna Crimthaind chaiss
ósind Hérind immelglais;
do-cer rí cumraide in Chairn
de láim Rudraige in roairm. | [15095] |
| 111. | Rudraige rí Fáil co fraig
secht ndeich mblíadan de blíadnaib;
brath is bét don Banba bind,
éc at-bath i nArgatglind. | [15100] |
| 112. | Fintait Már a mMumain maith
a nóí don churaid chomdaith;
do-rochair, mar ro fírad,
lasin mBresal mBódíbad. | |
| 113. | Bresal blíadain for a deich
ré fíandaib Cuind, ba cuingeid;
do-cer rí Cúalnge 'con trait
do láim Lúagne meic Intait. | [15105] |

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- | | |
|------|---|
| 108b | andreacht] LSG, anreacht B, aimnert Lc |
| 108c | cairptech] S, carpdech L, <i>cairbheach</i> G, <i>cairp-</i> Lc, <i>carpthech</i> B |
| 108d | nAirctech] <i>nairctech</i> Lc, <i>nairgdech</i> L, <i>nairgtech</i> S, <i>naighneach</i> G, <i>nairgthe_ach interlinear gloss</i> , <i>aidnech</i> B |
| 109a | Airctech] <i>airgdech</i> L, <i>airgthech</i> S, <i>aidnech</i> LcGB |
| 110b | immelglais] LSLc, <i>eochairglais</i> GB |
| 110c | do-cer rí] LSLc, <i>cor thoit craeb</i> LcGB |
| 110d | de] L, do SLcGB; in roairm] <i>anro airm</i> SLc, in <i>righairm</i> GB, <i>rogairb</i> L |
| 111a | co fraig] SLcGB, <i>co mblaid</i> L |
| 111b | mblíadan] Lc, <i>bl-</i> LSBG |
| 111c | don] SGB, do L, sa Lc |
| 112a | Fintait Már a mMumain maith] <i>Findadmar amumhain maith</i> GB, <i>Intait mar amumain maith</i> SLc, <i>In fintait már a mmumain (8 syllables)</i> L |
| 112b | don] SLcGB, do L |
| 113a | Bresal blíadain for a deich] SLcGB, <i>Bresal bodibath co becht</i> L |
| 113b | ré Fíandaib Cuind ba cuingeid] <i>re fíandaib cuind ba cuingeith</i> S, <i>ar fianaihb fail fa cuingich</i> LcGB, <i>noí mblíadna ós Hérind a nert</i> L |
| 113c | rí Cúalgne] LS, <i>ri tuaidi</i> LcGB; 'con trait] L, <i>sa troit</i> SLcGB |
| 113d | do láim Lúagne] LSLcB, <i>relugh luaighni</i> G; <i>meic Intait] mac indoid</i> SLcGB, <i>meic ìintait</i> L |
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108. Nía Segamain received seven
over Ireland without injustice;
the skilled charioteer fell
by clever Énna Airctech.
109. Énna Airctech, lofty his renown,
spent four times five years;
the king of Ireland fell in battle
by brave Crimthann Coscrach.
110. Four years of skilled Crimthann
over green-bordered Ireland;
the fragrant king of the Carn fell
by the hand of Rudraige of the great weapon.
111. Rudraige was king of Ireland to the utmost extent,
seven [times] ten years of years;
melodious Ireland was subject to treachery and misfortune,
he died a natural death in Argatglenn.
112. Great Fintait from goodly Munster,
nine [years] for the even-coloured champion;
he fell — as has been proved —
by Bresal Bódíbad.
113. Bresal [Bódíbad] eleven years
leading the soldiers of Conn, he was a champion;
the king of Cúalgne fell at the fight
by the hand of Lúagne son of Intat.

109a–b: Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 6).

109c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG* V, § 571), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 6).

110a–b: R1, R3, Mín (*LG* V, § 572), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 5), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 472.28, *recte* 472.23).

110c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG* V, § 572), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 5).

111a–b: R1, R3, Mín (*LG* V, § 573), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 7), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 472.29, *recte* 472.24).

111c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG* V, § 573), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 7).

112a–b: Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 10).

112c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG* V, § 574), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 10).

113a–b: R1, R3, Mín (*CLG* V, §§ 575, 576), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 16), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 472.22, *recte* 472.27).

113c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG* V, §§ 575, 576), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 16).

114a–b: R1, R3, Mín (*LG* V, § 577), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 17), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 472.24, *recte* 472.29).

114c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG* V, § 577), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 17).

8. Texts and Translation

	114. Lugaid Lúagne, léir a blad, cen búaidre trí chóic mblíadan; do-rochair húa Airt Imlig do glaic Congail Chláringnig.	[15110]
	115. Congal cóic blíadna déc dóig do mac Rudraige romóir; lasin nDúach nDalta nDedaid fúair tráig ocus tromdebaid.	[15115]
	116. Dúach Dalta Dedad in daig i rríge ós Temair tholgaich; deich mblíadna dá smacht i-mmach coros marb Fachtna Fáthach.	[15120]
	117. Fachtna fichi acht a cethair do mac Rossa i rrígbethaid; la Echaid Feidlech mac Find do-cer in rí de rúadrind.	
	118. Ré dá blíadan déc, búan breth, ro gíallad Eocho Feidlech; isin Temraig mongaich maith fúair dig tonnaid in t-ardflaith.	[15125]
<hr/>		
114b	mblíadan] mblíadhā S, mb. G, .b. Lc, bl- LB	
114c	do-rochair] LSLc, condor ^{cair} G, condor- B	
115c	nDúach] nduach SLcB, duach LG; ndalta] LcGB, doail S, dailte L; nDedaid] ndegaid Lc, deg ^{haidh} SG, ded ^{hadh} B	
115d	traig] L, gail S, gal G, gair LcB; tromdebaid] L, gairbdeabaigh S, gairgdeabaig LcGB	
116a	Dedad] deg ^{had} S, deadad B, dedaig LLcG	
116b	i rríge] LS, nari LcGB; tholgaich] LS, tondgloin Lc, tondbain GB	
116c	dá smacht] LGB, fasmacht S, bai asmacht Lc	
116d	coros marb] coros marb <i>with 's inserted later'</i> (LL III, p. 485, note 2) L, corus marb SLcGB	
117b	do mac] LLcGB, deg ^{hmac} S; Rosa] LSGB, cais Lc; i rrígbethaid] L, rigbrethaigh SGB, corighbrethaibh Lc	
117c	la Echaid] L, heoch- SLcB, laheochaidh G	
117d	de] L, do SLcGB; rúadrind] LSLc, dororind GB	
118a	Ré dá blíadan déc] Ré da bl- déc L, Re da .ui. mbl-. S, Dase .b. LcGB; breth] LS, <i>add i or a before breath</i> LcGB	
118b	ro gíallad] LS, do gíallad Lc, ro riaradh GB; Eocho] LG, deoch- SLc, eoch- B	
118c	mongaich maith] L, mongaigh maith SGB, co met raith Lc	
118d	in t-ardflaith] L, indegflaith S, intrenlaith LcGB	

114. Lugaid Lúagne — clear his renown —
without disturbance for thrice five years;
the descendant of Art Imlech fell
by the hand of Congal Cláringnech.
115. Congal, fifteen years doubtless
for the son of the very great Rudraige;
by Dúach Dalta Dedaid
he suffered death and severe strife.
116. Dúach Dalta Dedaid the flame
in kingship over strong Tara;
ten years of his dominion from then on
until Fachtna Fáthach killed him.
117. Fachtna, twenty save four
for the son of Ros in kingly life;
by Eochu Feidlech son of Find
did the king fall by a ruddy spear-point.
118. For a period of twelve years — lasting judgement —
Eochu Feidlech was obeyed;
in grassy, goodly Tara
the lofty lord received the draught of death.

115a–b: Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 17), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 472.24, *recte* 472.29).

115c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG* V, § 577), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 17).

116a–c: R1, R3, Mín (*LG* V, § 577), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 17), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 472.30).

116d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG* V, § 577), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 17).

117a–b: Stowe D i 3 copy of Mín, R3, (*LG* V, § 579), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 16 a 19), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 472.31).

117c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG* V, § 579), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 16 a 19).

118a–b: R1, R3, Mín (*LG* V, §§ 580, 594), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 20), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 472.32).

118c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG* V, §§ 580, 594), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 20). See Flann Mainistrech, *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 2 = *LL* III, lines 15645–15648.

8. Texts and Translation

	<p>119. Cóic bliadna déc dó iar sin Eochaid Airem, dia bráthair; noco bréc in scél dia chlaid, ra-lloisc tene i Frémaind.</p>	[15130]
	<p>120. Eterscél fer ríгда in raith fúair cóic bliadna co bithmaith; do-cer rí na recht do rind la Núadait Necht i nAlind.</p>	[15135]
	<p>121. Aided Núadat i cath Chlíach la Conaire na cóemsciáth; níro chaith acht dá ráthe i flaith Hérend ardbláthe.</p>	[15140]
	<p>122. Ardflaith Conaire for cách secht ndeich mblíadan co deggnáth; bás ríг na lláech 'sin Brudin la Ingcél Cáech crechdulig.</p>	
	<p>123. Cóic bliadna do Themraig tricc cen rurig ndedgair ndíanglicc co n-érracht Lugaid Ríab nDerg ropo thalchair a thrénredg.</p>	[15145]
	<p>124. A sé fichet do Lugaid co n-ébailt do thromchumaid; Conchobar bliadain a band noco torchair la Crimthand.</p>	[15150]

124a	A sé fichet] LLcB, A xx. ui. G, A .uii.xx. ^{it} S	
124b	co n-ébailt] LGB, conérbuilt SLc	
124c	a band] LLc, baí and SGB	
119a	Cóic bliadna déc dó iar sin] L, Tarraid trí .u. mbl- arblaidh S, Fuair trí .u. .mb. arblaid LcGB	
119b	d'Eochaid Airem, dia bráthair] deoch- bithe dia bráthair L, eoch- airem dha brathair Lc, eochaidh <i>aireamh</i> abraithair GB, iarum eoch- a brathair S	
119c	noco] L, nír SLcGB; bréc] LSB, beg LcG; in scél] L, an scéle SLcGB	
119d	ra loisc tene] L, diaro loisc S, mardo loisc Lc, nogor loisc GB	
120a	Eterscél fer ríгда in raith] L, Fuair <i>eterscel</i> inroit raith SLc, fuair <i>edersgel</i> irroid raith GB	
120b	fúair cóic bliadna] L, bl- fochoic S, <i>bliadain</i> sa .u. Lc, .b. ar .u. GB; co bithmaith] L acæmflaith S, <i>donchæmflaith</i> LcGB	
121d	i flaith] LS, <i>flaithus</i> LcGB	
122b	mblíadan] 'mbl- <i>add. above line</i> ' L (<i>LL</i> III, p. 486, note 1), mbl- SLcB, b. G; co deggnáth] L, co mbithblath SLc, fo bithblath GB	
122c	bás ríг] LSLcG, bari B; 'sin Brudin] L, ambrugin SLcGB	
122d	la Ingcél] incél L, haingcel SLcB, <i>hingcel</i> G	
123d	thalchair a thrénredg] LSLc, <i>ruithnech arigferg</i> GB	

119. Fifteen years to him after that
to his brother, Eochu Airem;
— not false are the tidings to his family —
a fire burned him in Frémann.
120. Eterscél, kingly man of grace,
received five consistently good years;
the king of the laws died by spear point
at the hands of Núadu Necht in Ailenn.
121. The death of Núadu at the battle of Clíu
by Conaire of the fair shields;
he spent only two quarter-years
in the sovereignty of lofty smooth Ireland.
122. Conaire [was] lofty prince over all
for seven decades of good custom;
the death of the king of the warriors in the Bruiden
by Ingcél Cáech [who was] stern in plunder.
123. Five years for great Tara
without an earnest and very wise overking
until there arose Lugaid Ríab nDerg whose
mighty onslaught was ruthless.
124. Twenty six for Lugaid
until he died of great sorrow;
Conchobor, a year was his amount
until he fell by Crimthand.

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- 119a–b: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 581), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 a 21*), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 473.1).
- 119c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 581), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 a 21*). *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 3 = *LL III*, lines 15649–15652.
- 120a–b: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 582), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 a 23*), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 473.2).
- 120c–d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 582), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 a 23*). *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 4 = *LL III*, lines 15653–15656.
- 121a–b: R1, R3 (*LG V*, § 583), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 a 28*), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 473.3).
- 121c–d: R1, R3 (*LG V*, § 583) and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 a 28*). Compare *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 5 = *LL III*, lines 15657–15660.
- 122a–b: R3 (*LG V*, § 584), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 a 29*). Cf. III.25.
- 122c–d: AD *44 *TBDD*. R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 584), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 a 29*), and *AT (RC 16, p. 411)*. *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 6 = *LL III*, lines 15661–15664. Cf. III.25.
- 123a–d: Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 a 33*) and R3 (*LG V*, § 585).
- 124 a: *49 Lugaid reigns (26 years). Beginning of Lugaid’s reign in *AT (RC 16, p. 411)*.
- 124b: *75 Lugaid dies.
- 124c–d: AD *23/*34 Conchobar dies. R1, R3 (*LG V*, § 586), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 a 40*), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 476.35).
- 124d: R1, R3 (*LG V*, § 586), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 a 40*). *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 8 = *LL III*, lines 15669–15671.
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8. Texts and Translation

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125. Crimthand cáem clíarach ro chaith
sé blíadna déc co degmaith
co n-ébailt aithle a echtra [15155]
mac Lugdech in láechrechta.
126. Lánrí Corpri Chind Chaitt crúaid
ósín Temraig tailc tondbúain;
cóic blíadna a rath asin raind,
éc at-bath athair Moraind. [15160]
127. Maith flathius Feradaig Fínd
fiche ocus a dó a daglind;
is bét cuimnech i lLeith Chuinn
éc úí Luigdech i lLíathdruim.
128. Trí blíadna ríge co rrath [15165]
d'Hérind fo riágail Fíatach;
la Fíachaig Fínd búair ferda
do-rochair rí roEmna.
129. Ba rí Fíacha for fíandaib
a secht déc do dagblíadnaib; [15170]
do-cer i mMaig Bolgg barrglass
la Éllim ord n-imamnass.

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- 125a Crimthand cáem clíarach ro chaith] L, Crimthand rochaith nibreg dhun SLc, Dochaith
crimthand nibreg dunn GB
- 125b sé blíadna déc] LLcGB, tri bl- dec S; co degmaith] L, cen dubrun SLcGB
- 125c co n-ébailt] L, conerbailt S, fuair bas LcG, *sim. but bas added later in margin by different
hand* B; aithle] L, daithle S, a haithli LcGB; echtra] LSLc, feachta GB
- 125d laechrechta] ‘under ae two dots, om. Facs.: entry in marg. illegible’ (LL III, p. 486, note
2) L, læchreachta SLcGB
- 126a Chind] L, cind SLcGB; Chaitt] LSLc, caid GB; crúaid] cruaidh SLcGB, chrúaid L
- 126c asin] L, isind S, isa Lc, osin GB
- 127b fiche ocus a dó a daglind] L, .xx. bliadhan a deiglind SLcB, xíi. adegglind (6 syllables) G
- 127c is] L, as S, fa LcGB; ij] L, ria S, re GB, la Lc
- 128a Trí blíadna ríge co rrath] L, Da bl- bliadain bl- cen brath (9 syllables) S, Da .b. .b. cen
brath Lc, B. da .b. gan brath G, Da bl- .b. gan brath B
- 128b fo riágail] fo riaghail SLcG, faragail (*sic*) B, fo nirt (6 syllables) L; Fíatach] fiatach SG,
fiatach LcB, ‘Fiachrach MS., with r erased’ (LL III, p. 487, note 1) L
- 128c búair] L, uair S, fuair LcGB; ferda] ferda L, ferrdha S, fadhba G, fedba LcB
- 128d rí roEmna] LSLc, rothemhra GB
- 129a Ba rí] LSLc, Lanri GB; Fíacha] ‘Fiachna MS., with n expunged’ (LL III, p. 487, note 2) L,
fiacha S, fiach- Lc, fiacho GB
- 129b a secht déc do dagblíadnaib] L, retri .uii. do særblíanaib S, a se deg dodeigbl- LcGB
- 129d la Éllim] ellim L, heilim SGB, felim Lc; ord n-imamnass] ord imamnass L, ord nimamnais
Lc, nord nimamnass SGB
-

125. Crimthand, who was surrounded by scholars, spent sixteen years very well until the son of Lugaid of the war-ordinance died as a result of his expedition.
126. A full-king [was] hard Coirpre Chind Chaitt over strong and firm surfaced Tara; five years was his fief out of the apportioning, Morand's father died of a natural death.
127. Good the sovereignty of Feradach Find, twenty and two his goodly period; a memorable misfortune in Leth Cuinn is the death of the grandson of Lugaid in Líathdruim.
128. Three prosperous years of kingship for Ireland under the rule of Fiatach; by Fiachu Find of a manly host did the king of great Emain fall.
129. Fiachu was king over war-bands for seventeen of goodly years; he fell on Mag Bolg of the green hill-tops by Éllim of attacking sledge-hammers.

125a-b: *76 Crimthann reigns (13 years). Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 476.37).

125c-d: *88 Crimthann dies.

126a-c: *94 Coirpre reigns (5 years). R1, R3, Mín (*LG* V, §§ 588, 594), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 44), Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 10, p. 476.40), and *AT* (*RC* 16, p. 416) (inserted later?), and (*RC* 18, p. 374). See also *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 10 = *LL* III, lines 15676–15680 and *sed non numeratur inter reges, ar ba haithech* (*AU*, p. 2, AM 4040).

126d: R1, Mín (*LG* V, §§ 588, 594), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 44), and *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 10 = *LL* III, lines 15677–15680.

127a-b: *89 Feradach reigns (22 years). Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 45), Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 477.2), *AT* (*RC* 16, p. 416; *RC* 18, p. 374), and *AU* (p. 2, AM 4041).

127c-d: *110 Feradach dies. R1, Mín (*LG* V, §§ 589, 594), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 45), *AT* (*RC* 16, p. 418, *RC* 18, p. 375) and *AU* (p. 4, AM 4062). *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 11 = *LL* III, lines 15681–15684.

128a-b: *140 Fiatach reigns in Emain (13 years). R1, R3, Mín (*LG* V, § 590), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 47). Contrast with 2 in Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 477.4), *AT* (*RC* 18, p. 375) and *AU* (p. 4, AM 4062).

128c-d: R1, R3, Mín (*LG* V, § 590), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 47), *AT* (*RC* 18, p. 375), and *AU* (p. 4, AM 4062). *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 12 = *LL* III, lines 15685–15688.

129a-b: *110 Fiachu reigns (16 years). R1, Mín (*LG* V, §§ 591, 594), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 48), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 477.5). 17/15 in *AU* p. 4 (AM 4062).

129c-d: *123 Fiachu dies. Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 48), *AT* (*RC* 16, p. 418; *RC* 18, p. 375–76) and *AU* (p. 6, AM 4076). See also *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 13 = *LL* III, lines 15689–15692.

8. Texts and Translation

130.	Árim dá ndeich d'Hérind áin ro feith nert Éllim imláin; rí crúaid Cnucha i cath Aichle fúair trucha ocus tromaithbe.	[15175]
131.	Túathal trén trícha ro thecht ro thend crícha trí chóemnert; isin tress for lár Line ro marb Mál mac Rochride.	[15180]
132.	Cethre blíadna ro thecht Mál, ro marb Feidlimid innár; a nóí Feidlimid, fír sin, nacon érbailt mac Túathail.	
133.	Trí blíadna cen tathair tricc ro chaith Cathair húa Cormaic; do-rochair rí Túage thes la féin Lúagne na llúamchles.	[15185]
134.	Cond cóic blíadna fa chethair ba iarla co n-airlechaib; do-rochair Cond cláir Mide la mac Máil meic Rochride.	[15190]

130a	Árim] LS, Remus LcGB
130b	ro feith] Lc, rofeith S, rodos feith L, ros feth GB; nert Éllim imláin] n-t eillim imslain SLcGB, ellim imláin L
130d	tromaithbe] SLcGB, trénaithbe L
131b	trí] L, co SLcGB; chóemnert] LS, comnert LcGB
131c	isin tress] LS, isatres Lc, isin cath GB
131d	ro marb] ro marb LSLcGB
132a	ro thecht] LG, ro caith SLcB
132b	ro marb] ro marb L, cormarb SLcGB; innár] L, foltban S, fír nar LcB, frimhnar G
132c	a nóí Feidlimid, fír sin,] a .ix. feidl- firsín LcGB, a .ix. fedlim asfirsín S, a nóí is fír sin (5 syllables) L
133a	Trí bliadna] LcGB, A sé fichet L, Trícha bl-. S; cen tathair] SLcGB, cen tathair 'in marg. with ref. marks † trí bliadna cen tathair' (LL III, p. 487, note a) L; tricc] SG, trait LLcB
133b	Cormaic] S, cormaic LLcGB
133d	lluamchless] L, luaithtres SLc, luatreas G, luathres B
134b	ba] L, rob SLcGB; co n-airlechaib] L, conaird creachaib SLc, gonairdeachaibh GB
134c	do-rochair] LS, co torchair Lc, condorcair GB

130. [It was for] a reckoning of two decades for splendid Ireland
that the strength of perfect Éllim stood guard;
the hard king of Cnucha in the battle of Aichle
suffered untimely death and heavy decline.
131. Mighty Túathal possessed thirty years,
he exerted pressure on borders with fair strength;
in the battle on the ground of [Mag] Line
Mál son of Róchríde killed him.
132. Four years did Mál possess,
most honourable Feidlimid killed him;
nine [for] Feidlimid — that is true —
until the son of Túathal died.
133. Three years without hasty reproach
did Cathaír grandson of Cormac spend;
the king of Túag fell in the south
by the warriors of Lúagne of the pre-eminent feats.
134. For five by four years Conn
was lord with slaughters;
Conn of the plain of Meath fell
by the son of Mál son of Rochríde.

- 130a-b: *117 Éllim reigns in Emain (10 years). R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 592), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 a 50*), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 477.8).
- 130c-d: *AT (RC 18, p. 375-76)*; *AU* (p. 6, AM 4079) and in *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 14 = *LL III*, lines 15693-15696.
- 131a-b: *126 Túathal reigns (30 years). R1, R2, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 593, 594), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 a 51*), Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 477.15), *AT (RC 16, p. 419; RC 18, p. 376)* and *AU* (p. 6, AM 4079).
- 131c-d: *156 Túathal dies. *AT (RC 17, p. 6)*, and *AU* p. 8 (AM 4104). *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 15 = *LL III*, lines 15697-15700. Cf. III.27. Cf. III.26a-27b.
- 132 a: *156 Mál of Emain reigns. R1, R2, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 594), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 a 53*), Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 477.21), *AT (RC 18, p. 376)*, and *AU* (p. 8, AM 4079).
- 132b: R1, R2, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 594), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 a 53*), *AT (RC 18, p. 376)*, *AU* (p. 8, AM 4104) and *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 16 = *LL III*, lines 15701-15704.
- 132c-d: *159 Feidlimid reigns (9 years). R1, Mín (*LG V*, §§ 594, 595), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 a 54*), Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 477.23), *AT (RC 17, p. 6; RC 18, p. 376)*, and *AU* p. 8 (AM 4109). *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 17 = *LL III*, lines 15705-15708.
- 133a-b: R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 596), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 477.27). Cf. III.27.
- 133c-d: *166 Cathaír dies. R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 596), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 a 55*), *AT (RC 17, p. 7; RC 18, p. 376)*, and *AU* (p. 8, AM 4117). *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 18 = *LL III*, lines 15709-15712.
- 134a-b: *167 Conn reigns (20 years). Mín (*LG V*, § 597), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 b 1*), *AT (RC 17, p. 7; RC 18, p. 377)*, and *AU* (p. 8, AM 4118).
- 134c-d: *186 death of Conn. Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 b 1*), Lecan copy of R3 (*LG V*, § 597) and *AU* (p. 10, AM 4137) omit to mention the name of Conn's killer. See also Flann's reference to Tipraite, *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 19 = *LL III*, lines 15713-15716, and *Baile in Scáil* (K. Murray, § 10, line 74). See also III.27c-d.

8. Texts and Translation

135. Ro chaith Conaire a chlíamain
sé blíadna ocus óenblíadain;
do-rochair flaith Femin find [15195]
do láim Nemid meic Srobchind.
136. Art mac Cuind calma ro glacc
in mBanba fri ré tríchat;
ro mudaig, cíarbo chara,
Lugaid i cath Mucrama. [15200]
137. Lugaid Mac Con meic Luigdech,
trícha blíadan balcbuidnech;
la Ferches mac Commáin cain
fúair forráin is frithargain.
138. Fergus Détach co ndíanblaid [15205]
cen écnach ri óenblíadain;
do-rochair gilla na nglacc
i cath Chrinna la Cormac.
139. Cormac, cethri deich datta,
ro feith in láech lámfata; [15210]
ro mbáid i Tig Clettig crúaid
cnáim ind íaich ettig finnúair.
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- 135b sé blíadna] .ui. bliana S, se .b. Lc, .uii. bl- LGB
135c do-rochair] LLc, *condorcair* SGB, flaith] L, rí SLcGB
135d Srobchind] srobcind L, sraibcind SB, sraibhgind LcG
136b mBanba] mbanb S, banba LLcGB
136c ro mudaig cíarbo chara] ro mudaig cíarbo chara LSLc, rosmudhaigh *gersad cara* GB
137a Luigdech] S, luiḡ. Lc, GB, Lugdech L
137b balcbuidnech] LGB, *blathcuimhneach* SLc
138a Fergus Détach co ndíanblaid] *Feargus detach conndianblaidh* SLcGB, Fergus Dubdétach
cen díanblaid (*8 syllables*) L
138b écnach] ecnach LSGLc, eгна B
139b ro feith] L, *rofeith* S, *rosfeich* LcGB
139c ro mbáid] L, *robaigh* S, *rus craid* Lc, *rosbaidh* GB
139d ind íaich] L, *aniaich* SLc, *ineo* GB; *finnúair*] *innúair* L, *indfuair* B, *adúair* SGLc
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135. Conaire, his son-in-law,
spent six years and one year;
the lord of fair Femen fell
by the hand of Nemed son of Srabchenn.
136. Art son of brave Conn seized
Ireland for a period of thirty;
Lugaid overcame him, though he was a kinsman,
in the battle of Mucrama.
137. Lugaid Mac Con son of Lugaid,
thirty stout and retinue-rich years;
by Ferches son of fair Commán
did he suffer injury and offence.
138. Fergus [Dub]détach with intense renown
for a single year without being reproached;
the youth of the handfults fell
in the battle of Crinna by Cormac.
139. Cormac, [it is for] four fair decades
that Cormac the warrior of the long arms stood guard;
the bone of a finned, very cold salmon
killed him in strict Tech Clettig.

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- 135a–b: *186.3 Conaire reigns (7 years). *Mín* (*LG* V, § 598), Rawl. B 502 *Mín* (*CGH* 136 b 3), *AT* (*RC* 18, p. 377) and *AU* (p. 10, AM 4137). See Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 477.35). *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 20 = *LL* III, lines 15717–15720.
- 135c–d: *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 20 = *LL* III, lines 15717–15720.
- 136a–b: *187 Art reigns (32 years). Rawl. B 502 *Mín* (*CGH* 136 b 4), Ballymote copy of R3 (*LG* V, § 599), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 477.37).
- 136c–d: *218 death of Art. Rawl. B 502 *Mín* (*CGH* 136 b 4), *AT* (*RC* 17, p. 11; *RC* 18, p. 378), and *AU* (p. 12, AM 4167). *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 21 = *LL* III, lines 15721–15724, *Baile Chuinn*, (*Ériu* 16, p. 146), and *Baile in Scáil* (§ 11, line 92). Cf. III.28.
- 137a–b: R1, R3, *Mín* (*LG* V, § 600), Rawl. B 502 *Mín* (*CGH* 136 b 5), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 477.42).
- 137c–d: R1, R3, *Mín* (*LG* V, § 600), and Rawl. B 502 *Mín* (*CGH* 136 b 5). *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 22 = *LL* III, lines 15725–15728.
- 138a–b: *249. R1, the Ballymote copy of R3, *Mín* (*LG* V, § 601), Rawl. B 502 *Mín* (*CGH* 136 b 6), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 478.2).
- 138c–d: *250 death of Fergus Dubdétach. R1, the Ballymote copy of R3, *Mín* (*LG* V, § 601), Rawl. B 502 *Mín* (*CGH* 136 b 6). *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 23 = *LL* III, lines 15729–15732 and *Baile Chuinn* (*Ériu* 16, p. 146).
- 139a–b: *250 Cormac resumes reign. R1, Ballymote copy of R3, *Mín* (*LG* V, § 602), Rawl. B 502 *Mín* (*CGH* 136 b 8), Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 478.7) and *Baile in Scáil* (§ 13).
- 139c–d: *260 Cormac dies. See *AT* (*RC* 17, p. 20), and *AU* (p. 18, AM 4209). *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 24 = *LL* III, lines 15733–15736. See also *Baile in Scáil* (§ 13). Cf. gloss on *LU* 4058.
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8. Texts and Translation

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|------|---|---------|
| 140. | Eocho Gunnat ro gíallad
i nÉrind ed óenblíadan;
ro mudaig, glacc in gossa,
Lugaid mac meic Óengosa. | [15215] |
| 141. | Árim sé mblíadan dá deich
ro gíallad Carpre in cuingid;
'sin Gabair, cid trúag linne,
ro mudaig Rúad Roírinne. | [15200] |
| 142. | Ro gabsatar na Fothaid
blíadain ós Banba bothaig;
do-rochair Fothad Cairptech
lasin Fothad findAirttech. | |
| 143 | Aided Fothaid iar fingail
i cath Ollorba inbaid;
Fíacha iar Fothud, feith let,
secht mblíadna déc ar fichet. | [15225] |
| 144. | Fíacha fúair dig tonnaid trá
i cath Chommuir la Colla;
cethre blíadna Colla iar cath
coros indarb Muredach. | [15230] |

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|------|---|
| 140a | Eocho] LGB, Eoch- SLc |
| 140b | i] LSLc, os LcGB |
| 140c | ro mudaig] ro mudaig LSLc, ros mudhaigh GB |
| 141a | sé mblíadan dá·deich] L, .ui. mbl-. sa .x. SLcGB |
| 141b | ro gíallad] LSLcB, dariaradh G; Carpre] 'a <i>made on o'</i> (LL III, p. 488, note 1) L, <i>cairpri</i> SLcGB; in] SLcGB, <i>om.</i> L; cuingid] B, cuinnid L, cuingeich S, cuingid LcG |
| 141c | 'sin Gabair] LSLc, <i>isin gabair</i> GB; linn] LSLc, lind GB |
| 141d | ro mudaig] ro mughaidh S, ro madaid L, <i>rusmugaid</i> Lc, <i>rosfarraigh</i> GB; Rúad Roírinne] Rúad Rorinni L, <i>ruadh riglindi</i> SLc, <i>ruadh donrorind</i> GB |
| 142c | Cairptech] L, <i>cairpthech</i> S, cairpt- Lc, <i>cairbtheach</i> G, <i>carp-</i> B |
| 142d | Airttech] <i>airttech</i> Lc, <i>airgdech</i> L, <i>airgthech</i> SB, <i>airgneach</i> G |
| 143a | Aided Fothaid iar fingail] LLcGB, <i>Aighedh fothaigh iarfothaig iar fingail (9 syllables)</i> S |
| 143b | inbaid] inbaig L, <i>inb-</i> S, <i>inbhaidh</i> G, <i>inmain</i> LcB |
| 143c | Fíacha] L, <i>fiachra</i> S, <i>fiach-</i> LcB, <i>fiacho</i> G; fégh] <i>fegh</i> SLcGB, <i>feith</i> L; let] <i>leat</i> SG, <i>latt</i> LLcB |
| 143d | secht mblíadna déc] LS, <i>se .b. deg</i> Lc, <i>.xui. (5 syllables)</i> G, <i>.xui. blīa</i> B; fichet] L, <i>.xx.ead</i> S, <i>fiich-</i> Lc, <i>.xx.</i> GB |
| 144a | Fíacha] LS, <i>Fiach-</i> Lc, <i>Fíachu</i> G, <i>Fiacho</i> B |
| 144b | i cath Chommair] <i>icath comair</i> LcGB, <i>i cath dub chommuir (8 syllables)</i> LS |
| 144c | cethre blíadna] LS, <i>a .iiii.</i> LcGB |
| 144d | coros indarb Muridach] <i>corus indarb muiredach</i> SLcGB, <i>conid romarb muridach</i> L |
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140. Eochu Gunnat was obeyed
in Ireland for a period of one year;
Lugaid, the hand of vigour,
grandson of Óengus overcame him.
141. For a reckoning of six years [and] two decades
was Carpre the hero obeyed;
in Gabar — though we regret it —
Rúad of Raíriu overcame him.
142. The Fothaid gained supremacy
for a year over Banba of the tents;
Fothad Cairptech fell
by fair Fothad Airctech.
143. The death of Fothad [Airctech] by fratricide
in the timely battle of Ollarba;
Fíachu after Fothad — heed you —
for seventeen years plus twenty.
144. Fíachu received the draught of death then
in the battle of [Dub] Commair from Colla;
four years of Colla after [the] battle
until Muiredach expelled them.

- 140a–b: *260.4 Eochu reigns (4 years). R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 603); Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 b 10*); and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 478.7).
- 140c–d: R1, Mín (*LG V*, § 603), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 b 10*). See also *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 25 = *LL III*, lines 15737–15740.
- 141a–b: *261 Cairpre reigns (25 years). Mín (*LG V*, § 604); Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 b 11*); and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 478.11).
- 141c–d: *286 Cairpre dies. See *AU* (p. 22, AM 4264). *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 26 = *LL III*, lines 15741–15744 names the battle, but not the killer.
- 142a–b: *286 Fothaid reigns. R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 605); Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 b 15*); Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 478.15); *AT* (H1.8, *RC 18*, p. 384); and *AU* (p. 22, AM 4264).
- 142c–d: *287.9 Fothad Airctech dies. R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 605); Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 b 15*); *AU* (p. 22, AM 4265); and *AT* (*RC 18*, p. 385). See also *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 27 = *LL III*, lines 15745–15748.
- 143a–b: *287.9 Fothad Airctech dies. *AU* (p. 24, AM 4266) and *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 27c–d = *LL III*, lines 15747–15748.
- 143c–d: *288 Fíachu reigns (27 years). No parallel.
- 144a–b: *323 Fíachu dies. R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 606); Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 b 15*); *AT* (*RC 17*, p. 28; *RC 18*, p. 386); *AU* (p. 28, AM 4317, § 146). *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 28 = *LL III*, lines 15749–15752. Cath Dub Commair = Cath Cnámroiss in *Baile in Scáil* (§ 15). Cf. III.30.
- 144c: *324 Colla Úais reigns (4 years). R1, R3, (*LG V*, § 607), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 136 b 16*), Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 478.18), *AT* (*RC 17*, p. 29; *RC 18*, p. 386), *AU* (p. 28, AM 4325) and *Baile in Scáil* (§ 19).
- 144d See *AU* (p. 28, AM 4330); *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 29 = *LL III*, lines 15753–15756.

8. Texts and Translation

145. Muridach Tírech trí deich
degmac Fíachach cu fírbreith;
ic Dabull la mac Cruind cain [15235]
do-rochair húa Cuind Chodail.
146. Cóelbad blíadain, blad cen brón,
ro marb Eocho Mugmedón;
a hocht d'Eochaid, ní bréc sain,
co ndecheid éc i Temraig. [15240]
147. Trí blíadna déc, datta in barr,
nírbo fota do Chrimthand;
fúair dig nimnig ina thig
ó shiair ó hingin Fídig.
148. Fiche blíadan fora secht [15245]
'ma-róen do Níall ria ronert;
ní dalb ós Muir Icht elach
ro marb Eocho Cendselach.

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- 145a trí deich] *tri* .x. SLcGB, a deich L
145b Fíachach] L, fiach- SLc *fiachra* GB
145c Dabull] LSGB, daball Lc
145d do-rochair] L, adrochair SLcGB
146b ro marb] LS, cormarb LcGB; Eocho] LS, eoch- LcB, *eochaidh* G,
146d co ndecheid] co ndeochaid LB, *condeachaid* SLcG; éc] L, déc SLcGB
147c fúair] LSLc, *gufuair* GB; ina thig] LLc, na taigh GB, ocatig S
147d ó shiair] *oshiair* S, ra shiair L, casaiar LcGB; ó hingin] ho ingin S, ra hingin L, oc *ingen* LcGB; Fídig] SLcGB, nemid L
148a fora] LS, is G, isa LcB
148b 'ma-róen do Níall ria ronert] *maroen do niall* (*MS Niall 'made on Domnull, with Dom erased', 6 syllables*) (LL III, p. 489, note 3) L, doniall maræn S, rogiallad doniall do nert dathi LcG, *nogorscaradh niall renert* B
148c Icht] LLcGB, *om. Icht (6 syllables)* S; elach] LGB, *nelach* SLc
148d ro marb] romarb LSLc, *gurmARB* GB; Eocho] eoco S, eoch- LLcB, *eochaidh* G; Cendselach] *cendselach* SLcGB, *ardfledach* L
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145. Muiredach Tírech, three decades,
[for the] goodly son of Fíachu with true judgement;
at Daball by the fair son of Crund
did the descendant of Conn of Codal fall.
146. Cóelbad, a year — renown without sorrow —
Eochu Mugmedón killed him;
eight years for Eochu — that is no lie —
until he died at Tara.
147. Thirteen years — comely the chief —
was not long for Crimthann;
he received a poisonous draught in his house
from his sister, from the daughter of Fidech.
148. Twenty years on seven
in all for Níall on account of his strength;
it is no lie that above the swan-inhabited Sea of Wight
Echaid Cennselach killed him.

145a–b: R1, R3, Míin (*LG* V, § 608), Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH* 136 b 17), Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 478.18), *AT* (*RC* 17, p. 29) and *Baile Chuinn* (*Ériu* 16, p. 146).

145c–d: R1, R3 (*LG* V, § 608); Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH* 136 b 17); and *AT* (*RC* 17, p. 29; *RC* 18, p. 387). *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 30 = *LL* III, lines 15757–15760 and *Baile in Scáil* (§ 16). Cf. III.31c–d. See also III.31d–32b.

146a: R1, R3, Míin (*LG* V, § 609), Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH* 136 b 19), Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 478.20), *AT* (*RC* 18, p. 388) and in *AU* p. 30 (AM 4393).

146b: R1, R3, Míin (*LG* V, § 609), Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH* 136 b 19), *AT* (*RC* 18, p. 388), and *AU* p. 30 (AM 4393). *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 31 = *LL* III, lines 15761–15764.

146c: Míin (*LG* V, § 610), Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH* 136 b 21), Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 478.22), and *AT* (*RC* 17, p. 32).

146d: *AU* (p. 32, AM 4430) and *AT* (*RC* 18, p. 389). *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 32 = *LL* III, lines 15765–15768.

147a–b: Míin (*LG* V, § 611), Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH* 136 b 21), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 478.22).

147c–d: Míin (*LG* V, § 611), Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH* 136 b 21), and *AU* (p. 32, AM 4431). *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 33 = *LL* III, lines 15769–15772.

148a–b: *378 Níall reigns (27 years). Míin (*LG* V, § 612), Rawl. B 502 Míin (*CGH* 136 b 24), Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 478.23), and *Baile in Scáil* (§ 18), and *RC* 18, p. 389. *AU* has 87/27 (p. 34, AM 4471).

148c–d: *405 Níall is slain by Eochu Cennselach. *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 34 = *LL* III, lines 15773–15776.

149. Cethre cóic mblíadan 's a trí
ro gíallad do niurt Nath Í; [15250]
i Sléib Elpa na n-arm n-án
ra loisc in tene gelán.

Additional Quatrains: Tradition Splits:

L	versus	SLcGBBr
L		SLcGB [+OBr¹Br²PKC]
149A ¹ [quatrain absent]	149A ¹	Gabais Láegaire línmár cethre blíadna, blad brígmár; ría Pátraic brethach na penn ba rí srethach sáer Hérend. Hériu ard inis.
		LcGB [+OBr¹PKCBr²]
149A ² [quatrain absent]	149A ²	Is and do gob Pádraic port i crích Ulad na n-ardport do chreidset óig Emna and ré slúag amra na Hérend Hériu.

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- 149a Cethri cóic mblíadan] ceithri .u. mbl- S, cethri cóic bl- L, Fichi .b. LcGB
149b niurt] L, n-t SLcGB
149b Nath Í] LS, dathi LcGB
149c ij] LB, ic SGLc; Elpa na] LLcGB, elpa an S, nán] LS, naig LcGB
149d ra loisc] L, roloisc S, romarb LcG, romarb nó ro loisc *added as suprascript in different hand*
B; in tene gelán] L, soighed garb gelan SLcGB
149A¹ *om. quatrain* L
149A^{1a} Gabais] S, Rochaith LcGB, do caith OBr¹Br²PKC
149A^{1b} cethre blíadna, blad brígmár,] .iiii. bl- b- brígmár S, re secht .mb. mblathmar Lc, re
.iiii. .b. mbríghmar GBOBr¹Br²PKC, O also has Interlinear gloss: *u. mblíadna mblathlion-
mhar (Cod:L:)*
149A^{1c} ría Pátraic brethach na penn] riapatraic mbrethach na mbenn S, rethiachtain padraig
napenn LcGB, re ttoideacht Patraic na bpenn OBr¹Br²PKC. O also has gloss tiachtain
under influence of Lc
149A^{1d} ba rí srethach sáer Hérend] bari srethach sær erend SGBOb¹Br²PKC, fa ri for feraib
erend Lc, O also has Lc's reading in gloss
149A^{1e} Hériu ard inis] eri ard inis SG, Eri ard B, .E. LcOPK, *om. dúnad* Br¹Br²C
149A² *om. quatrain* LS; *correct sequence* (149, 149A¹, 149A², 150, 150B¹, 150B² and 151) in
OPKC. Placed between 150B² and 151 in Lc, between 150 and 150B² in GB, and between
150 and 150B¹ in Br¹. Br² has 149A² between 150 and 150B², but marginal correctional
comments indicate that quatrains should be transposed and read in the order 149A² and
150.
149A^{2b} crích] Lc, i .u. eadh GBOBr¹Br²PKC; na nardport] Lc, eadrocht GBB², imedrocht OBr¹
PKC
149A^{2c} do chreidset] Lc, gur credseat GBB², ro creittsett OBr¹PKC
149A^{2d} re slúag amra na Hérend] Lc, resluagaibh ailli erind GB, et oicc aille eirenn OBr¹Br²PKC
149A^{2e} Hériu] E. Lc, *om. G, Eri ard B*
-

149. For four fives and three years
 was the strength Nath Í obeyed;
 in Slíab Elpa of the splendid arms
 the bolt of lightning burned him.

Additional Quatrains: Tradition Splits:

L versus **SLcGBBr¹Br²PKC**

L		SLcGB [+ OBr¹Br²PKC]
149A ¹ [quatrain absent]	149A ¹	Láegaire of the great hosts possessed four years —a powerful renown—; before the coming of judicious Patrick of the pens he was the ample king of the free-men of Ireland. Ireland, lofty island
		LcGB [+ OBr¹Br²PKC]
149A ² [quatrain absent]	149A ²	It was there that Patrick landed in the territory of the Ulaid of the noble harbours the warriors of Emain believed in him before the wonderful hosts of Ireland. Ireland.

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- 149a–b: *406 Nath Í reigns (28 years). R1 and Ballymote copy of R3 (*LG* V, § 613). *CGH* 136 b 32; *ZCP* 9, p. 478.24.
- 149c–d: *422 Nath Í is killed by lightning. R1, R3 (*LG* V, § 613), and Rawl. B 502 MÍN B 502 (*CGH* 136 b 32), and *AU* (445, secondary hand). See also *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 35 = *LL* III, lines 15777–15780 and III.32.
- 149A¹a–b: *423 Lóegaire reigns (30).
- 149A¹c–d: *432 Patrick arrives.
- 149A²a–d: *432 Patrick arrives.

8. Texts and Translation

150.	Sé rí g déc sé fichit rí g ria tí achtain Pá traic co fír; dar é is Slá ne na ngal ngrind is é lín ro gab Hé riud. Hé riud.	[15225]
	L	
150A ¹	Ocht mblí adna É nna Enaig a sé Crimthaind Cendselaig trí cha blí adan, bú an in dál, d'fír Mairge do Muricán.	LcGB [+OBr¹Br²PKC] 150A ¹ [quatrain absent]
150A ²	A[]a [] bi []th na mband É nna Carmain ocus Crimthand Muricán Alman ú aire trí rí g Banba bratrú ade. Hé riud	150A ² [quatrain absent]
	LLcGBBr¹	
150B ¹	[quatrain absent]	OBr¹PKC 150B ¹ Dá mí le blí adan dá cé t ceithre fichit 's a sé déc ó thecht Fer mBolc, monor nglé, gur bheandaigh Pá traicc É ire. É iriud.
	L	
150B ²	[quatrain absent] ²	SLcGBOBr¹Br²PKC 150B ² Secht roind secht fichit rand ré idh is a deich co ndegmé in; s lé r a línmaire lem, Ré im Rí graide Fer nHé rend Hé riud.

150a–d: Quatrain placed between I.149A¹ and I.150B² in Lc.

150a Sé] LLcGB, .UII. S

150c dar é is] LLc, ota SGBObR¹Br²PKC; Slá ne] L, tlange LcGB, slang (6 syllables) S

150d lín] LLcG, rí g *added by later hand*, lín ri S, rí g *expunged* B; ro gab] SLcGBOBr¹Br²PKC, ro gab dar é is (9 syllables) L

150e Hé riud] L, *eri ard* S, *Eriu* LcGBOBr¹PKC

150A¹ *om. quatrain* SLcGB

150A¹ a É nna] *add. above line* L

150A² *om. quatrain* SLcGBOBr¹Br²PKC

150B¹ OBr¹PKC *add extra quatrain. Text based on normalised version of O. Omitted from main text in Br², but added later in lower margin, apparently by different hand.*

150B¹a Dá mí le blí adan dá cé t] .II. mí le bl .ii. c. OBr¹, Da mí le bl-. ccc. PKC

150B¹b ceithre fichit 's a sé deich] ceitre .xx. sa .ui. x. OBr¹, l. na ceann sa cuig decc PKC

150B¹d gur bheandaigh Pá traicc É ire] gur bheandaigh *patraicc eire* OBr¹PKC

150B² *Placed before* 149A² in Lc

150B²a Secht roind secht fichit] LcGBOBr¹Br², .IX. roinn seacht ffichit KC, .IX. roind .vi. xx. rand reidh P

150B²c is lé r] GBOBr¹Br²PKC, falor Lc

150B²d Fer nHé rend] GB, na *herend* Lc

150B²e Hé riud] E. LcG, *Eri ard* B

150. Sixteen kings and six score kings
 [were there] before the coming of Patrick the truthful;
 after Sláne of the fierce combats
 that is the number who took possession of Ireland.
 Ireland.

<p>L 150A¹ The eight years of Énna Enach, the six of Crimthann Cennselach, thirty years —everlasting the agreement— for the man of Mairge, for Murirecán.</p>	<p>SLcGB [+ OBr¹Br²PKC] 150A¹ [quatrain absent]</p>
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<p>150A² They are [?]in their deeds Énna of Carman and Crimthann Muirecán of cold Almu the three kings of Banba of the red cloaks. Ireland.</p>	<p>150A² [quatrain absent]</p>
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<p>LLcGGBr² 150B¹ [quatrain absent]</p>	<p>OBr¹PKC 150B¹ Two thousand years, two hundred four score and sixteen from the coming of the Fir Bolg — translucent woe — until Patrick blessed Ireland. Ireland.</p>
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<p>LSLcGB 150B² [quatrain absent]²</p>	<p>SLcGB[+ OBr¹Br²PKC] 150B² Seven quatrains and seven score smooth quatrains and ten of good quality; clear to me their numerousness, the King-List of the Men of Ireland. Ireland</p>
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- 150a–d: Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 b 34).
 150A¹a: See *CGH* 117 a 24; also LL 316 b 47–317 a 28
 150A¹b: See *CGH* 117 a 24; also LL 316 b 47–317 a 28

8. Texts and Translation

151. Gilla Cóemáin cen gainne [margin]
mac Gille áær Samthainne;
fálid din gargnám rom gell
íar n-árim ardríg Hérenn.
Hériu.

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- 151a Cóemáin] caemain L, caomhain SOBr¹Br²PKC, cæman LcGB; cen gainne] LOBr¹C, conghlain (6 syllables) S, gonglaine GBBr²P, can chaim Lc. *Note P has: con glainne glossed by nó cen gainne, with cen over the abbreviation for con and l has been smudged. O has been glossed by a later hand*
- 151b mac] L, .h. SLcG, ua BOKBr¹PCBr²
- 151c fálid din] L, ruc blad^h o S, ruc buaid o LcGBOBr¹Br²KPC; gargnám rom gell] L, bardaib^h co bind SLcGBOBr¹Br²PKC
- 151d íar n-árim ardríg Hérenn] ar nárím ardríg her- L, etir albain is erind. SLcGBOBr¹Br²KPC
- 151e Hériu] L, Eirind .E. S, E.R. Lc, Eriu ard G, Eri ard B

151. Gilla Cóemáin without parsimony,
descendant of noble Gilla Samthainne;
joyful on account of the pleasant work which has held me in pledge,
after the enumeration of the high-kings of Ireland
Ireland
-

II. *At-tá sund forba fessa*

Gilla Cóemáin cecinit:

1. At-tá sund forba fessa
fer nHérend cen ancessa: [15260]
remes cech rí ro gab gíall
ó Lóegaire co láechBrían.
2. Lóegaire, andar lem, ro gab
trícha rathmar roblíadan;
Ailill Molt, maith ro gíallad, [15265]
fri ré fichet findblíadan.
3. Cóic blíadna fichet, ferr de,
do Lugaid mac Lóegaire;
cethre blíadna déc 's a deich,
remis Murchertaig merggich. [15270]
4. Óenblíadain déc i Temair
Túathail Máelgairb gascedaig;
fiche, mar gíallmait dia chlaind,
ba rí Díarmait mac Cerbaill.

—	Gilla Cóemáin cecinit] Gilla Coemain c-c. L, <i>om. ascription</i> RM
1c	ro gab] LR, <i>dargab</i> M
2a	andar lem] L, <i>dar leam</i> RM; ro gab] LR, <i>dogab</i> M
2b	trícha] .xxx. LR, .xxx. ^a M
2c	ro gíallad] LR, <i>rogiallaibh</i> M
2d	fri] L, <i>re</i> RM; ré] LR, <i>re</i> M; findblíadan] <i>find bliadan</i> R, <i>findblían</i> LM
3a	ferrde] L, <i>ferrdhe</i> R, <i>fírde</i> M
3c	cethre blíadna déc 's a deich] <i>ceithre blíā déc sa .x.</i> R, <i>xiiii. 's a deich (5 syllables)</i> L, <i>.xiiii. blíā deg sa .x.</i> M
3d	remis] L, <i>remeas</i> RM
4a	Temair] R, <i>teamair</i> M, <i>temraig thair (8 syllables)</i> L
4b	Máelgairb] L, <i>máilgairb</i> R, <i>mæil gairb</i> M
4c	gíallmait] LR, <i>diallmaid</i> M; dia] L, <i>ga</i> M, <i>cona (8 syllables)</i> R

Gilla Cóemáin sang:

1. Herein is the apex of knowledge
of the men of Ireland without uncertainties:
the reign of every king who took a hostage
from Lóegaire until heroic Brian.
2. Lóegaire — it appears to me — received
thirty bountiful, full years;
Ailill Molt — well was he obeyed —
for a period of twenty fair years.
3. Twenty-five years— the better for it —
for Lugaid son of Lóegaire;
fourteen years and ten,
the length of the reign of Muirchertach of the battle standards.
4. Eleven years in Tara
of the warrior Túathal Máelgarb;
for twenty [years] — just as we give hostages to his descendants —
was Díarmait son of Cerball king.

-
- 2a-b: *423-462 Loegaire reigns (29). Dies, *AU* 462, *CS* 460. 30 years in R1 (*LG* V, § 614).
- 2c-d: *465-484 Ailill reigns (19). Slain at Battle of Ocha, *AU* 482, *CS* 482. 20 years in R1, R3 (*LG* V, § 615), *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 478.30), and *CPV* (p. 94.3).
- 3a-b: *485-509 Lugaid reigns (24). Struck down by lightning after he rejected Saint Patrick, *AU* 507.1, *AT* (*RC* 17, p. 126), *CS* 507, *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 4 = *LL* III, lines 15794-15797. 25 years in *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 478.32).
- 3c-d: *510-532 Muirchertach reigns (22). Drowned in a vat full of wine on top of the hill of Cleitech above the Boyne, *AU* 534.1, *AT* (*RC* 17, p. 132), *CS* 531, *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 5 = *LL* III, lines 15798-15801 and *RC* 48, p. 180. 24 years in R1, R3 (*LG* V, § 617) and *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 478.35).
- 4a-b: *533-543 Túathal reigns (10). Slain by Máel Mór at Grellach Eilite, *AU* 549.4, *AT* (*RC* 17, p. 138), *CS* 544, *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 6 = *LL* III, lines 15802-15805, *infra* III.35. 11 years in R1 and R3 (*LG* V, § 618), *AU* (H2, 537.2), *AT* (*RC* 17, p. 134), and *CS* (532).
- 4c-d: *543-564 Díarmait reigns (21). Slain by Áed Dub mac Suibne, *AU* 565.1, *AT* (*RC* 17, p. 146), *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 7 = *LL* III, lines 15806-15809, *infra* III.40. 20 years in *CPV* (p. 94.7) and *AU* (545.3-565.1).
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8. Texts and Translation

5. Domnall is Fergus na fled [15275]
Báetán is Eocho uchtgel,
Ainmere in cóiced cen chess —
secht mblíadna ríam a rremess.
6. Óenblíadain fri ól meda [15280]
do Báetán mac Nainneda;
a ocht fichet fúair debech
int Áed mend mac Ainmerech.
7. Áed Sláne is Cholmán Rímid [15285]
secht mblíadna don dís dírig;
secht mblíadna, díb ba dímdach,
int Áed amnas Úairidnach.

-
- 5b Eocho] L, eoch- M, eochu R
5c chess] L, ceas M, ceis R
5d rremess] remess L, rimheas M, reimeis R
6a fri] L, for RM
6c ocht fichet] L, a hocht fichet R, A .xxuii.et M
6d int Áed mend mac Ainmerech] L, in tæd mac an ainmereach M, ro bui aed mac anmeirech R
7c secht mblíadna] uii mbl- L, .uúí. mblā RM; díb ba dimdach] LM, búí nír diumdach R
7d amnas] LM, uallach R
-

5. Domnall and Fergus of the feasts
Báetán and Eochu of the white cheast,
Ainmere was the fifth one without debility —
seven years was their reign beforehand.

6. A single year drinking mead
for Báetán son of Nainnid;
for twenty-eight did the distinguished Áed son of Ainmere
suffer strife.

7. Áed Sláine and Colmán Rímid,
seven years for the just pair;
seven years — with them he was dissatisfied —
fierce Áed Úairidnach.

-
- 5a: *565 Death of Domnall, *AT* 565.2 (*RC* 17, p. 148) and *CS* (566). *569 death of Fergus. 1 year in R1 (*LG* V, § 620); 2 years in *AI* King-List § 351; and 3 years in Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 479.8) and *CGH* 137 a 10.
- 5b: *571 Slaying of Báetán mac Muiredaig and Eochaid Finn mac Domnaill, *AU* 572.1, *AT* 571.1 (*RC* 17, p. 149), *CS* 572, *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 9 = *LL* III, lines 15814–15817. 3 years in *AU*, *AT*, *CS*, R1 and R3 (*LG* V, § 623), and *AR* § 50.
- 5c: *568 Áinmire mac Sétna slain by Fergus mac Néilléne, *AU* 569.1, *AT* 568.1 (*RC* 17, p. 148), *CS* 568 and *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 10 = *LL* III, lines 15818–15821. 3 years in R1 (*LG* V, § 622), *CGH* 137 a 10, *AI* King-List § 352, and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 479.12).
- 6a–b: *572–*584 Báetán reigns (12). Slain, *AU* 586.1, *AT* 584.1 (*RC* 17, p. 149), *CS* 586, *AI* 588.1, *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 11 = *LL* III, lines 15822–15825. 1 year also in R1, R3 (*LG* V, § 623), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 479.13).
- 6c–d: *584–*596 Áed mac Ainmrech reigns (12). Slain at battle of Dún Bolc, *AU* 598.2, *AT* 596.2 (*RC* 17, p. 161), *CS* 598, *AI* 601.1, *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 12 = *LL* III, lines 15826–15829. 28 years also in R1 (*LG* V, § 624).
- 7a–b: *596–*602 Colmán Rímid reigns (6). Slain by king Lochán Dílmana; and Áed Sláine killed by Conall mac Suibne on shore of Loch Semdige, *AU* 604.1, *AT* 602.1 (*RC* 17, pp. 164–65), *CS* 604, *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, qq. 13–14 = *LL* III, lines 15830–15837. R3 (*LG* V, § 625). 7 years also in *CGH* 137 a 11 and R1 (not read thus by Macallister, see *LL* I, p. 95.45, note 7).
- 7c–d: *603–*610 Áed Úairidnach reigns (7). Dies, *AU* 612.1, *AT* 610.1 (*RC* 17, p. 169), *CS* 612, *AI* 613.2, *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 15 = *LL* III, lines 15838–15841. 7 years also in Book of Lecan copy of R3 (*LG* V, § 626), Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 479.19), *CPV* (p. 95.2), *AI* King-List (§ 356) and *CS* (605; 605–612).
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8. Texts and Translation

8. Trí bláidna Maíl Choba chaiss
a cóic déc Subne súlmaiss;
trícha bláidan cona mblaid
Domnaill meic Áeda échtaig. [15290]
9. Conall Cáel is Chellach Cairnd
a dó fichet fo desgairm;
Blathmac ocus Díarmait dil
deich mbláidna don dá bráthair.
10. Cóic bláidna Sechnasaig, sluind, [15295]
a secht Chind Fáelad echduind;
certfíchi bláidan blada
d'Fínnachta mac Dúinchada.

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- 8b a cóic déc] LR, a *dho dheg* M, *atri* x L¹; Subne] L, *suibhne* M, *suibne* R; súlmaiss] sul-
maiss L, *šulmaiss* R, *tsuilglais* M
- 8c cona mblaid] L, *cona blaid* R, *gofuair mbloidh* M
- 8d Domnaill meic] *domnaill meic* RM, *Domnall mac* L
- 9a Cairnd] L, *cairn* R, *cairind* M
- 9c ocus] L, *7* RM
- 9d deich] LR, *.uíí.* M; don dá bráthair] L, *din da brathair* M, *dona bráithrib* R
- 10b Chind] L, *cind* RM
- 10c certfíchi] L, *cert .xx.^t* M, *cert^{fiche}* R; blada] LR, *breadha* M
- 10d d'Fínnachta] LM, *finnachta* R

- 8 . Three years of skillful Máel Coba,
fifteen of Suibne of the handsome eyes;
thirty years of renown
of Domnall, the son of violent Áed.
9. Conall Cáel and Cellach Cairn,
twenty-two in just fame;
Blathmac and beloved Díarmait,
ten years for the two brothers.
10. The five years of Sechnasach — mention you! —
seven of Cenn Fáelad of the brown steed;
exactly twenty years of renown
for Fínnachta son of Donnchad

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- 8a: *610–*613 Máel Coba reigns (3). Slain in battle of Toa by Suibne Mend, *AU* 615.1, *AT* 613.1 (*RC* 17, p. 171), *CS* 615, *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 16 = *LL* III, lines 15842–15845. 3 years in R1, Ballymote copy of R3 (*LG* V, § 627).
- 8b: *613–*630 Suibne Mend reigns (17). Slain by Congal Cáech in Tráig Brena, *AU* 628.2, *AT* 610.3 (*RC* 17, p. 180) *CS* 628, *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 17 = *LL* III, lines 15846–15849.
- 8c–d: *630–*643 Domnall mac Áeda reigns (13). Dies, *AU* 642.1, *AT* 643.2 (*RC* 17, p. 186), *CS* 642, *AI* 643, *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 18 = *LL* III, lines 15850–15853. 30 years also in R1 and the Ballymote copy of R3 (*LG* V, § 629).
- 9a–b: *644–*653 Conall Cáel reigns (9). Dies, *AU* 653.2, *AT* 653.5 (*RC* 17, p. 192), *CS* 653, *AI* 653, *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 20 = *LL* III, lines 15858–15862.
- 9c–d: *654–*665 Blathmac and Díarmait reign jointly (11). Deaths in Buide Chonail, *AU* 665.1, *AT* 665.2 (*RC* 17, p. 199), *CS* 665, *AI* 666, *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 21 = *LL* III, lines 15862–15865.
- 10a: *665–*671 Sechnasach reigns (6). Slain, *AU* 671.3, *AT* 671.2 (*RC* 17, p. 201), *CS* 671, *AI* 669, *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 22 = *LL* III, lines 15866–15869. 5 years also in *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 479.30), *CPV* (p. 95.8), *AI* King-List (§ 362), and *FA*.
- 10b: *672–*675 Cenn Fáelad reigns (3). Slain by Fínnachta Fledach at Tech huí Maine in Dál Celtru, *AU* 675.1, *CS* 671, *AI* 674, *AT* 675.1 (*RC* 17, p. 203), *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 23 = *LL* III, lines 15870–15873.
- 10c–d: (i) *675–*688 Fínnachta Fledach reigns (13); *689–*695 restored and resumes reign. Slain at battle of Grellach, *AU* 695.1, *AT* 695.1 (*RC* 17, p. 213), *CS* 695, *AI* 694, *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 24 = *LL* III, lines 15874–15877. 20 years also in R1 and B copy of R3 (*LG* V, § 634).
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8. Texts and Translation

11. Ocht mblíadna Longsig, ro-laim,
a nóí Congail Chind Magair; [15300]
Fergal mac Máele Dúin daith
óen blíadain déc don degflaith.
12. Óenblíadain Fógartaig aird,
a cóic Cináeda cathgairg, [15305]
secht mblíadna Flaithbertaig Fáil,
noí mblíadna Áeda Alláin.
13. Fiche do Domnall Dala,
do mac massech Murchada;
secht mblíadna, fa míad im-mach,
ba rí Níall fíanna Frassach. [15310]

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- 11a ro laim] LR, ro lidh M
11b Chind] L, cind RM
11c Máele] L, mæle M, máili R
11d óen blíadain déc] L, .xi. (blīai *expunged*) deg M, a .xí. ndéc R, don degflaith] LM, don
ard flaith R
12a Fógartaig] R, fógartaig LM
12b a cóic] L, a .u. RM; Cináeda] LR, cinaidh (6 syllables) M
12c Flaithbertaig] LM, flaitbertaigh R; Fáil] LR, ail M
12d noí] LM, .x. R; Alláin] LR, fallain M
13c fa míad] LR, fa midha M
14a Secht] LR, Coig M; cen] L, co RM
14b Dondchaid meic Domnail drechdeirg] L, donncadha meic floind laimderig M, domnail
meic dunnchada drech deirg (8 syllables) R
14c secht mblíadna fichet aile] secht mblīa .xx. aile R, a .xxuii. aile (6 syllables) L, coig fichet
ele (5 syllables: requires blíadna) M
14d ropo] L, dobi M, robú; R; rí] L, om. rí MR; Orddnide] L, an oirnidhe M, án ordnighe R
15a Cethri blíadna déc] LM, Secht mblīa décc R; cen don] L, gan drol M, cennach don R
15c sé blíadna déc] .xui. blīa déc RM, xui. (om. blíadna, 5 syllables) L; co dreamain] co
tremuin LR, gan dreamain M
15d Caille] MR, kl-de L; chertdegaid] L, certdegaidh RM
-

11. Eight years of Longsech — he ventured —,
 nine of Congal of Cenn Magair;
 Fergal son of swift Máel Dúin,
 eleven years for the good prince.

12. A single year of lofty Fogartach,
 five of Cináed fierce in battle,
 seven years of Flaithbertach of Ireland,
 nine years of Áed Allán.

13. Twenty for Domnall Dala
 for the handsome son of Murchad;
 seven years — in honour from then on —
 was warlike Níall Frossach king.

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- 11a: *695–*703 Loingsech reigns (8). Slain at Corann, *AU* 703.2, *AT* 703.2 (*RC* 17, p. 218), *CS* 703, *AI* 703, and *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 25 = *LL* III, lines 15878–15881. 8 years in R1 (*LG* V, § 635), B copy of R3 (*LG* V, § 635).
- 11b: [704?]-*710 Congal reigns (6). Sudden death, *AU* 710.3, *AT* 710.3 (*RC* 17, p. 222), *CS* 710, *AI* 710, *Ríg Themra tóebaige*, q. 26 = *LL* III, lines 15882–15885. 9 years in R1 and B copy of R3 (*LG* V, § 636).
- 11c–d: *710–*722 Fergal mac Máele Dúin reigns (12). Slain at Almu, *AU* 722.8, *AT* 722.7 (*RC* 17, pp. 228–29), *CS* 722, *AI* 722, *Ríg Themra tóebaige*, q. 27 = *LL* III, lines 15886–15889. 12 years in *CPV*, *AI*-King List and *CS* (710–722).
- 12a: r.723(?)-*724 Fogartach reigns (1). Slain at Cenn Delgden, *AU* 724.3, *AT* 724.3 (*RC* 17, p. 231), *Ríg Themra tóebaige*, q. 28 = *LL* III, lines 15890–15893. 1 year in R1 and R3 (*LG* V, § 638).
- 12b: *724–*728 Cináed reigns (4). Slain at Droim Corcáin, *AU* 728.1, *AT* 728.1 (*RC* 17, p. 233), *Ríg Themra tóebaige* q. 29 = *LL* III, lines 15894–15897. 4 years in R1, R3 (*LG* V, § 639) and *CPV* (p. 95.15).
- 12c: *728 Flaithbertach beigns reign; *734 deposed after battle in Mag nItha; dies *765. Usurped, *AU* 734.8, *AT* 734.7 (*RC* 17, pp. 237–38), *Ríg Themra tóebaige*, q. 30 = *LL* III, lines 15898–15901. 7 years in R1 and the Ballymote copy of R3 (*LG* V, § 640).
- 12d: *734–*743 Áed Allán reigns (9). Slain at battle of Seredmag, *AU* 743.4, *AT* 743.3 (*RC* 17, p. 245), *AI* 743, *Ríg Themra tóebaige*, q. 31 = *LL* III, lines 15902–15905, *infra* III.43c–d. 9 years in R1, the Ballymote copy of R3 *LG* V, § 641), *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 479.42), *AI* King-List (§ 372) and *CGH* 137 a 17. See also *RC* 47, p. 309; *RC* 48, p. 106.
- 13a–b: *743–*763 Domnall reigns (20). Dies, *AU* 763.1, *AT* 763.1 (*RC* 17, p. 2610, *AI* 763, *Ríg Themra tóebaige*, q. 32 = *LL* III, lines 15906–15909, *infra* III.44c–d. 20 years in R1, R3 (*LG* V, § 642), *CPV* (p. 95.18) and *AI* King List (§ 373).
- 13c–d: *763 Níall begins reign (7); abdicates 770. Dies on pilgrimage to Iona *Ríg Themra tóebaige*, q. 33 = *LL* III, lines 15910–15913. 7 years in R1, R3 *LG* V, § 642, *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 480.28), *AClon* 759 and *CGH* 137 a 18.
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8. Texts and Translation

14. Secht mblíadna fichet cen feirg
Dondchaid meic Domnaill drechdeirg;
secht mblíadna fichet aile
ropo rí int Áed Orddnide.
15. Cethri blíadna déc cen don [15315]
'sin Ráth Chlóen do Chonchobor;
sé blíadna déc co dremain
Néill Caille 'na chertdegaid.
16. Secht mblíadna déc, derg in daig, [15320]
Máel Sechnaill mac Máel Rúanaid;
secht mblíadna déc ic dáil fíach
ro baí int Áed fergach Findlíath.
17. Fland mac Maíl Sechnaill fo-fúair
cethracha íarna comfúaim;
acht téora blíadna 'sin Brug [15325]
cen a n-aill do Níall Glúndub.

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- 16a Secht] LMR; mblíadna] mbl LMR; derg] LM, derb R
16b mac] m- L, m-c RM
16c secht] R, cethri L, .uiii. M; fíach] LR, fiach M
16d ro baí] LR, dabi M
17a Maíl] mail R, mæil M, máel L; fo-fúair] fúair LR, dafuair M
17b íarna comfúaim] L, bliadan combúaid R, osbanba bratruaidh M
17c acht téora blíadna] acht teora bl- LR, om. acht M; 'sin Brug] L, asa brudh M, cen col R
17d cen a n-aill do Níall Glúndub] cen anaill do Níall Glúndub L, fa rí niall gribha glundubh M, ind oilech do niall glun ⁿdubh R
-

14. Twenty-seven years without anger,
of Donnchad son of Domnall of the ruddy countenance;
[for] twenty-seven more
was Áed Orddnide king.
15. Fourteen years without misfortune
in Ráth Clóen for Conchobor;
sixteen years, furiously,
of Níall of the Callann directly after him.
16. Seventeen years — red the flame —
Máel Sechnaill son of Máel Rúanaid
for seventeen years at the dispensing of penalties
was angry Áed Findlíath.
17. Flann son of Máel Sechnaill received
forty years when they are harmonized
save three years in Brug [na Bóinne]
without anything else for Niall Glúndub.

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- 14a-b: *770–*797 Donnchad mac Domnaill reigns (27). Dies *AU* 797.1, *AI* 797, *AClon* 794, *Ríg Themra tóebaige*, q. 34 = *LL* III, lines 15914–15917. 27 years in R3 *LG* V, § 644, *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 480.?) and *CGH* 137 a 18.
- 14c-d: *797–*819 Áed Oirdnide (22). Dies *AU* 819.2, *CS* 819, *AI* 819, *AClon* 816, *Ríg Themra tóebaige*, q. 35 = *LL* III, lines 15918–15921. 27 years also in R1, R3 *LG* V, § 645 and *AClon* 794.
- 15a-b: *819–*833 Conchobor mac Donnchada reigns (14). Slain, *AU* 832.9, *CS* 832.9, *AI* 833, *AClon* 830, *Ríg Themra tóebaige*, q. 36 = *LL* III, lines 15922–15925. 14 years in Ballymote copy of R3 (*LG* V, § 646), *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 480.31), *AI* King-List (§ 377), *CGH* (137 a 18 and *AClon* (816).
- 15c-d: *833–*846 Níall Caille reigns (13). *Ríg Themra tóebaige*, q. 37 = *LL* III, lines 15926–15929, *infra* III.46c-d.
- 16a-b: *847–*862 Máel Sechnaill reigns (15). Dies by natural causes, *AU* 862.5, *CS* 862, *AClon* 859, *AI* 862, *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 38 = *LL* III, lines 15930–15933.
- 16c-d: *862–*879 Áed mac Néill reigns (17). Dies by natural causes at Druim Inasclainn, *AU* 879.1, *CS* 879, *AI* 879, *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 39 = *LL* III, lines 15934–15937. 17 years in R3 and *AI*-King List § 380, and *CS* (862–879).
- 17a-c: *AU* 879–*916 Flann mac Máel Sechnaill reigns (37). Dies by natural causes, *AU* 916.1, *CS* 916, *AI* 916, *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 40 = *LL* III, lines 15938–15941, *infra* III.48a-b. 37 also in *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 481.1).
- 17d: *916–*919 Níall mac Áeda reigns (3). Slain in battle against the Norse at Duiblinn, *AU* 919.3, *CS* 919, *AI* 919, *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 41 = *LL* III, lines 15942–15945, *infra* III.48c-d. 3 years also in *LG* (§ 651), *AI* King-List (§ 382), *AU* (916–919) and *CS* (915–918), *CGH* 137 a 20.
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8. Texts and Translation

18. Cóic bliadna fichet i flaith
Dondchada meic Flaind lánmaith;
Congalach mac Maíl Mithig
a deich dond rí g rochríchid. [15330]
19. Cóic bliadna is fiche fós
Domnaill huí Néill co náebnós;
trí bliadna ar fichit cen raind
do Máel Sechnaill mac Domnaill.
20. Dá bliadain déc Bríain na mbend [15335]
íar ngabáil gíall fer nHérend,
alchaing gaí glaiss a glacca,
rí Dáil Chais ba curata.
At-tá.
- 20A Nae mblíadna Maíl Sechlaind síng
i rríge d'éis Bríain braitíslim;
tiugflaith Temra cen tarta
roba rechtaid ríagalta.
At-tá.
21. Cía beith cách ic costecht riss, [15340]
nídat ardena anfis,
físs a rrand, is rí gda in scél,
fis a cland is a cenél.

-
- 18a i flaith] L, is flaith R, *gufeirg* M
18b Dondchada meic Flaind lánmaith] LR, *domnaill mac donnchaidh dreachderig* M
18c Maíl] *mæil* M, *mael* L, *máil* R
18d a deich] LMR; dond] R, don LM; rochríchid] L, *rocríchidh* R, ro *crídmir* M
19a Cóic bliadna is fiche fós] LM, Cúic .b. 7 fiche i fóis R
19b Huí] h L, ú R, í M
19c trí] LR, coig M; ar] L, *om.* ar MR
19d Máel Sechnaill] L, *mælsechnaill* R, *maeilteachlaind* M
20c glaiss] LM, glas R
20d rí Dáil Chais] L, re ndail cais R, rig dail gais M
20e At-tá] .A. L, Ata M, Ata *sund* ata .s. R
20A *add quatrain* P
20A *text of this quatrain based on* P
20Aa síng] *sheng* CP, *seng* K
20Ad roba rechtaidh ríagalta] roba *recht-* riag-ta P, roba *recht* riagalta (6 syllables) K, roba *ré aracht* riagalta (8 syllables) C
21a Cía beith] L, Ce beith R, *Gebeth* M; cách ic costecht riss] *cach* i costecht riss L, *chach* acloisdeat ris M, cách ic eistecht *fris* R
21b nídat] LR, *nírsat* M; ardena] LM, *aricdenam* R
21d is a cenél] LR, sa cineil M
-

18. Twenty-five years in the sovereignty
of fully good Donnchad son of Flann;
Congalach son of Máel Mithig,
ten for the very perfect king.
19. Twenty-five years likewise
of Domnall, grandson of Níall, of sacred reputation;
three years plus twenty without division
for Máel Sechlainn son of Domnall
20. Twelve years of Brían of the horns
after taking the hostages of the men of Ireland;
— a weapon-rack for a grey spear were his hands —
the king of the Dáil Cais was heroic.
Herein ...
- 20A Nine years of slender Máel Sechlainn
in kingship after Brían of the smooth mantle;
the last prince of Tara without drought
who was a lawful ruler.
Herein is ...
21. Though everyone be listening to it,
not tokens of ignorance are they:
knowledge of their portions — kingly the tale —
[or] knowledge of their progeny and of their kindreds.

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- 18a-b: *919-944 Donnchad mac Flainn reigns (25). Dies by natural causes, *AU* 944.4, *CS* 944, *AClon* 937, *AI* 944, *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 42 = *LL* III, lines 15946-15948. 25 years also in R1 and R3 (*LG* V, § 652), *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 480.3), *AI King-List* (§383), *CS* (944), and *infra* III.50a-d.
- 18c-d: *AU* 944-956 Congalach mac Máel Mithig reigns (12). Slain in battle against the Norse of Áth Cliath and the Laigin at Tech Giurann, *AU* 956.3, *CS* 956, *AClon* 951, *AI* 956, *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 43 = *LL* III, lines 15950-15953. 10 years in R1 and the Ballymote copy of R3 (*LG* V, § 653).
- 19a-b: [956]-980 Domnall úa Néill reigns (25). Dies by natural causes after penance in Ard Macha, *AU* 980.2, *AT* 980.1 (*RC* 17, p. 341), *CS* 980, *AClon* 973, *AI* 980.3, *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 44 = *LL* III, lines 15954-15957. 25 years also in R1 and R3 (*LG* V, § 654). Compare *infra* III.51.
- 19c-d: [980] Máel Sechnaill begins reign; 1002 abdicates; 1014 restored; 1022 dies. 23 years in R1 (*LG* V, § 655), *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 481.6) and in *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 45 = *LL* III, lines 15958-15961. See III.54a-b.
- 20a-d: 1002-1014 Brían reigns (12). Slain at battle of Clontarf, *AU* 1014.2, *AI* 1014.2, *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 47 = *LL* III, lines 15966-15969, *infra* III.53d. 12 years also in *LG* (*LG* V, § 656), *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 481.7) and *Ríg Themra tóebaige iar tain*, q. 47 = *LL* III, lines 15962-15965.
- 20Aa-d: Máel Sechlainn reigns alone (8). dies in the 43rd year of his reign in the 73rd year of his life (*AU* 1022.3).
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8. Texts and Translation

22. Deich rí^g ó Chonall chéolach,
sé rí^g déc ó dagÉogan,
naí rí^g ó Áed Sláne slán, [15345]
secht flathe do Chlaind Cholmán.
23. Óenrí a mMumain móir marcaig,
is óenrí a Connachtaib,
óenrí a Cairpriu, cass a graig,
na trí tromflaithe a Temraig. [15350]
24. Deich rí^g Conaill Gulbain gairg
cussu taithigdis rí^gbaird:
Ainmere is Báetán na mbreth
ocus Áed mac Ainmerech.
25. Máel Coba is Domnall dess
Conall, Cellach na cathchless,
Longsech is Chongal na crech,
dí^b ra forbad Flathbertach.
26. Sé rí^g déc Éogain na n-all:
Murchertach ocus Domnall, [15360]
Fergus ocus Báetán bil,
Eochó is Cholmán Rímid.

-
- 22b sé rí^g déc ó dagÉogan] LM, a .ui déc odeg eogan R
22c ó Áed Sláne] L, a æd slaine M, oedha slane R
22d Chlaind] LM, clī *suprascript added between* do and cholmán R
23a Óenrí a mMumain móir marcaig] L, Oenrí asin mumain martaigh R, Ænrí^g amumain moir
maltlíd^h M
23b is] R, 7 LM; óenrí] LM, darigh R
23c cass] L, caisi M, cais R
23d tromflaithe] tromlaidhi R, tromflath LM
24b cussu taithigdis] gusa tathighdís R, gusataidis (6 syllables) M, cussu ráncatar L
24d ocus Áed mac] 7 Aed mac LR, isa tædh mac M; Ainmerech] LM, mirech (6 syllables) R
25a dess] LM deiss R
25d ra forbad] L, ro forbadh MR
26a Sé rí^g déc] MR, .Xui. rí^g L; na n-all] LR, anall M
26b ocus] 7 LMR
26c ocus] 7 LM, om. (5 syllables) R
26d Eochó] eoch- LR, eochaidh M; ocus] is LRM
-

22. Ten kings from musical Conall,
sixteen kings from goodly Éogan,
nine kings from perfect Áed Sláine,
seven princes for the Clann Cholmáin.
23. One king from great Munster of the horseman,
and one king from the Connachta;
one king from Cairpre — skilled his herd of horses —
they were the three burdensome rulers from Tara.
24. The ten kings of fierce Conall Gulban
to whom royal poets came:
Ainmere and Báetán of the judgements
and Áed son of Ainmire.
25. Máel Coba and agreeable Domnall,
Conall [and] Cellach of the battle-feats,
Longsech and Congall of the plunders,
by them was Flaithbertach was finished off.
26. Sixteen kings of Éogan of the nobles:
Muirchertach and Domnall
Fergus and goodly Báetán,
Eocho and Colmán Rímid.

-
- 22a–d: *Genealogical Prose Tract II (CGH 137 a 42–43).*
23a: See Textual Notes and Commentary.
23b: *Genealogical Prose Tract I (CGH 137 a 25).*
23c: *Genealogical Prose Tract I (CGH 137 a 26).*
24a–b: *Sé ríg déc Éogain anall (CGH 137 a 51, 137 b 11).*
24c–25d: *Sé ríg déc Éogain anall (CGH 137 a 53–55).*
26a: *Sé ríg déc Éogain anall (CGH 137 a 45, 137 b 11) and Cind cethri ndíni iar Frigrind,*
quatrains 29–31 (= LL IV, p. 787, 23471–23476).
26b–27d: *Sé ríg déc Éogain anall (CGH 137 a 46–49).*
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8. Texts and Translation

27. Áed Úaridnach, Subne Mend,
Fergal, Áed Allán úarchend,
Níall Frossach, Áed ind ordain, [15365]
Níall ón Challaind chlártholgaig.
28. Áed Findlíath, fer amar Lug,
ocus a mac Níall Glúndub
ránic co gérenach Gall [15370]
in rí dédenach Domnall.
29. Noí rríg im Áed Sláne, sluind!:
síl Díarmata meic Cerbuill,
Blathmac is Díarmait, delb glan,
Sechnasach is Chend Fáelad.
30. Fínnachta, ba fata a thóeb, [15375]
Fogartach is Chináed;
glaccach na corrga 'sin chath
marcach Cnogba Congalach.
31. Secht ríg do Chlaind Cholmáin Móir,
Domnall, Dondchad in degóir, [15380]
Conchobor, Máel Sechnaill sen,
Fland ocus Dondchad détgel.
32. Máel Sechnaill in sechtmad flaith
a Cnucc Usnig úasalmaith; [15385]
óenrí a mMumain, maith a chíall,
gabsat Ulaid im mórBrían.

-
- 27a Mend] LM, seng R
27b úarchend] LR, fuair ceand M
27c Áed ind ordain] LR, æd nordain (6 syllables) M
27d ón] LR, ó M; chlártholgaig] L, clair tolgaidh M, clar bolcaig R
28a amar] L, amail M, mar (6 syllables) R
28c gerénach] gerenach LMR
29a rríg im] ríg im LR, riga M
29c is Díarmait, delb glan] LM, 7 díarmaid glan R
30a ba fata a thóeb] LR, fa fada thæb M
30c glaccach] LR, glaclach M
31a Secht ríg] Uii ríg LR, Seacht riga M; Chlaind] L, claind R, sil M
31b Domnall, Donnchad] R, dondchad domnall LM; in degóir] LR, d^{ear}goir M
31d Fland ocus Dondchad détgel] fland 7 donncadh dedgeal MR, fland dondchad 7 detgel L
32a Máel Sechnaill] LR, Mælseachlaind M
32d gabsat Ulaid im mórBrían] gabsad ulaid um morbrian M, ro gabsat ulaid a brían L, ro giallsat ulaidh mórbrían R
-

27. Áed Úairidnach, Subne Mend,
Fergal, Áed Allán of the cold-hearted leaders,
Níall Frossach, Áed of the dignity,
Níall of the broad, mighty Callan.
28. Áed Findlíath — a man like Lug —
and his son Níall Glúndub;
the last king, Domnall
querulously reached the Norseman.
29. Nine kings including Áed Sláne — name you [them]! —:
the seed of Díarmait son of Cerball,
Blathmac and Díarmait — a pure form —
Sechnasach and Cenn Fáelad.
30. Fínnachta, his flank was long,
Fogartach and Cináed;
handler of the pointed spears in the battle
the horseman of Cnogba, Congalach.
31. Seven kings from Clann Cholmáin Móir:
Donnchad, Domnall of the fine gold,
Conchobor, Máel Sechnaill the elder
Flann and Dondchad of the white teeth.
32. Máel Sechnaill, the seventh prince
from the hill of Uisnech good and noble;
one king from Munster — good his sense —
the Ulaid trooped around mighty Brian.

28a–d: *Sé ríg déc Éogain anall* (CGH 137 a 50).

29a: *Sé ríg déc Éogain anall* (CGH 137 b 5, 137 b 12).

29b: *Sé ríg déc Éogain anall* (CGH 137 b 5, 137 b 7).

29c–d: *Sé ríg déc Éogain anall* (CGH 137 b 7–8).

30a–d: See Textual Notes and Commentary, p. 225

31c–d: *Sé ríg déc Éogain anall* (CGH 137 b 2–4).

32a–b: *Sé ríg déc Éogain anall* (CGH 137 b 4).

32c–d: See Textual Notes and Commentary, p. 225

8. Texts and Translation

33. Óenrí a Connachtaib na cath
int Ailill Molt imchonach;
óenrí a Cairpriu na clíath,
Túathal Máelgarb na ngallscíath. [15390]
34. Lóegaire is Lugaid lond
calma a cath is a comlond,
Díarmait mac Cerbaill, ná ceil! —
flathe Temrach in tríar-sein.
35. Ocht rí g cethrachat co tend [15395]
i n-ardrígi na Hérend
ó thánic Pátraic i part
co torchair Brían na mbreccbratt.
At-tá
36. Cóic bliadna déc is sé chét [15400]
flathius na rí g, ní robréc,
ó Lóegaire Liss Loga
co díbad Bríain Bóroma.
At-tá.
37. Rí nime, nóebdo cach gein, [15405]
mac na barrfinni a Bethil,
tria ladraib mo lám ro lass
a grád imm anmain attas.
At-tá.

-
- 33a Óenrí a Connachtaib na cath] LM, Da rí gh o chonnachtaib cloidh R
33b int Ailill Molt] LM, *om.* int R; imchonach] L, onchonach M, is amalgaid R
33c a Cairpriu na clíath] a cairp- na clíath L, a cairpri na clíath R, a cairbri na cliar M
34a is] 7 LRM
34b calma a cath is a comlond] calma a cath is L, ca^{lma} acath isacomland R, calma acath cís
acomland M
35a Ocht rí g cethrachat] Ocht rí g cetrachath L, nóeirigh .xlat. R, Coig rí gh .xlat M; tend]
originally tend, *but t changed to c to produce* cend (LL III, p. 495, note 1) L, teand MR
35d co torchair Brían na mbreccbratt] LR, gudibadh brian nabreath brat M
35d At-tá] L, *om.* dúnad RM
36a Cóic bliadna déc is sé chét] LR, Coig blí a deg se .c. (6 syllables) M
36b ní robréc] LR, níro breig M
36e At-tá] L, *om.* dúnad RM
37a gein] LM, ngein R
37b barrfinni] LM, barrainne R
37e *Dúnad:* At-tá] .A. L, .A.T.S.s. R, Ata. s. M
-

33. One king of the Connachta of the battles
— most wolflike Ailill Molt;
one king from Cairpre of the hurdles,
Túathal Máelgarb of the foreign shields.
34. Lóegaire and fierce Lugaid
brave their battle and their combat,
Díarmait son of Cerball, do not conceal [it]! —
those three were princes of Tara.
35. Strictly forty-eight kings
in the high-kingship of Ireland
from when Patrick landed
until Brian of the variegated mantles fell.
Herein is ...
36. Six hundred and fifteen years
was the sovereignty of the kings — it is no great falsehood —
from Lóegaire of Less Loga
until the death of Brían Bóroma.
Herein is ...
37. King of heaven — holier than every being —
son of the fair-haired one from Bethlehem,
through the spaces between my fingers there has shone
the love for him in my soul which swells.
Herein is ...

33a–b: *Cía lín don rígraid ráin rúaid* (CGH 137 a 40).

33c–d: See Textual Notes and Commentary, p. 226

34a–d: See Textual Notes and Commentary, p. 226

35a–b: See Textual Notes and Commentary, p. 226

III. *Annálad anall uile*

Gilla Cóemáin cecinit:

1. Annálad anall uile
ó thús betha barrbuide
aisnéidfet-sa sunnda sain [15410]
cosin n-aimsir ndédenaig.
2. Sé blíadna coícat, gním nglan,
míle ar sé cétaib blíadan
rímim, ar is rús cen ail,
co dílind ó thús domain. [15415]
3. Dá cét a dó nóchat nár
ó dílind co hAbrahám;
ó Abrám noí cét, ní scíth,
cethracha a dó co Du-íd.
4. Ó Du-íd co brait, ní bréc, [15420]
sechtó a trí cethri chét;
ó brait co Críst, caín a blá,
a noí cóic cét ochtmoga.

-
- Gilla Cóemáin cecinit] Gill- coemain c-c-. L, *om.* RLdM
- 1b betha] Ld, bethad LRM
- 1c aisnéidfet-sa] LR, aisneisfeatsa M, aisnedfet (6 syllables) Ld; sunnda sain] sunnda sein R, sundasein Ld, sundha sin M, sund sein (6 syllables) L
- 2a Sé blíadna coícat, gním nglan,] L, Deich c. blīa cúic .c. cain RLdM
- 2b míle ar sé cétaib blíadan] L, a cúic .l.at do bliadnaib RLd, .l. cuic *ar* cægait di bliadnaibh (9 syllables) M
- 2c ar is rús] L, daigh is rús RM, daig irus Ld
- 2d co dílind] LRLd, odhilind M
- 3a Dá cét] LR, Da .c. LdM; nóchat] LLd, .x. c. M, .xx.at R
- 3b ó dílind co hAbrahám] odilind go habraham M, o dílind co habram (6 syllables) L, odilind co abraam Ld, oda dilaind co abraam R
- 3c ó Abrám noí cét, ní scíth,] o Abram noí cét ní scíth LLdM, a do .xlat nóe de cét R; ó Abrám] o abram L, o abraam Ld, ohabraham M, *om.* R
- 3d cethracha a dó co Du-íd] .xl. a dó co duíd LLdM, co dauí niimmar bréc R; Du-íd] duíd L, dauí R, daid Ld, dauid M
- 4a Du-íd] duíd L, dauid RM, d-d Ld
- 4b sechtó a trí cethri chét] .lxx. a trí cethri chét L, .lxx.^{ga} a tri cccc.^{et} R, .lxxa.iii.cccc. Ld, .lxxx. *ar* .cccc. M
- 4c a blá] a bla LMLd, amblad R
- 4d a noí cóic cét ochtmoga] a .ix. d. .lxxx.^{ad} R, a noí coicat ochtmoga L, annoi .u. míle ochtmoga (8 syllables) Ld, .ix. da míli ochtmoga M
-

Gilla Cóemáin sang:

1. All the annals heretofore
from the beginning of the yellow-topped world
until the most recent times
I will relate herein.
2. Fifty-six years — a pure deed —
one thousand and six hundred years,
I compute — for it is a great knowledge without blemish —
from the beginning of the world until the Flood.
3. Two hundred and two and noble ninety
from the Flood till Abraham;
from Abraham nine hundred — it is no repose —
[and] forty-two till David.
4. From David until the Captivity — it is no lie —
four hundred and seventy-three;
from the Captivity until Christ — fair his cry —
five hundred and eighty-nine.

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- 2a–d: Beginning of the World until the Flood AM 1656. *De Temporibus* (p. 601.1–2) and *De Temporum Ratione* (p. 463.8–10, p. 467.128, p. 472.307). For further parallels see *Irish SAM* (§ 3.1; § 4, 9); *Ab Adam* (Tristram, *SAM*, p. 280.1); *Sé Blíadna I* (Tristram, *SAM*, p. 281, q. 1); *Sé Blíadna II* (Tristram, *SAM*, p. 283, q. 1); *Prima Etas Mundi* (Todd Lect. III, p. 278 § a); *CS* (p. 2), R3 (*LG I*, § 66) and *LG Sync.* (*LG III*, § 227).
- 3a–b: Flood (1656) + 292 years = Bede AM 1948. *De Temporibus* (p. 600.5–6) and *De Temporum Ratione* (p. 463.15–17, p. 472.308). For further parallels see *Irish SAM* (§ 3.2, § 4, § 22), *Sé Blíadna I* (Tristram, *SAM*, p. 281, q. 2), *Sé Blíadna II* (Tristram, *SAM*, p. 283, q. 2), *CS* (p. 4, verse), and *LG Sync.* (*LG III*, § 231).
- 3c–d: Abraham (1948) + 942 years = Bede AM 2890. *De Temporibus* (p. 600. 9–10) and *De Temporum Ratione* (p. 463.22–23). For further parallels see *Irish SAM* (§ 3.3, § 4, § 39), *CS* (p. 4), *Sé Blíadna I* (Tristram, *SAM*, p. 281, q. 3), *Sé Blíadna II* (Tristram, *SAM*, p. 283, q. 3), and *Prima Etas Mundi* (Todd Lect. III, p. 278, § a).
- 4a–b: David (2890) + 473 = Bede AM 3363. *De Temporibus* (p. 601.13–15) and *De Temporum Ratione* (p. 463.30–31). For further parallels see *Irish SAM* (§ 3.4, § 50), *Sé Blíadna II* (Tristram, *SAM*, p. 283, q. 4), *AI* (§ 89), and *Prima Etas Mundi* (Todd Lect. III, p. 278, § a).
- 4c–d: Captivity (3363) + 589 years = Bede AM 3952. *De Temporibus* (p. 601. 16–18) and *De Temporum Ratione* (p. 464.36–38; p. 481.566–71). For further parallels see *Irish SAM* (§ 3.5, § 56), *Sé Blíadna II* (Tristram, *SAM*, p. 283, q. 5), *AI* (§ 165; § 204, q. 1), *AT (RC 16, p. 406)*, and *Prima Etas Mundi* (Todd Lect. III, p. 278, § a).
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8. Texts and Translation

5. Trí míle bliádan, ní bréc,
dá bliádain coícat nóí cét [15425]
co gein Meic Maire tall tair
anall ó thosach domain.
6. A dó sechtmogat, séol nglan,
acht is ar míle bliádan [15430]
ó gein Críst co bliádain mbáin
sechtmaide uate Enáir.
7. A cethair fichet, fír dam,
ocus cóic míle bliádan
cosin mblíadain-se, is blad brass,
ór delbad domun drechmas. [15435]
8. Dá cét mblíadan cosin mbúaid
co mesc Túir nóithig Nebrúaid
ó dílind acht deich mblíadna
is derb duit cíá nos ríagla.
9. A dó sescat, sáer in bríg, [15440]
ó mesc in Túir co flaith Nín;
dá bliádain fichet ó šain
co Abrám cosin n-athair.

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- 5b coícat] L, .i. RLdM; nóí cét] LLd, .ix. c.^{et} RM
- 5c co gein Meic Maire] LRLd, ogein muire M; tall tair] LRLd, tadall *tair* M
- 5d thosach] *thosach* R, *tosach* LdM, thús (6 syllables) L
- 6 *om. quatrain* R
- 6a sechtmogat] ‘se *made on o’* (LL III, p. 496, note 2) L, ochtmogat Ld, .lxxx. M
- 6b is] M, 7 LLd
- 6c mbáin] LM, bain Ld
- 7b oculus] 7 LRLdM
- 7c mblíadain-se] LR, bl-se Ld, mblīā M
- 7d ór delbad] Ld, oro delbad (8/9 syllables) LR, o delbad M; domun] LLd, in doman (8/9 syllables) MR
- 8a Dá cét] Da cét L, Da chét R, Da .c. MLd
- 8b nóithig Nebrúaid] LR, nemnigh nebruid Ld, neimnig nertmoir M
- 8d derb] L, fír RLdM; cíá nos ríagla] RLd, ciano riagla L, gororiagla M
- 9a sescat] Ld, .lx. LR, .lxx. M
- 9b in Túir co flaith] LRLd, tuir coflathus M
- 9c dá bliádain fichet] dá blīā .xx. RLd, bliádain ar fichet L, da blīā .lx. M; ó šain] oa sein Ld, osein M, ^ósain (ó *added below line; 6/7 syllables*) L, iar sin R
- 9d co Abraám] co abraam L, co habraam R, co habraam Ld, go habram M; cosin n-athair] LLdM, cusin brathair R
-

5. Three thousand years — it is no falsehood —
fifty-two years [and] nine hundred
until the birth of the Son of Mary yonder in the East
since the beginning of the world.
6. Seventy-two years — a pure course—
save that it is in addition to a thousand years
from the birth of Christ until this year [inclusively]
on feria seven of January.
7. Twenty-four — it is true for me —
and five thousand years
until this year — it is a vigorous fame —
since the beautiful-countenanced world was moulded.
8. Two hundred years until the victory,
until the confusion of the renowned Tower of Nimrod
from the Flood, save ten years,
it is certain for you, even if you check them.
9. Sixty-two — noble the virtue —
from the confusion of the Tower until the reign of Ninus;
twenty-two years from then
until Abraham, until the father.

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- 5a-d: Beginning of the World (0) + 3952 years = Bede AM 3952 = AD 1. *De Temporibus* (p. 607.2-4). For further parallels see *Sé Blíadna I* (Tristram, *SAM*, p. 282, q. 6), *CS* (§ 204), *AT* (*RC* 16, p. 382), and *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 472.5-6).
- 6a-d: 0 + 1072 = AD 1072.
- 7a-d: 0 + 5024 = AM 5024 = AD 1072.
- 8a-d: Flood (Bede AM 1948) + 190 years = Tower of Nimrod. See also Bede, (p. 463.17), *Genesis* 11.1-9. See also *Athair cáich*, *Coimsid Nime* (*LG I*, Poem V, p. 192, q. 51) and *R3* (*LG I*, § 92). *AFM* dates Flood to AM 2242.
- 9a-b: Tower + 62 = Ninus. See also *Mín* (*LG II*, § 105, variant) and *R2* (*LG I*, § 17).
- 9c-d: Ninus + 22 = 1 AAbr.

8. Texts and Translation

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- | | |
|---|---------|
| 10. Sesca blíadan cen nach mbrón
ó Abrám co Parthalón;
dia ragaib in n-inis find
trí chét blíadan iar ndílind. | [15445] |
| 11. Ó gein Abrám, éol dam sain,
co tarmthecht Mara Romair
cóic blíadna cóic cét co cert
dia ro báded slúag Égept. | [15450] |
| 12. 'sind amsir-sin, rádit raind,
ro toglad tíar Tor Conaind,
ocus luid Srú sair for fecht
dochum na Scithia a hÉgept. | [15455] |
| 13. Medón flatha Ascathias sain
tarmthecht Mara rúaid Romuir;
dá cét blíadan dara éis
dered flatha Lampadéis. | |
| 14. Hi flaith Lampadéis, léir blad,
ruc Uesogés in slúagad
ocus tánic slúag as lia
'na degaid asin Scithia. | [15460] |
-

- | | |
|-----|---|
| 10a | mbrón] LM, bron RLd |
| 10b | ó Abrám] o abráam LR, oabraam Ld, oabram M |
| 10c | dia ragaib] LRLd, daracaibh M; in n-inis find] in ninis find LLd, aninis fhind R, ainnis find M |
| 10d | trí chét] tri chét L, tri .c. RLd, .ccc. M; blíadan] bl- LR, cetracat Ld, .lx. M |
| 11a | Abrám] abram LRM, abraam Ld |
| 11c | cóic blíadna] .u. blīa R, da bl- LMLd; cóic cét] L, .u. é. RM, .l. Ld |
| 11d | dia ro báded slúag Égept] LLdM, is dárbaíd ^h slúag nard neghept R |
| 12 | <i>om. quatrain</i> M |
| 12a | 'sind] sin Ld, Isind (8 syllables) L, Isinn R; rádit raind] LLd, barind R |
| 12b | ro toglad] ro toghlad ^h R, ra toglad L, rotolad Ld; tíar] L, thíar RLd |
| 12c | ocus] 7 LRLd; Srú sair] LLd, srurur R |
| 13a | Medón flatha Ascathias sain] (8 syllables) LRLdM; Acathias] LM, ascithia R, ascadas Ld |
| 13b | Mara rúaid] LRM, <i>om. ruaid</i> (6 syllables) Ld |
| 13c | dá cét] L, .dá .c. RM, .cc. Ld; dara éis] LRLd, tara eis M |
| 13d | dered] LRLd, medon M; Lampadéis] lampadés R, lapades L, lapides M, lapades Ld |
| 14a | Hi flaith] LRLd, <i>om. Hi</i> (6 syllables) M; Lampadéis] lampadés R, lapades LLd, lapides M; léir] LMLd, búan R |
| 14b | Uesogés] uesoges LLd, uesagés R, uesuges M |
| 14c | ocus] 7 LRLdM; as lia] LLdM, uadlía R |
| 14d | 'na degaid] LR, ina diaid LdM |
-

10. Sixty years without any sorrow
from Abraham until Partholón;
when he took the fair island
[it was] three hundred years after the flood.
11. From the birth of Abraham — that is known to me —
until the crossing of the Red Sea
when the host of Egypt was drowned
five years and five hundred exactly.
12. In that time — quatrains say —
the Tower of Conand was sacked in the West,
and Srú went eastwards on an expedition
to Scythia from Egypt.
- 13 That was the middle of the reign of Ascades
— the crossing of the Red Sea;
two hundred years after it
was the end of the reign of Lampares.
- 14 In the reign of Lampares — clear the renown —
Uesores carried out the hosting
and a hosting which was more numerous came
after him out of Scithia.

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- 10a-b: Abr + 60 yrs = Partholón. The dating of the arrival of Partholón in Ireland to AAbr 60 (Bede, AM 1948 + 60 = 2008) is also in CS (p. 4); *Nín mac Béil* (Todd Lect. III, p. 310, q. 10); Míin (LG IV, § 303); R2 (LG III, § 208); R3 (LG II, § 198; LG III, § 208); and LG Synchronism in R2 (LG III, § 227). Compare AM 2820 (AFM).
- 10c-d: Flood + 300 years. The further synchronisation of the 60th year of Abraham (= Bede, AM 1948 + 60 = 2008) and the arrival of Partholón with the 300th year after the flood (= Bede, AM 1656 + 300 = 1956) is also found in R1 (LG II, §§ 166-67); R3 (LG II, §§ 186-87). Also Gilla in Chomded, *A Rí Ríchid Réidig Dam*, LL III, lines 17891-4.
- 11a-d: Birth of Abraham (Abr 0/AM 1948) until crossing of Red Sea (AAbr 505/AM 2493). See Bede, AM 2493; Hieronymo-Eusebian Chronicle (Fotheringham, p. 11.7-14; p. 13.3-7; Schoene, p. 29); *Nero* (Tristram, SAM, p. 281.4-6); *Vespasian I* (Tristram, SAM, p. 300.28-290, *Irish SAM* (§ 2.5), and *Primas Etas Mundi* (Todd Lect. III, pp. 278-80).
- 12a-b: Exodus (AAbr 505) = Srú's flight from Egypt. Also in Míin (LG II, § 108), R1 (LG II, § 108), R2 (LG II, § 125), R3 (LG II, § 150). Also *AI* (§ 179); and *AT* (RC 16, p. 387) where Srú's flight is dated to 1,000 years back from the tenth year of Darius, fourth king of the Persians (AAbr 1504). See also I.10-I.11.
- 12c-d: Exodus (AAbr 505) = Tor Conaind = Srú.
- 13a-b: Srú = Tor Conaind = Exodus (AAbr 505 (= Bede, AM 2493) = reign of Ascades (sixteenth king of the Assyrians, AAbr 498-537). See *Nín mac Béil* (Todd Lect. III, p. 314).
- 13c-d: See Textual Notes and Commentary.
- 14a-d: Lampares (AAbr 690-719) = Vesores.
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8. Texts and Translation

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15. Isind amsir-sin ane
tosach neirt na Cíchloscthe; [15465]
'sind amsir-sin, cid ord bind,
trebsat Fir Bolgg i nHérind.
16. Ochtmoga blíadan dia és
ba rí in talman Tutanés; [15470]
is 'na ré ro gabsat tair
Gáedil isna Gáethlaigib.
17. 'sind amsir-sin, ci at-ber,
ro gníd cath Maige Tured;
'sind amsir-sin, cen goí ngá,
ro toglad Troí Troíanna. [15475]
18. Thenias ba hé ainm ind rí
boí i comaimsir do Dau-íd;
is and luid i n-úir in rí
i n-aimsir dúir Darcelli.
19. Darcellus ba flaith na fond [15480]
dar thríall Solom a thempoll;
i mmedón flatha ind fir find
táncatar Gáedil Hérind.

-
- 15a ane] LRLd, amne M
15b neirt] LRLd, nir M
15c 'sind amsir-sin] *sin* naimsir sin R, *isin* amsirsin (8 syllables) L, *is* naaimsir Ld, *inaimsirsin* M; *cid ord bind*] LLd, *ba dord bind* R, *tiagid dord bind* M
15d i nHérind] *ind éirind* R, *aner-* Ld, *anerind* M, *erind* (6 syllables) L
16a dia és] *dia éis* LM, *dá éis* R, *dia heis* Ld
16b in] LRLd, *om.* in M; Tutanés] *tútanés* R, *tutanes* LLd, *tutaneis* M
16c is] LLdM, *om.* *is* (6 syllables) R
17a 'sind] *Isind* LRLdM; *ci*] LRLdM; *at-ber*] LLdM, *adberedh* (8 syllables) R
17c 'sind amsir-sin] *isinn* aimsirsin (8 syllables) L, *isin* aimsir R, *naaimsir* LdM; *cen goí ngá*] *cen goí nga* L, *cen goí riagla* LdM, *gan gáí thrá* R
17d ro toglad] RLdM, *ra toglad* L
18a Thenias] *Thenias* (LL III, p. 498, line 15476 has *Themas*) L, *Tenias* Ld, *Témár* R, *Tutanes* M; *ba hé ainm*] LRLd, *rob ainm* M; *ind rí*] *in^drig* Ld, *in rí* LR, *donrigh* M
18b boí] LLdM, *ba* R; *i*] LLdM, *om.* *i* R; *Dau-íd*] *dauid* M, *d-d* LRLd
18c i n-úir] LLd, *induir* R, *line runs through* M, *difficult to read, appears to omit* *inuir* M
18d dúir] LLdM, *dair* R
19c ind fir find] LR, *infir find* LdM
19d táncatar] LRLd, *rangadar* M; *Hérind*] *er-* RLd, *eirind* M, *in Hérind* L
-

- 15 In that period then
was the beginning of the domination of the Amazons;
in that time — though it be a melodious sequence —
the Fir Bolg dwelt in Ireland.
16. Eighty years after him
Tautanes was king of the earth;
it is in his era that
the Goídil settled in the Maeotic Marshes in the East.
17. In that time — though I may say it —
the battle of Mag Tuired was fought;
in that time — without false deception —
Trojan Troy was sacked.
18. Thinaeus was the name of the king
who was contemporaneous with David;
it is then that the king went into the soil,
in the austere time of Dercylus.
19. Dercylus was lord of the territories
when Solomon endeavoured to build his temple;
in the middle of the reign of the fair man
the Goídil came to Ireland.

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- 15a-b: See, for example, the war with Thebes in Hieronymo-Eusebian Chronicle, AAbr 809 (Fotheringham, p. 95.7).
- 15c-d: Amazons = Fir Bolg. See also I.19-23.
- 16a-b: End of reign of Lampares (AAbr 719) + 80 = AAbr 799.
- 16c-d: Tautanes (AAbr 811-842) = Goídil in Marshes.
- 17a: Tautanes (AAbr 811-842) = Goídil in Maeotic Marshes = First Battle of Mag Tuired.
- 17c-d: Tautanes = Goídil in Marshes = First Battle of Mag Tuired = Siege of Troy (AAbr 835 = 1182 BC)
- 18a-b: Thinaeus (AAbr 882-913) = David (AAbr 941-980/AM 2890-2930).
- 18c-d: Thinaeus (AAbr 882-913) = Dercylus (AAbr 913-952) or David (AAbr 941-980, Bede, AM 2930-2970) = Dercylus (AAbr 913-952)?
- 19a-b: Dercylus (AAbr 913-952) = Solomon (AAbr 981-1020) = building of the Temple (AAbr 984, Bede, AM 2974).
- 19c-d: Arrival of the Goídil in Ireland = middle of the reign of Solomon (i.e. c. AAbr 1000).
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8. Texts and Translation

	20. Astiagés abb cen fell dar airged Ierusalem; tiugflaith Med, maith ra molad, i comflaithis Nabcodon.	[15485]
	21. Darcellus, Solom na sleg comaimser is Mic Míled; cóic cét acht fiche dia n-és Nabcodon Astiagés.	[15490]
	22. Sírna rí Temra na tor i comflaithis Nabcodon; and-sin fechta, fáth ngaile, cath Móna truim Trógaide.	[15495]
	23. Trícha trí chét ó sain 'lle co tús flatha Úgaine; deired flatha Pers, blad nglicc, tossach flatha meic Pilip.	
	24. Sesca trí chét mblíadan mbil ó flaith aird Alaxandair cor génair Mac maith Maire ocus ó flaith Úgaine.	[15500]

20a	Astiagés] Astiagés R, Astiages LLdM; fell] L, ell LdM, chell R	
20b	dar airged] LR, diaraiced LdM	
20c	ra molad] L, re molad M, riamolad RLd	
20d	i comflaith is] LLdM, comflaith 7 (<i>om. i, 6 syllables</i>) R	
21b	comaimser is Mic Míled] comaimsir is mic miled RLd, comaimser is m-c mile _a d M, i comamsir is m-c míled (<i>8 syllables</i>) L	
21c	cóic cét] .cccc. L, u.é. RLd, cuic .c. M; acht fiche] acht .xx. R, 'a hocht fichet <i>with ho and t of fichet erased to read acht fiche</i> ' (LL III, p. 498, note 1) L, a .uiii. xx. (<i>8 syllables</i>) Ld, acht tricha M; dia n-és] dia nes Ld, dia neis LMR	
21d	Astiagés] astiages LLd, astiageis M, is astiáges R	
22a	Temra] L, temrach RLdM	
22c	and-sain] LdM, <i>om. sain (6 syllables)</i> L, isand R; fechta] LRLd, <i>barely legible</i> M	
23–27:	<i>'this and following four quatrains have been inserted later in an insufficient space, and obtrude on both outer and inner margins'</i> (LL III, p. 498, note 3) L	
23a	trí chét] trí chét L, tri .c. RM, .ccc. Ld; 'lle] le Ld, ille LRM	
24a	trí chét] tri chét L, tri .c. RM, .ccc. Ld; mblíadan] mbl- L, mblīa M, blīa RLd	
24b	ó flaith aird Alaxandair] LLdR, goroich flaith alaxandair M	
24c	cor genair] corgenair LdM, coro genair (<i>8 syllables</i>) LR; maith] RLdM, 'added in marg. with caret marks' (LL III, p. 499, note 4) L	
24d	ocus ó flaith Úgaine] 7 o flaith ugaine LM, 7 alaith ugaine Ld, comfhlaith7 úghaine (<i>6 syllables</i>) R	

20. Astyages, a lord without treachery
when Jerusalem was plundered;
last lord of the Medes — well was he praised —
in contemporary sovereignty with Nebuchadnezzar.
21. Dercylus [and] Solomon of the lances
the contemporaries of the Sons of Míl;
five hundred years save twenty after them
were Nebuchadnezzar [and] Astyages.
22. Sírna the king of Tara of the towers
in contemporary sovereignty with Nebuchadnezzar;
then was fought a cause of valour —
the battle of heavy Móin Trógaide.
23. Three hundred [and] thirty years thenceforth
until the beginning of the reign of Úgaine;
the end of the reign of Persians — a shrewd renown —
[and] the beginning of the reign of the son of Philip.
24. Three hundred [and] sixty fortunate years
from the lofty reign of Alexander
and from the time of the reign of Úgaine
until the goodly Son of Mary was born.

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- 20a-d: Astyages (AAbr 1419–1456) = plundering of Temple in AAbr 1426 (Bede, AM 3352) = Nebuchadnezzar (d. AAbr 1445). Also in *Redig Dam II (Études Celtiques 7, p. 22, q. 9; p. 24, q. 14)*. See Laud Sync. (ZCP 9, p. 475.32–38).
- 21a-b: Dercylus (AAbr 913–952) = Solomon (AAbr 981–1020) = Meic Míled (c. AAbr 1000). See also Laud Sync. (ZCP 9, p. 471.23–24).
- 21c-d: Meic Míled (c. AAbr 1000) + 480 = Nebuchadnezzar (*fl.* AAbr. 1407–1445) = Astyages (*fl.* AAbr 1419–1456). See also Laud Sync. (ZCP 9, p. 475.34).
- 22a-d: Sírna = Nebuchadnezzar (*fl.* AAbr 1407–1445) = Móin Trógaide. See also I.60; and *AClon.* p. 36. Laud Sync. (ZCP 9, p. 475.32–38).
- 23a-b: Assuming Sírna = Nebuchadnezzar (AAbr 1407–1445) = Móin Trógaide + 330 (*leg.* 360?) = AAbr 1745 = Úgaine. See also Laud Sync. (ZCP 9, p. 473.33).
- 23c-d: Úgaine = end of reign of Persians after defeat at battle of Issus (333 BC) = beginning of reign of Alexander (AAbr 1681). See also I.92. See also Laud Sync. (ZCP 9, p. 473.10, 473.11).
- 24a-d: end of reign of Alexander (321 BC (*recte* 323 BC) AAbr 1692) = Úgaine = Gilla Cóemáin's reckoning of 630 BC. See also I.92. See also Laud Sync. (ZCP 9, p. 473.10).

8. Texts and Translation

25. Secht mblíadna cethrachat cain
ó gein Críst bás Conchobair; [15505]
a dó tríchat ó sain 'lle
co bás cróda Conaire.
26. Secht mblíadna cóicat cét cain
ó bás Conaire chéolaig [15510]
issin Bruidin, borb a blad,
co torchair Túathal Techtmar.
27. Dá blíadain tríchat iar sain
iar marbad in tuirc Thúathail
co bás Cuind Cétchathaig cais [15515]
'sin tulaig i Túaith Amrais.
28. A secht tríchat iar Cund chrúaid
co cath Mucrima mongrúaid
i torcratar, mór a ngal,
Art, Cían, Cormac is Éogan.
29. Secht mblíadna cóicat cen chrád [15520]
ó chath Mucrima na mmál
co torchair Find leo, cíar fell,
do rennaib trí mac Urgrenn.

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- 25a cethrachat] .xl.at LRM, .ct. Ld
25c tríchat] .xxx.at L, .xx. RLd, fichet M; 'lle] le Ld, (8 syllables) ille LRM
26a Secht] LdM .Uii. LR; cóicat] .l.at L, .l. RLdM
26d co torchair] LLdM, atorchair R
27–29 in M badly faded.
27a Dá blíadain tríchat] Da bl- .xxx.at LLdM, .Ui. blā .lxx. R; iar sain] LM, iar tain Ld, sin (6 syllables) R
27b iar] LRLd, ar M; intuirc] LRM, om. in tuirc (5 syllables) Ld; Thúathail] thuath- L, tuath- R, tuatail LdM
27c cais] Ld, chais R, cain LM
27d 'sin] issin LRLdM; i Túaith Amrais] tuathamnais RLd, tuamnais M, i tuadamair L
28c mór a ngal] L, moringal LdM, moramblad R
28d Art] RLdM, om. Art (6 syllables) L
29 and subsequent quatrains very faded in M until end of column b.
29a cóicat] .l. RLdM, .l.at add. in margin with caret marks' (LL III, p. 499, note 4) L
29c co torchair] LRLd, i torcair M; Find leo, cíar fell,] LLdM, find flait na glend R
29d do rennaib trí mac] LLdM, la tri macaib cruaid R; Urgrenn] LLdM, cuircrenn R
-

25. Forty-seven fair years
from the birth of Christ the death of Conchobor;
thirty-two thenceforth
until the cruel death of Conaire.
26. One hundred and fifty-seven fair years
from the death of melodious Conaire
in the Bruiden — fierce his fame —
until Túathal Techtmar fell.
27. Thirty-two years after that
after the death of the boar [called] Túathal,
until the death of fair Conn Cétchathach
on the hill in Túath Amrais.
28. Thirty-seven after hard Conn
until the battle of [Mag] Mucrama of the ruddy manes
in which fell — great their valour —
Art, Cían, Cormac and Éogan.
29. Fifty-seven years without affliction
from the battle of [Mag] Mucrama of the princes
until Find fell by them — though it was treachery —
by the spear-points of the three sons of Urgru.

25a–b: Conchobor dies AD *23/*34 versus AD 47.

25c–d: Conaire dies AD *44 versus AD 79. See also I.122.

26a–d: *156 Túathal dies.

27a–d: *186 Conn Cétchathach dies.

28a–d: *218: battle of Mag Mucrama in *AU* (AM 4167, § 70), *AT* (*RC* 17, pp. 11–12), and *AClon*, p. 58. 35 years in *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 477.25–35); 34 in *AT* (AM 4137 (*RC* 18, p. 377) > AM 4167 (*RC* 18, p. 378), and *AU* (AM 4137 > 4167). See also I.136d.

29a–d: *276: Find dies *AU* (AM 4241, § 116), *AT* (*RC* 17, p. 21; *RC* 18, p. 383), and *AClon*, p. 61. See also I.136d.

8. Texts and Translation

30. Cóic bliadna cethrachat cain
 iar marbad Fínd a hAlmain [15525]
 co maidm Duib Chommuir carnaig
 ríasna Collaib cathchalmaib.
31. Cóic bliadna ó shein i-lle
 co díscor Emna Mache,
 's a cethair fichet, derb lib, [15530]
 co bás Muridaig Tírig.
32. Ó bás Muridaig Mide
 oc Dabull na ndondbile,
 coíca bliadan acht bliadain
 co tuttim Néill Noígíallaig. [15535]
33. Fiche bliadan for a secht
 ó ro scarad Níall ria nert
 co toracht Pátraic barr mBreg
 do chobair cland Mac Míled.
34. Ocht mbliadna coícat, derb dait, [15540]
 ó sen co estecht Pátraic;
 ó bás Pátraic, comul nglé,
 trícha bliadan bás Brigitte.

30 *in M badly faded.*

30a cain] RLd, cain, 'add. in marg. with caret marks' (LL III, p. 499, note 5) L, coir M

30b Fínd] R, find LLdM

30c carnaig] RLd, cairnaigh M, calma L

30d ríasna] RLdM, lasna l *made on c* (LL III, p. 499, note 9) L; Collaib] colloib MLdR, colla L; cathchalmaib] cath chalmaib RLd, *illegible* M, cathchalma L

31a ó shein] LLdM, otha sein (8 syllables) R

31b co díscor] LR, cocoscra Ld

31c 's a cethair fichet] 's a cethair (5 syllables) L, acethair trichat R, a .iiii. xxx^a M, isa .iiii. .xxx. (8 syllables) Ld

32b Dabull] LM, doball R, daboll Ld

32c coíca bliadan acht bliadain] .l. bl- acht bl- LRLd, .l. bliadā acht bliāin M

33b ó ro scarad] oro scaradh RLd, odascarad M, oro scar (6 syllables) L; ria nert] LLd, renert RM

33c barr mBreg] Ld, barr breg LRM

33d toracht] Ld, *sim. adds pátraic in marg.* R, toracht M, torracht L

End of Text of R

34a derb dait] L, com blaid LdM

30. Forty-five fair years
after the killing of Find from Almu
until the rout of brawny Dub Chommair
by the battle-brave Collas.
31. Five years thenceforth
until the destruction of Emain Macha,
and twenty-four [thenceforth] — be you certain —
until the death of Muiredach Tírech.
32. From the death of Muiredach of Mide
at Dabull of the dark trees,
fifty years save one
until the fall of Níall Nóigíallach.
33. Twenty years in addition to seven
after Níall was wrenched from his strength
until Patrick reached the height of Brega
to help the descendants of the Sons of Míl.
34. Fifty-eight years — you may be certain —
from that until the passing away of Patrick;
from the death of Patrick — a bright compact —
thirty years [until] the death of Brigit.

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- 30a–d: *323: battle of Dub Commair *AU* (AM 4317, § 146), *AT* (*RC* 17, p. 28, *RC* 18, p. 386), and *AClon*, p. 62. See also I.144b.
- 31a–b: *329 dynasty of Emain Macha falls at battle of Achad Leithderg in Farney, *AU* (AM 4334) and *AT* (*RC* 17, p. 29).
- 31c–d: *351 Muiredach Tírech dies, *AU* (AM 4386, § 169), *AT* (*RC* 17, p. 32; *RC* 18, p. 389), *CS* 362 and *AClon*, p. 63. See also I.145c–d.
- 32a–d: *405 Níall Nóigíallach dies, *AT* (*RC* 18, p. 389), *CS* 412 and *AClon*, p. 64. *Níall Noegíallach regnauit annis .lxxxviii. nó .xxviii* (*AU*, AM 4471, § 197). 50 years in *CS* (362–412). See also I.148.
- 33a–d: *432 Patrick arrives, *AU* 432, *CS* 432, and *AClon*, p. 65. 20 years in *CS* (412–432). See III.150B².
- 34a–b: *491 Patrick dies, *AU* 492.1, *AT* 491.2 (*RC* 17, p. 121), *CS* 488, *AClon*, p. 73, and *AI* 496. 56 years in *CS* (432–488) and 60 years in *AU* (432–492).
- 34c–d: *524 Brigit dies, *AU* 524.2, *AT* 524.1 (*RC* 17, p. 129), *CS* 523, and *AI* 514. 34 years in *CS* (489–523) and 32 in *AU* (492–524).
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8. Texts and Translation

35. Fiche bláidna iar mbás Brigte,
 cía chure ris nach cinte, [15545]
 bás Túathail Máelgairb co ngráin
 bláidain ria n-éstecht Chíaráin.
36. Certfiche ó šen i-lle
 co cath Cúile Conaire,
 'sin bláidain-sin rádit raind [15550]
 bás Díarmata meic Cerbaill.
37. Trícha bláidan trí bláidna,
 cóir ó šen dola íarma,
 co bás meic Fédilmthi i nHí
 is co éstecht Grigoríí. [15555]
38. Fichi bláidna iar mbás hú Chuind
 co cath Slébe Töad Truim,
 and ro marbad, mór in chrech,
 Máel Coba gall-chét clérech.
39. Bláidain ar fichit fil úaid [15560]
 co maidm catha Ráith rorúaid;
 éistecht Mo Chuta, céim nglan,
 bás Faílbe Flaind flaith Muman.

-
- 35a iar mbás] LLd, obas M
 35b cía chure ris nach cinte] *cia cure risnach lánchinte (8 syllables) L, ciachure ris naccinnte Ld, cia cuire risnach (-)te M*
 35d ria] LM, iar Ld; n-estecht] LM, *netacht* Ld
 36a Certfiche ó šen ille] L, .XX. *bláidain osin ale LdM*
 37b cóir ó šen dolá íarma] *iar sin written as gloss above íarma L, ohein coir dola iarma Ld, osin cor dolai iarma M*
 37c Fédilmthi] *féidilmthi (gloss in marg. .i. Colum Cille) L, feidilmthi Ld, feidlimthi M*
 38a bláidna] *bl- LLd, blān (8 syllables) M; hú] L, hui Ld, ua M*
 38b Slébe Töad Truim] *slebe toad truim (6/7 syllables) LLd, sleibi tu[-] truim M*
 38c ro marbad] LLd, *do marbad M*
 38d gall-chét clérech] *gall cetclerech LdM, gal chét clerech L*
 39a fichit] .xx. LdM, *fichet L; úaid] LdM, úad L*
 39b raith] LL, *roith Ld, roit M*
 39c céim] *cem Ld, léim L, illegible M*
 39d Flaind] *fl- L, flaind M, fla- Ld; flaith] LLd, rig M*
-

35. Twenty years after Brigit
— even if you set it against something certain —
the death of hated Túathal Máelgarb,
a year before the passing away of Cíarán.
36. Exactly twenty thenceforth
until the battle of Cúl Conaire,
in that year stanzas say
the death of Díarmait son of Cerball.
37. Thirty-three years
— it is right from that [date] to go then —
until the death of the son of Feidlimid in Iona
and until the passing away of Gregory.
38. Twenty years after the death of the descendant of Conn
until the battle of Slíab Töad Truim,
it was there that was killed — great the plunder —
the valiant Máel Coba of twelve hundreds of clerics.
39. It is twenty-one years thence
until the rout of the battle of the very bloody [Mag] Ráth;
the passing away of Mo Chuta — a pure leap —
the death of Fáilbe Flann, prince of Munster.

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- 35a–c: *543 Túathal Máelgarb slain by Máel Mórda in Grellach Eilite, *AU* 549.4, *AT* 543.1 (*RC* 17, p. 138), *CS* 543, and *AClon*, p. 80. 19 years in *AU* (524–543) and 20 years in *CS* (523–543).
- 35d: *543 Cíarán dies *AU* 549.1, *AT* 543.3 (*RC* 17, p. 138), *CS* 543, *AClon*, p. 82, and *AI* 548.
- 36a–d: *563 Díarmait mac Cerbaill dies, *AU* 565.1, *AT* 563.4 (*RC* 17, p. 146), *CS* 565, *AClon* 569, and *AI* 564.
- 37a–c: *593 Gregory the Great dies, *AU* 593.2, *AT* 591.2 (*RC* 17, p. 159), *CS* 593, and *AI* 597.
- 37d: *597 Colum Cille dies *AU* 595.1, *AT* 593.1 (*RC* 17, p. 160), and *CS* 594 (*recte* 595).
- 38a–d: *613 battle of Slíab Túath fought, *AU* 615.1, *AT* 613.1 (*RC* 17, p. 170), *CS* 614 (*recte* 615), *AClon* 617 (p. 99), and *AI* 616. 21 years in *AU* (595–615) and *CS* (595–616), and II.8a. See also *Aní do-rónsat do chalmu*, q. 21 = *LL* IV, p. 792, lines 23615–23616.
- 39a–b: *639 battle of Mag Ráth fought, *AU* 637.1, *AT* 639.1 (*RC* 17, pp. 183–184), *CS* 636, and *AI* 639. 21 years in *AU* (615–637), *CS* (615–636), and *AI* (616–639).
- 39c: *639 Mo Chuta of Raithen dies, *AU* 637.2, *AT* 638.2 (*RC* 17, p. 183), *AClon* 637, and in *AI* 638.
- 39d: *639 Fáilbe Flann dies, *AU* 637.1, *AT* 639.3 (*RC* 17, p. 184).
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8. Texts and Translation

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40. Fichi a cóic ó šain, scél ngrind,
cosin mortlaith dar Hérind, [15565]
dia mbath Díarmait, Blathmac bán
Féchin agus Ailerán.
41. Cóic bliádna coícat, gním nglé,
co cath n-armach nAlmaine [15570]
and do-rochair Conall Mend
agus Fergal flaith Hérend.
42. Secht mblíadna 's a deich, derbaig,
anall ó marbad Férgail
co cath Uchbad, imram nglan,
i torchair Áed mac Colgan. [15575]
43. Ó chath Uchbad, mór in bét,
secht mblíadna, ní himmarbréc,
bás Áeda Alláin co ngail,
and ro bíth i Seredmaig.
44. Fichi bliádan, ní blad bán, [15580]
ó do-rochair Áed Allán
co bás rí glinne lethain
Domnaill Mide mórchreachaig.
45. Cethracha is bliádain, cí at-ber,
ó bás Domnaill Dromma Den [15585]
tabairt Cenandsa cen chath
do Cholom Chille chéolach.

-
- 40a Fiche a cóic ó šain, scél ngrind,] .XX. acoic osein scel ngrind Ld, Fichi a cóic ó šain i scél
grind (8 syllables) L, Fichi bliāan osin sgel ngrind (8 syllables) M
- 40b dar Hérind] LLd, for erind M
- 40c dia mbath] dia mbath L, diatbath LdM; Blathmac] M, blaithmac L, blait/mac Ld
- 40d Ailerán] LM, aireran Ld
- 41b co cath n-ármach nAlmaine] L, osein cocath almune LdM
- 41c do-rochair] LLd, dotorcair M
- 41d agus] 7 LLdM; Fergal] LLMd
- 42b Férgail] LM, fergail Ld
- 42c imram nglan] L, add marginal gloss, i mbith bran L, imbid bran LdM
- 42d i torchair Áed mac Colgan] LdM, i torchair aed mend mac colgan (8 syllables) L
- 43c Áeda] LdM, aed (6 syllables) L; co ngail] L, gan ail MLd
- 43d and ro bíth] L, isin cath LdM
- 44a ní blad] LM, mblad Ld
- 44c rí glinne lethain] rigline lethain Ld, riglin leathain M, rí glinne lethain L
- 45 om. quatrain Ld
- 45a Cethracha is bliádain] XI. is bl- L, om. is, Ceathracha bliā M
- 45c tabairt Cenandsa cen chath] co tabairt cenandsa cen cath (8 syllables) L, tabairt
cenden[?]sa cen cath, line almost illegible M
-

40. [It was] twenty-five thenceforth — a mighty story —
until the plague throughout Ireland,
from which Díarmait and fair-haired Blathmac,
and Féichín and Ailerán died.
41. Fifty-five years — a lustrous deed —
until the battle of arms of Almu,
it is there that Conall Mend
and Fergal lord of Ireland fell.
42. Seven years and ten — verify [it] —
thence from the killing of Fergal
until the battle of Uchbad — a pure voyage —
in which fell Áed son of Colcu.
43. From the battle of Uchbad — great the deed —
seven years — it is no deception —
[until] the death of valiant Áed Allán—
it was there he was slain, in Seredmag.
44. Twenty years — it is no pure renown —
since Áed Allán fell
until the death of the king of the wide valley
Domnall of Meath of the great plunders.
45. Forty and a year — though I may say it —
from the death of Domnall of Druim Den
the dedication of Kells, without a battle,
to the melodious Colum Cille.

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- 40a-b: *665 plague *AU* 664/665, *AT* 665.1 (*RC* 17, p. 199), *CS* 661, *AClon* 664 (pp. 106–107), and *AI* 666. 25 years in *AU* (637–665), *CS* (636–661), and *AI* (639–666).
- 40c: *665 Díarmait and Blathmac die from plague, *AU* 665.1, *AT* 665.2 (*RC* 17, p. 199), *CS* 665, *AClon* 664 and *AI* 666.
- 40d: *665 Féichín and Ailerán die from plague, *AU* 665.3, *AT* 665.4 (*RC* 17, p. 199), *CS* 665, *AClon* 664 and *AI* 666.
- 41a-d: *722 battle of Almu, *AT* 722.7 (*RC* 17, p. 228), *AU* 722.8, *CS* 721 (*recte* 722), *AClon* 720, and *AI* 722 (see footnote on this entry). 57 years in *AU* (665–722); 56 years in *AI* (666–722). See II.11c–d.
- 42a-b: *738 battle of Uchbad in *AT* 738.4 (*RC* 17, pp. 240–241), *AU* 738.4, *AClon* 735 (pp. 116–117), *AI* 738. 16 years in *AU* (722–738) and *AI* (722–738). See also *Aní do-rónsat do chalmu*, q. 33 = *LL* IV, p. 793, lines 23639–23640.
- 43a-d: *743 battle of Seredmag, *AT* 743.3 (*RC* 17, p. 245), *AU* 743.4, *AI* 743. 5 years in *AU* (738–743) and *AI* (738–743). See II.12d.
- 44a-d: *763 death of Domnall Mide by natural causes in *AT* 763.1 (*RC* 17, p. 261), *AU* 763.1, *AI* 763, *AClon*, 759. 20 years *AU* (743–763). See II.13a–b.
- 45a-d: *807 dedication of Kells in *AU* 807.4. *AClon* (804, p. 129) states ‘There was a new church founded in Kells in honour of St. Columb Kill’. 44 years in *AU* (763–807).
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8. Texts and Translation

46.	Cethracha blíadna acht blíadain ó sein, is réil in ríagail, marbad Turgéis, bádud Néill, éistecht Feidilmthe fortréin.	[15590]
47.	Trícha blíadan dá blíadain ó bás Néill Chaille chlíaraig co tres Mugna, mór in cath, i mbíth Cormac is Cellach.	[15595]
48.	Ocht mblíadna iar sin co bás Flaind dar gíallsat Gáedil is Gaill, trí blíadna iar n-éc Flaind Fáil bás Néill meic Áeda imsláin.	
49.	Ro marbtha malle ra Níall Conchobar, Flaithbertach fíal, Máel Mithig, Máel Muire in mál, ocus Áed mac Eochocán.	[15600]
50.	Fiche blíadna a cóic cen chair co bás huí Néill Noígíallaig, bás Dondchada Mide maill senathair maith Máel Sechnaill.	[15605]

46a	Cethracha blíadna acht blíadain] Xl. ('xl. <i>in ras.</i> , <i>without colour</i> , .xl. <i>with ref. marks in marg.</i> ', LL III, p. 501, note 4), blīan acht bl- (8 syllables) L, .Xl. acht blīa Ld, Ceathracha (om. 4 syllables) M
46b	ó sein is réil in ríagail] L, oh ^s ein is reil inriagail (or irriagail) Ld, (om. 2 syllables) isreil in riagail M
46c	marbad Turgéis, bádud Néill] marbad turges badud neill LdM, bádud turges marbad néill L
46d	éistecht Feidilmthe] eistecht feidlimti M, etsecht fedilmdi Ld is éc feidilmthe L
47a	Trícha] Tricha M, Xxx. LLd; blíadan] bl- L, blīa M, .b. Ld
47b	Chaille] caille Ld, kle LM; chlíaraig] L, cliaraig LdM
47d	i mbíth Cormac is Chellach] L, im cormac .i. mac cul- isim cellach Ld, im cormac is um ceallach M
48a	co bás] L, om. co, bas LdM
48b	dar gíallsat] L, diar gíallsat LdM
48c	trí blíadna iar n-éc Flaind Fáil] LLd, (5 syllables illeg.) flaind fail M
48d	Áeda] LdM, eda L
49a	Ro marbtha] LLd, Ho marbad M; malle] LLd, maill (6 syllables) M
49b	Conchobar] conchob- LM, conarbor Ld
49d	ocus] LLdM; Eochocán] L, eoganan M, eoganair Ld
50a	blíadna] bl- L, .b. Ld, blīa M; a cóic] LM, sa .u. Ld
50b	co bás] L, obas MLd; huí] hú LLd, ua M
50c	Mide] LM, om. Mide (5 syllables) Ld; maill] LLdM
50d	Máel Sechnaill] Mael Sechnaill L, mailsech- Ld, mælseachlaind M

46. Forty years save a year
 from then — the rule is clear —
 the killing of Turgés, the drowning of Níall
 [and] the death of the supremely strong Feidlimid.
47. Thirty-two years
 from the death of Níall Caille who was surrounded by scholars
 until the contention of Mugna — great the battle —
 in which Cormac and Cellach were slain.
48. Eight years after that until the death of Flann
 to whom Goídil and Gaill gave obedience,
 three years after the death of Flann of Ireland
 was the death of Níall son of exceedingly perfect Áed.
49. Together with Níall were killed
 Conchobor, generous Flaithbertach,
 Máel Mithig, Máel Muire the prince,
 and Áed son of Eochocán.
50. Twenty-five years without query
 until the death of the descendant of Níall Noígíallach,
 the death of Donnchad of gentle Meath,
 goodly grandfather of Máel Sechnaill.

46a-d: *845 Turgés drowns, *AU* 845.8 and *CS* 845. See II.15c-d.

47a-d: *908 battle of Belach Mugna in Mag nAilbi, *AU* 908.3, *CS* 908, and *AI* 908. 63 years in in *AU* (845-908) and *CS* (845-908).

48a-b: *916 Flann dies by natural causes *AU* 916.1, *CS* 916 and *AI* 916. 8 years in *AU* (908-916), *CS* (908-916), and *AI* (908-916). See II.17a-b.

48c-d: *919 battle of Áth Clíath, *AU* 919, *CS* 918 (*recte* 919), *AClon* 915 (p. 146), *AI* 919. 3 years in *AU* (916-919), *AI* (916-919), *CS* (916-*recte* 919) and *AFM* (914-917). See II.17c-d.

50a-d: *944 Donnchad mac Flainn mic Maíl Sechnaill Mide dies by natural causes, *AU* 944, *CS* 943 (*recte* 944), *AClon* 945 (p. 155), and *AI* 944. 25 years in *AU* (919-944), *AI* (919-944), *CS* (919-944), and *AFM* (917-942). See II.18a-b.

8. Texts and Translation

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51. Trícha blíadan trí blíadna
ó bás ardríg na n-íarla
co bás Ragnaill cosin rath [15610]
tall i tedmair na Temrach.
52. Certfiche blíadan cen brath
ó maidm torachtglan Temrach
cosin cath i nGlind Mámma [15615]
i mbáatar cind chnesbána.
53. Cethri blíadna ó šen i-lle
cor chuired cath na Craíbe
ó chath na Craíbe 's a deich
co bás Bríain meic Cennétich.
54. Noí mblíadna iar mbás Bríain [15620]
éc meic Domnaill ina díaid;
a dó cethrachat, céim nglan,
ó šain bás Dondchaid Muman.
55. Dá blíadain, ní bréc, i nglíaid [15625]
ó éc Dondchada meic Bríain,
cath Saxan, séol co nglaine,
i torchair rí Lochlainne.
56. Cóic blíadna ó šen i-lle
cosin mblíadain-se i táimne [15630]
sechtmad úathaid, slicht sádal,
for Enáir ra hannálad.
Annálad.
-

- 52b ó maidm] M, ó *written above* co maidm L, co maidm Ld; torachtglan Temrach] L, toractach Ld, *illegible* M
- 52c Mámma] mámma L, mam (d *erased*)ma Ld, madma M
- 53b cor chuired] cur chured L, corogniad Ld, gorgnied M
- 54a Noí mblíadna iar mbás Bríain] Noí mblī iar mbás bríain LLdM
- 54c a dó] LLd, oda M; cethrachat] .xl. LLdM
- 54b mac Domnaill] LM, *gloss on mac domnaill above line*, .i. maelsech- Ld
- 54d ó šain] LLd, *iarsein* M
- 55a ní bréc i nglíaid] L, nibec ingliaid LdM
- 55b éc] L, bas MLd; Dondchada] donncada LdM, dondchaid (6 *syllables*) L
- 55c séol co nglaine] seol nglaine (6 *syllables*) L, seol *conglaine* Ld, seol go ngloindi M
- 55d rí Lochlainne] LM, *gloss over rí lochlainne*: .i. amlaim Ld
- 56a Cóic blíadna ó šen i-lle] Cóic bl- o šen ille LLd, Cuic blíá osin ille M
- 56b cosin mblíadain i táimne] cosin .b. itaimne LdM, cosin mblíadainse innosse L
- 56c sechtmad úathaid] LLd, 7 asechtuatadh M; slicht sádal] L, ard abl_ad Ld, *air* (6 *syllables*) M
- 56d ra hannálad] L, rian_a labrad LdM
- 56e Annálad] L, *om. dúnad* LdM
-

51. Thirty-three years
from the death of the high king of the earls
until the death of bounteous Ragnall
yonder in the slaughter of Tara.
52. Exactly twenty years without falseness
from the perfectly pure rout of Tara
until the battle in Glend Mámma
in which were white-skinned heads.
53. Four years thenceforth
until the battle of the Cráeb was engaged
from the battle of the Cráeb and ten
until the death of Brían son of Cennétech.
54. Nine years after the death of Brían
the death of the son of Domnall after it;
forty-two — a pure step —
thence until the death of Dondchad of Munster.
55. Two years — it is no falsehood — in battle
from the death of Donnchad son of Brían,
the battle of Saxons — a pure course —
in which fell the king of Norway.
56. Five years thenceforth
until this present year
the seventh feria — an easy division —
upon January was recorded.

Annals.

- 51a–d: *980 battle of Tara, *AU* 980.1, *AT* 980.3 (*RC* 17, p. 341), *CS* 980, *AClon*, 974 and *AI* 980.4. 35 years in *CS* (943–978); 36 years in *AU* (944–980) and *AI* 9944–980).
- 52a–d: *999 battle of Glenn Mámma *AU* 999.8, *AT* 999.3 (*RC* 17, p. 352), *CS* 999, *AClon* 992, and *AI* 999.4. 19 years in *AU* (980–999), *CS* (978–997), and *AI* (980–999).
- 53a–b: *1004 battle of Cráeb Tulcha *AU* 1004.5, *CS* 1004, and *AI* 1004.4. 5 years in *AU* (999–1004), *CS* (999–1004), and *AI* (999–1004). See also *Aní do-rónsat do chalmu*, q. 58 = *LL* IV, p. 795, lines 23689–23690.
- 53c–d: *1014 Brían dies at Cluain Tarbh, *AU* 1014.2, *CS* 1014, and in *AI* 1014.2. 10 years in *AU* (1004–1014) and *AI* (1004–1014).
- 54a–b: *1022 Máel Sechnaill Mór dies, *AU* 1022.3, *AT* 1022.4 (*RC* 17, p. 360), *CS* 1022, *AClon*, 1022 (p. 171), *AI* 1022.4. 8 years in *AI* (1014–1022).
- 54c–d: *1064 Donnchadh mac Bríain dies, *AU* 1064.4, *CS* 1064, *AClon* 1063, and *AI* 1064.5. 42 years in *AU* (1022–1064), *CS* (1022–1064) and *AI* (1022–1064).
- 55a–d: 25 September 1066 battle of Stamford Bridge.
- 56a–d: The time-lapse between the battles of Stamford Bridge and the present date which is later stated to be 1072 is given as 5 years.
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8. Texts and Translation

57. A dó secht ndeich ar míle
ó gein Críst, cía chomríme,
cosin mblíadain-seo, ci at-ber,
i torchair Díarmait dúrgen. [15635]
58. A Chríst, a grían os cach gurt,
airchis dom' anmain im' churp,
nírop šeng do thairbirt dam,
bud irdaire lem th'annálad.
Annálad.

-
- 57a ndeich] LM, .x. Ld
57b cía chomríme] L, *ciacomrime* LdM
57c mblíadain-seo] cosin m (*with punctum delens above letter*) bliadainseo L, cusin .b. se Ld, gosin mblīā M; ci at-ber] ci atber LLd, ciaber M
57d Díarmait dúrgen] diarmait durgen L, *diarmait* .i. mac mail laig n_a mbo (8 syllables) Ld, *diarmait* laigen M
58a gurt] LLd, grad M
58b im'] L, dom LdM; churp] L, curp LdM
58c thairbirt] LLd, *thabairt* M
58d irdaire] LLd, *airdric* M
58e *dúnad*: Annálad] L, *Andaladh* anall M, A // n. Ld

57. Two [and] seven tens plus a thousand
from the birth of Christ — howsoever you may compute [it] —
until this year — though I may say it —
in which resolute Díarmait fell.

58. O Christ, o sun over every field,
have compassion on my soul in my body,
may your giving to me be not restricted,
let your annals be famous because of me.
Annals.

57a-d: AD 1072: death of Díarmait mac Maíl na mBó in *AU* 1072.2, *AT* 1072.1 (*RC* 17, p. 410), *CS* 1072, and *AI* 1072.2. There is also a reference to Díarmait's death in *R3* (*LG* V, § 665).

9. Textual Notes and Commentary

9.1 *Hériu ard inis na rríg*

I.1c *nocon fitir duine a díach*]. See *Éistet, áes ecna aíbínd*, q. 10: *Congabsat Gáedil glanuill / fa daill failig a feraind* ‘Till the pure great Gáedil took it / dark and hidden were her lands’ (*LG IV*, poem LXV, pp. 256–57).

I.5b *trí cét mblíadan*]. The expansion of the abbreviation as *blíadan* is confirmed by end-rime with *blad* in line *a*. Middle-Irish genitive plural *blíadan* is an example of the partial merger of the *ā*- and *ī*-stems. Other examples in this poem, which are confirmed by rime include *glan* : *ndagblíadan* I.92a–b; *blad* : *mblíadan* I.114a–b.

R2 (*LG II*, § 172) supports Gilla Cóemáin’s figure of 311 years for the time-span from the Flood until Parthalón’s arrival.

I.6a *Partholón puirt Gréc glan grind*]. *Gréc* feminine *ā*-stem means ‘the country of Greece’; *gréc* masculine *o*-stem means ‘a Greek’. The phrase *Partholón puirt* requires either the genitive singular *Gréice* ‘of Greece’ or genitive plural *Gréc* ‘of the Greeks’ after it. The readings of LcG suggest a form *Gréc*, apparently genitive plural of masculine *o*-stem *Gréc*. If we are to accept this interpretation, then the following adjective might be expected to show nasalisation, which it does not. However, the translators of *GOI* state ‘It should be noted that the nasal is more frequently omitted in interconsonantal than in other positions. This is due to the fact that the disappearance of a nasal in the interior of certain consonant groups was regular (§ 180)’.

I.7a *Óentrícha blíadan*]. All recensions of *LG* have 30 years and support this figure in LLcGB.

I.8b *Ardán*]. This character appears to be identical with *Íarbonél Fáid mac Nemid* in *LG* (*LG* § 237). This variant is not unique to this poem. Cf. *Semul mac Iardain LL 802* = *Semul mac Iarbonéoil LL 637*.

I.9c *gaillind*]. G. Toner in a written communication has suggested to me that *gaillind* is a compound of *gall*, masculine *o*-stem ‘a Gaul; foreigner’ + *ind*, *o*-stem ‘weapon-point’ (*DIL* I.211.47).

I.10c *’na fheirg*]. *Na f-g* (*LG*), expanded as *’na fheirg* because it rimes with *drechdeirg* (L) in I.10d, is here taken as the dative singular of the feminine *ā*-stem (1) *ferg* ‘wrath, anger’. However, *DIL* (F.91.43–47) also lists (2) *ferg* ‘a warrior, hero’. I suspect that the word in this instance is conveying both meanings, ‘as a war-

rior' and 'in his anger'. A similar rime is found in the *LU-Táin: Do fuil sund chucad re feirc / Fer Diad mac Damáfi]n drechdeirg* 'Fer Diad mac Damáin of the ruddy countenance comes here to meet you in his wrath' (*TBC: Recension I*, lines 2756–2757).

Under (1) *ferg* 'wrath, anger' (F.91.24–27) we also find the following examples in the genitive plural: *Túathal na ferg* 'of the warriors' (battles?)' (*Met. Dinds.* II, p. 48, line 25; and *Eochu Fidmuine na fergg* (I.78a). Examples like these may have prompted the expansion by S of *f-g* as genitive plural *ferg* here. Such an expansion would mean that we would have to read line I.10d as *la Morc mac Deiled drechderg* 'by Morc mac Deiled of red [i.e. bloody] faces' in order to ensure end-rime between *f-g* and *drechd-g*. Since the genitive singular form *drechdeirg*, literally 'of a red face', i.e. 'red-faced', which is admittedly only found in full in I.10d in L, is attested elsewhere as an epithet (see above), I have felt obliged to read *f-g* as dative singular *feirg*.

- I.11a–12d Transposition of quatrains I.11 and I.12 is unique to L. I have preferred SLcGB's sequence of quatrains at this juncture because it agrees with the accepted chronological order of events. It must, however, be conceded that the preferred sequence here will disrupt the alliteration which would otherwise have linked the quatrains at *drechdeirg* and *dá*.
- I.12a *blíadan*]. Apart from a few instances (e.g. I.27a–b) where rime confirms expansion to *blíadna*, I have silently expanded the abbreviation for the genitive plural of *blíadain* as *blíadan*.
- I.12a–I.23d *Gabáil Fer mBolg*. *LG* and *Hériu ard* differ in some detail on three issues: the places of landing, the labelling of the kings as representatives of either the Fir Bolg or the Fir Domnann and the allocation of the provinces.
- I.13d *Galiúin*]. It is difficult to decide which manuscript has here the best reading, but the spelling used in this instance in L is unusual. It appears that the quantity of the vowel of the first syllable varied *metri gratia* (*Met. Dinds.* V, p. 206, sub *Gaileóin*). The form of the second syllable also seems to have varied. Note the spellings: nominative *Galión*, *LL* 7 a 2, and genitive *Gáleoín* and *Galióin*, *LU* 4079. O'Rahilly (*EIHM*, p. 22) noted that in *Cath Ruis na Ríg (LL)* *Galian* or *Galían* is the form throughout in the singular; see also J. Pokorny, 'Der Name *Gáiliúin*', *ZCP* 15 (1925), p. 196.
- I.15b *n-íraig*]. None of the readings is ideal: the end word of I.15b has the same number of syllables as the end word of I.15a in all readings. However, L's reading is marginally superior since it is only in the case of L that the rhyming consonants in the end-words of I.15a and I.15b belong to the same group.
- I.16c *trí cóicid*]. S has the correct reading here. The numeral *trí* did not lenite in Middle Irish.
- I.19b *garbgáeth*] 'of rough winds'. Cf. *fri gargaetha SR* 4288.
- I.20a *ruith*]. I tentatively translate this as 'of the wheel', taking *ruith* as the genitive singular of masculine *o*-stem *roth* 'a wheel' (*DIL* R.103.56 ff.). Mac Carthy translated this phrase as 'Roth the champion' (p. 150, § 2). Another possibility is to take *ruith* as the genitive singular of *roth*, a by-form of *rot*, an *o/ā*-adjective 'of uncertain meaning confined chiefly to heroic and poetic literature' (*DIL* R.102.54–79). *DIL* suggests that the word means 'strong, impetuous, spirited'.
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9. Textual Notes and Commentary

- I.21c *Fíachaich*]. L has confused *Fíachu* with the other well-attested name *Fíachra*, genitive *Fíachrach*. See I.49b.
- I.22b *rod marb*]. ‘whom Odbgen son of Sengand killed’. I take -d- here as the Middle-Irish relative marker.
- I.24a–d The order of quatrains as presented in LS arguably reflects the older tradition, which was undoubtedly based on a king-list which simply listed Núadu as the first king of the Túatha Dé Danann, and Bres as the second, regardless of the details and circumstances of their reigns. This is the same sequence found in Laud Sync. (ZCP 9, 471.13–14). Note, also, the presence in B of the letter *b* in the margin of the quatrain on Bres and the letter *A* in the margin of the following quatrain on Núadu, thereby indicating that the quatrain on Núadu should come first.
- I.25d *éc at-bath don rúadrota*]. See CMT, §§ 149–64.
- I.26b *barrgáeth*]. ‘of exceedingly wise (years)’. I take *barrgáeth* as a compound of *barr*, masculine *o*-stem ‘excess, addition’ (DIL B.38.46) and *gáeth*, *o/ā*-adjective ‘wise, intelligent, shrewd; skillful’.
- I.26d *Caíndruim*]. Lc is erroneous. The correct form of the place-name is *Caíndruim* (Onom. p. 141). For the account of the killing of Lug by the sons of Cermait at Caíndruim, which is also identified as Uisnech (*frisa ráiter Uisnech*), see *Loch Lugborta* in *Met. Dinds.* IV, p. 278.
- I.28a *do Delbáeth*]. The article is not attested elsewhere before this proper noun. For this personage see *Cóir Anmann*, p. 356, § 155. See now S. Arbuthnot, *Cóir Anmann*, p. 95, § 72.
- I.28b *do láim Chachir*]. For lenited genitives see *SnaG*, p. 237, §§ 4.3, 4.4. A few examples from Gilla Cóemáin’s poetry include: *i rRáith Chlochair* I.74d, *fri ré fichet findblíadan* II.2d, *blíadain ria n-éstecht Chiaráin* III.35d.
- I.29a *Noí*]. L’s twenty-nine is supported by R1 (LG IV, § 315), R3 (LG IV, § 367), Mín (LG IV, § 315), and Laud Sync. (ZCP 9, p. 471.20).
- I.31b *d’Hérimón d’Éber foltcháem*]. The line is hypersyllabic in L. I have omitted the connective conjunction *is* from the line as in SLcGB. The diplomatic editors of *LL* III have expanded *déb-* as *d’Ébiur* (p. 474). However, Rawlinson B 502 has a dative in *Éber: ó Éber Dund* (CGH, p. 118 = Rawl. B 502, 135 b 9) and *ó Eber Donn* (CGH, p. 119 = Rawl. B 502, 135 b 25). This spelling appears to be reflected in *demhear* G, *demer* Lc. In contrast, *deimir* (S) suggests a form *d’Ébir*. In either case, there is no evidence for the *u*-colouring here.
- I.33a *ar blad*]. *Blad* ‘fame, renown’ was originally a neuter *u*-stem with dative singular *blad*. However, it also occurs at a later stage in the language as a feminine *ā*-stem with dative singular *blaid*. Compare, for example, *ar blad* I.104a and *co mblaid* I.106a.
- I.34b *Íriél Fáid*]. For initial Í, see *Íriél* (*LL* I, p. 54, line 1733; p. 61, line 1967). The -e- is frequently marked as being long in *LL*, see *LL* I (p. 59, line 1901; p. 61, line 1967; p. 62, line 1981). The genitive, *Íréoil* (cf. I.36a), is written in *LL* I (p. 59, line 1912) as *Iareóil* in rime with *treóir*. This suggests a reading *Í(a)réoil: treóir*. See also *mac Irieóil* (*LL* I, p. 59, line 1913).
- I.35a *gail gáith*] ‘wise valour’. Compare *os cech maig fri gaethgail gnim* (SR 5003). *DIL* suggests that *gáeth* may also mean ‘skillful’ (*DIL* G.13.15).

- I.39c *Temra*]. The decision to follow SLcGB is confirmed by the presence of internal rime between *Temra* in I.39c and *Cermna* in I.39d.
- I.40c *dá fíchit*]. Cf. *GOI*, p. 245, *dá fíchit* ‘two scores’ versus *a hocht fichet* ‘twenty-eight’.
- I.41b *la Echaid*]. The forms *E(o)chu* and *E(o)chaid* appear to be interchangeable. (Other examples occur at: I.41d, I.42d, I.78a, I.148d). In this instance, and in I.41d and I.42d, I expand *ech-* (L) as accusative *Echaid*.
- I.44d *nÓengus nOlmucaid*]. LB correctly show nasalisation of the initial vowel in *nOlmucaid* as a mark of the accusative singular
- I.45a *Sé bliadna*]; *fo thrí*]. SLcGB’s eighteen is supported by Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 475.6–7). L’s reading is uncorroborated.
- I.46b *ba hairdrí*]. The reading in SLc which shows the copula rather than the preposition as in LGB is superior: the syntax in LGB requires the dative singular form in *ríg*.
- I.47a *Ré cóic cóic*]. Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 475.9) corroborates the figure of twenty-five in S.
- I.49a *Sé bliadna déc ’s a cethair*]. SLcGB’s twenty is supported by Mín, R1 (*LG* V, § 515) and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 475.11). L’s sixty-four is uncorroborated.
- I.49c *Fíacha flaith sochair na slóg*] Cf. *a chenn sochair slúraig Ulad* (*MU*, p. 3, lines 58–59) ‘o prosperous leader of the host of the Ulstermen’.
- I.50d *Aidne*]. Mag nAidne is co-extensive with Kilmacduagh, South Galway. Mag nAilbe extends from the River Barrow and Sliab Mairge (Laois) to the Wicklow Mountains, comprising parts of the baronies of Idrone, in Carlow, and Kilkee and Moone in Kildare. According to the traditions of R1 and R3, Munemón died in Mag nAidne in Connacht (*LG* V, § 516).
- I.51a *Árim deich*]. The figure of ten in LS is supported by Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 475.9) and Mín. (*LG* V, § 517, note 6). Regnal years have been omitted from the L-copy of R1.
- I.53b *a deich fa dó ’na degdail*]. The omission of this quatrain from S makes the reading of this line in the edition tentative. L’s ten is uncorroborated. In contrast, Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, 475.21), Mín, R1 and R3 (*LG* V, § 519) all support LcGB’s twenty years.
- I.55a *Trí sé mblíadan*]. S is the only manuscript whose reading is supported by any extant parallel texts, in this instance, Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 475.24), the Fermoy manuscript of R1 (*LG* V, § 521, note 4) and the Mullingar manuscript.
- I.56a *Fichi*]. The reading of twenty in L is supported by Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 475.25), while Rawl. B 502 Mín, Mín and R1 (*LG* V, § 522) all support SLcGB’s thirty years.
- I.56b *fat flatha Féic*]. The successor of Géde (I.55) and the predecessor of Berngal (I.57) was Fíac mac Fíadchon according to the Laud, Ballymote, Lecan and Leinster versions of a list of the Dál nAraide kings of Ireland at *CGH* 156 b 45–51.
- Findollcheis*]. The reference in L to Fíac being *for longeis* ‘in exile’ has proved to be untraceable. I interpret the form *Findoillcheis* as *Find foilcheis*, a compound of *find* ‘fair’ + the genitive singular of *foilches* ‘concealment’; ‘a secret’. A similar form, *Findollcheis*, is found in Mín (*LG*, V, § 521, note 10).
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- I.58a *ocht mblíadna fa dó].* SLcGB's reading is supported by Mín. In contrast, no text corroborates the reading of L. See *LG V*, §§ 525, 551; *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 475.43).
- I.58d *tóebidna].* I have taken the reading in L as a compound of *tóeb* and the *o/ā*-adjective *idan* 'pure' (*DIL* I.50.15–50) in the genitive singular with the meaning 'of the pure side'. Compare *do dhruim iodhan an achaidh* 'over the pure ridge of the field' (*DDána* 37, § 9). Compare also the well-attested compound *táebglan*, applied to Tara in *ÁID*, II, 20.7.
- I.59a *Temair fáil fúair charait cáim].* Lenition of the direct object was common in Classical Modern Irish. For this feature in Middle-Irish poetry see *SnaG*, p. 237, § 4.6. See also U. Mac Gearailt, 'Zum Irischen des 12. Jahrhunderts', *ZCP* 43 (1989), pp. 11–52: 42.
- I.59a–b *caím : slattcháin* L versus *cain: slatchain* SLcGB. *Cáem* underlies manuscript *caím* in L. *Cáem* and *slattcháin* cannot rhyme because final *m* is non-palatal while final *n* is palatal. The rhyme in SLcGB is slightly better because consonantal quality is the same in both *–m* and *–n*, and has therefore been adopted for the edition. However, the rhyme in SLcGB is faulty to the extent that it contains *caoiche reanna* (*Duanaireacht*, p. 63, § 108).
- I.59c *íar ló].* *DIL* (L.11.12–13) notes that *íar ló* is variously interpreted as 'next day', 'after a long time'. It is also confused with *ar ló* 'by day'.
- I.60b *ré trí secht do sóerblíadnaib].* Note the omission of these regnal years in R1, R3 and Mín (*LG V*, § 525). Unfortunately, Rawl. B 502 Mín only begins at this point (*CGH* 135 a 1).
- I.60c *aided Sirna co slechtaib].* The reading in L is slightly flawed: the line contains only six syllables. I suggest inserting *co* and reading *co slechtaib*, lit. 'with hewings' in the sense of slaughter. *Slechtaib* is the dative plural of *slecht* 'a cutting, hewing' (*DIL* S.266.17–37).
- I.61a *Rothechtaid Rotha in rí rot].* R1 and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 a 1–5) state that Rothechtaid was the king who introduced four-horse chariots into Ireland. See also *Cóir Anmann*, pp. 290–291, § 13; see now Arbuthnot, *Cóir Anmann*, Part 1, p. 116, § 167.
According to *DIL* (R.102.54–79) *rot*, *o/ā*-adjective, means 'daring'. The phrase *rí rot* is attested in *Met. Dinds. II*, pp. 54–55, line 5. This line might therefore be translated as 'Rothechtaid of Wheels, the daring king ...'.
- I.64a *sé].* L's twelve is supported by *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 476.1), Mín, R1, and R3 (*LG V*, § 527).
- I.64d *Imlecha].* The second *Imlech* listed in *DIL* is the epithet with which we are here concerned. It had a genitive *Imlige: fianna Mēilge Imlige* (*Met. Dinds. II*, p. 66, line 24). This is a peculiar form. *Imlech* 'land bordering on a lake or marsh' (*DIL* I.99.5–13) was originally a neuter *u*-stem which later shifted to masculine *o*-stem declension. It appears that this epithet is being inflected as a *u*-stem in this instance in order to provide the required end-rime.
- I.65d *ro feith].* *Fethid* means 'watches, observes' (transitive); 'watches over; guards over' (intransitive) (*DIL* F. 108.85–106.34). *Ro-feith*, is the 3 singular *ro*-preterite, weak *s*-preterite formation, corresponding to Old-Irish *ā*-preterite *-fáith* (*GOI*, p. 429). The evidence of LcGB suggest that S is in this instance incorrect in inserting an infixed pronoun. Cf. I.130b, I.139b.

- I.66b *rapo mór tresse a thrénredg*]. See *Cóir Anmann*, pp. 292–293, § 19.
- I.67a *ruthi*]. *Ruthi* may be a genitive form of *ruth*, a masculine *u*-stem (?), which Windisch (*TBC*, p. 519) linked with Latin *rūtare* ‘to cast down, overthrow’ (*DIL* R.124.6–11). I follow this interpretation. In contrast, *DIL* suggests ‘of the red-dening i.e. of the carnage of battles’ (*DIL* R.115.72–74).
- I.67c–d *do-cer Eochaid Átha Lúain / la Find mac mBrátha mbratrúaid*]. This statement is in direct conflict with that found in *Cóir Anmann* (p. 322, § 72) which states: *conid do thámh atbath feissin* ‘and he himself died of the pestilence’. See also now Arbuthnot, *Cóir Anmann*, Part 1, p. 84, § 19. *LG* (*LG* V, § 532) and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 a 18–19) give the cause of Eochu Apthach’s death as either plague or regicide by Find son of Bráth son of Labraid Condalg son of Ollom Fótla.
- I.68a *secht mbliadna fó thrí*]. Neither nineteen in S, nor twenty-two in L is found in any of the parallel texts. Similarly, the figure of twenty-one, as found in LcGB, is absent from the parallel texts. R1, R3, Mín (*LG* V, § 533), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 a 19) all give twenty. This is an instance where the requirements of rime appear to have taken precedence over historical tradition.
- I.69a *Indarraid*]. Sétna’s epithet, *Indarraid* ‘of the mercenary’s wage’ is well attested in R1, Mín, R3 (*LG* V, § 534), and in Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 476.11) and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 a 20–21). Note the metrically motivated spelling *Indaraid* in I.71b.
- I.70d *fúair ing éca mac Áedáin*]. The text of L makes reasonable sense. *Mac Áedáin* may be taken as the subject, and *ing éca* as the direct object of the verb *fúair*. *Ing* means ‘fate’ (*DIL* I.253.52 ff.), and *éca* is the genitive singular of masculine *u*-stem, *éc* ‘death’. The text of S is corrupt here, as is that of LcGB. The crucial phrase *incetna* ‘the same’ makes no sense in this context.
- I.71b *Indaraid*]. See also I.69a. That the epithet is generally spelt in-*rr*- rather than -*r*- is proved by the evidence of all the other copies of the poem, by *Cóir Anmann* § 20 where there is *Indarr*- on two occasions, and by Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 a 19), Síle Ébir king-list (*CGH* 147 a 40), Genelach Éoganachta Caissil (*CGH* 148 b 16), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 476.11). L may have spelt the epithet with one -*r*- in an effort to avoid the underlying imperfect rime of *d*: *rr*. The rime in -*rr*-, however, would have been acceptable in any case under the rules of *óglachas*.
- I.71c–d *Cláre : mMáge*]. The reference here is to the River Maigue [Mäg]. *mMáge* here must be taken as a metrically motivated variant like *Imlecha* (I.64d).
- I.72c–d *rath : Düach*]. Carney noted that ‘there is a strong tendency (in *SR*) to use contracted forms such as *cóir* and *déc* in the middle of a line, but to use the hiatus forms in rhyming position’ (J. Carney, ‘The Dating of Early Irish Verse Texts’ *Éigse* 19 (1983), pp. 177–216: 195). For other examples of rime involving hiatus see I.83d, III.38b, III.54a.
- I.72c *celg*]. LcB preserve the correct Middle-Irish form of this *ā*-stem in the accusative singular. However, this form would not allow perfect rime to occur with the masculine accusative singular form of the *o*-adjective *derg*. I have therefore allowed the reading *celg* as found in LSG to stand as a poetic variant of *ceilg*.

- I.72d *la hÉnna nDerg mac nDüach*]. Restoration is supported by the line in Rawl. Mín. *la hÉnna nDerg mac nDuach* (CGH 135 a 26). On reading manuscript *dúach/duach* as a hiatus-word, *Düach*, see textual note I.72c–d.
- I.74b *Íarndond*]. The reading of L is supported by *Iarndond* in CGH 147 a 43 (L), while the reading of SLc is supported by *Iardonn* in *Cóir Anmann* (§ 23; Arbuthnot, p. 110, § 143), *Iardon* in Rawl. B 502 Mín (CGH 135 a 28), and *Iardond* in CGH 147 a 43 (Rawl. B 502).
I have tentatively preferred L's form *Íarndond* here and analyse it as *Íarndond*, a compound of *Íarn* 'iron' + *donn*, adjective 'dun, brown; dark'. *DIL* lists a possible analogous form *íarn nderg* (*Anecd.* II.58.13) 'red iron' under *íarn*, originally neuter *o*-stem, later masculine 'iron' (*DIL* I.28.6).
SLc's reading may be interpreted in two ways. *Íardond* may be understood as a compound of *íar* 'end, hinder part' (*DIL*, s.v. 2 *íar*; I.18.17–33) + *donn*, masculine adjective 'dun, brown; dark', rendering a meaning 'with a brown behind'. *DIL* notes that 'the initial of the second element may originally have been lenited but, perhaps due to confusion with words whose first element was *íar* 1 (preposition), eclipsis seems to have been more general' (*DIL* I.18.21–24). Alternatively, *Íardond* may be interpreted as *íar* 'black, dark' (*DIL* s.v. 3 *Íar*; I.18.34–51) + *donn*, rendering a meaning 'dark brown'. This last interpretation corresponds with that given in *Cóir Anmann* (p. 292, § 23): *dúbh donn robhói*.
- I.74d *i rRáith Chlochair*]. Only R3 appears to agree with *Hériu ard* as giving Lugaid's place of death as *Ráith Clochair* (LG V, § 539). R1 gives the place of his death as *Ráith Clochráin*, and Rawl. B 502 Mín (CGH 135 a 29) as *Ráith Cochláin*.
- I.75b *mbrebuidnech*]. Alternatively, this phrase could be translated as 'of colourful companies', i.e. 'during which he was surrounded by colourful companies'.
- I.76d *ré*]. R1 has *co torchair re maccaib Congail* (LL I, p. 78, line 2481), thereby suggesting that the preposition here is *ré/ria* with the dative 'before' rather than Middle Irish *ri/la* 'by [the hands of]' < Old Irish *fri* followed by the accusative case.
- I.76d *maccaib calma Congail*]. According to R1, R3, Mín (LG V, § 541) and Rawl. Mín (CGH 135 a 34) these were Eochu Fíadmuine and Conaing Becceclach/Becfiacloch.
- I.78a *Fidmuine*]. The epithet appears as *fidmuine* in Rawl. B 502 Mín (CGH 135 a 41).
- I.78c *secht*]. LS is supported by Mín (LG V, § 543), R1, and R3.
- I.78c *lainn*] 'joyful'. The basic meaning is 'keen, eager' (*DIL* L.29.72).
- I.78d *rosmudaig*]. I have followed LLcGB fairly tentatively. Restoration to *ro + a* (Old Irish / Early Middle Irish Class A 3 singular masculine infixed pronoun nasalising) after S, thereby rendering *ra/ro-mmudaig* might be defensible here.
- I.79a–d *Conaing mac Congail, cleth glan, / etc*]. Note the modernised version of this quatrain in *Cóir Anmann* (p. 350, § 143): *día ndebairt in fili is a derbad: Conaing mac Conghail, cleath ghlan, / rígh nár' omhnaigh nech riamh / fiche rochaith for cach leth / nogur' mharbh Art mac Luighdhech*. See now Arbuthnot, *Cóir Anmann*, Part 1, p. 91, § 48.
- I.79b *níro n-omnaigh nech riam*]. '(Conaing) did not ever fear anyone'. The 3 singular class A masculine infixed pronoun in *níro n-* appears to be proleptic. *rí* seems to

- be a mistake for *nech*, having been written in anticipation of the *rí* of *ríam*. If *ríam* is read as *rīam*, perfect rime may be achieved.
- I.79c *fichi*]. Compare ten years in R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 544); Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 a 44*); and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 476.25).
- I.79c *for cach Leth*] ‘over each Half’, that is ‘over each half of Ireland, Leth Chuinn and Leth Mogha’.
- I.79d *coro marb*]. *TTr1* has Middle Irish 3 singular masculine infixed pronoun forms like *corus-mudhaig* 1646, *corus-marb* 1646, *co ros-marb* 1011, *co rós-marb* 989 that appear to support the reading in SLc. What appears to be happening here is that the Infixed Pronoun is coming under so much pressure that the more weakly marked form (**cora mmarb* >) *coro marb* is giving away to a more heavily marked form with *-s-*.
- I.80d *Fíachaig*]. L is erroneous here. The scribe in L has here and in I.21b incorrectly expanded *fiach-* as *fiachra*. Similar confusion of these two forms can be seen in *Fiachra* (*CGH 115 b 33*, Rawl. B 502), but *Fíachu* (*CGH 116 a 5*, Rawl. B 502), *m. Fiachach* (*CGH 117 g 8*, Rawl. B 502), *Fiachu* (*CGH 137 b 28*, Rawl. B 502). Moreover, none of the other manuscripts has faithfully transliterated the accusative singular form of this guttural stem.
- I.80A The text given here is based on G. Note how the insertion of this quatrain disrupts the linking alliteration between *muredaig* in I.80d and *mac* in I.81a.
- I.81a *Mac Airt óenblíadain déc*]. This reign of eleven years is unique to *Hériu ard*. A reign of nine years is given in R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 546); Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH 135 a 46*), and Laud Sync. (*ZCP 9*, p. 476.27) and in *AClon* (p. 38). I suggest that the agreement between all the parallel texts against *Hériu ard* indicates that Gilla Cóemáin misread *.ix.* of his source as *.xi.*
- I.82b *láechcurach*]. It is difficult to say whether SLcGB or L has the superior reading. The reading in L, *láechcurach* means ‘of warrior curraghs’, perhaps ‘of war-curraghs’. Compare *láechloinges* (*DIL L.19.33*), presumably ‘war-fleet’; and the epithet *láechrechta* ‘of the war-ordinance’ (I.125d). Masculine *o*-stem *láech* ‘a warrior’ (*DIL L.18.50–19.70*) can also mean ‘heroic’ when compounded with proper nouns, cf. *co láechBrían* (II.1d). Thus the reading of SLcGB means ‘of heroic Munster’.
- The end-rime in SLcGB is perfect: *curad* : *láechMuman*, the corresponding vowels are identical, and the corresponding consonants all belong to class *l* (i.e. voiced liquids and weakly voiced liquids, *EIM*, p. 32). In contrast to the rime in SLcGB, L’s end-rime is not perfect: *curad*: *láech[h]urach*. *-d* (δ) belongs to class *l* and *-ch* belongs to class χ (voiceless spirants). But rime between a consonant from class χ and a consonant from class *l* is nevertheless acceptable in Old and Middle-Irish verse (*EIM*, p. 33). Moreover, this kind of rime is not unusual in *Hériu ard* (e.g. I.20a–b, I.52a–b, I.141a–b).
- I.83b *imgrind*]. *im*, intensifying prefix + *grind*, *i*-stem adjective. The basic meaning of *grind* is ‘accurate, exact’ (*DIL G.160.87*). However, it has ancillary meanings among which are ‘strong, vigorous, fierce’ (*DIL G.161.44*). Cf. *grinn* .i. *daingean*, ÓCl.
- I.83c *rí Carmuin is Cláire Clíach*]. L is in error. Cláire Clíach is a place in the Galtees (Crotta Clíach).
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- I.83d *na n-armsciath*]. The fundamental variants are *ibarsciath* and *armsciath*. *Ibarsciath* is a compound of *ibar*, masculine *o*-stem, later *iubar/iobar* ‘yew, yew-wood’ (*DIL* I.41.43–42.16) and *sciath* masculine *o*-stem, later also feminine *ā*-stem ‘shield’ (*DIL* S.91.7–92.40) meaning ‘yew-wood shield’. L’s reading is a compound of *arm*, originally neuter, later masculine *o*-stem ‘armour; weapon; army’ (*DIL* A.402.39–403.56) meaning ‘shields of armour’, perhaps ‘war-shields’. The compound is attested in a line of a *laíd Fíannaigechta*: *d’armgáe d’armclaideb d’armsciath* (*LL* 28445). *Na n-ibarsciath* ‘of the yew-wood shields’ makes both good sense and gives good rime. L’s reading also makes good sense. However, L’s line contains only six syllables unless we read the diphthong *sciath* as a hiatus-word *sciath*.
- I.85a–d The quatrain has been supplied from S, the orthography of which has been normalised.
- I.85a–b *do Dúach Ladgraig ... cen imardaid*]. The phrase *cen imardaid* ‘without challenge’ may be explained by reference to *Cóir Anmann* (p. 328–329, § 88) which states: *Doach .i. doaig ladgra .i. lúath agrai .i. issé na tabrad dáil do neoch iar ndenum écóra gin agra fóchétoir* ‘*Doach* (i.e. *do-aig?*) *Lagrach* (‘quick-avenging’?) i.e. of the swift (*luath*) pleading (*agra*). ‘Tis he that would not give delay to anyone who did injustice, but he sued him at once’.
- I.86b *ocht*]. L’s eight is supported by Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 b 2).
- I.86d *la hÁed mbuidnech mac mBaduirn*]. Compare with: *la Áed Ruad mac mBaduirn* (Rawl. B 502 Mín: *CGH* 135 b 1).
- I.87a *Áed mac Badairn*]. Áed is not recognised as king of Ireland by R1, R3 or Mín (*LG* V, pp. 260–62).
- I.87c–d *Cétne: roécne*. For the same rime, see *Ceitne: ecne* (*LL* I, lines 737–38).
- I.87d *i nEss Rúaid*]. In citing the place of death as Easa Ruadh, Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 b 4) agrees more closely than any other text with *Hériu ard* at this juncture. See also *AClon*, p. 39.
- I.88a *Díthorba*]. No reference is made to this king in R1, R3 or Mín (*LG* § 550). He is, however, mentioned in Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 b 5) as having enjoyed a reign of twenty-one years.
- I.89a *is a hocht*]. While the reading of twenty-eight as found in S is supported by R1, Mín, Rawl. B 502 Mín, *AT* and *Laud Sync.*, no other text supports the reading of twenty-seven as found in *LLcGB*.
- I.90a *ocht mblíadan*]. All parallel texts except the Stowe copy of Mín, which agrees with *Hériu ard*, assign seven years to Macha. Cf. *LG* V, § 552; *CGH* 135 b 26; and *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 473.29).
- I.90d *coros-marb Rechtaid Rigderg*]. Compare with the line *dia rosmarb Rechtaid rigderg* (*Ard Macha, Met. Dinds.* IV, p. 124, line 12).
- I.92b *flaith cethri deich ndagblíadan*]. Compare with 40/257 years in *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 473.33) and 40 in Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 b 37–38). No regnal years are given for this king in R1, R3 or Mín (*LG* V, § 554).
- I.92c *in Braga*]. LcB have overlooked the possibility of elision of the final vowel of *bruinne* and the initial vowel of the article. For the sake of the rime, the place-name has been distorted from *Brega* to *Braga*.

- I.92d *ro marb buille Badbchatha*]. Only R1 gives us the full details, namely that Úgaine was killed by his own brother, Badbchath mac Echach at Telach in Choscáir in Mag Mareda in Brega (*LG V*, p. 269): *Docer Uigine la brathair fein .i. la Bodbchad mac Echach i Telaig in Choscáir i mMaig Maireda i mBregaib* (*LL I*, p. 87, lines 2776–2777).
- I.92Aa–d Badbchad mac Echach Búadaig was killed by Lóegaire Luirc in their struggle for the kingship of Ireland (*Cóir Anmann*, p. 364, § 176). He is not generally recognised as a king of Ireland in *LG* tradition.
- I.93c *ra lochrad*]. The verb in L, *lochraid*, ‘despoils’, is poorly attested outside this context. The two other occurrences of this which are listed in *DIL* (L.180.1–5) are both from *TBC*.
- I.96b *secht*]. LLcB’s seventeen is supported by Mín (*LG V*, § 558), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 b 45), and *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 474.2).
- I.96c *dar bord*] ‘overboard’. I have been unable to identify a context for this reference. *Do-rochair dar bord* may simply be a euphemism for ‘he died’, literally ‘he fell beyond the bounds of life’; or, ‘he fell by the wayside’.
- I.98c *Éle*]. This king’s name appears as *Óengusa Ollaim Amlongaid* in *CGH* (117 f 15, Rawl. B 502), and as *Óengus Ollam Amalgaid* in *CGH* (311 ab 38, *Book of Leinster*). Since Óengus Ollam is listed in *CGH* as being of the Laigin, the reading *Edne* ‘in Connacht’ (*Onom.*, sub *eidhne*, p. 394) must be rejected as being erroneous. In contrast, the reading of SLcGB giving *Éle*, ‘the baronies of Clonlisk, Ballybrit in King’s County and the baronies of Ikerrin and Eliogarty in County Tipperary’ (*Onom.* p. 395) suggests a claim that this king had ruled over the neighbouring Éli of North Munster.
- I.99b *secht*]. GB’s seven is supported by *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 474.5), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 b 48), Mín and R1 (*LG V*, §§ 561, 568).
- I.99d *brecduirnd*] Cf. *meic Blait breacduirn* (*Acall.* 2355).
- I.100b *rígord*]. *Dorrd* as found in L may, according to *DIL* (D.360.6–7), be a variant of *dorn*, masculine *o*-stem ‘hand, fist’. It is used figuratively to denote ‘possession, seizure’ (*DIL* D, *degra-dúus*, 360.35). The form *dord* occurs in *TBC2* (line 1823) and *IT I*, p. 40, line 22. *Ord* (*DIL* O.154.15 ff.) has the meanings ‘dignity, rank; law’. Since the sense of *ord* is more appropriate to the context, I have followed SLcGB.
- I.100c *ind*]. *Omna* is a masculine *io*-stem meaning ‘tree’, which is used figuratively to refer to ‘warrior, hero’. In this instance, it has been treated as a feminine *iā*-stem (*DIL* O.141.59). See also *di omnai óir* (*LL I*, p. 155, line 4763).
- I.100d *a rronnlig*]. L’s reading *a rro n-* may be interpreted as the temporal conjunction *a* ‘when, while’ (*DIL* A.4.44–45) + *ro* + 3 singular masculine class A infixed pronoun *aⁿ*. *Rodlig(h)* is the 3 singular *ro*-preterite of *dligid* ‘is entitled to; has a claim on someone’ (*DIL* D. *degra-dúus*, 160.74–163.28). The *-s*-infix with *no* in GB confirms the presence of an object pronoun in L after *rro*.
- I.101a *A cethair fa chóic cen chéo*]. As noted in the textual parallels, no text is in agreement with the assertion in *Hériu ard* that Conla reigned for twenty years. Contrast with a figure of four years in R1, R3, Mín (*LG V*, § 563), and Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 b 51); and seven in *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 474.7).

9. Textual Notes and Commentary

- I.101b *do mac airdirc Iriréo*]. L is in error: the duration of the reign of Iriréo has already been given in I.991–b. The sequence requires the reign of Conla Cáem mac Irero to be mentioned at this juncture.
- I.101c–d *'sin Temraig mogda, cén mair, / at-bath Conla húa Cobthaig*]. *Mogda* in L will show internal rime with *Conla* in I.101d.
- I.101d *at-bath Conla húa Cobthaig*]. The reading of S is an innovation and must be rejected on several grounds. Firstly, there is broad agreement between L and LcGB. Secondly, there is no suggestion elsewhere that Conla died of poisoning. Thirdly, a similar line is found in 118d.
- I.102a *Cóic...fichet*]. The figure of twenty-six years as found in LcGB is supported only by Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 b 51).
- I.102c *Amathair*]. *Adamair* appears to be a later form as it is only found in R3. In contrast, variants of L's *Amathair* occur frequently: *Amadir* in R1 (*LG* V, § 566), *Amadair* in Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 135 b 52), *Amadair* (*CGH* 147 a 53, Rawl. B 502), m. *Amadair Flidais Foltcháin* (*CGH* 148 b 10), *Amadair Flidais Foltcháin* (*CGH* 154 ac 50, Rawl. B 502), and *Amadair Foltchain* in *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 474.9).
- I.103a *Dá bliadain fo thrí*]. The external evidence is unanimous in assigning a reign of five years to Amathair Flidais mac Fir Chuirp. L's reading of thirty (10 x 3) years and LcGB's reading of eighteen (6 x 3) are far off the mark. Only S's figure of six (2 x 3) is close to being correct. Gilla Cóemáin's source probably had *.ii. bl- sa trí*, and *sa* may have been mistranscribed as *fo/fa* by either Gilla Cóemáin, or at a later stage by the scribes of both L and y. This error produced S's reading *.ii. bl- fo trí*.
- I.103a *i tuilg thé*]. I translate as 'in ardent strength/combat'. *Tolg* 'strength, force' (*DIL* T.239.37–240.6) occurs as both a masculine *o*-stem and as a feminine *ā*-stem.
- I.107a *Cóic bliadna*]. LS's five is supported by Mín (*LG* V, § 569; *Stowe* D i 3) and R3 (*LG* V, § 569). Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 a 1) has a figure of fifteen, probably an error for either five (*u*). *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 472.25) has two (*.ii.*), which may also be an error for five.
- I.108c *cairptech*]. S has the more conventional spelling here.
- I.108c *cass*]. The basic meaning of this word is 'curly', hence 'curly-haired' (*DIL* C.80.35). However, it has a secondary meaning, 'skilled' (C.80.66). See, for example, *Créidne in cerd cass* (*LL*, line 1344) and I.110a.
- I.108d *nAirttech*]. The epithet, *Airttech* means 'given to plundering' (*DIL* A.181.81–182.2). *Airgdech* appears to be a later spelling. The alternative epithet *aighneach* [*Aigneach*] occurring in G and in the gloss in B is interpreted as *óg a enech* 'pure his honour' in one of two glosses on *Aigneach* in *Cóir Anmann* (§ 100).
- The literary corpus suggests that these epithets originally belonged to two distinct figures: Énna Airgdech son Eochu Mumo, and a Munster king (*CGH* 147 a 33; 147 a 21) and Énna Aigneach, son of Óengus Tuirbech and grandfather of Eochu Feidlech (*CGH* 137 b 37). This confusion in the identity of both figures lead to Énna Airgdech supplanting Énna Aigneach in some lists of the kings of Ireland (e.g. *CGH* 136 a 3). In this instance the uncertainty over the identity of Énna is confirmed by B's gloss and the fact that Macalister's edition of R1 gives *nAigneach*, but *Airgdech* in a second hand (*LG* V, § 570). *Airttech* gives better internal rime here than *Aigneach*, and must therefore be presumed to be an origi-

- nal mistake which can be traced to the common source of R1 and Mín (CGH 136 a 3).
- I.110d *in roairm]* L. That the original form had the intensifying prefix, *ro* rather than *ríg* as in GB is suggested by the presence of *ro* in both S and L. GB's reading is undoubtedly an innovation and may be rejected. It is difficult to decide whether S_{Lc} or L has the original reading. The reading in S_{Lc} requires elision to occur between the final unstressed vowel of *Rudraige* and the initial vowel of the unstressed article. L's reading requires no such elision to occur. The rhyming vowels and consonants in both readings give perfect rime. We can proceed by posing the question whether *rogairb* or *an roairm* is the simpler reading. The simpler one is less likely to be original. In this instance, *rogairb* is the *lectio faciliior*, the simpler and more mundane reading and therefore more likely to have been inserted after Gilla Cóemáin's original had been drafted. There is at least one other attestation of the compound *ro-airm*: *do rúadgním a roairm* (LL IV, line 23727).
- I.111a *co fraig]*. The form in L is clearly erroneous: *ferg* fails to show end-rime with *blíadnaib*, the end-word of I.111b. Contrast *fraig*: *blíadnaib* where corresponding vowels agree and corresponding consonants belong to the same class. The origins of L's error lie in the mistaken expansion of the abbreviation for *-ra-* as being an expansion for *-er-*. *Fraig*, feminine *i*-stem in Middle Irish, which was also declined as a dental stem, is an 'interior wall' (DIL F.400.9–79.). The phrase *co fraig* means 'to the wall' = 'to the utmost extent, entirely' (DIL F.400.62–63). Compare: *Énna ba flaith Fáil co fraig* (LL I, line 2284).
- I.112a *Fintait Már]*. This personal name occurs as *Fintait (Már)* in Laud Sync. (ZCP 9, p. 472.21, *recte*¹ p. 472.26), Rawl. B 502 Mín (CGH 136 a 14) and R1 (LG V, § 574) and as *Intait (Már)* in R3 (LG V, § 574). The source of the error in L may have arisen due to the misinterpretation of an interlinear gloss. I suggest that the scribe of L had in the main text before him *Fintait*. Over the *F* was written *In* as an interlinear gloss. Now, instead of understanding the *In* as the beginning of the alternative spelling of the personal name *Intait*, the scribe understood the letters *In* to be the article and incorporated *In* into the body of the text.
- I.113a–b *Breasal blíadain fora deich] re Fíandaib Cuind, ba cuingeid,]*. Laud Sync. (ZCP 9, p. 472.22, *recte* 472.27), Rawl. B 502 Mín (CGH 136 a 16), Mín, R1, R3 (LG V, §§ 575, 576) and CGH all support the statement in S_{Lc}GB that Bresal mac Rudraige reigned for eleven years until his death at the hands of Lugaid Lúaigne son of Fintait Már. In contrast, the figure of nine in L is uncorroborated.
- The quasi-archaic spelling in *cuingeith* was undoubtedly inspired by the desire for rime with *deich*. This is unnecessary. Rime between *deich* : and *cuingid*, that is between *-ch* of class χ and *-d* of class *l* is permissible according to Murphy. He (EIM, p. 33) notes: 'But certain other exceptions occur frequently, and were clearly in the Old and Middle Irish periods regarded as permissible. One such is the riming of a consonant from class χ with a consonant from class *l*, sometimes in stressed syllables (as in *gád*: *scáth*, EIL 10.18), and even more frequently in unstressed syllables (such as *brígach* : *díbad*, *Thes* ii, 327.5).' For another example of the same rime see *deich* : *cuingeid* I.141a–b.

1) The line numbering in the text would appear to be incorrect.

- I.115c *nDalta*]. LcGB support the simple option of reading *dalta* (< Old Irish masculine *io*-stem, *daltae* ‘fosterling’).
- I.118c–d *isin Themraig mongaich maith / fúair dig tonnaid in t-ard flaithe*]. For a parallel reference to ‘drinking the draft of death’ see E. Knott (ed.), *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (Dublin, 1936, reprinted 1963, 1975), p. 46, line 1538.
- I.120a *fer rígdá in raith*]. This may be an allusion to the line in Rawl. B 502 Mín which states *His í seo trá aimsir gene Críst* (CGH 136 a 24–25) after mention of Núadu’s death.
- I.120b *fúair cóic bliadna*]. The reading of five years as found in LS is corroborated by all the parallel texts.
- I.120d *i nAlind*]. Only Rawl. B 502 Mín (CGH 136 a 23) and R3 (LG V, § 582) give the location of the battle.
- I.122b *mblíadan co deggnáth*]. SLc has a metrically superior reading inasmuch as it provides alliteration, but I think that it may be the product of an ‘improving scribe’, rather than of Gilla Cóemáin.
- I.123a–b *Cóic bliadna do Themraig tric / cen rurig ndedgair ndíanglicc*. The *inter-regnum* of five years referred to by Gilla Cóemáin is not mentioned by Flann Mainistrech. It is also absent from all versions of LG except R3.
- I.123c *Lugaid Ríab nDerg*]. See textual note I.19a.
- I.124a *A sé fichet*]. LLcGB’s twenty-six is supported by AT. In contrast, none of the parallel texts supports the reading of twenty-seven years given in S.
- I.124b Contrast Gilla Cóemáin’s version of the *aided* with Flann Mainistrech’s in *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, q. 7 = LL III, lines 15665–15668 and the variant *aided* in AT (RC 16, p. 414).
- I.125b *sé bliadna déc*]. Laud Sync. (ZCP 9, p. 476.37) supports the reading of sixteen years in LLcGB, while the figure of thirteen years in S is supported by Rawl. B 502 Mín (CGH 136 1 41) and AT (RC 16, p. 414). Either figure could have been in Gilla Cóemáin’s original, one group of texts having misread the minims in *.xui.* or *.xiii.* It should be noted that no regnal years are given for this king in R1, R3, or Mín (LG V, §§ 587, 594).
- I.125b *co degmaith*]. L’s end-rime is perfect.
- I.125c–d *echtra : láechrechta*]. See the textual note on I.82b. These lines refer to Crimthann’s death six weeks after his adventures (*echtraí*) with a fairy woman called Nár (LG V, § 587). See also *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú*, qq. 8–9 = LL III, lines 15671–76. His death is recorded in AT (RC 16, p. 416; RC 18, p. 374), and in AU (p. 2, AM 4040).
- I.127b *fiche ocus a dó a daglind*]. While Laud Sync. (ZCP 9, p. 477.2), Rawl. B 502 Mín (CGH 136 a 45), AT (Rawl. B 502), AT (H.1.18) and AU all corroborate the figure of 22, SLcB’s figure of twenty is supported by Mín, R1, and R3 (LG V, § 589). There is therefore no way of being sure whether L or SLcB has the original reading here.
- I.128a *Trí bliadna ríge co rrath*]. L probably has the original reading. The scribe of y rewrote the line to provide internal rime between *blíadain* in line *a* and *riagail* in line *b*. While internal rime in the first couplet is not unusual in *Hériu ard*, it is by no means a recurrent feature in that poem.

- I.128c *búair ferdá]*. *Búar*, a masculine Middle-Irish *o*-stem literally means a ‘cattle, herd’ and figuratively ‘a host’ (Meyer, *Contributions*, 285).
- I.129b *a secht déc do dagblíadnaib]*. L’s seventeen is supported by Rawl. B 502 Míin (CGH 136 a 48), R1 (LG V, § 591), Míin (LG V, § 591), and by Laud Sync. (ZCP 9, p. 477).
- I.129d *ord]*. This is the genitive plural of masculine *o*-stem *ord* ‘a sledge-hammer’. It is used as a metaphor for a warrior in heroic literature (DIL O.155.57). Compare *ord essorgni* (TBC 776).
- I.130a–b *dá ndeich]*. Both AU (p. 6, AM 4069) and AT (RC 16, p. 418; RC 18, pp. 375–76) style Éllim as ‘king of Emain’ rather than as ‘king of Ireland’. AU, in agreement with *Hériu ard*, assigns him twenty years as king.
- I.132a *Mál]*. Note that there is no reference in AT (RC 16, p. 419) to Mál mac Róchraide as king of Ireland.
- I.132c *a nóí Feidlimid, fír sin,]*. I think L and y encountered the same difficulty in *x*, a hypermetrical line reading: *a .ix. feidlimid is fír sin*. The scribe of L identified the problem and postponed remedying it. The scribe of S tried erroneously to remedy the metrical flaw by supplying a variant form of the name. The redactor of *y*¹ has correctly identified the metrical error and excised it by dropping the copula. I have followed him in restoring the syllable-count. I take *Feidlimid* as a prepositionless dative.
- I.133a *Trí bliadna cen tathair tric]*. SLCGB must be followed since Laud Sync. (ZCP 9, p. 477.25), Míin (LG V, § 596), and R3 (LG V, § 596) also give a reading of three years. Moreover, Rawl. B 502 Míin. gives readings of three or five (CGH 136 a 55), whilst R1 (LG V, § 596) gives a reading of fifty/three. In addition, *tric* will provide the requisite end-rime with *Cormaic* in line I.133b. Compare: *Ba cend Cathair croda cain / cen tathair for Temarmaig* (LL III, p. 506, lines 15709–15710) by Flann Mainistrech on the same king.
- I.133d *lluamchles]*. The reading of L, *lluámchless*, is a compound of *luám*, Old Irish masculine *n*-stem ‘pilot, steersman’ (DIL L.222.2–26) + *cles(s)*, genitive plural masculine *u/o*-stem ‘feat; weapon-play’. Mac Carthy translated this phrase as ‘of the pre-eminent deeds’ (CPV, p. 202, z). Since both *lluámchles* and *luáiththres* (‘of the swift fights’) meet the requisites of end-rime and meaning, it is difficult to confirm which is the original reading.
- I.134b *co n-airlechaib]*. *Airlechaib* is the dative plural of *airlech*, *o*-stem, verbal noun of *ar-slig* ‘act of hewing down; slaughter’ (DIL A.224.41–57). Unfortunately, none of the parallel texts supplies us with any detail that would confirm our choice of reading in this instance.
- I.135b *sé bliadna]*. Rawl. B 502 Míin (CGH 136 b 2), Míin (LG V, § 598), AT (H1.18) and AU support the reading of seven (6 + 1) years found in SLC, while only the later parallel texts, R1 and R3 support the reading of eight (7 + 1) as found in LGB.
- I.137a *Lugaid Mac Con meic Luigdech]*. AT (RC 17, p. 11; RC 18, p. 378) does not recognise Lugaid as king of Ireland. AU (p. 12, AM 4167) declares *Alii aiunt Lugaid mc. Con post hoc bellum in Temoria regnasse annis .uii., t. xxx. ut alii*.
- I.138a *Fergus Détach co ndíanblaid]*. The error in L has probably arisen through automatic insertion of the *Dub*- element of the normal epithet, *Dubdétach*, by the

- scribe. The name is written as *Dub Detach* by Flann (*LL* III, p. 506, line 15729).
- I.138d *i cath Chrinna la Cormac*]. The same line occurs in Flann's poem *Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú* (*LL* III, p. 506, line 15732).
- I.139b *ra feith*]. See note I.65d.
- I.141a *sé mblíadan dá deich*]. Twenty-six is corroborated by Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 478.11), Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 b 11), Mín and one copy of R1 (*LG* V, § 604). See also *RC* 17, p. 20; *RC* 18, p. 383; *AU* p. 20 (AM 4217).
- I.141d *Rúad Roírinne*]. I have tentatively followed L, and emended to *Roírinne* in view of the evidence of Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 b 12) and Mín (*LG* V, § 604). However, we would expect *Roíriu* to yield a genitive *Roírenn*, rather than *Roírinne* as is the case here unless *Róiriu* has shifted its inflection to produce a nominative in *Roírenn*. On the place-name *Roíriu*, see Pokorny, 'Der Name *Ériu*', *ZCP* 15 (1925), pp. 197–203.
- I.143b *inbaid*]. *Inbaid* is here taken as an adjectival usage of *inbaid*, feminine 'due time' to yield the translation 'timely'.
- I.143c *feith*]. This is the 2 singular of *fethid* 'observes, attends', verbal noun *fethem*.
- I.143c–d *let*]; *ar fichet*]. Neither Old Irish *lat* nor Middle Irish *let* will show perfect rhyme with the expected form *fichit* (*GOI*, § 324). If we are to secure any kind of end-rime between I.143c and I.143d, the only option available to us is to restore *let* based on manuscript *leat* (SG).
- I.143d *secht mblíadna déc*]. This reign of thirty-seven years is unique to *Hériu ard*. The closest figures are thirty-six in Mín (*LG* V, § 606) and thirty-one/thirty-six in R1 (*LG* V, § 606).
- I.144d *coros indarb Muredach*]. The reference in the 'Story of the Three Collas' (Rawl. B 502: *CGH* 142 a 10–142 b 42) is to the *banishment* or exile rather than the killing of the Collas by Muiredach Tírech (*Lotar dano na trí Collai co tríb cétaib léo for teched i nAlbain ria Muiredach*, *CGH* 142 a 50–51). *AU* tells us that all three brothers were forced into 'flight' (AM 4330). The 3 plural infixed object pronoun therefore refers to the Three Collas.
- I.145a *trí deich*]. No text supports L's ten, whereas SLcGB's thirty is supported by *AT* (*RC* 18, p. 387) and by *AU* (p. 28, AM 4330) amongst other parallel texts, and indeed by *Baile Chuind*. See also G. Murphy, 'Baile Chuind and the Date of Cín Dromma Snechta', *Ériu* 16 (1952), pp. 145–51: 146–47.
- I.145c *ic Dabull*]. *AT* (*RC* 18, p. 388) and *AU* (p. 30, AM 4386) pinpoint the place of death as Port Ríg over the Daball.
- I.146a *Cóelbad*]. *AT* (*RC* 17, p. 32) makes no mention of this person as king of Ireland.
- I.146c *a hocht*]. Contrast with twenty-five years in *Baile in Scáil* (K. Murray, *Baile in Scáil*, p. 38, § 17). Appropriate space has been left blank in *AU* p. 32 (AM 4394) and in *AT* (*RC* 18, p. 388).
- I.147d Crimthann is not recognised as king of Ireland in *AU* (*regnauit i nEmain annis .u.* p. 32, AM 4431) nor in *AT* (*RC* 18, p. 389). See also *Aided Crimthainn 7 trí mac Echach Muigmedóin in Silva Gadelica* I, pp. 330–336.
- 147d *Fídig*]. L is incorrect. The full name and title of the relevant figure was *Crimthand Már m. Fidaig rí Érenn ocus Alban*.

- I.148a *Fiche bliadan fora secht*]. See *LG V*, § 612; *CGH* 136 b 24; *ZCP* 9, p. 478.23; *RC* 18, p. 389; *AU* p. 34 (AM 4471).
- I.148b *'ma-róen do Níall*]. S has a similar reading to that of L, the only difference being that S has confused the word order. The reading in GB must be the innovation of the scribe of the sub-archetype.
- I.148d *Eochu*]. See note I.41b. Mín gives the nominative here as *Eochu mac Enna Cendsilig* (*LG V*, § 612), while Rawl. B 502 Mín gives the nominative as *Eochaid mac Énna Ceinselaig* (*CGH* 136 b 24).
- I.148d *Cendselach*]. According to most versions of *LG*, Níall fell at the hands of Eochu mac Énna Cennselaig (*LG V*, § 612). The Rawl. B 512 copy of Mín (*LG V*, p. 348, § 612, note 2) reads *coro marb Eochu Ceinnsel. ic Muir Igt. Ard fíledach* appears to be an innovation in L.
- I.149b *Nath Í*]. *Dathí* is the form found in *Cóir Anmann* (p. 352, § 146).
- I.149c–d *i Sléib Elpa na n-arm n-án / ra lloisc in tene gelán*]. See *LG V*, § 613; Rawl. B 502 Mín (*CGH* 136 b 32); *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 478.24). See also Flann, *LL* 15777; and *Aided Nath Í* in *LU*, pp. 90–94.
- I.150a–d There were a total of 136 kings of Ireland before Christianity according to Mín.
- I.150a *Sé*]. Rawl. B 502 Mín makes it clear that it reckons only 136 pre-Christian kings: *Conid íat-sain na sé ríge déc 7 na sé fichit ríge ro fallnatar hÉirind ria creitim* (*CGH* 136 b 34). Furthermore, R1 (*LG V*, § 614) includes Lóegaire (the 137th king by the reckoning of S) in the list of Christian kings as illustrated by the preface, *Incipit do flaithesaib 7 amseraib hÉrenn iar creitim. Loegaire mac Néill*.
- I.150Aa–d According to the *Laud Sync.*, Lóegaire mac Néill reigned for four years before the coming of the Faith.
- I.150B¹ Énna (Cennselach) was the eponymous head of the Uí Chennselaig, (*AU* 605, interlined by H²; *CGH* (*LL*) 316 b 47–316 c 30). Crimthann Cennselaig was the son of Énna (*AU* 483; *CGH* 117 a 24). Muirecán Alman may be identifiable as the father of the Cerball, leader of the Laigin, who assisted at the siege of Dublin in 902 (*AU* 902; *Met. Dinds III*, 60.74; *Met. Dinds IV*, 340.19). None of these were ever kings of Ireland. All were merely kings of the Laigin. Two of these names are to be found in the list of Laigin kings of the *Genelach Húa Ceinselaig* (*CGH* 117 a 1–117 a 30).
- I.150B² *secht roind secht fichit rand réidh*]. *Roind* is the nominative plural form of *rann/rand*, masculine *o*-stem ‘quatrain’. *Rann*, feminine *ā*-stem ‘section, portion’ would produce a nominative plural in *ranna*; *rand* is the genitive plural of the masculine *o*-stem noun *rann*.
- I.151a *cen gainne*]. *SGB* all suggest a form *co nglaine* ‘with purity’: *glaine* in B is likely a scribal error for *glaine*, the scribe having erroneously expanded the suspension mark for *n* as that for *m*. *Can c[h]aim(m)e* in Lc probably means ‘without duplicity’ (cf. *DIL* C. 30.30–37]. This scribal innovation is to be discounted. The choice is therefore between *co nglaine* and *cen gainne*. L has been preferred since the rime *gainne* : *Samthainne* in L is slightly superior to *glaine* : *Samthainn* [S]G. See *EIM*, pp. 32–33: 33.
- I.151b *mac*]. It is not certain whether *mac* or *úa* (SLcGB) reflects the archetype.
- I.151c *fáilid*]. *Fáilid* appears to be a form of *fáilid/fáilid*, *i*-adjective ‘glad, joyful’.

- I.151c *gargnám rom gell*]. I interpret *gargnám* as a compound of *gar* ‘pleasant’ (*DIL* G.43.21) + *gnám* ‘a piece of work’ (*DIL* G.122.50–57). Cf. *in ba gaire gnim Cormaic?* ‘would Cormac’s prowess be more likely [of success]?’ (*RC* 43, p. 78, § 9). The form in SLcGB, *bardaib*, is the dative plural of *bard*, masculine *o*-stem ‘bard’ (*DIL* B.36.11–71).

9.2 *At-tá sund forba fessa*

- II.2a–b D. Mc Carthy, *Chronological Synchronisation of the Irish Annals*, <<http://www.cs.tcd.ie/Dan.McCarthy/chronology/synchronisms/annals-chron.htm>>, s. a. 462–464) notes that three deletions in *CS* allow for a thirty-year reign-length for Lóegaire. See also *CGH* 137 a 8 and F. J. Byrne, *IKHK*, pp. 254–74.
- II.2a *andar lem*]. *An-* is unstressed to permit elision of the final vowel of *Lóegaire* and the initial of *andar*.
- II.3d *remis*]. Both *re(i)mes* and *re(i)mis* are used. *Reimis* is probably the older nominative form.
- II.4a *Temair*]. The earlier *i*-stem dative singular *temair*, as found in R, is the only form which provides perfect end-rime with the end-word of II.4b.
- II.4b *Máelgairb gaiscedaig*]. The alliteration here is with the initial of the second element of the compound word *Máelgairb*. Ní Dhomhnaill (*Duanaireacht*, p. 36) cites the examples *Maol Ruana / mórmhagh* (8a–b), and *Mhaoil Ruana / roth* (14a–b) from *TD*, Poem 34.
- II.5d *rremess*]. I have normalised *remess* to *rremess*, taking the preceding *a* to be the 3 plural nasalising possessive pronoun. See, for example, *a rrí* ‘their king’ (*SR* 4839).
- II.6a *Óenblíadain*]. There is some confusion in the poem and in several of the parallel texts regarding the duration of the reign of Báetán mac Nainneda. Like *At-tá sund*, R1 and R3 (*LG* § 623), Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 479.13), and H2 in *AU* (586) assign a reign of one year to Báetán mac Nainneda, but the *Chronological Synchronisation* (see *AT*, *RC* 17, pp. 150, 156) implies that Báetán reigned for thirteen years from 572 until 584.
- II.6c *ocht fichet*]. LR’s twenty-eight is supported by R1 (*LG* V, § 624), whereas M’s twenty-seven is uncorroborated.
- II.6d *int Áed mend mac Ainmerech*]. *Mend*, ‘clear, distinguished’ is more appropriate than *mend*, ‘stammering, inarticulate’. To be *mend* ‘stammering’ was a partial disqualification for royal succession (see *SMMD*, § 14); but note *Suibne Mend* (son of Fíachra, king of the Laigin, 614–627).
- II.7c *secht*]. L’s seven is corroborated by the Lecan copy of R3 (*LG* V, § 626), Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 479.19), *CPV* (p. 95.2), *AI* King-List (§ 356), *AU* (605–612), *CS* (605–612). The figure of eight as found in MR is corroborated by R1, Ballymote copy of R3 (*LG* V, § 626); *AT* (*RC* 17, pp. 167, 169) and *FA* (605). See also *CGH* 137 a 12. The discrepancy arises from whether Áed Úairidnach’s reign should be considered to begin immediately after the death of his predeces-

- sors, namely, Colmán Rímid and Áed Sláine in 602, or in 603. The Clonmacnoise version of the Post-Patrician Annals (*AT* 603.6) states the reign-length as being eight years, starting the count from 603 rather than from 602.
- II.8b *a cóic déc*]. No parallel text supports the reading of fifteen years in *At-tá sund*.
- II.8c *trícha bliadna cona mblaid*]. The figure of thirty years may be an inclusive calculation based on Domnall mac Áeda's years as king of Cenél Conaill after his brother Máel Coba became king of Tara, and then his periods of joint-kingship of Ireland with Máel Coba and Suibne Mend.
- II.9b *a dó fichet*]. Contrast the uncorroborated figure of twenty-two years for the reign of Conall and Cellach in *At-tá sund* with a reign of nine years in the *Chronological Synchronisation* (*644–*653).
- II.9d *deich*]. LR's ten years is supported by the *Chronological Synchronisation* (654–664).
- II.10b *echduind*]. I have tentatively translated this phrase as 'as brown as a horse'.
- II.11a *ro-laim*]. I take *ro-laim* to be 3 singular *ro*-preterite of *lamaid* (Old Irish *ro-laimethar*, with preterite/perfect *ro-lamair*), 'dares, ventures; defies'; cf. *ro lam* (*Fingal Ronáin*, line 28), *ro láim* (*LU* 4774). Rime with *-air* in *Magair* (II.11b) suggests that the *-a-* is short.
- I.11d *óen bliadain déc*]. I suggest that Gilla Cóemáin's source had *.xii.* as in *CPV* (p. 95.13) and *AI King-List* (§ 368). I further suggest that this may have been the figure found in *o*. In contrast, the archetype *x* appears to have had eleven as found in LMR, but nowhere else. I therefore suggest that the error arose in *x* as a result of the eye of the scribe being distracted by the word *óenbliadain* in the following line.
- II.12a *Óenbliadain*]. Contrast this reign of one year for Fogartach with the omission of his regnal years in *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 479.38) and a reign of two years in *CPV* (p. 95.14) and the *AI King-List* (§ 369).
- II.12b *a cóic*]. None of the parallel texts supports the reading of five. R1 and R3 (*LG* V, § 639), and *CPV* (p. 95.15) state that Cináed reigned for four years. I suggest that Gilla Cóemáin may have had *cethair*, but such a reading would require emendation of *Cináeda* to *Cinaíd*.
- II.13a *Dala*]. The sobriquet *Dala* (= *Dalo*, *Daula*, *Dola*) for Domnall is attested in *AFM* III.598.3. See also *DIL* D–degóir, 49.7–10.
- II.13c *im-mach*]. 'abroad'. This adverb of time and place (*DIL* I.114.71–115.75) literally means 'into the plain'. It appears to have been used with the passing or spending of time to mean 'out, away' (*DIL* I.115.41). However, a more literal meaning 'afar, abroad' (I.115.16) might also be suitable here in view of Níall's military campaigns.
- II.14b *Dondchaid meic Domnaill drechdeirg*]. Both M and R are corrupt here: M has confused Donnchad son of Domnall (d. *797) with Donnchad son of Flann Sinna (d. *944), while R appears to have transposed the names.
- II.14c *secht mbliadna fichet aile*]. One rather complicated possibility is that *.xxuii.* arose from a correction of *.xxu.*, namely, that above *.xxu.*, a scribe wrote *nó .xxii.* meaning '25, or, rather, 22'. Subsequently, *.xxuii.* arose from a careless addition of the two digits, *ii*, from the correction to the text. *At-tá sund*, R1 and *AClon* thus share the same erroneous reading.

- II.15a *Cethri bliadna déc*]. LM's fourteen is corroborated by the Ballymote copy of R3 (*LG V*, § 646), Laud Sync. (*ZCP* 9, p. 480.31), *AI King-List* (§ 377) and *CGH* (137 a 18).
- II.15c *sé bliadna déc*]. Níall Caille mac Áeda drowned in 846 (*AU* 846, *CS* 846, *AClon* 843, *AI* 846). Laud Sync, *CPV* and *AI-King List* state that his reign lasted for thirteen years. In contrast, *AClon* declares that Níall reigned for sixteen years (*AClon* 830, p. 135), but gives dates extending from 830–843, while *CS* gives dates extending from 832–846. Agreement between all the manuscripts suggests that Gilla Cóemáin's original had *sé bliadna déc*, a mistake for *trí bliadna déc*. It seems possible that Gilla Cóemáin integrated this 'error' into his poem from a Clonmacnoise version of the Chronicle of Ireland that was very similar to the extant *AClon*.
- II.15c *co dremain*]. *Co dremain* is taken here as an adverb based on the preposition *co* 'until' + *dremain*, accusative singular of *i*-stem adjective *dremain*. It is noteworthy that there is some evidence of confusion between *tremain* and *dremain* in other texts. Consider *saltrad for toil co dreman* (*Arch.* III.311) = *co treamhan* (*AFM* II.618.10 (poem)). Incidentally, C (C iv 3), P (NLI, Phillipps G 131) and K (23 K 32) all read *dremain*. Note also the line *menmaigfitir co dremun* (*SR* 8216). In view of this evidence and the fact that *co dremain* 'furiously' makes the best sense I have followed M here.
- II.16a *Secht*]. *AClon* (847, p. 140) also has seventeen.
- II.16c *secht*]. R's seventeen is supported by the *Chronological Synchronisation*, which indicates that Áed Findliath reigned from 862/863 until 879, and by the Ballymote copy of R3 (*LG V*, § 649), *AI-King-List* (§ 380), and *FA* (862, § 294). The Book of Leinster copy of R1, and the Book of Lecan copy of R3 (*LG V*, § 649) both corroborate the figure of eighteen in M, but M's reading *.iiii* was probably a mechanical error for *.iii*. Unlike the readings of R and M, the reading of fourteen in L is uncorroborated and must be rejected.
- II.16c *ic dáil fíach*]. For lenition of attributive nouns after a verbal noun in the dative singular see *SnaG*, p. 236, § 4.1.
- II.17d *cen a n-aill do Níall Glúndub*]. 'without anything else for Níall Glúndub'. I have interpreted this line as *cen* leniting preposition with accusative, followed by *a n-aill* 'anything else' (*DIL* A.117.24–51).
- II.19c *trí*]. LR's twenty-three is supported by R1 (*LG V*, § 655), Laud Sync., Ballymote copy of R3, and *GRSH*.
- II.21b *ardena*]. *Ardena* is the nominative plural of *airde* 'sign, token'. The plural in *-ena* eventually becomes quite common, but apparently not before the later Middle-Irish period. Cf. *airdena báis 7 éca 7 aideda* 'signs of death' (*LL Táin*, lines 1076–77).
- II.22a–d *Genealogical Prose Tract II* (*CGH* 137 a 42–43) gives essentially the same information here as in *At-tá sund*, but in a different order. In contrast, *Genealogical Prose Tract I* (*CGH* 137 a 24–25) represents an earlier tradition and hence differs substantially from *At-tá sund*. See also *IKHK*, p. 280–84.
- II.23a *Óenrí a mMumain móir marcaig*]. Neither the *Genealogical Prose Tract I* nor *Genealogical Prose Tract II* makes any reference to any kings of Ireland being of Munster provenance. See *IKHK*, p. 297.

- II.23a *marcaig*]. I interpret *marcaig* in L as the genitive singular of *marcach*, ‘rider’. There might be some merit in interpreting *marcaig* as the genitive singular of an adjective **marcach*, ‘pertaining to horses’ < *marc* ‘horse’. However, *marcach* as an adjective with this meaning is not listed in *DIL*.
- II.23b *is Óenrí a Connachtaib*]. Only *Genealogical Prose Tract I* (*CGH* 137 a 25) is in agreement with *At-tá sund* in making a reference to the holding of the kingship of Ireland by one king of the Connachta. See also *IKHK*, pp. 280, 298.
- II.23c *óenrí a Cairpriu*]. *Genealogical Prose Tract I* (*CGH* 137 a 26) agrees with *At-tá sund* in referring to one king of Ireland from the Cenél Corpri. No such reference is given in *Genealogical Prose Tract II*. See also *IKHK*, p. 280.
- II.24a–b These lines in *At-tá sund* are paralleled closely in *Sé ríge déc Éogain anall* (*CGH* 137 a 51, *CGH* 137 b 11) by the references to the ten kings of the Cenél Conaill. In contrast, *Cía lín don rígraid ráin rúaid* (*CGH* 137 a 30) lists only six kings of Ireland from the Cenél Conaill. See also *IKHK*, p. 283.
- II.24b *cussu taithigdis*]. ‘to whom (royal poets) came’. RM have essentially the same reading here. The reading in M, *gusataidis*, is a mistake for *gusa taithigdis* (< *cosa tathaigdis/taithigdis*). The verb which was in the sub-archetype of RM was the 3 plural imperfect indicative of *do-aithigi* ‘visits, goes to see, frequents’, verbal noun *taithigid* (*DIL* D, *degra-dúus*, 197.73–198.17), or the simple verb *taithigid* (*DIL* T.56.59–57.11). The meaning of the reading of RM is ‘whom royal poets used to visit’. I think that *cussu taithigdis* was in the archetype *x* and that the scribe of L ‘banalized’ the text at this point.
- II.24c–25d *Sé ríge déc Éogain anall* (*CGH* 137 a 53–55) agrees in detail with *At-tá sund* in terms of the names and sequence of the kings of Ireland who were affiliated with the Cenél Conaill dynasty. On the other hand, as noted above, *Cía lín don rígraid ráin rúaid* (*CGH* 137 a 34–35) differs from *At-tá sund* in terms of the names of the kings included and the sequence in which they are listed. Note in particular, the omission of Domnall mac Áeda, Cellach, Congal and Flaithbertach. See also *IKHK* p. 283.
- II.25d *ro forbad*]. Compare *ro forbad a fōir is rotoglad Babiloin* ‘its garrison was destroyed’ (*ZCP* 3, p. 19, line 8 = Rawl. B 502, fol. 74b25). Flaithbertach was the last of the Cenél Conaill kings to be recognised as the over-king of Ireland. See *IKHK*, p. 283.
- II.26a *Sé ríge déc Éogain na n-all*]. See also *Sé ríge déc Éogain anall* (*CGH* 137 a 45, *CGH* 137 b 11) and *Cind cethri ndíni iar Frigrind*, quatrains 29–31 (= *LL* IV, p. 787, 23471–23476). In contrast, *Cía lín don rígraid ráin rúaid* (*CGH* 137 a 30) refers to only nine kings of Cenél nÉogain. See also *IKHK*, pp. 283–84.
- II.26a *na n-all*]. I take *all* in LR as masculine genitive plural of *all*, originally a neuter *u/o*-stem ‘cliff’, with figurative meaning, ‘nobleman’ (*DIL* A.285.39–286.4). Note the parallel, *Cearball ... all nard nAlmaine* (*AFM* II, 572.12), and the reference in O’Davoren’s Glossary, where we find *aill .i. uasal*.
- II.26b–27d In contrast to *Sé ríge déc Éogain anall* (*CGH* 137 a 46–49), *Cía lín don rígraid ráin rúaid* (*CGH* 137 a 32–33) omits Domnall mac Muirchertaig, Fergus, Áed Úaridnach, Áed Oirdnide, Níall Caille and his successors. The sequence of the kings in *Cía lín don rígraid ráin rúaid* is also at odds with *At-tá sund*.
- II.27b *úarchend*]. *Úarchend* is a compound of adjective *úar* ‘cold’ + *cend* ‘head; end; leader’ (*DIL* C.120.3ff). *Úar* can have the meaning ‘cruel-[hearted]’ when ap-

- plied to persons: *Étar úar* (*Met. Dinds.* III, p. 324, line 7). I take *úarchend* as being in the genitive plural and qualifying Áed Alláin, ‘Aed Alláin of the cold-hearted leaders’.
- II.27d *chlártholgaig*]. The *clár* ‘surface’ referred to here is probably the surface of the River Callann.
- II.29a *Noí rrig im Áed Sláne*]. *Sé rrig déc Éogain anall* (CGH 137 b 5, 137 b 12) agrees with *At-tá sund* in putting Áed Sláne at the head of the list.
- II.29b Díarmait mac Cerbaill (VI, d. *563) is listed in second position after Áed Sláne (XII d. *602) in *At-tá sund* and in *Sé rrig déc Éogain anall* (CGH 137 b 5, CGH 137 b 7). The order is reversed in *Cía lín don rígraid ráin rúaid* (CGH 137 a 36).
- II.29c–d See *Sé rrig déc Éogain anall* (CGH 137 b 7–8).
- II.30a–d Fínnachta is also referred to in *Cía lín don rígraid ráin rúaid* (CGH 137 a 37–39), but in this instance he is fourth in the list of kings. Fogartach mac Néill mac Cernaich (XXV, d. *724) and Cináed mac Írgalaig (XXVI, d. *728) are also listed in *Cía lín don rígraid ráin rúaid*, but in reverse order. Congalach mac Máel Mithig (XXXX, d. *956) is also the last, but in this instance, the eighth of the Sí nÁeda Sláne kings to be listed in *Cía lín don rígraid ráin rúaid*.
- II.32b *Cnucc Uisnig*]. ‘the Hill of Uisnech’. The Clann Cholmáin claimed the title, *rig Uisnig* ‘kings of Uisnech’.
- II.32c *óenrí a mMumain*]. Neither *Cía lín don rígraid ráin rúaid* nor *Sé rrig déc Éogain anall* makes any reference to Brían Bórama mac Cennétig (XXXIII, d. *1014) of the Munster Dál Cais as king of Ireland. See *IKHK*, p. 297.
- II.32d *gabsat Ulaid im mórBrían*]. L lacks a syllable and sense. The construction *gai-bid im*, as found in M, is best understood by reference to the line *Gabsat im Daid in slóg*, ‘The multitude trooped around David’, in the poem by Airbertach beginning, *Fichi rrig — cíá rím as ferr?*, (G. Mac Eoin, ‘A Poem by Airbertach mac Cosse’, pp. 112–39). *Gíallaid* + direct object, as found in R, has the sense ‘obeys, serves’, according to *DIL* (G.79.26–31). The reading in R might therefore be translated as ‘the Ulaid obeyed mighty Brían’, a reference paralleled in *AI: Mórthinól fer nErend la Brian eter Gullu 7 Goedelu co Ard Macha co tucsat giallu Ulad ó rrig Ailich i forécin* ‘A great muster of the men of Ireland, both foreigners and Gaedil, by Brían to Ard Macha, and they took the hostages of Ulaid from the king of Ailech by force’ (*AI* 1007).
- II.33a *Óenrí a Connachtaib na cath*]. R identifies the second king of Ireland from the Connachta as Amalgaid of Tirawley in II.33b. See also II.23b. The figure for the total number of kings of Ireland after the advent of Christianity as given in R, 49, seems to take this reference into account.
- II.33b *int Ailill Molt*]. In agreement with *At-tá sund*, *Cía lín don rígraid ráin rúaid* names Ailill Molt mac Nath Í (II, d. *484) as the only king of the Connachta to hold the kingship of Ireland. *Sé rrig déc Éogain anall* omits all reference to Ailill as king of Ireland. See *IKHK*, pp. 280, 298.
- imchonach*]. I take *imchonach* as the intensifying prefix *im(m)* + *conach*, an adjective which would seem to be derived from *cú* and has the meaning ‘wolf-like’ (*DIL* C.423.24–25). There is a paradoxical word-play here involving the epithet *Molt* ‘wether’.

- II.33c–d *óenrí a Cairpriu ... Túathal Máelgarb*]. Neither *Cía lín don rígraid ráin rúaid* nor *Sé ríg déc Éogain anall* is in agreement with *At-tá sund* in referring to Túathal Máelgarb (V, d. *543), the king of the Cenél Corpri, as king of Ireland. See *IKHK* p. 280.
- II.34a–d Neither *Cía lín don rígraid ráin rúaid* nor *Sé ríg déc Éogain anall* contains a passage corresponding to that in *At-tá sund* in which the three kings of Tara and progenitors of the Southern Uí Néill, namely, Lóegaire mac Néill (I, d. *462), Lugaid mac Lóegaire (III, d. *509) and Díarmait mac Cerbaill (VI, d. *563) are acknowledged as kings of Ireland. See *IKHK*, p. 280.
- I.35a–d This section of the poem asserts that from Lóegaire to Brían there were 48 kings of Ireland (45 M, 49 R). This assertion is in keeping with the 48 listed in the previous half of the poem, in which are listed 43 reigns, five of them being joint-reigns between Domnall and Fergus, Báetán and Eochu, Áed and Colmán, Conall and Cellach, and Blathmac and Díarmait. In contrast, the Prose Preface to *Cía lín don rígraid ráin rúaid* lists a total of only 25 kings, and the Prose Preface to *Sé ríg déc Éogain anall* a total of only 42 kings. There are two possible explanations for this: either the compiler of the lists was politically biased or the lists are older than *At-tá sund*. A combination of both explanations seems most likely. See also III.33 for the synchronism of the arrival of Patrick with the death of Níall Noígíallach plus 27 years.
- II.35a *tend*]. I take this phrase to mean ‘strictly’. See *co tend* in *DIL* T.143.77–78, and Mac Eoin, *Ériu* 20, p. 120, q. 3.
- II.35c *part*]. This is a metrically motivated variant of *port*.

9.3 *Annálad anall uile*

- III.1a *Annálad*]. *DIL* (A.350.58–70) defines *annálad*, the masculine verbal noun of *annálad*, as (a) ‘the act of keeping records; annal, record’ (b) ‘computation’. Compare *a n-annalta roclosa / is a craobha coibnesa* (*Anecd.* II, p. 34, § 20.3).
- III.1b *betha*]. Ld takes *betha* as the genitive singular of masculine *u*-stem, *bith* ‘(the) world; existence’ (*DIL* B.106.56–108.12). In contrast, LRM have *bethad*, the genitive singular of the masculine lenited dental stem *betha* ‘life, existence’ (*DIL* B.89.82–90.54). *Betha* appears to make more sense than *bethad* when taken together with *buide*.
- III.1c *sunda sain*]. L lacks one syllable. *Sic leg.* with RM.
- III.2a–b *Sé bliadna coícat, gním nglan*]. L’s reading of 1,656 years for the duration of the First Age, from the Creation to the Flood, is in keeping with the Vulgate reckoning.
- III.2c *ar is rús*]. The causal conjunction *ar* ‘for, since’ (*GOI*, pp. 559–60), found in L, appears to have been well attested in the Old Irish Glosses.
- III.3a *nóchat*]. 292 years as given in LLd is the Vulgate reckoning.

- III.3b *ó díлинд co hAbrahám*]. Both *Abrahám* and *Abraám* find support in Old-Irish sources: *Abraam* is attested in the Milan Glosses on the Psalms (*Thes. Pal. I.*, p. 71.33) and *Abraham* occurs in *Thes. Pal. II*, p. 300, line 7 (Colmán's Hymn). Interestingly, E. Knott ('An Index to the Proper Names in *Saltair na Rann*', *Ériu* 16 (1952), pp. 99–122: 103) recorded no examples of *Abraham* in *SR*.
- III.3d *Du-íd*]. E. Knott ('An Index to the Proper Names in *Saltair na Rann*', p. 108) noted that both *Dauíd* and *Duíd* are written in full in *SR*. Without exception, these forms rime only with the final syllable of their rhyming counterpart. Rhyming examples from *SR* include: nominative *Dauid* (6104) : *ríg*; nominative *Dauid* (6472) : *ro gníd*; accusative *Dauíd* (6233) : *sním*; accusative *Duíd* (6024) : *díth*. I take this name as a disyllable here thereby allowing *rinn ocus airdrinn* to occur between *scíth* and *Du-íd*. See Ní Dhomhnaill (*Duanaireacht*, p. 7, § 13).
- III.4b *sechtó a trí cethri chét*]. Added to 403, LR's figure of 70 will yield the figure of 473 years for the duration of the Fourth Age of the World in accordance with the Vulgate.
- III.4c *a blá*]. Manuscript *bla* can be read as *blá* 'shout, cry' (*DIL B.109.78*) with a secondary meaning 'report, fame' (*DIL B.109.84–85*). A further possibility would be to take *blá* as a variant of *blái* 'exemption, immunity' (*DIL B.112.21*). L. Breatnach noted one definite example of a shift from the diphthong *áe/aí* to *a* at the end of a monosyllabic word: *fom ga* for earlier *fom gáe* (*SnaG*, p. 233, § 3.9). Rime between a stressed long vowel in final position and an unstressed short vowel in final position is permissible in Middle-Irish *deibide* (*EIM*, p. 31; *Duanaireacht*, p. 28, § 53 (e)). Other examples in this poem are *nglé* : *Brigte* (III.34c–d) and *nglé* : *nAlmaine* (III.41a–b).
- III.4d *a nóí cóic chét*]. 589 years was the duration of the Fifth Age, from the Babylonian Captivity until the Incarnation, according to the Vulgate.
- III.5a–d The Vulgate reckoning for the time-lapse for the period extending from Creation until the Incarnation was 3,952 years.
- III.6c *co mblíadain mbáin*]. Subsidiary meanings of *bán* include 'pure, holy, blessed'. The meaning 'blessed' is certainly implied here. It is also used as an epithet of *blíadain* in verse to mean 'this year' (*DIL B.27.15–17*). Perhaps *bán* conveys the technical sense 'inclusive' as opposed to 'exclusive'.
- III.9b *Nín*]. See *Réidig dam, a Dé do nim*, Poem I (S. Mac Airt, 'Middle-Irish Poems on World Kingship', *Études Celtiques* 6 (1953–54), pp. 255–80: 258, quatrain 5).
- III.9c *dá blíadain fichet*]. This synchronism is problematic. The figure of twenty-one years in L is uncorroborated. In contrast, the figure of twenty-two years as found in LdR for the duration of the period from the beginning of the reign of Ninus until the birth of Abraham (Bede's computation, the 70th year of Thare, AM 1948) is perhaps suggested by the synchronism of the birth of Abraham with the 22nd year of the 45-year-long reign of Europs, second king of the Sicyonians (Fotheringham, p. 17.1–5; Schoene p. 11).
- III.9d *Abraám*]. All witnesses except M support a spelling *-aam*. For this spelling to be acceptable elision must occur between *co* and *Abraám*.
- III.10c *in n-inis find*]. The conservative nature of the orthography of L suggests that we should take the manuscript reading *in n-* as the accusative article. The noun *inis*

- has an accusative singular in *insi* (*iā*-stem flexion) and *inis* (*ī*-stem flexion). Thurneysen noted that early confusion between *iā*-stems and *ī*-stems lead to the occurrence of such by-forms (*GOI*, p. 186, § 294, (a)). See also *SnaG*, p. 247, § 5.10.
- III.10d *trí chét*]. It should be noted that the figure of 300 years in *Annálad* is in conflict with the figure of 311 years for the same parameters in I.5 and with 278 years in *AFM* (AM 2520).
- III.11c *cóic bliadna*]. There is no corroborative evidence for the reading of 502 years found in LMLd, whereas the figure of 505 years in R is supported by the Hieronymo-Eusebian Chronicle (Fotheringham, p. 11.7–14; p. 13.3–7; Schoene, pp. 28–29); *Nero* (Tristram, *SAM*, p. 281.4–6); *Vespasian I* (Tristram, *SAM*, p. 300.28–29). LMLd have misread *.u.* as *.ii.*
- III.13a *Medón flatha Ascathias sain*]. The line is hypermetrical in all the manuscripts: elision cannot take place between the final vowel of *flatha* and the initial vowel of *Ascathias* unless we are to presume that the initial vowel of *Ascathias* is unstressed (*EIM*, p. 39). However, elision is impossible here because as Ní Dhomhnaill states: ‘Ní bháitear aon ní ach gutaí tosaigh iarméarla’, and *Ascathias* is a stressed word and therefore cannot be regarded as an *iarméarla* (*Duanaireacht*, p. 32, § 58).
- III.13c–d It is difficult to ascertain whether the lower limit here is the end of the reign of Ascades (III.13a, AAbr 498–537) or the Exodus (III.13b, AAbr 505). The phrase *tar éis* could refer to either point in time, but it seems more likely that it is to the date of the Exodus that the poet is referring. There is also some difficulty in identifying the upper limit of the time-span. The king in question could be either Lamprides (AAbr 638–669) or Lampares (AAbr 690–719).
One way of approaching this difficulty is to consider the list of Assyrian kings after Ascathias. These are: Amyntas (XVII, 45), Belochus (XVIII, 25), Bellepares (XIX, 30), Lamprides (XX, 32), Sosares (XXI, 20), Lampares (XXII, 30). From Amyntas to the end of the reign of Lamprides will yield 132 years, but a figure of 182 will be rendered if we compute from Amyntas down as far as Lampares. So it seems that the poet is using the end of the reign of Lampares as his marker.
This is confirmed by the sum 505 (Exodus) + 200 = AAbr 706/707. AAbr 707 will synchronise conveniently with the reign of Lampares (AAbr 690–719), but not with the end of his reign: 719 (end of reign) – 505 (Exodus) = 14 years. There is thus a slight discrepancy in this synchronism.
- III.13d *Lampadéis*]. LMLd have overlooked the suspension mark for *m*. I suggest that the hyperarchetype *x* had *lampadé(i)s* as in R for *Lamparé(i)s* (Hieronymo-Eusebian Chronicle). The mistake has arisen because some Irish scholars confused *Lamprides* (Ir. Lampridés, 20th king of Assyria, Eusebius, reigned AAbr 638–669) with *Lampares* (Ir. Lamparés, 22nd king of Assyria, Eusebius, reigned AAbr 690–719). Lampridés thus appears as *laimpiteis* in [Uí Maine] and as *lampadēis* in Stowe D iv 3 (main text) in the dative (Mac Airt, *Études Celtiques* 6, *Réidig dam, a Dé do nim*, q. 17, p. 264, note 68). Conversely, Lamparés appears in the dative as *lampadēis* in Stowe D iv 3 (main text) of the same poem (Mac Airt, *Études Celtiques* 6, p. 264, q. 18d, note 72). Moreover, while the form *Lampaires* occurs in Tract M (Mac Carthy, *CPV* p. 286 ff.), Mac Neill

- (*PRIA* 28, C (1910), p. 147) indicated that this name is also realised as *Lampades* in Tract Z.
- III.14a–d Lampares (AAbr 690–719) = Vesores. A literary parallel is being drawn here between the retreat of Vesores, king of the Egyptians and Srú. See *LG*.
- III.14a *Lamparéis*]. See textual note III.13d above.
- III.14b *Uesogés*]. Note the variant spellings of this personal name *Vesozes*, *Vesoges* in Orosius (*Hist. adversos paganos*: Liber I, cap XIV: *Vesores rex Ægypti Scythas bello infestans, vincitur*, cols. 723–24, note 1). Flann unfortunately fails to give any more precise synchronism for Vesores than the statement that he reigned during the time of the domination of the Assyrians, see Mac Airt, *Études Celtiques* 6 (1953–54), pp. 272–24, qq. 38–42.
- III.15b *Cíchloscthe*] ‘Amazons’. See Flann, quatrains 47–57, *Réidig dam, a Dé do nim*, Poem I (S. Mac Airt, ‘Middle-Irish Poems on World Kingship’, *Études Celtiques* 6 (1953–54) 255–80: 274–80, qq. 47–55); Isidore, *Etymol.* ix.2; Orosius, *Hist. Adversus paganos: Liber I*, Cap. XV, *Amazonum origo, mores et facinora*, cols. 724–27.
- III.15c *cid ord bind*]. The word *ord* in LLd may be interpreted as the nominative singular of the masculine *o*-stem, *ord* ‘order, sequence’ (*DIL* O.154.15 ff.).
- III.15c–d The synchronism of the Fir Bolg with the Amazons (c. AAbr 809–940] is apparently unique to *Annálad*.
- III.16a–b End of reign of Lampares (AAbr 719) + 80 = AAbr 799. The synchronism is defective. After Lampares the sequence is Panyas (45 years), Sosarmus (29 years) and Mithreus (27 years) giving a total of 101 years. Tautanes (Tautames), 26th king of the Assyrians, reigned for thirty-two years from AAbr 811–842. The lower limit of AAbr 811 is at odds with the year AAbr 799, which actually synchronises with the reign of Tautanes’s predecessor, Mithreus (AAbr 784–810).
- III.16a–b *és* : *Tutanés*]. All of the manuscripts read *eis*: *dia éis* LM, *dá éis* R, *dia heis* Ld. As in III.13c–d, I suggest opting for *és*, a by-form of *éis*, *i/ī*-stem noun ‘track’ meaning ‘after’ with the preposition *dī* (*DIL* E.92.46). For examples of the by-form, see *dim(m) áes* (MI 23 d 6), *dī ess* (gl. *retro*, MI 2 c 1). See also III.21c–d.
- III.17a–b Tautanes (AAbr 811–842) = Goídil in Maeotic Marshes = First Battle of Mag Tuired. There is no parallel for the synchronism of the reign of Tautanes (AAbr 811–842) and the wanderings of the Goídil in the Marshes with the First Battle of Mag Tuired during which the Fir Bolg unsuccessfully resisted the invading Túatha Dé Danann, and were subsequently expelled from Ireland.
- III.17c–d Tautanes = Goídil in Marshes = First Battle of Mag Tuired = Siege of Troy. The synchronism of the reign of Tautanes (AAbr 811–842), the wanderings of the Goídil in the Marshes and the First Battle of Mag Tuired with the Siege of Troy (Hier., AAbr 835) enables Gilla Cóemáin to put Mag Tuired on a par with Troy. For the synchronism Mag Tuired = Troy, see the Middle-Irish interpolation in *CMT* (p. 40, 283–85).
- III.17c *cen goí ngá*]. *goí* is taken here as the accusative singular of feminine *ā*-stem *gáu/gáo/góo* (*DIL* G.51.48–80). Milan Gloss 31 b 11 has an accusative singular in *goí* according to *DIL*. I interpret *ngá* as the genitive plural.

- III.18a–b Thinaeus, the twenty-eighth king of the Assyrians reigned from AAbr 883–912 and is here mistakenly synchronised with David whose 40 year-long reign was from AAbr 941–980; Bede AM 2930–2970. Inaccurate synchronisation of Thinaeus with David is also to be found in the Mín (*LG V*, § 469) and R1 (*LG V*, § 469).
- III.18a *Thenias*]. The text of M is corrupt here, the scribe having failed to distinguish between *Tutanés* (Tautanes) and *Thenias* (Thinæus) 28th king of the Assyrians who enjoyed a reign of thirty years from AAbr 843–882. Note that the editors of the *Book of Leinster* (*LL III*, p. 498, line 15476) read this name as *Themas*. Flann refers to *Teneass* (*tenias* Lc) in *Réidig dam, a Dé do nim*, Poem I (Mac Airt, *Études Celtiques* 6, p. 266), q. 22.
- III.18c–d This synchronism is ambiguous. Dercylus succeeded Thinaeus as the 29th king of the Assyrians, reigning for forty years from AAbr 913–952. The reference to the burial of the king may simply refer to the succession of Dercylus after Thinaeus in accordance with the Hieronymo-Eusebian Chronicle, or it may refer to the death of David (AAbr 980) during the reign of Dercylus (AAbr 913–952). The latter possibility, however, would taint the text with further inaccuracy.
- III.19a–b Gilla Cóemáin’s synchronism of Dercylus (AAbr 913–952) with Solomon (AAbr 981–1020; Bede AM 2970–) and the building of the Temple (AAbr 984; Bede AM 2974) is inaccurate, as discussed above. It might be concluded that Gilla Cóemáin should have synchronised the reign of Dercylus with David (AAbr 941–980; Bede AM 2890–2930). Failure to arrive at the correct synchronism of David = Dercylus rather than the synchronism of Dercylus = Solomon = building of the Temple completely skews the next few synchronisms in the poem, and leads Gilla Cóemáin to commit several errors. Compare q. 18.
- III.19c–d The synchronism of the arrival of the Goídil in Ireland with the middle of the reign of Solomon (AAbr 981–1020; Bede AM 2970–) is paralleled to some extent by the dating of the arrival of the Meic Míled to the 2nd year of the reign of Solomon (AM 981) in *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 474.20). Contrast with AM 3500 (*AFM*); *Nín mac Béil* (Todd Lect. III, p. 316, q. 4); *Adam Primus Pater* (Todd Lect. III, p. 294, § i); *Prima Etas Mundi* (Todd Lect. III, p. 280, § b); *Historical Tracts* (*PRIA* 28, C (1910) p. 132, Extract VI); the Mín and R1. See I.30.
- III.20a–b *Astiagés abb cen fell / dar airged Ierusalem*]. Astyages was the 8th and final king of the Medes, who reigned for thirty-eight years in Babylon from AAbr 1419 until 1456 (BC 538) when he was deposed by Cyrus of Persia.
- III.20a *Astiagés*]. The quantity of the final vowel is confirmed by the rime between *n-és* and *Astiagés* (III.21c–d). For the syllable-count to be attained, this personal name must be taken to contain a hiatus. Indeed, the scribes of LLdM also appear to understand that *Astiagés* contains hiatus in as much as they omit the conjunction *is* in III.21d where they read *Nabcodon Astiagés* rather than *Nabcodon is Astiagés* (R).
- III.20d *comflaithis*]. The meaning here is ‘simultaneous sovereignty’.
- III.21a–b Dercylus (AAbr 913–952) = Solomon (AAbr 981–1020) = Meic Míled (c. AAbr 1000). This erroneous synchronism of Dercylus with Solomon and the Meic Míled is also in Mín. (*LG V*, § 469). For Solomon = Meic Míled, see also *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 474.20, also p. 471.25–27). As outlined above in III.19c–d, Gilla Cóemáin should have devised the synchronism Dercylus =

David = Invasion of Meic Míled in line with the Mín, R1 and *Prima Etas Mundi*.

- III.21b *comaimser is Mic Míled*]. *DIL* (C.337.38–58) defines *comaimser* as a) ‘contemporaneity’; b) ‘synchronism’ and as c) ‘contemporary’. Under this last meaning, *DIL* cites the example *comaimser ⁊ Art mac Cuind* ‘he was a contemporary of Art Mac Cuind’ (*Fiannaigecht*, p. 32, line 33). This is the same structure that is used in *Annálad*. The structure comprises the prepositional prefix *com* + the feminine *ā*-stem *aimser* + *ocus/is* + following clause. L has gone a step further and inserted the preposition *i* to ‘improve’ the syntax.
- An alternative interpretation is that *x* had *comaimseracht m-c Míled*, that M transmitted the reading of the archetype correctly, but that LRLd mistook the abbreviation for *acht* as the abbreviation for the conjunction *is*.
- III.21c–d Identification of the (beginning of the) reign of the Meic Míled as being 480 years before the contemporaneous reigns of Nebuchadnezzar (*fl.* AAbr 1407–1445) and Astyages, 8th king of the Medes at Babylon (AAbr 1419–1456) establishes a date for their arrival in c. AAbr 939. This doctrine is, of course, in conflict with the date implied by the synchronism above in III.19c–d which assigned the arrival of the Goídil to c. AAbr 1000 and a date sometime in the Fourth Age beginning in the reign of David, that is, AAbr 941, as found in R1 and the Mín (*LG* V, § 469). The error at III.18 has effectively skewed Gilla Cóemáin’s schema at this juncture. The evident confusion here suggests that Gilla Cóemáin again failed to carry out the computation which would have omitted the inherent contradictions between the detailed synchronism of III.19c–d (AAbr 1000) in the reign of Solomon and that of III.21c–d (AAbr 939) in the reign of David. He must have devised this on the basis of the earlier, more approximate synchronism promulgated in the Mín, R1 and the *Prima Etas Mundi* which assign the arrival of the Goídil to the Fourth Age. He has simply integrated two contradictory doctrines into his text without reconciling them with each other. Cf. III.19c–d.
- III.21c *cóic cét acht fiche dia n-és*]. The figure of 480 seems reasonable in that it comes within the range of figures yielded by both Jerome and Bede. I have therefore followed the emended reading in L, as supported by R.
- III.21c–d *dia n-és*]; *Astiagés*]. See III.16a–b.
- III.21d *Astiagés*]. Fulfilment of the syllable-count requires *is* to be inserted as in R or *Astiagés* to be read as *Astiagés*.
- III.22a–d Sírna = Nebuchadnezzar (*fl.* AAbr 1407–1445) = Móin Trógaide. Apart from *Annálad*, the only other text where the same synchronism is found is in *Laud Sync.* (*ZCP* 9, p. 475.32–38).
- III.22c *i comflaithis*]. *Comflaithius* (< *com* + *flaithius*) is defined by *DIL* (C.375.44) as ‘joint, equal sovereignty’. I suggest that it can also mean ‘simultaneous sovereignty’.
- III.23a–d Having established an approximate date for the battle of Móin Trógaide, c. AAbr 1407–1445, *Annálad* continues by fixing the date of the beginning of the reign of Úgaine in synchronism with the end of the Persian kingdom and the beginning of the reign of Alexander after the slaying of Darius (AAbr 1687; Bede AM 3628). This synchronism creates a problem of internal textual inconsistency.

- III.24a–d Gilla Cóemáin calculates a period of 360 years from (the beginning of) the reigns of Alexander and Úgaine to the birth of Christ. The synchronism of Úgaine and Alexander is here inaccurate since we know that Alexander the Great reigned from 336 until 325 BC.
- III.25a–d Uniquely, *Annálad* assigns the death of Conchobor to 47 AD. D. Mc Carthy has suggested to me that Gilla Cóemáin has reversed the names of Conchobar and Conaire so that the sequence should be Conaire in III.25a–b, followed by Conchobor in III.25c–d. He has also suggested that the first figure 47 (.xxxviii.) is a mistake for 44 (.xxxiiii.). Thus the meaning of the quatrain should be ‘Forty-four fair years from the birth of Christ was the death of Conaire; thirty-two thenceforth [from the Incarnation] was the death of Conchobor’. This would yield a date of AD 44 for the death of Conaire and AD 32 for the death of Conchobor.
- III.25c *tríchat*]. In the absence of any contradictory external evidence, I have adopted the reading of L.
- III.26a–d Gilla Cóemáin’s reckoning of 157 years for the period extending from the death of Conaire until the end of Túathal’s reign is at odds with that of the annals. The *Chronological Synchronisation* gives an interval of 112 years from Conaire’s death in AD *44 until Túathal’s death in AD *156. This contrasts with the interval of 157 given in *Annálad* (III.26a–b).
- III.27a *Dá bliadain tríchat*]. The figure of thirty-two in LLdM is supported by the figures of thirty-one and thirty-three in *AT* which may be arrived at by adding the four years of Mál (*RC* 18, p. 376, AM 4104), the nine or eleven years of Fedelmíchtmar (*RC* 18, p. 376; *RC* 17, p. 6, AM 4109) and the twenty years of Conn in (*RC* 17, p. 7; *RC* 18 (Dub. Frag.) p. 377, AM 4137). Contrast with the figure of 126 years (30+4+9+3+80) in *Hériu ard* (I.131–I.134). If we add thirty-two years to the date of Túathal’s death in AD *156 as suggested by *Annálad* we will arrive at a date of AD 182, four years short of the *Chronological Synchronisation*’s date of *186.
- III.27d *Túath Amrais*]. The statement in *AU* (AM 4137) that Conn was killed at *Túath Amrais* suggests that the readings in all the manuscripts are here corrupt. Note also the spelling *Túath Emruis* or *Túath Imrois* in *Baile in Scáil* (K. Meyer, *ZCP* 3 (1910), pp. 457–66: 461). I have restored the form to *Túath Amrais* on the basis of the external evidence of *AU*, and *cais* as the end-word of the previous line in LdR, where L has *cain*.
- III.28a–d Gilla Cóemáin appears to have opted for the doctrine of *LG* and *Laud Sync.* which accommodated an extra king, Conaire Cóem, as opposed to the doctrine of the annals. If we follow the *Chronological Synchronisation* and subtract *186, the date of Conn’s death at *Túath Amrais*, from *218, the date of the battle of Mag Mucrama, we arrive at an interval of thirty-two years, five years short of the interval of thirty-seven years suggested by *Annálad*.
- III.29d *Urgrenn*]. The reading in LLd is supported by the form in *AT* (*RC* 17 (1896) 21), where we read *o maccaib Uirgrend do Luaignib Temrach*. See also *AFM* 283 (*AFM* I, p. 118).
- III.30c–d *co maidm Duib Chommuir carnaig / riasna Collaib cathchalmaib carnaig*]. The reading of L is erroneous. It is unlikely that a poet of Gilla Cóemáin’s stature
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would have repeated within the space of two lines a rime involving the same word, in this instance, *calma*. Either L's *calma* (III.30c) or *cathcalma* (III.30d) is flawed. The fact that *cathcalma(ib)* is found in both branches of the tradition in III.30d suggests that that particular reading is original. In short, *cairnaig* must be preferred over *calma* in III.30c and *cathcalma(ib)* retained in III.30d. Now, for there to be perfect rime between the end-words of *d* and *cairnaig*, the end-word of *c*, the dative plural form in *cathcalmaib* rather than the accusative plural form *cathcalma* is to be preferred.

As for the genitive singular of the *o/ā*-adjective *carnach* quoted in RLdM, *DIL* (C.76.43–47) gives no translation of the adjective, but notes that it is derived from *carn*, neuter *o*-stem 'heap, pile, carn'. It cites the phrase *costadach carnach* 'brawny guardsmen' (*RC* 24, p. 54, § 14). Elsewhere *carnach* has been translated as 'victorious' and 'festive'. I suggest that the adjective means 'commemorated in a cairn or in cairns'.

III.31c *'s a cethair fichet*]. The text of L is here defective. RLdM point to *'s a cethair fichet* or *'s a cethair trichat*. I have opted for twenty-four as given in M in view of the figure of twenty-two rendered by the dates given in the *Chronological Synchronisation*.

III.32a–d If we subtract the *Chronological Synchronisation*'s dates for the death of Muiredach Tírech in *351 from the date for the death of Níall Noígíllach in *405 we arrive at a figure of fifty-four years. In contrast, *Annálad* gives forty-nine years for this interval.

III.33c *barr Breg*]. *Barr Brega* is a synonym for 'the chief of Temair'.

III.34a *derb dait*]. The line in LdM is corrupt. *mbloidh* is metrically defective since final *-dh* belongs to the *l*-class of consonants (*EIM*, p. 32) while final *-c* in *Pátraic* belongs to the *k*-class of consonants (*EIM*, p. 32). Rime between consonants of the *l*-class and consonants of the *k*-class is not permissible.

III.35b *cía chure ris nach cinte*]. The reading *cinte* has been adopted here from L. *-gt-* and *-nt-* in *Brigte: chinte* show perfect rime, while *-gt-* : *-nnt-* following Ld is imperfect.

III.36a–d Gilla Cóemáin's synchronisation of the battle of Cúl Conaire with the death of Díarmat mac Cerbaill is flawed. D. Mc Carthy has suggested to me that Gilla Cóemáin has conflated the date of the battle of Cúl Conairi in *549 (*AU* 550.1; *AT* 550.1 (*RC* 17, p. 139): *Cath Chuile Conaire, in quo cecidit Ailill Inbanda ri Con[n]acht ⁊ Aed Fortamail a brathair. Fergus ⁊ Domnall, da mac Mec Earca, uictores erant.*) with the burial of Díarmait mac Cerbaill in *563 under the influence of an annalistic reference to Díarmait being buried in Connere (*AU* 564.1; *AT* 565.4 (*RC* 17, p. 146): *Diarmuit mac Cerbuill occisus est ir-Rath Bic a Muig Line, la hAedh nDub mac Suibne Araidhe, rí Ulad, ⁊ [tucad] a chend co Cluain, ⁊ ro adnacht a coland a Connere*).

If twenty years is added to the date of Túathal's death *543 we arrive at *563, the date of Díarmait's death. However, if we follow *Annálad* and add twenty years to *549, the date of the battle of Cúl Conaire, we arrive at *569 instead of the desired date of *563.

III.37a–d D. Mc Carthy has suggested to me that Gilla Cóemáin's synchronisation in quatrain III.37 of Colum Cille's death with that of Pope Gregory implies that he was using a source also used by the original (c. 1092) compiler of *AI*. Mc Carthy is

of this opinion because *AI* is the only surviving annals text to synchronise these two events. *AI* 597.1–2 reads *Quies Coluimb Cille ... lxxvi. Quies Grigoir Roma ut alii dicunt*. Mc Carthy adds that since *AI* 604.1 appropriately registers Gregory’s death, it appears that *AI*’s original compiler was also using an alternative source, *ut alii dicunt*, which mistakenly synchronised these two events. Evidently Gilla Cóemáin used a similar source.

- III.37c *Fédilmthi*]. Restoration of genitival lenition of *f* here will facilitate alliteration with *Hí*. The spelling in *-áe-* in L appears to be a hyper-correct spelling arising from the transformation of the diphthong, *áe/óe* to *é(i)* [*e:*]. See McManus, *SnaG*, p. 348.
- III.38a *blíadna*]. Manuscript *bl-* must be read as *bliadna*, thereby allowing elision to occur between the final vowel of *blíadna* and the initial of the unstressed simple preposition *íar*. See also III.50a.
- III.38a *húí*]. *Úa* is described by *DIL* as a masculine *io*-stem (*DIL* U.1.34 ff.). The ‘normal’ genitive singular form is (*h*)*uí*. However, L sometimes has a genitive singular form in (*h*)*ú* as in this instance and in *hú Néill* III.50b. Examples given by Breatnach (*SnaG*, p. 246, § 5) for the genitive singular form are: *i tech Cormaic hú Chuind* (*LL* 12347n), *do lám in Dagda ú Delbáeth* (*LL* 1403, Flann), *ingen Áeda aird Ú Chellaig* (*LL* 17349, Gilla Mo Duta). It will be noted that all the examples of *hú* are in L. This may suggest that this form was an idiosyncrasy of this particular scribe.
- III.38b *Slébe Töad Truim*]. For hiatus in Middle-Irish verse see Carney, ‘The Dating of Early Irish Verse Texts, 500–1100’, p. 196. See also textual note I.72c–d.
- III.38d *gall-chét clérech*]. *gall-chét* is taken here as a compound of *gall*, ‘foreigner, Norseman’, and *cét* ‘hundred’, meaning literally the ‘foreign hundred, i.e. the ‘old Scandinavian long hundred’, ‘the hundrad *tólfráett*’, i.e. the ‘twelve tens’ (*DIL*. G. 39.2–7). Cf. *comad gall-ced (sic leg.) do beth and sin* (*Ancient Laws* V.28.21). Alternatively, we could follow Stokes (*VTP*) and adhere to the reading of L and take *gal chét* as a compound of *gal*, feminine *ā*-stem ‘valour’ and *cét*, ‘hundred’, rendering the meaning ‘a valorous hundred’ [of clerics].
- III.39a–d The *Chronological Synchronisation* suggests a time-lapse of twenty-six years for the period extending from the death of Máel Coba at the battle of Slíab Tóad in *613 until the battle of Mag Rath in *639. It should be noted that D. Mc Carthy restored five kalends for this period. In contrast, both our poem and *CS* give the dates of these parameters as 615 and 636 respectively, yielding a sum of twenty-one, thereby suggesting that Gilla Cóemáin was using a Clonmacnoise text rather than the Liber Cúána.
- III.40a–d This quatrain refers to the Buide Conaill or *mortalitas magna*.
- III.40a *Fiche a cóic ó sain, scél ngrind*]. L is defective on metrical grounds. The figure of twenty in M is incorrect: the duration of the period from the death of Fáilbe Flann until the plague in which Díarmait *et al.* died is given as twenty-five in *CS* (636–661).
- III.40c *dia mbath*]. The form in L is unusual. *Baïd* ‘dies’ has an Old Irish reduplicated 3 singular preterite in *bebais* and a perfect in *ro bebae*. The Middle Irish *ro*-preterite is *ro bá* which should render a form *dia mbá* in our text. Alternatively, we may have a conflation of two forms: the *-d* ending of *-ap(p)ad / -abad*, pro-

totonic form of *at-bath*, narrative preterite of *at-bail* ‘dies’, may have been added to Middle Irish *-bá*.

- III.44c *ríg glinne lethain*]. The manuscript readings of MLd suggest the form *ríg [g]linne lethain* ‘king of the wide valley’, taking *glinne* as the genitive singular of Old Irish neuter *s*-stem, Middle Irish masculine *glenn* ‘valley’. The scribe of M has omitted the final vowel and the scribe of Ld has omitted to write the second suspension stroke for *n*. This indicates that their shared exemplar read: *rig lin-*. I take the reading of L to mean ‘king of nourishing Meath’, taking *bethaig* as the genitive singular of poorly attested *o/ā*-adjective *bethach* (*DIL* B.90.55–56) possibly meaning ‘nourishing’.

On a superficial level, the readings of L on the one hand and LdM on the other are equally good. However, *ríg Mide bethaig* appears to me to be the *lectio faciliior*, which possibly originated as an explanatory gloss on the kenning *ríg glinne lethain*. It might be speculated that poorly-attested *bethaig* is merely a scribal mistake for *lethain* where a scribe encountered *leth-* in his exemplar, misread the initial *l* as a *b* and expanded the abbreviation as *-aig* rather than *-ain*.

- III.45a–d If we follow the *Chronological Synchronisation* we discover a time-lapse of forty-four years from the death of Domnall Mide in *763 until the dedication of Kells in *807. This contrasts with the figure of forty-one given in *Annálad*.

- III.46a *Cethracha blíadna acht blíadain*]. I have adhered to the superior reading of L, after emendation of *blíadan* to *blíadna* to provide elision between the final vowel of *blíadna* and the initial vowel of the conjunction *acht*.

- III.46c *marbad, bádud*]. The transposition of the verbs *marbad* and *bádud* here has arisen from the fact that according to the annals both men died by drowning. However, while Níall Caille drowned by accident, Turgés was deliberately drowned by Máelsechnaill. In any case, the fact that the death of Turgés preceded that of Níall supports the reading of MLd.

- III.46d *éistecht*]. I take *éistecht* to be the *lectio difficilior* and *is éc* as the *lectio faciliior*. Compare *re n-etsecht .i. ría n-éc* (*Three Irish Glossaries*, p. 139). *É(i)stecht* appears with a short initial vowel in *DIL*. I take it to be long although the evidence for this in the manuscript sources is very limited. The Old Irish form is *é(i)stecht*. By metathesis *e(i)tsecht* appears in Middle Irish. Compare *estecht Egemoní* (*Fél. Jan.* 8, p. 34) and *étsecht Coluim Chille* (*LU* 6 a 25 = *LU* 393–94)

- III.47a–d *Trícha blíadan dá blíadan*] LLdM. The text is erroneous here. The annals suggests that there was an interval of sixty-three years from the death of Níall Caille in 846 until the battle of Mugna in 908. This contradicts the figure of thirty-two given in *Annálad*. I suggest that either the archetype *x* or Gilla Cóemáin’s original had *Sesca* (.Lx.) *blíadan dá blíadan*.

- III.48d *Áeda*]. L’s reading can be interpreted in two ways. The spelling may be a scribal slip, arising from misreading of a ligatured *ae* in the exemplar. Alternatively, it may be evidence that the diphthong /*áe*/ had already become reduced in speech to either *e* [ə:] or *é* [e:] by the time of the writing of the Book of Leinster. On the change of the diphthong *áe/óe/* to [e:] vowel during the Middle-Irish period, see Breatnach, *SnaG*, p. 233, § 3.8. See also McManus, *SnaG*, pp. 348–49, § 2.7. Note the example cited by McManus (*SnaG*, p. 348) from *AI* 1122: *Mel Morda* for *Máel Mórda*.

- III.50b *co bás*]. Since Áed mac Eochocán was of the Dál Fíatach it is unlikely that he could be referred to as *úa Néill Noígíallaig*. The epithet must refer to Donnchad Míde mac Flainn who died in 944 according to *AU*, exactly twenty-five years after the death of Áed mac Eochocán in 919.
- III.51a–d Gilla Cóemáin computed thirty-three years from the death of Donnchad Midi until the death of Ragnall at the battle of Tara. This is at odds with the figures of thirty-six in the *Chronological Synchronisation*. I suggest that Gilla Cóemáin misread *.xxxui.* as *.xxxiii.*
- III.52b *torachtglan Temrach*]. *Torachtglan* appears to be a compound of *toracht(a)* ‘perfect, complete’ (*DIL* T.252.44–253.33) and the adjective *glan* ‘pure’. The meaning of *toracht* here is ‘complete, perfect’ (*DIL* T.253.12–16). Note the example *ba hé in rí tairchert torocht* (*SR* 7738).
- III.52c *Mámma*]. *Glenn Mámma* seems to be a variant form of *Glenn Máma*. Ó Murchadha (*The Annals of Tigernach: Index of Names*, p. 151) identifies Glenn Máma as a valley near Liamain, (Newcastle) Co. Dublin. *AI* has *i cath Glinne Mamma* (*AI* 999.4) and identifies the place as a glen near Newcastle Lyons, Co. Wicklow (*AI*, p. 540).
- III.53b *cor chuire*d]. Compare *mór do chathaib ... ro chuir* Oengus (*LU* 4393) ‘it is many the battle that Oengus waged’ and *gnísit cathu* ‘they waged battles’ (*SR* 4077). L’s spelling looks suspiciously late here. I have restored the required Middle-Irish spelling.
- III.53d *co bás Briain meic Cennétich*]. It is interesting to note that Gilla Cóemáin mentions Brían’s death without celebration.
- III.54a–b *Noí mblíadna iar mbás Briain / éc meic Domnaill ina diaid*]. Alternatively, we could emend manuscript *ina diaid* to *’na diaid*, thereby giving 7²7². However, no witness supports this emendation.
- III.55a–d The *Cath Saxan* referred to here is the Battle of Stamford Bridge, which was fought on 25 September 1066 at Stamford in Yorkshire. There the recently crowned King Harold II of England confronted his brother, Earl Tostig and his ally King Harald III Sigurdsson, known as Harald Hardråde of Norway. The term *cath Saxan* may reflect a Norse source; this may in turn explain why Stamford Bridge rather than Hastings is mentioned. The interval of time between the death of Donnchad and the death of Harald III of Norway was two years, as indicated in *Annálad*.
- III.55d *rí Lochlainne*]. The gloss in Ld is incorrect. The king of Norway referred to is not Olaf as suggested, but Harald.
- III.56a *Cóic bliadna ó sen i-lle*]. Gilla Cóemáin appears to have made the mistake of computing five years here instead of six for the lapse of time between the battle of Stamford Bridge and the year of writing which he has given to us in quatrain III.6 as AD 1072.
- III.56b *mblíadain-se*]. For the syllable-count to be sustained in L, we must presume that elision occurs between the vowel of the emphasising particle *-se* and the initial vowel of the following adverb of time.
- III.57 D. Mc Carthy has suggested to me that the penultimate quatrain was written in 1072, a year after the body of the poem.
- III.57c *cí at-ber*]. For the syllable-count to be sustained, it must be presumed that eli-
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- sion has occurred between the concessive conjunction *cí* and the initial vowel of the unstressed pre-verbal element of the compound verb *as-ber* ‘says’. The alternative is to follow M and to omit the demonstrative pronoun *-seo*.
- III.57d *Dúrgen*]. The reading in Ld is clearly corrupt. The scribe has incorporated part of the interlinear gloss into the main body of the text thus rendering a figure of eight syllables in the line. The line in the archetype must have been something resembling *i torchair Díarmait .i. mac mail na mbo laigen*. In incorporating the gloss, he has been forced to re-analyse *laigen* as *laig* (< *Lóeg*), masculine *o*-stem, ‘calf; darling’ (*DIL* L.181.69–182.29). M undoubtedly has the original reading of the shared archetype of LdM. L’s reading, *dúrgen*, appears to be a compound of *dúr/dur* ‘hard’ + *gein*. *DIL* (D, *degra-dúus*, s.v. *dúr*, 453.41–45) translates the compound as ‘stout’. This epithet is attached to Díarmait’s name at LL 47 b 13; *Met. Dinds.* III, p. 8, line 96; Rawl. 163 b 12.
- III.58c *thairbirt*]. The reading in Lld *thairbirt* is the dative singular of *thairbert*, feminine *ā*-stem / masculine *o*-stem verbal noun of *do-airbir*. In a religious context the verbal noun has the meaning ‘offering, oblation’ (*DIL* T.33.16–21). The reading in M with *thabairt* for *thairbirt* has a direct parallel in Ó Cléirigh’s Glossary where we find *toirbhirt .i. tabhairt* (cited at *DIL* T.23.8).

APPENDICES

- 1.1 Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing *Hériu ard inis na rríg*
- 1.2 Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing *At-tá sund forba fessa*
- 1.3 Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing *Annálad anall uile*

2. Metrical Ornamentation in the Poetry of GilLa Cóemáin, Flann Mainistrech, Gilla Mo Dutu and Airbertach Mac Coisse

3. Concordance of Extra Quatrains in *Hériu ard*

1.1 Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing *Hériu ard inis na rríg*

Ascribed Author and Sigla of Manuscripts	Date of Manuscript	Library	Catalogue Number or Volume and Page Reference	Manuscript Number or Shelf Number and Manuscript Name	Initial Page/Folio Number	Name of Scribe	Number of Quatrains	Comments
1. no ascr. [L]	s. XII–XIII	TCD	1339	H2.18 (Book of Leinster)	127 a 1	‘A’, ‘U’, ‘T’	149	
2. [L ¹]	s. XVII	RIA	1080	B IV 2	101 r	Míchél Ó Cléirigh	150	Copy of L; <i>Sliocht Liubhair na húachtongbala</i>
3. Gilla Caemáin [S]	s. XIV (?)	RIA	539	D i 3	5 r b i	Unknown, possibly Adam Ó Cuirmín (fl. 1418)	150	Míniugud (Recension m; B III, Bb) of <i>Lebor Gabála</i>
4. Gilla Caemán Ó Gilla Samthaíndi [Lc]	s. XV	RIA	535	23 P 2 (Great Book of Lecan)	302, 303 (293)	Gilla Ísu Mac Fhir Bhisich (fl. 1417–18)	157	Redaction 3 (Recension c, C) of <i>Lebor Gabála</i>
5. no ascr. Giolla Caoimhgin [added 19th c.] [G]	s. XIV–XV	NLI	I.22	G 2 (Ó Cianáin Miscellany)	36 r a	Adhamh Ó Cianáin	157	
6. Gilla Coemán [B]	s. XV	RIA	536	23 P 12 (Book of Ballymote)	45 (31) r b m	Magnus Ó Duibhgeannáin (fl. 1384–1406)	157	Redaction 3 (Recension c, C) of <i>Lebor Gabála</i>
7. Gilla Caemháin	s. XVII	RIA	1080	B IV 2 (Copy of Book of Leinster text)	4	Míchél Ó Cléirigh	158	Orig. preceded by portion (33 stanzas) of <i>Caemáin bunadas na nGáe-</i>

8. GC [Br ¹]	s. XVII	Bib. Roy. Brussels	4640	2569–72	10	Unidentified.	158	<i>del</i> which are now on fol. 119 and followed by prose account of the fate of the kings of Ireland from Lóegaire
9. GC [Br ²]	s. XVII	Bib. Roy. Brussels	4640	2569–72	149	Unidentified.	158	
10. Giolla Caomhain [P]	s. XVII	NLI	IV.53	G 131	57	Cú Choigeríche Ó Cléirigh (?)	159	
11. Giolla Caomhain [K]	s. XVII	RIA	617	23 K 32	164	Cú Choigeríche Ó Cléirigh (?)	158	Míchél Ó Cléirigh's modern recension of <i>Lebor Gabála</i>
12. Giolla Caomhain [C]	s. XVII	RIA	1192	C iv 3	74v. m	Dabhidhe Ó Duibhgheannáin	159	Preceded by <i>An tan no théigmis don dáil</i> (14 qq.) by Mac Tórna Éigeasa and followed by <i>A Éolcha Éirenn airde</i>
13. Gilla Caomhain	s. XVIII	British Library	I.52	Egerton 112	440	Muiris Ó Conchobhair (fl. 1780)	55	
14. no ascr.	s. XVIII	Coláiste Cholmáin, Mainistir Fhear Maí	I.105	CF 23	251	Seán Ó Laochadh (fl. 1745–47)	154	
15. Giolla Caomhain	s. XVIII	Coláiste Cholmáin, Mainistir Fhear Maí	1.97	CF 22 (a)	299	Éamonn Úa Mathghamhna (fl. 1841)	157	

Appendix 1.1: Catalogue of Manuscripts

Ascribed Author and Sigla of Manuscripts	Date of Manuscript	Library	Catalogue Number or Volume and Page Reference	Manuscript Number or Shelf Number and Manuscript Name	Initial Page/Folio Number	Name of Scribe	Number of Quatrains	Comments
16. Giolla Caoimgin	s. XVIII	King's Inns Library, Dublin	KI 3	Manuscript number 3	39	unknown	27; marginal variants in pp. 28-29	
17. no ascr.	s. XVIII	Maynooth	C 88	Is. E. Uí Chaoimh	44 [7a]	Eoghan Ó Caoimh (wr. 1704)	157	
18. Giolla Caoimhghin	s. XVIII	NLI	IV.100	G 144	47	Muiris Ó Gormáin (fl. 1767)	157	
19. Giolla Caomháin Ó Cuirnín	s. XVIII	NLI	IV.46	G 128	100	Aodh Ó Raghallaigh (fl. 1728)	154	
20. no ascr.	s. XVIII	NLI	XI.60	G 533	2 r	Seán Ó Laochadh (fl. 1740-55)	154	
21. Giolla Caomháin	s. XVII-XVIII	NLI	IV.7	G 117	192 (187)	Art Ó Caoimh	157	
22. Giolla Caomhain Ó Cuirnín	s. XVIII	NLI	II.92	G 62	83	Maurice Newby (wr. 1716-17)	154	Entitled 'Réim Rioghraidhe'
23. Giolla Caomháin	s. XVIII	RIA	88	23 F 14	300	Unknown; wr. for Muiris Ó Gormáin	158	
24. Giolla Caomháin Ó Cuirnín	s. XVIII	RIA	148	23 D 9	65	Riosdard Tuibear	154	

25. Giolla Caomhain Ó Cuirnín	s. XVIII	RIA	150	23 A 40	129 (85)	Seón Mac Solaidh	154	
26. Giolla Caomhain Ó Cuirnín	s. XVIII	RIA	154	23 M 18	215	Seón Mac Solaimh (fl. 1718)	154	
27. Giolla Caomhna Ó Cuirnín	s. XVIII	RIA	156	23 D 5	68 <i>i</i>	Seón Mac Solaidh (fl. 1715)	124	
28. Giolla Caoimhean	s. XVIII	RIA	619	D III 2 (LG)	116	Aodh Ó Dálaigh (wr. 1746)	1 (rest of page blank)	Transcription of Bally- mote copy of Redaction 3 (Recension c) of <i>LG</i> . This portion now miss- ing from Ballymote copy.
29. Giolla Caomhain Ó Cuirnín	s. XVIII	RIA	936	C VI 1	24 <i>i</i>	Torrdealbhadh Ó Dóailen	154	Scribe notes error in arrangement, p. 28 marg.; wr. in 1718 for Capt. Brian Mág Uídhir Fhearmanach
30. Giolla Caomhain	s. XVIII	RIA	953	23 G 1	320	Art Ó Caoimh (fl. 1709)	157	
31. GC	s. XVIII	TCD	1295	H2.4	90 s.f.	Richard Tipper (wr. 1728)		
32. GC Ó Cuirnín	s. XVIII	TCD	1348	H4.6,7	I.1	Muiris Ó Gormáin (wr. c.1770)		Copied from a manu- script written by Pól Ó Colla in 1644 which in turn was copied from a compila- tion made by Míchél Ó Cléirigh in 1630.

Appendix 1.1: Catalogue of Manuscripts

Ascribed Author and Sigla of Manuscripts	Date of Manuscript	Library	Catalogue Number or Volume and Page Reference	Manuscript Number or Shelf Number and Manuscript Name	Initial Page/Folio Number	Name of Scribe	Number of Quatrains	Comments
33. GC	s. XVIII	TCD	1356	H4.15	578	Stephen Rice (wr. c. 1728)	157	
34. GC	s. XVIII	TCD	1415	H6.11	5	Henry O'Brien (wr. c. 1754)	127	
35. no ascr.	s. XIX	Coláiste Eoin, Port Láirge	I.4	CE 3	315	Tomás Ó hIcá	154	Running title: 'Réim Rioghra'
36. no ascr.	s. XIX	CUL	10	Add 3085	20.5		159	
37. Giolla Caomhain	s. XIX	CUL	39	Add 6559	208 v	Máirtain Ó Griobhtha (wr. 1844)	156	Entitled 'An Réim Ríoga'
38. GC	s. XIX	CUL	48	Add 7089	235 i	Staindis mac Aodha Uí Ghráda (wr. 1850)	156	Entitled 'Réimríoga Ghiolla Chaomháin'
39. no ascr.	s. XIX	NLI	X.100	G 488	29	unidentified	151	
40. Giolla Caomhain	s. XIX	NLI	XII.36	G 646	24 (18)	Unidentified; wr. 1828	156	Called 'An Réim Rioghra'
41. Giolla Caomháin	s. XIX	RIA	80	23 O 28	29	Peattar Ó Longáin	157	
42. no ascr.	s. XIX	RIA	271	24 M 26	33	Ioseph mac Mhíchíl Óig Uí Longáin (fl. 1857)	152	This portion of the MS is a copy of MS wr. by Domhnall Ó Teimhin.
43. Giolla Caomháin Tighearnach	s. XIX	RIA	288	24 C 8	499	Mícheál Úa Hámrracháin	157	

44. Giolla Caomhain	s. XIX	RIA	316	24 C 24	248	W. S. O'Brien	154½	Called <i>Reimriogradh Ghiolla Chaomhain</i>
45. Giolla Caomhain	s. XIX	RIA	498	23 B 24	248	Unknown; date 1837	154	Called 'An Réim Rioghra'
46. Giolla Caoimhin Tighearnach	s. XIX	RIA	565	23 N 33	86	Nioclás Ó Cearnaigh (fl. 1851)	157	Called 'An Réim Rioghra'
47. Giolla Caomhin	s. XIX	RIA	570	23 Q 1	123	Edbhard Ua Raghallaigh (fl. 1794)	27	Annotated
48. Giolla Caomhghin	s. XIX	RIA	595	24 C 3	81 v	Éamon Ó Mathghamhna (fl. 1840)	157	Called 'An Réim Riogra'
49. Giolla Caomhain	s. XIX	RIA	641	3 B 26	159	Pádraig de Lóndre (fl. 1848)	161	Called 'Réimriogra Ghiolla Chaomhain'
50. Giolla Caomhain	s. XIX	RIA	644	23 K 1	159	Unknown; of Munster provenance	129	Called 'An Réim Riogra'
51. Giolla Caomhain	s. XVIII	RIA	707	23 H 18	139	Uilliam Mac Cairteáin (fl. 1701-02)	139	Called 'An Réim Riograidh'
52. no ascr.	s. XVIII	RIA	710	23 H 25	5 v m	unknown	154	
53. no ascr.	s. XIX	RIA	724	12 E 14	187	Patrick Glynn (fl. 1829)	157	'An Reim Rioghra'
54. no ascr.	s. XIX	RIA	727	23 C 33	79	Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin (wr. 1810)	154	'An Réim Riogra'
55. no ascr.	s. XVIII	RIA	785	23 G 8	61 (31)	Tadhg Ó Neachtuin (wr. c. 1711)	128; +22 addi- tional qq. supplied later on p. 136	

Appendix 1.1: Catalogue of Manuscripts

Ascribed Author and Sigla of Manuscripts	Date of Manuscript	Library	Catalogue Number or Volume and Page Reference	Manuscript Number or Shelf Number and Manuscript Name	Initial Page/Folio Number	Name of Scribe	Number of Quatrains	Comments
56. Giolla Caomhain Tighearnach	s. XIX	RIA	912	12 K 8	431	Pádraig Ó Conchubhair (wr. 1831)	157	Called 'An Réim Ríogra'
57. no ascr.	s. XIX	RIA	1015	24 A 25	[236]	Éamonn Úa Mathghamhna (wr. 1815-18)	122	Called 'An Réim Ríogra'
58. GC	s. XIX	TCD	1289	H1.15	108	Tadhg Ó Neachtain	156	
59. GC	s. XIX	UCC	[11]	Uí Mhurchú 11	87	Séamus Ó Caoindealbháin (wr. 1831-32)	157	
60. GC	s. XIX	UCC	[1]	Uí Mhurchú 1	108 a	Seaghan Ó Cléirigh (wr. 1825)	124	
61. no ascr.	s. XIX	Belfast Central Public Library	Cat. p. 39	XXXIV	Section C, p. 4	Robert Mac Ádhaimh		Entitled 'An Réim Ríogradh'

1.2 Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing *At-tá sund forba fessa*

Ascribed Author and Sigla of Manuscripts	Date of Manuscript	Library	Catalogue Number or Volume and Page Reference	Manuscript Number and Shelf Name	Initial Page/Folio Number	Name of Scribe	Number of Quatrains	Comments
1. Gilla Coemain [L]	s. XII-XIII	TCD	1339	H2.18 (Book of Leinster)	129b	'U'	37	
2. Gilla Coemain [L ¹]	s. XVII	RIA	1080	B iv 2	107 <i>vm</i>	Míchél Ó Cléirigh (c. 1627-28)	37	Close copy of L; ascribed by O'Flaherty to Conaing Ua Maol Chonaire; some notes on this poem, written by the scribe are at fol. 108 <i>v i</i> . Poem followed by words 'Sliocht Leobhair na hua cong-bhiala'
3. no ascr. [R]	s. XV	Oxford, Bodleian	11859	Rawl. B 512	3a (112)	Maelechlaimn: possibly Maelechlaimn Ua Maoilchonaire (d. 1489)	37	
4. no ascr. [M]	s. XV	RIA	1225	D ii 1 (Book of Uí Maine)	82	Adam Cusin (wr. 1392-1407)	37	
5. no ascr. [U]	s. XVI	RIA	1269	B iv 1b	Section 3, Fragment F	unknown	30½	In very bad condition

Appendix 1.2: Catalogue of Manuscripts

Ascribed Author and Sigla of Manuscripts	Date of Manuscript	Library	Catalogue Number or Volume and Page Reference	Manuscript Number or Shelf Number and Manuscript Name	Initial Page/Folio Number	Name of Scribe	Number of Quatrains	Comments
6. Giolla Caomhain [P]	s. XVII	NLI	IV 53	G 131 (Phillipps MS 17082)	69	Cú Choigríche Ó Cléirigh (?) (fl. 1630)	38	
7. Giolla Caemain [K]	s. XVII	RIA	617	23 K 32	236	Cú Choigríche Ó Cléirigh (fl. 1630)	38	
8. Giolla Caomhain [C]	s. XVII	RIA	1192	C iv 3	114 v	Daibhidhe Ó Duibhgeannáin	38	Cathal Ó Conchubhair crossed out orig. ascription and replaced it with ' <i>Conaing .u. Maolchonaire</i> '
9. Ollamh eigin	s. XVIII	NLI	IV.46	G 128	118	Aodh Ó Raghallaigh (wr. 1728)	37	
10. Ollamh eigin	s. XVIII	RIA	154	23 D 6	231	Seón Mac Solaimh (wr. 1718)	37	
11. no ascr.	s. XVIII	RIA	156	23 D 5	89 i	Seón Mac Solaidh (wr. 1715)	37	' <i>Conaing Ua Maol Chonaire</i> ' added in later hand over text.
12. no ascr.	s. XVIII	RIA	785	23 G 8	69 (35 m)	Tadhg Ó Neachtain (wr. 1711)	37	' <i>Conaing Ua Mail Chonaire</i> ' inserted by hand other than that of the scribe
13. no ascr.	s. XVIII	TCD	1345	H4.1-3	136	Muiris Ó Gormáin	no info	
14. no ascr.	s. XVIII	TCD	1356	H4.15	204	Stephen Rice (wr. 1728)	37	

15. Conaing Ua Maol Chonaire	s. XVIII	UCC	1	Uí Mhurchú 1	115b	Seaghan Ó Cléirigh (wr. 1825)	37 +3 lines	The date AD 1314 is added in different ink after the ascription to Ó Maolchonaire
16. Giolla Caomhain	s. XVII	Cambridge	9	Add 3084	140		37	The ascription is fol- lowed by the words: 'amal atbert[?]Leabhar na hUacongala'.
17. no ascr.	s. XIX	Maynooth	M 13	3 C 13	277 m	Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin (wr. 1820)	37	
18. no ascr.	s. XIX	NLI	X. 100	G 488	53	Séamus de Barra (wr. 1823)	37	
19. Conaing Ua Maol Chonaire	s. XIX	RIA	12	23 G 12	34	Seán Ó Cléirigh (wr. 1824–1836)	38	
20. [Seán] Ó Dúbhgáin	s. XIX	RIA	237	E vi 2	328	Pól Ó Longáin (wr. 1819)	39 ½	
21. Conaing Ua Maol Chonaire	s. XIX	RIA	727	23 C 33	200	Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin and Peattar mac Míchíl Óig Ó Longáin (wr. c. 1810)	37	
22. Gilla Coemain	s. XIX	RIA	876	4 A 17	182	J. O'Beirne Crowe	37	J. O'Beirne Crowe col- lection of transcripts, translations, notes made between 1847– 71. This is copy of the Book of Leinster copy of the poem.

1.3 Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing *Annálad anall uile*

Ascribed Author and Sigla of Manuscripts	Date of Manuscript	Library	Catalogue Number or Volume and Page Reference	Manuscript Number and Shelf Number and Manuscript Name	Initial Page/Folio Number	Name of Scribe	Number of Quatrains	Comments
1. Gilla Coemain [L]	s. XII	TCD	1339	H 2.18 (Book of Leinster)	129b	'U'	58	
2. no ascr. [T]	s. XVI	TCD	bound with 1339	bound with H 2.18 (Book of Leinster)	fol. 12 = Facs. p. 395	unidentified	51	Copy of L
3. Gilla Coemain [L ¹]	s. XVI	RIA	1080	B iv 2	101	Míchél Ó Cléirigh (wr. 1627–28)	58	Copy of L
4. no ascr. [R]	s. XV	Bodleian	11859	Rawl. B 512	3v	Possibly Maelechlaimh Ua Maol Chonaire (d. 1489)	33	
5. no ascr. [Ld]	s. XV	Bodleian	1858	Laud Misc. 610 (Leabhar na Rátha)	33r	'G' = Gilla na Naemh Mac Aedhagáin (wr. 1453–54)	57	
6. no ascr. [M]	s. XIV–XV	RIA	1225	D ii 1 (Book of Uí Maine)	115a	Adam Cusin (wr. c.1405)	58	
7. no ascr.	s. XVIII	RIA	153	23 M 17	1	Seán Mac Solaidh (wr. c.1714)	32	

8. Giolla Caoimhghin	s. XVIII	RIA	156	23 D 5	283	Seón Mac Solaidh (wr. 1715)	32	Ascription written in 'fresher ink' (Cat.).
9. Giolla Caomhain	s. XIX	Maynooth	M 68	3 F 16	60	Tadhg Ó Conaill (wr. 1820)	58	Running title is 'Dánta Seanchais'
10. Giolla Caomhain	s. XIX	RIA	258	23 G 25	265	Micheál Óg Ó Longáin (wr. 1807-26)	58	Transcribed from Book of Leinster
11. Giolla Caoimghin	s. XIX	RIA	571	23 Q 2	59m	Edward O'Reilly (wr. 1810)	32	
12. Giolla Caomhain	s. XIX	RIA	237	E vi 2	273	Pól Ó Longáin (wr. 1819)	58	
13. no ascr.	s. XIX	RIA	1241	E ii 2	On pages inserted at beginning.	Charles O'Conor (wr. c.1812)	57	Transcribed from Laud Misc. 610.

2. Metrical Ornamentation in the Poetry of Gilla Cóemáin, Flann Mainistrech, Gilla Mo Dutu and Airbertach mac Coisse

Poem	Rinn ocus Airdrinn	Internal Rime	Alliteration	Total
<i>Hériu ard</i>	246/302=81 % (Ó Cuív: ¹ 222/298=74 %)	80/326=25 % (Ó Cuív: ² 94/325=29 %)	462/604=76 % (Ó Cuív: 436/596=75 %)	788/1232=64 % (Ó Cuív: 752/1219=62 %)
<i>At-tá sund</i> ³	68/74=92 % (Ó Cuív: 60/74=81 %)	11/84=13 % (Ó Cuív: 12/84=14 %)	124/148=81 % (Ó Cuív: 117/148=79 %)	199/306=65 % (Ó Cuív: 189/306=62 %)
<i>Annálad</i>	68/116=59 % (Ó Cuív: 73/116=63 %)	14/121=11.5 % (Ó Cuív: 14/123=11 %)	137/232=59 % (Ó Cuív: 130/232=56 %)	219/469=47 % (Ó Cuív: 217/471=46 %)
(1) <i>Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú</i>	44/70=63 %	47/76=62 %	107/140=76 %	198/286=69 %
(2) <i>Ríg Themra tóebaige íar tain</i>	72/104=69 %	73/116=63 %	180/208=87 %	325/428=76 %
(3) <i>Mugain ingen Chonchraid chain</i>	19/30=63 %	22/28=79 %	47/60=78 %	88/118=75 %
(4) <i>Ériu óg inis na náem</i>	128/169=76 %	113/170=66 %	295/338=87 %	536/677=79 %
(5) <i>Rofessa i curp</i>	Mac Eoin: ⁴ no figure given Ó Cuív: ⁵ 62 %	Mac Eoin: 17 % Ó Cuív: 11 %	Mac Eoin: 40 % Ó Cuív: 42 %	Ó Cuív: 209/527=40 %

1) Ó Cuív, 'Some Developments in Irish Metrics', p. 283.

2) Ó Cuív calculates the optimal total of internal rimes by counting all of the stressed words in line *d* apart from the end word (p. 283; see his discussion of Blathmac's Virgin Mary Poem at p. 279).

3) Ó Cuív's figures for this poem (and the other poems) differ slightly from mine, but this is to be expected since the L copies of Gilla Cóemáin's poems are frequently metrically defective. Moreover, in the case of *Hériu ard*, Ó Cuív has taken the text as consisting of 149 quatrains, that is quatrains I.1–I.150, quatrain I.85 being omitted by L. See Ó Cuív, 'Some Developments in Irish Metrics', p. 283.

4) G. S. Mac Eoin, 'A Poem by Airbertach mac Cosse', p. 119.

5) For the reasons underlying the difference between Ó Cuív's and Mac Eoin's figures, see Ó Cuív, 'Some Developments in Irish Metrics', p. 283.

3. Concordance of Extra Quatrains in *Hériu ard*

Contents	Quatrain Number	Location			Commentary	
Sé bliadna cóicat, ní chél, ocus míle maith móirthrén ó dílind ba, borb an brath, co flaithius Fer mBolcc mbladach.	I.17A	—	—	—	OBr ¹ Br ² PKC	Absent from LSLcGB. Originally omitted from Br ² (p. 149/fol. 94r), <i>but added</i> in lower margin. <i>Se bliadna .l. ni chel. / et</i> <i>míle maith moirthren O</i> <i>Fiche is a cethair ni chel. / is</i> <i>míle maith an moirsgel Br¹</i> <i>Ceithre bliadna fichet febh /</i> <i>Et míle maith moirthren</i> KC <i>.III. bliadhna .xx.^e ni ceil P</i>
Anmanda mac Nemid nú: Cesorb, Lúain agus Luachrú; 's íat ro marb céidfer do rind Eocho mac Erc at-berim. Éiru	I.23A	—	—	LcGB	OBr ¹ Br ² PKC	Absent from LS. <i>iat ro marb céidfer do rind</i> OBr ¹ Br ² P <i>iad ro mharbh an rí do rinn</i> KC
Fiacha mac Muiredaig móir, ocht mblíadna im chornaib comóil co fúair i mBoirind a bráth la hOilill mac meic Luigdech.	I.80A	—	—	LcGB	OBr ¹ Br ² PKC	Absent from LS
Deich mblíadna do Dúach Ladgraig ós Héirind cen imardaid; bás in buidnig máir maídmig do láim Lugdech lánLaídig.	I.85A	—	S	LcGB	OBr ¹ Br ² PKC	Erroneously omitted from L
Badbchad badbláech bernas chath scainrech congalach cothach; óenlaithe co leith a lind, ro marb Lógairé ós Bóind.	I.92A	—	—	LcGB	OBr ¹ Br ² PKC	Absent from LS <i>Badhbchad badhblach</i> <i>bruighedh cath Br¹</i>

Appendix 3: Concordance of extra quatrains

Contents	Quatrain Number	Location				Commentary
Gabais Láegaire línmár cethre bliádna, blad brígmár, ría Pátraic brethach na penn ba rí srethach sáer Hérend. Hériu ard inis.	I.149A ¹	—	S	LcGB	OBr ¹ Br ² PKC	Absent from L
Is and rogab Pátraic port i cóicid Ulad étrocht cor cretset óig Emna and re slúagaib áille Hérend	I.149A ²	—	—	LcGB	OBr ¹ Br ² PKC	Follows I.150 in Br ¹ and Br ² . Absent from LS.
Sé ríóg déc sé fichit ríóg ria tíachtain Pátraic co fíir; dar éis Sláne na ngal ngrind is é lín ro gab Héirind. Hériu.	I.150	L	S	LcGB	OBr ¹ Br ² PKC	Precedes I.149A ² in Br ¹ and Br ² .
Ocht mblíadna Énna Enaig a sé Crimthaind Cendselaig trícha bliádan, búan in dál, d'fíir Mairge do Muricán.	I.150A ¹	L	—	—	—	Only in L, omitted from all other MSS.
A[]a [] bi []th na mband Énna Carmain ocus Crimthand Muricán Alman úaire trí ríóg Banba bratrúa. Hériu	I.150A ²	L	—	—	—	Only in L, omitted from all other MSS.
Dá míle bliádan dá cét ceithre fichit 's a sé déc ó thecht Fer mBolc, monor nglé, gur bheandaigh Pátraicc Éire. Éiriu.	I.150B ¹	—	—	—	OBr ¹ Br ² PKC	Omitted from text of Br ² , added later in lower margin (p. 159/fol. 99r), apparently by different hand. Absent from LSLcGB

Appendix 3: Concordance of Extra Quatrains in *Hériu ard*

Contents	Quatrain Number	Location				Commentary
Secht roind secht fichit, rand réidh, is a deich co ndegméin; is lér a línmaire lem Réim Rígraide Fer nHérend Hériu	I.150B ²	—	S	LcGB	OBr ¹ Br ² PKC	Absent from L; possibly added later in lower margin; now barely legible.
Gilla Cóemáin cen gainne mac Gille sáer Samthainne; fáidín din gargnám rom gell ar n-árim ardríg Hérenn. Hériu.	I.151A	L	S	LcGB	OBr ¹ Br ² PKC	SLcGBOBr ¹ Br ² PKC agree against L

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Index of Personal Names

- Abrahám** (Abraám) m. Tarae = Abraham III.3b, III.3c, III.9d, III.10b, III.11a.
- Áed** Allán m. Fergaile m. Máeli Dúin [AD 734–43; Cenél nÉogain] II.12d, II.27b, III.43d, III.44b.
- Findlíath m. Néill Chaille m. Áeda Oirdnidi [AD 862/63–79; Cenél nÉogain] II.16d, II.28a.
- Glas m. Núadat Find Fáil m. Gíallchada m. Ailella Oalchlóen I.70d.
- m. Ainmerech m. Shétnai [AD 586–98; Cenél Conaill] II.6d, II.24d.
- m. Badairn I.86d, I.87a.
- m. Colgan [d. 738; Uí Chennselaig] III.42d.
- m. Eochocáin [d. 919; Dál Fíatach] III.49d.
- Oirdnide m. Néill Frossaig m. FhFergaile [AD 797–819; Cenél nÉogain] II.14d, II.27c.
- Sláine m. Díarmata m. Cerbaill [AD 598–604; Brega] II.7a, II.22c.
- Úaridnach (alias Allán) m. Domnaill m. Muirchertaich Meic Erca [AD 604–612; Cenél nÉogain] II.7d, II.27a.
- Áer** (Ér) m. Ébir I.34d.
- Ailderg-dóit** m. Muinemóin m. Cais Chlothaig [Preh.; Mu] I.51c.
- Ailerán** Sapiens [d. 665] III.40d.
- Ailill** Casfíaclach m. Conlae m. Ireró [Preh.] I.102b.
- Find m. Airt m. Luigdech Laídich m. Echach Úarches (1.80Ad), I.81b; f. of Eocho I.83a.
- m. Slánuill m. Olloman Fótla I.57d, I.58a.
- Molt m. Nath Í [d. 482; F] II.2c, II.31b.
- Ainmere** (Ainmire) m. Sétnai m. Fergususa [AD 566–69; Cenél Conaill] II.5c, II.24c.
- Alaxander** m. Pilip = Alexander Magnus (Alexander III) [356–323 BC, 24th king of the Macedonians] III.23d; III.24b.
- Amairgein** I.30b.
- Amathair** (Adamair) Flidais Foltcháin m. Fír Choirbb m. Cobthaich Caín (Moga Coirbb) [Preh.] I.102c, I.103b; grandson of Cobthach I.103d.
- Annind** m. Nemid I.8b, I.9d.
- Argatmár** m. Sírláim m. Find [Preh., Ul.] I.81d, I.82d, I.83b, I.84b.
- Art(t)** Imblech m. Éillim Ollfínsnechta [Mu. Preh.] I.64b, I.64d; f. of Bress Rí I.65b, I.66c; ancestor of Lugaid Lúagne I.114a–c.
- m. Luigdech Laídich m. Echach Úarchés I.79d, I.80a, I.80c; f. of Ailill Find I.81b.
- Óenfer m. Cuinn Chétchathaig I.136a, III.28d.
- Ascatias** = Ascatades (Ascades) [AAbr 498–537, 16th King of the Assyrians] III.13a.

- Astia**gés = Astyages [AAbr 1419–1456, 8th and final king of the Medes at Babylon; deposed by Cyrus of Persia in 538 BC] III.20a, III.21d.
- Badbchath** m. Echach Búadaig m. Ladcraí [Preh.] I.92d.
- Báetán** m. Murchertaich m. Muiredaich [AD 569–72; Cenél nÉogain] II.5b, II.26c.
— m. Ninnida m. Dúach [AD 572–86; Cenél Conaill] II.6b, II.24c.
- Balar** Balcbémnech m. Doith m. Néit [Fom.] I.24b.
- Berngal** m. Géde Ollgothaig [preh.; Ul.] I.56d, I.57a.
- Bith** úa Lamíach I.4d, I.2a, I.4c.
- Blathmac** m. Áeda Sláine m. Díarmata [AD 656/58–665/66/68; Síil nÁedo Sláine] II.9c, II.29c, III.40c.
- Bres(s)** m. Eladan m. Néit/Delbáeth [Fom.] I.25a.
— Rí m. Airt Imlech(a) (m. Airt Imblig) I.65b, I.66a.
- Bres(s)al** Bódíbad m. Rudraige [Ul.] I.112d, I.113a.
- Brían** Bórama m. Cennéitich m. Lorccáin [AD 978–1014; Dál Cais] II.1d, II.10a, II.20Ab, II.35d, II.36d, III.53d, III.54a.
- Brigit**, saint of Kildare [d. 523] III.34d, III.35a.
- Caicher** I.28b.
- Cairpre** Cenn Cait (Cattchenn) I.125d, I.126a; f. of Morand I.126d.
— Liphechair m. Cormaic m. Airt I.141b.
- Cass** Clothach [Preh.; Mu]; f. of Munemón I.50b.
- Catháir** Már m. Fedelmíid Fir Aurglais m. Cormaic I.133b.
- Ceithnenn** Caiss m. Danann Deirg m. Eithéoir I.27d.
- Cellach** m. Cerbail [d. 908; Osraige] III.47d.
— m. Máeli Coba m. Áeda [AD 642/643–656/58; Cenél Conaill] II.9a, II.25b.
- Cenn Fáelad** m. Blathmeic m. Áeda Sláine [AD 671–75; Brega] II.10b, II.29d.
- Cermna** Find m. Ébriic m. Ébir m. Ír [Ul.] I.39d, I.40a, I.41c.
- Cesard** (Cesorb) m. Nemid I.23Ab.
- Cessair** grand-daughter of Noah and leader of the last settlement of Ireland before the Flood I.3a.
- Cían** m. Ailella Auluimm [Preh.; Cían.] III.28d.
- Cíarán** m. in tSaír, saint of Clonmacnoise [d. 549] III.35d.
- Cimbáeth** m. Fintain m. Argatmáir [Ul.] I.89b, I.89c.
- Cináed** m. Írgalaich [AD 724–728; Brega] II.12b, II.30b.
- Cobthach** Cóel Breg m. Úgaini Máir I.93d, I.94a, I.95d; grandfather of Iriréó [?] I.98d; grandfather of Conla m. Iriréó 101d.
- Cóelbad** m. Cruind-ba-druí m. Echach Coba [Dál. Ar.] I.145c, I.146a.
- Colla** Úais m. Echdach Domplén I.144c.
- Collai**, na trí III.30d.
- Colmán** Ríimid m. Báetáin m. Muirchertaig Meic Ercca [AD 598–604; Cenél nÉogain] II.7a, II.26d.
- Colum Cille** m. Fedlimid, saint of Iona [519–595] III.37c; descendant of Conn III.38a; (dedication of Kells to) III.45d.
- Conaing** Bececlach (Bececla) m. Congaile Costadaig I.77a, I.78d, I.79a.
- Conaire** Cóem m. Lugdech m. Chairpri I.135a.

- [**Conaire**] — Már m. Etarscéla m. Gaill [Músc.] I.121b, I.122a, III.25d, III.26b.
- Conall** Cól m. Máele Coba m. Áeda [AD 642/643–54; Cenél Conaill] II.9a, II.25b.
— Collomrach [Preh.] I.107b.
- Conall** Gulban m. Néill Noígiallaig [Northern Uí Néill] II.22a, II.24a.
— Mend [king of Cenél Cairpre; d. 721] III.41c.
- Conchobor** Abratrúad m. Find Fíled m. Rossa Rúaid [Preh.; Laigin] I.124c.
— m. Donnchada Midi [AD 819–33; Clann Cholmáin] II.15b, II.31c.
— m. Flainn Sinna m. Maíl Šechnaill, heir designate to the kingship of Tara [d. 919; Clann Cholmáin] III.49b.
— m. Nessa [Ul.; Preh.] III.25b.
- Congal** Cinn Magair m. Fergusa ánat [AD 704–710; Cenél Conaill] II.11b, II.25c.
— Cláringnech m. Rudraigi I.114d, I.115a.
— Costudach m. Echach Aphaich, f. of Eochu & Conaing I.76d, I.77b.
- Congalach** Cnogba m. Maíl Mithig [AD 944–56; Brega] II.18c, II.30d.
- Conlae** Cáem m. Ireréo m. Cobthaig [Preh.] I.100d, I.100b, I.101d.
- Connáel** m. Ébir m. Míled [Preh. Mu] I.36d, I.37a.
- Conn** (Cond) Cétchathach m. Feidelmíid Rechtada I.134a, I.134c, III.26c, III.28a; ancestor of Muiredach Tírech I.145d.
- Cormac** Cass m. Ailella Auluimm [Preh. Dál Cais III.28d.
— m. Cuilennáin, king of Munster and bishop of Caisel [d. 908; Éog. Caisil] III.47d.
— Ulfota m. Airt Oínfir m. Cuind Chétchathaig I.138d, I.139a.
- Crimthann** Coscrach m. Feradaig m. Find Fechtnaig [Preh. Laigin] I.109d, I.110a.
— Már m. Fidaig [Éog.] I.147b.
— Nía Náire m. Lugdach Ríab Derg [Preh.] I.124d, I.125a.
- Críst** m. Maire III.4c, III.5c, III.6c, III.24c, III.25b, III.57b, III.58a.
- Dagdae** (In) m. Inde m. Dorainn [*al.* Eochu Ollathair] I.27c.
- Darcellus** = Dercylus [AAbr 913–952; 29th king of the Assyrians] III.18d, III.19a, III.21a.
- Dauíd** (Duíd) m. Iese = David [AAbr 941–980; 1st king of the Israelites] III.3d, III.4a, III.18b.
- Deil** f. of Morc I.10d.
- Delbáeth** druí I.28a.
- Dían Cécht** I.26d.
- Díarmait** m. Áeda Sláine m. Díarmata [AD 656/58–65; Síil nÁedo Sláine] II.9c, II.29c, III.40c.
— m. Cerbaill [AD 544–564/65; Northern Uí Néill] II.4d, II.29b, II.34c, III.36d.
— m. (Donnchada) Maíl na mBó, king of Leinster [d. 1072; Uí Chennselaig] III.57d.
- Díthorba** m. Dí máin [Ul.] I.88a.
- Domnall** Ilcheligach m. Murchertaich Meic Erca [AD 564/65–66; Cenél nÉogain] II.5a, II.26b.
— Húa Néill [AD 956–80; Cenél nÉogain] II.19b, II.28d.
— m. Áeda m. Ainmerech [AD 628–642/43; Cenél Conaill] II.8d, II.25a.
— Míde m. Murchada [AD 743–63; Clann Cholmáin] II.13a–b, III.44d, III.45b.
- Donnchad** Donn m. Flainn Šinna m. Maíl Šechnaill mac Máele Rúanaid [AD 919–44; M] II.18b.

- [Donnchad]**— m. Bríain, king of Munster [abd. 1063, d. 1065; Dál Cais] III.54d, III.55b.
- m. Domnaill Midi [AD 770–97; Clann Cholmáin] II.14b, II.31b.
- Mide (alias Donn) mac Flainn [d. 944; Clann Cholmáin] III.50c; grandfather of Máel Sechnaill III.50d.
- Dúach** Dalta Dedad m. Sin [Ul.] I.115c, I.116a.
- Find m. Sétna Innaraid [Preh.; Mu] I.70c, I.71b; f. of Énna Derg I.73b.
- Dúach Ladgair** (-Ladrach/-Ladcra) m. Fiachach Tolgraich I.84d, I.85a.
- Dub Commair** druid of Fíachu Sraiptine (battle named after him) III.30c.
- Éber** m. Ír m. Míled I.30c, I.31b, I.31c, I.34a.
- Ébrec** m. Ébir m. Ír I.40b.
- Éllim** m. Condrach m. Fergusa I.129d, I.130b.
- Ollfínsnechta m. Echdach Úarches I.62a, I.62c; f. of Art Imlech I.63d.
- Énnae** Aigneach [m. Óengusa Turbig Temra] [Preh.] I.45d, I.46b.
- Airgdech [m. Echach Momo] [Mu. Preh.] I.108d, I.109a.
- Derg m. Dúach Find I.72d; f. of Lugaid Íardond I.74b.
- Eochaid** Airem m. Find m. Fintain [Preh.] I.119b; brother of Eochaid Feidlech I.119b.
- Feidlech m. Find m. Fintain [Preh.] I.117c, I.118b.
- m. Domnaill m. Muirchertaich Meic Ercca [AD 569–72; Cenél nÉogain] II.5b, II.26d.
- m. Énnai Cheinselaig I.148d.
- Eochu** (Find) Fáeburglas/Fáeburderg m. Conmaíl m. Ébir [Preh.; Mu] I.41d, I.42b, I.42d.
- [Eochu]**— Altlethan m. Ailella Casfíaclaig m. Conlaíd I.103c, I.104b.
- Apthach m. Airtt m. Flaind I.67b.
- Étgudach m. Dáire Doimtig m. Rossa Riguill I.39a.
- Fíadmuine (Fidmuine) m. Congail Chostudaich I.77a, I.78a.
- Gunnat m. Féicc m. Imchada [Ul.] I.140a.
- m. Ailella Find I.82b, I.83a.
- m. Eirc, last king of the Fir Bolg I.22d, I.23a, I.23Ad.
- Mend I.41b.
- Mugmedón m. Muiredaig Tírig I.146b, I.146c.
- Mumó I.44b.
- Ollathair [*al.* In Dagda] I.27a.
- Úarchess m. Luigdech Luind m. Ánrúith [Preh.; Mu] I.75d, I.76a.
- Éogan** I.28d.
- Find m. Néill Noígíallaig [Uí Néill] II.22b, II.26a.
- Már m. Ailella Auluimm [Preh. Éog.] III.28d.
- Etarscél** (*Éterscél*) I.120a.
- Ethriél** m. Íreóil Fátha I.36a.
- Fachtna** Fáthach m. Rossa [Ul.] I.116d, I.117a.
- Fáilbe** Flann Femin mac Áedo Duib [d. 637; Éog. Caisil] III.39d.
- Febal** I.9b.
- Féchín**, saint of Fobar [d. 665/668] III.40d.
- Fedelmid** m. Crimthaind [d. 847; Éog. Caisil] III.46d.
- Rechtaid m. Túathail Techtmair I.132b, I.132c; son of Túathail I.132d.
- Fer Corp** (Fer Corb) m. Moga Cuirb m. Cormaic Cais [Dál Cais] I.99c, I.100a; f. of Amathair I.103b.

- Feradach** Find Fechnach m. Crimthaind Níad Náire m. Luigdech I.127a; grandson of Lugaid Ríab nDerg I.127d.
- Ferchess** m. Commáin Écis I.137c.
- Fergal** m. Maíli Dúin m. Máele Fithrig [AD 710–22; Cenél nÉogain] II.11c, II.27b, III.41d, III.42b.
- Fergnae** (Fergna) m. Ébir I.34d.
- Fergus** Dubdétach m. Imchada/Findchada m. Fir-chorb [Ul.] I.138a.
— Fortamail m. Bresail Bregomun [Preh.; Laigin] I.104d, I.105a.
— Lethderg m. Nemid I.8b, I.10a, I.10c.
— m. Muirchertaich Meic Ercca [AD 564/65–66; Cenél nÉogain] II.5a, II.26c.
- Ferón** m. Ébir I.34d.
- Fíachu** Cendfindán m. Stairn I.21b, I.21c.
— Find (Findoilches/Fidfolaid/Findfolaid) I.128c, I.129a.
— Findollcheis m. Fínnachta I.55d; (Féic) I.56b.
— Findscothach m. Sétina Airt m. Ébir m. Ír [Preh.] I.49b, I.49c.
— Labrainne m. Smirguill m. Smretha m. Enbotha [Preh.; Laigin] I.42c, I.43b.
— m. Delbáeth I.28c.
— Sraiptine m. Cairpri Lifechair I.143c, I.144a.
— Tolgrach m. Muiredaig Bolcraig [Preh.; Laigin] I.80d, (I.80Aa).
- Fíato** (Fíatach) Find m. Dári m. Fergo [Ul.] I.128b.
- Fidach** f. of Mongfind and Crimthann I.147d.
- Find** m. Brátha (m. Blátha) m. Labrada [Preh.; D. Ar.] I.67d, I.68b, I.68c.
— úa Baísne [= mac Cumail] III.29c, III.30a.
- Fínnachta** (Fínsnechta) Fledach m. Dúnchada m. Áeda Sláine [AD 675–95; Brega] II.10d, II.30a.
— Fáil m. Ollomain Fótla I.53a.
- Fintait** Már, In (Finta(i)t Már/Inda(i)t Már) I.112a; f. of Lúagne 113d.
- Fintan** I.2a, I.4a.
- Flaithbertach** m. **Domnaill** heir designate in the North [d. 919; Cenél nÉogan] III.49b.
— m. Loingsich m. Óengusa [AD 728–34 (dep.), d. 765; Cenél Conaill] II.12c, II.25d.
- Flann** Sinna m. Maíl Šechlaind m. Maíl Rúanaid [AD 879–916]; Clann Cholmáin] II.17a, II.31d, III.48a, III.48c.
- Fogartach** m. Néill [AD 722–24; Brega] II.12a, II.30b.
- Fothad** Airgtech (Airgdech) m. Maicniád/Luigdech I.142d, I.143a?
— Cairptech m. Maicniád/Luigdech I.142c.
- Gand** m. Delo m. Lóith I.15c, I.20c.
- Géde** Ollgothach m. Olloman Fótla I.55b, I.55c.
- Genand** m. Delo m. Lóith I.15c, I.20c.
- Gíallchad** m. Ailella Olcháin (Olachlóen) m. Sírnai Sírsáeclaich I.63c.
- Grigorius**, Pope [d. 604] III.37d.
- Hérimón** m. Míled I.30d, I.31b, I.31d, I.32a.
- Íardán** m. Nemid I.8b, I.9d.
- Incél** (Ingcél) Cáech moccu Chonmaic I.122d.
- Írial** (Írél) Fáith I.34b, I.35a.
- Iriréo** (Írero) m. Mélge m. Cobthaich Choíl Breg [Preh.] I.98d, I.99a; f. of Conla I.101b.
- Labraid** Loingsech Móen m. Ailella Áine [Laigin] I.94d, I.95a, I.95c.
- Ladru** I.3d.

- Láigne** m. Hérimóin I.33c.
- Lamparés** = Lampares [22nd king of Assyria, Eusebius, reigned AAbr 690–719] III.13d; III.14a.
- Lóegaire** Lorc m. Úgaine Máir (Augaine Máir) I.93a.
— m. Néill Noígíallaig [AD 454/56–461/63; Uí Néill] II.1d, II.2a, II.34a, II.36c.
- Loingsech** m. Óengusa m. Domnaill [AD 695–704; Cenél Conaill] II.11a, II.25c.
- Lúachró** m. Nemid I.23Ab.
- Lúam** m. Nemid I.23Ab.
- Lug** m. Ethlenn m. Danann [Preh.] I.26a.
- Lugaid** Íardond m. Énna I.74b.
— Laídech [m. Echdach Úarchess I.82b, I.84d, I.85d, I.86a; f. of Rechtaid Ríderg I.91a–b.
— Lámderg I.78b, I.78c; f. of Art I.79d.
— Lúagne m. Fintait Máir I.113d, I.114a.
— m. Con m. Lugdech I.136d, I.137a.
— m. Lóegairi m. Néill Noígíallaig [AD ?–507; Uí Néill] II.3b, II.34a.
— m. Meic-Óengosa I.140d.
— Ríab nDerg (Réo nDerg) m. na trí Find nEmna I.123c, I.124a; f. of Crimthand I.125d; grandfather of Feradach Find I.127d.
- Luigne** m. Hérimóin I.33c.
- Mac Cécht** m. Cermata one of a triumvirate of the last Túatha Dé Danann kings of Ireland I.29b, I.30d.
- Mac Cuill** m. Cermata (see *Mac Cécht*) I.26c, I.29b, I.30c.
- Mac Gréine** m. Cermata (see *Mac Cécht*) I.29b, I.30a.
- Macha** ingen Áeda Rúaid I.90c.
- Máel Coba** m. Áeda m. Ainmereich [AD 612–15; Cenél Conaill] II.8a, II.25a, III.38d.
- Máel Mithig** m. Flannacáin [d. 919; Brega] III.49c.
- Máel Muire**, superior of Ard Brecáis [d. 920] III.49c.
- Máel Sechnaill** [I] m. Maíl Rúanaid m. Donnchada Midi [AD 846–62; Clann Cholmáin] II.16b, II.31c.
- Máel Sechnaill** [II] m. Domnaill [980–1002; 1014–22; Clann Cholmáin] II.19d, II.20Aa, III.54b.
- Maire** ingen Iochim = Mary
- Mál** m. Rochride m. Cathbath [Ul.] I.131d, I.132a; f. of Tiprait, killer of Conaire Cóem I.134d.
- Mélge** m. Cobthaig Choíl Breg [Preh.] I.95d, I.96a.
- Míl** progenitor of the Goídil; sons of III.33d.
- Mo-chuta** saint of Raithen [d. 637] III.39c.
- Mug Corb** m. Cobthaig Caín m. Rechtada Rigdeirg [Preh.; Éog.] I.96d, I.97a; grandson of Rechtaid Rigdeirg I.97b; f. of Fer Corb I.99c.
- Morc** m. Deiled a Fomorian king who fell upon the Nemetians during their attack on the Tor Conainn I.10d.
- Muirchertach** Mac Ercca [AD 507–34/36; Cenél nÉogain] II.3d, II.26b.
- Mumne** m. Hérimóin I.33b.
- Munemón** m. Cais Chlothaig m. Airirr Ardda [Preh.; Mu.] I.49d, I.50a, I.51b.
- Muiredach** Bolgrach m. Sí móin Bricc m. Áedáin Glais [Preh.] I.71d, I.72a, I.72c.
— Tírech m. Fíachach Sraptime I.145d; descendant of Conn I.145d, III.31d, III.32a.
- Nabcodon** = Nebuchadnezzar [605–562 BC; king of the Chaldeans at Babylon] III.20d, III.21d, III.22b.

- Nath Í** m. Crimthaind m. Énnai
Ceinnselaig I.149b.
- Nemed** leader of the second settlement
after the Flood; ancestor of the Fir Bolg
and the Túatha Dé Danann among
others I.7c, I.8c, I.11c, 23Aa.
— m. Srobchind I.135d.
- Nemrúad** = Nimrod
- Nía** Segamain m. Amadair Flidais
Foltchaín I.107c, I.108a.
- Níall** Caille m. Áeda Oirdnidi m. Néill
Frossaich [AD 833–46; Cenél nÉogain]
II.15d, II.27d; III.46c, III.47b.
— Frossach m. Fergaile m. Máele Dúin
[AD 763-abd. 770, d. 778; Cenél
nÉogain] II.13d, II.27c.
— Glúndub m. Áeda Findléith m. Néill
Chaille [AD 916–19; Cenél nÉogain]
II.17d, II.28b, III.48d, III.49a;
descendant of Níall Noígíallach III.50b.
— Noígíallach m. Echach Mugmedóin [d.
453 ?] I.148b, III.32a, III.33b.
- Nín** m. Peil (Beil) = Ninus filius Beli [1st
king of the Assyrians] III.9b.
- Núadu** Argatlám m. Alldóit, first king of
the Túatha Dé Danann I.24a.
— Find Fáil m. Gíallchada m. Ailella
Olchaín (Oalchlóen) I.64c, I.65a, I.65d.
— Necht m. Sétnai Síthbaicc [Preh.;
Laigin] I.120d, I.121a.
- Odbgen** m. Sengaind I.22b, I.22c.
- Óengus** Ollam Amlongaid m. Ailella
Abratchaín m. Labrada; grandson of
Labraid Loingsech I.97d; I.98a.
— Olmucaid m. Fíachach Labrainne
[Preh.] I.44d, I.45b.
— Turmech (Turbech) Temra m. Fir
Cetharraid [Preh.] I.105d, I.106b.
- Olchaín** m. Ailella I.62d, I.63b.
- Ollom** (Ollam) Fótla m. Fíachach Fínsco-
thaig m. Sétna Airt [Preh.] I.51d,
I.52b.
- Orba** m. Ébir m. Míled [Preh.] I.34d.
- Partholón** leader of the first settlement
after the Flood I.5d, I.6a, I.7a III.10b.
- Pátraic** mac Calpraind, saint and bishop of
Armagh, I.150b, II.35c, [arrival of]
III.33c; III.34b, III.34c.
- Pilip** = Philippus [23rd king of the
Macedonians, reigned 362–337 BC]
- Ragnall** mac Amlaím [d. 980] III.51c.
- Rechtaid** Rigderg m. Luigdech Laídich m.
Echdach Úarchess I.90d, I.91a;
grandfather of Mug Corb I.97a–b.
- Rinnal** (Rindal) m. Genainn I.21d, I.22a.
- Rothechtaid** m. Maín [m. Óengusa
Olmugáeda] I.46c, I.47b.
— Rotha m. Móen m. Óengusa Ólmugáeda
[Preh.] I.60d, I.61a.
- Rúad** Roírinne (in dá Rúad Roírenn do
Laignib .i. Senioth 7 Sárnia slew
Cairpre Lifechair *CGH* 136 b 11)
I.141d.
- Rudraige** I.14a, I.20a
— m. Sittride m. Duib I.110d, I.111a; f.
of Congal Cláringnech I.115a.
- Sechnassach** m. Blathmeic m. Áeda Sláine
[AD 665/66–71; Brega] II.10a, II.29d.
- Sengand** I.15c, I.21a.
- Sétna** Art m. Ébricc I.47c, I.48a.
— Indarraid m. Bresse I.68d, I.69a.
- Simón** Brec m. Áedáin Glais I.69d, I.70a.
- Sírlám** m. Find m. Blátha [Preh.; D.]
I.75a.
- Sírna** Sírsgéglach m. Déin m.
Demáil/Rothechtada [Preh.] I.58c,
I.59b, I.60a, I.60c, III.22a.
- Sláine** first king of Ireland and first in the
line of Fir Bolg kings I.14d, I.17c,
I.19a, I.150c.

Index of Personal Names

- Slánoll** m Olloman Fótla I.54a; f. of Ailill I.58b.
- Sobairche** m. Ébric m. Ébir m. Ír I.40a, I.41a.
- Solom** m. Dauíd = Solomon son of David [AAbr 981–1020; 2nd king of the Israelites] III.19b; III.20a; III.21d
- Srú** m. Esru III.12c
- Starn** m. Nemid I.8b, I.9b, 1.12c
- Suibne** Menn m. Fíachnai m. Feradaig [AD 615–28; Cenél nÉogain] II.8b, II.27a.
- Thenias** = Thin(a)eus [AAbr 883–912; 28th king of the Assyrians] III.18a.
- Tigernmas** m. Follaig m. Ethréoil I.37d, I.38a
- Túathal** Máelgarb m. Cormaic Caích [AD 534/36–544] II.4a, II.33d, III.35c.
— Techtmar m. Fiachach Findfolaid I.131a; f. of Feidlimid I.132d; III.26d, III.27b.
- Turgés** [d. 845; Norseman] III.46c.
- Tutanés** = Tautames = Tautanis [AAbr 811–842; 26th king of the Assyrians] III.16b.
- Uesoges** = Vesores, an Egyptian king III.14b.
- Úgaine** (Augaine) Már m. Ehdach Búadaig [Preh.] I.91d, I.92a, III.23b, III.24d.
- Urgriu** III.29d.

Index of Place and Population Names

Aicill Hill of Skreen, near Tara, Co. Meath (battle of) I.130c.

Almu 2 possibilities: (i) (Almu Laigen) Hill of Allen, 5 miles north-east of the town of Kildare or (ii) Allendale, near Baltinglass, Co. Wicklow; III.30b, (battle of) III.41b.

Áine (Áine Chlíach) Hill of Kockaney, seat of the kings of Munster near Bruff, Co. Limerick I.83d.

Ard Ladrann Ardamine Hill, near Courtown Harbour I.3d, I.33d.

Argatglend in barony of Farney, Co. Monaghan I.111d. But note also Airgetglenn, Slíab Miss, Co. Kerry (*Met. Dinds.* III, p. 254, line 2); Argatglenn, Co. Clare (*Met. Dinds.* III, p. 306, line 38).

Argatros (Airgetros) Silverwood, on the Nore near Ballyraget, in the parish of Rathbeagh, barony of Galmoy, Co. Kilkenny I.32d.

Ath Lúain Athlone I.67c.

Banba poetic name for Ireland I.2c, I.29d, I.37b, I.39b, I.76c, I.87a, I.93b, I.109c, I.111a, I.136b, I.142b.

Beithel Bethlehem II.37b.

Bérre the barony of Beare in south-west Cork I.95d.

Brega (Brega Mide) people and plain of area coextensive with modern N. Dublin, E. Co. Meath and S. Co. Louth I.92c; (battle of) I.56d; III.33c.

Brug (Brug na Bóinne), possibly Brug Meic in Óicc at Newgrange, Co. Meath I.20d, I.99d, II.17c.

Bruidin Da Derga banqueting hall in townland of Bóthar na Bruíne, parish of Tallaght, Co. Dublin I.122c, III.26c.

Caín Druim Another name for Uisnech (*Met. Dinds.* V, p. 184); Tara [?] I.26d, I.80b.

Cairpre a people in Connacht and Leinster, said to be descended from Cairpre, son of Niall; settled in barony of Granard, Co. Longford, Carbury, Co. Sligo and Carbury, Co. Kildare II.23c, II.33c.

Callann River Callann, west of Armagh city II.27d.

Carmon ‘Carman was a large plain on the banks of the Burren and Barrow, which unite at the town of Carlow’ [*Onom.* p. 156–158; sv. *Carman*] I.45c, I.83c, I.93d.

Carn name or initial part of name of about 300 townlands; several possibilities I.86c, I.110c.

- Cathair Conainn** = Tor Conainn.
Torinis, or Inis in Tuir, Tory Island,
North West Donegal coast I.12b.
- Cenannas** monastic site at Kells Co.
Meath III.45c.
- Cenn Magair** Kinnaweer, townland of
Crannford, Mulroy Bay, parish and
barony of Kilmacrenan, Co. Donegal
II.11b.
- Cenn Máige** Cenn Maige Lemna in which
Clochar lies I.91c.
- Cenn Mara** Kenmare, Co. Cork I.97c.
- Cera** seat of the early Christian kings of
Connaught in the barony of Carra or
Burriscarra, Co. Mayo I.56c.
- Ces Coraind** place in Mag Coraind [b. of
Corran, Co. Sligo] in Connacht I.9b.
- Cíchloscthe, (na)** the Amazons III.15b.
- Clann Cholmáin (Máir)** dominant dynasty
in Mide descended from Colmán Mór
son of Díarmait mac Cerbhaill; their
centre of power was at Uisnech in Co.
Westmeath II.22d, II.31a.
- Cláire** hill near Duntrileague townland in
parish of Galbally, barony of Coshlea,
in the Galtees, Co. Limerick I.71c,
I.83c, I.96d
- Clíu** (Clíu Muman) = Áine Chlíach I.83c
- Clíu** battle of Clíu in parish of
Tullowcrine, in barony of Idrone W.,
near the Barrow in Co. Carlow I.121a.
- Clochar** numerous possible locations
I.91c.
- Cnoc Breg** Tara or Slíab Breg I.106c.
- Cnoc Usnig** Uisneach Hill in parish of
Conry, barony of Rathconrath, Co.
Westmeath II.32b.
- Cnogba** Knowth Mound, Monknewtown
parish, near Slane, Co. Meath II.30d.
- Cnucha** hill in townland and parish of
Castleknock, Co. Dublin I.130c.
- Codal** (Benn Codail) Ireland's Eye near
Howth I.107d, I.145d.
- Commar** (battle of) *Dub Commair* perhaps
confluence of rivers Boyne and Black-
water near Navan, Co. Meath I.144b.
- Connachta** province and people of
Connacht I.47d, II.23b, II.33a.
- Corann** (Corond) previously contained
Galenga in Co. Mayo, Luigne in Sligo,
as well as the modern-day Corann in
Co. Sligo I.88b.
- Cráeb [Telcha/Tulcha], In** (battle of)
Crowhill or Crew townland, Glenavy,
Co. Antrim III.53c.
- Crích Líathan** encompassed Castlelyons
in the N. and Great Island in the S. of
barony Barrymore, Co. Cork [I.8d.
- Crinna [Breg]** = Brug Meic ind Óicc,
Newgrange tumulus, Co. Meath (battle
of) I.138d.
- Crúachu** seat of the kings of Connacht at
Rathcroghan in parish of Elphin, Co.
Roscommon I.47d.
- Cúalnge** Cooley peninsula, Co. Louth
between Dundalk Bay and Carlingford
Lough.
- Cúl Chesra** Carn Cesrach (al.
Coolcasragh) at Cnoc Mea, barony of
Clare, Co. Galway I.3b.
- Cúl Conaire** in Cera, Co. Mayo (battle of)
III.36b.
- Daball** river Blackwater, which flows
from Sliabh Beagh into Lough Neagh
I.145c, III.32b.
- Dairbre** Possibilities include: Aidne in
diocese of Kilmacduagh; Corca Duibne;
Valencia Island I.50c.
- Dál Cais** descendants of Cormac Cas who
occupied Thomond (Clare and
Limerick) II.20d.

- Druim Den** (as alternative epithet for Domnall Mide) possibly in Meath III.45b.
- Dub Chomhair** see *Commar* III.30b
- Duma Sláne** the burial place of Sláne, possibly on the river Barrow I.19c.
- Dún Sobairche** Dunseverick in Dál Ríatai, Co. Antrim I.61c.
- Égept** Egypt III.11d, III.12d.
- Éile** (i) Ely O'Carroll [Éle Huí Cherbuill], baronies of Clonlisk and Ballybrit, Co. Offaly; or (ii) baronies of Ikerrin and Eliogarty [Éle Uí Fógartaig / Éle Deiscirt] in Co. Tipperary I.98c.
- Emain** (Emain Macha) Navan Fort, near Armagh City I.89c, I.128d, Emain Macha III.31b.
- Ess Rúaid** falls of Assaroe, on River Erne at Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal I.87d.
- Fabar (Fobar)** Fore, Co. Westmeath I.43c.
- Fál** sv. Inis Fáil; poetic name for Ireland; II.12c, *Temair Fáil* I.59a; *rí Fáil* I.111a; (as epithet for Flann) III.48c.
- Feimen (Mag Feimin)** plain between Cashel and Clonmel, Co. Tipperary I.135c.
- Fir Bolg** the third group of invaders to settle Ireland after the Flood. The Fir Domnann and the Fir Galían were also considered to belong to the Fir Bolg. I.13d, I.14a, I.16a, III.15d.
- Fir Domnand** (See *Fir Bolg*) I.13d, I.15a.
- Fir Galían** forebears of the Laigin (See also *Fir Bolg*) I.14d, I.16b.
- Formáil** numerous possible locations in Ulster including: (i) Formil, E. of Omagh, Co. Tyrone; (ii) Formil, near Dungiven, Co. Derry I.68b.
- Fótle** poetic name for Ireland I.18d.
- Fremu [Mide]** Frewin Hill overlooking the western shore of Lough Owel in townland of Wattstown, Co. Westmeath I.119d.
- Gabar [Gabar Aicle]** a place at or near Aichill, the hill of Skreen at Tara I.141c.
- Gáedil** (Goídíl) the sons of Míl; the Irish III.16d, III.19d, III.48b.
- Gáethlaigi [na]** the Maeotic Marshes III.16d.
- Galiúin** See *Fir Galían* I.13d.
- Gaill [na]** foreigners, Norsemen II.28c, III.48b.
- Glenn Mámma** (battle of) at a glen near Liamain, Newcastle Lyons, Co. Dublin III.52c.
- Gréc** Greece I.12d.
- Gréic [na]** the Greeks I.6a, I.98b.
- Hériu** Ireland I.1a, I.5c, I.6b, I.7b, I.15b, I.17b, I.17d, I.23d, I.23d (*dúnad*), I.24d, I.32b, I.38d, I.40d, I.62b, I.85b, I.108b, I.110b, I.113b, I.121d, I.128b, I.130d, I.140b, I.150d, I.150d *dúnad*, I.151d, I.151d *dúnad*, II.1b, II.20b, II.35b, III.15d, III.19d, III.41d.
- Hí** Isle of Iona III.37c.
- Ierusalem** Jerusalem III.20b.
- Inber Sláine** Wexford Harbour I.14c.
- Inbir [Mór]** Arklow estuary, Co. Wicklow; *airdInbir* I.28d.
- Inis Fáil** poetic name for Ireland I.88d. See *Fál*.
- Irrus Domnann** barony of Erris, Co. Mayo I.15d, I.16d.
- Less (Lis) Loga** old name of Naas, Co. Kildare II.36d.

- Leth Chuinn** ‘Conn’s Half’; Northern Half of Ireland inhabited by the Northern and Southern Uí Néill; named after Conn Cétchathach I.127c.
- Líathdruim** pseudonym for Tara I.127d.
- Line** [**Mag Line**] Moylinny, Co Antrim; barony of Upper Antrim, Co. Antrim I.131c.
- Lochlainn** Norway III.55d.
- Macha** = **Ard Macha** Armagh I.53d.
- Mag nAidne** co-extensive with the diocese of Kilmacduagh, in S. Co. Galway.
- Mag Bolg** plain in parish of Moybolgue, in baronies of Lower Kells, Co. Meath and Clankee Co. Cavan I.129c.
- Mag Cétne** the plain extending northwards along the coast from the river Duff, north of Benbulbin across the Drowes in North Leitrim as far as the Erne Estuary at Ballyshannon I.87c.
- Mag Crúachan** area around Rathcroghan, Co. Roscommon I.33b.
- Mag Inis** Leth Cathail; barony of Lecale, Co. Down I.53c.
- Mag Múaide** a plain at the mouth of the river Moy in Tír Amalgaid I.35c.
- Mag Raigne** barony of Kells, Co. Kilkenny I.46d.
- Mag Tured** townland of Moytirra, parish of Kilmastranny, barony. of Tirerrill, Co. Sligo (on E. of Lough Arrow) III.17b.
- Máge** I.71d
- Med** the Medes III.20c.
- Meic Míled** the Sons of Míl; the progenitors of the Irish III.21b, III.33d.
- Mide** Mide is nearly co-extensive with Meath diocese, which includes the greater part of Meath, Westmeath and Offaly and a small portion of counties Longford, Louth, Dublin and Cavan I.134c, III.44c; (as epithet of Muiredach) III.32a; (as epithet of Domnall) III.44d, III.50c.
- Móin Trógaide** al. Móin Trodaide in Cíannachta (in the East of Ireland); therefore in Cíannacht Breg between river Liffey and Dromiskin, Co Louth [?] (battle of) III.22d.
- Mucrama** plain to west of Athenry, Co. Galway (battle of) I.136d, III.28b, III.29b
- Mugna** [**Belach Mugna**] (Mošenóc Mugnai) monastic site in townland and parish of Dunmanogue, west of Castledermot, Co. Kildare (battle of) III.47c.
- Muir nIcht** The Sea of Wight I.148c.
- Muir Romair** the Red Sea III.11b, III.13b.
- Mullach Cairn Conlúain** Mullaghcarn mountain to the North East of Omagh, Co. Tyrone I.66d.
- Mumu** province (and sometimes people of) Munster I.4b, I.37d, I.82d, II.23a, II.32c, III.39d; (as epithet for Donnchad mac Briáin) III.54d; *Muimnech* I.75a.
- Odba** burial mound at Moathill near Navan (An Odhba), Co. Meath (battle of) I.81c.
- Ollorba** (*Ollar*) Larne Estuary (battle of) I.143b.
- Pers** the Persians III.23c.
- Ráiriu** two possible locations: (i) Mullach Raeileann/Mullaghreelion, South East of Athy, Co. Kildare in Uí Muiredaig; (ii) Rairinn or Rearymore in Uí Fáilge I.36c.
- Ráth** (Mag Ráth) townland and parish of Moira in barony Lower Iveagh, Co. Down (battle of) III.39b.

- Ráth Clochair** Clogher, Co. Tyrone [?] I.74d.
- Ráth Clóen** Rathcline in Co. Longford (?) II.15b.
- Roíriu**, sv **Ráiriu** I.141d.
- Scithia** Scythia III.12d, III.14d.
- Seredmag** (Mag Sered) encompassing Dún Cúile Sibrinne, the site of the monastery of Kells, Co. Meath III.43d.
- Slíab Belgadain** 2 possibilities: (i) Bulgaden, Bulgadine, North East of Kilmallock, Co. Limerick; (ii) S. Belgatain, al. Duibslíab, Ross Parish, Co. Galway (battle of) I.43d.
- Slíab Elpa** The Alps I.149c
- Slíab Miss** Slemish mountain, parish of Racavan, barony of Lower Antrim, Co. Antrim I.73d.
- Slíab Tóad Truim** (Slíab Tóad) Bessy Bell Mountain, barony of Strabane III.38b.
- Tailtiu** Teltown townland and parish in barony of Upper Kells, Co. Meath I.106d, I.30b.
- Tech Clettig** at Tara; traditionally believed to be residence of Cormac mac Airt; I.139c.
- Temair** Tara I.39c I.51d, I.52d, I.58d, I.59a, I.89d, I.106b, I.116b, I.118d, I.123a, I.126b, I.146d; (Tech Temrach) I.54d; II.4a, II.23d, II.34d, III.22a; (battle of) III.51d, III.52b.
- Tor Conaind** III.12b; sv. Cathair Conaind I.11d.
- Tor Nebrúaid** Tower of Nimrod III.8b, III.9b.
- Trácht Rudraige** I.14b.
- Troí** Troy (city of) III.17d.
- Troíanna** Trojans III.17d.
- Túag [Tethbind]** a place at Tara I.133c, I.106d.
- Túath Ambrais (Ambrois)** plain near Tara, Co. Meath III.27d.
- Uchbad** (Ucha, Uchad) Ballyshannon, near Kilcullen Bridge, Co. Kildare (battle of) III.42c, III.43a.
- Ulaid** different meanings at different times; to be understood here perhaps as people and territory East of the river Bann, Lough Neagh, and the Newry river I.40d, I.59d, II.32d.