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TWELVE POEMS ATTRIBUTED TO
FLAND MANISTRECH
FROM THE BOOK OF LEINSTER

Ph. D. THESIS

DÓRA PŐDÖR

SCHOOL OF IRISH

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN

JULY 1999

VOLUME I (OF TWO VOLUMES)
20/7/1999

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at any other university.

I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work.

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Dóra Pődőr
SUMMARY

One of the aims of this thesis is to produce a translated and annotated text of twelve poems attributed to the eleventh-century poet, Flann Manistrech (†1056) from the Book of Leinster (Trinity College Dublin), a manuscript dating from the mid-twelfth century. A diplomatic edition of all of these poems exists, and ten have also been translated before--nine into English, and one into German. Note that this thesis does not intend to provide a definitive edition of these texts.

Another important concern is to give an extensive analysis of the metrical and linguistic features of these poems. Finally, an attempt is made to compare the language of these poems with one another and with Saltair na Rann.

We know that Fland Manistrech lived and worked around the middle of the 11th century, right in the middle of the Middle Irish period, so the poems attributed to him represent a corpus which can be fixed in time. It is hoped that both the metrical and the linguistic analysis (the first of which consists of the description of the metrical features of these poems and their comparison with the requirements of dán díreach in the ClModIr period) will provide a point of departure or reference for the analysis of other undated poetry from the MIr period written in the same metres.

The thesis contains the texts, the translations, the notes, an analysis of the metrics, and the linguistic analysis.
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And, most especially, my husband, László Deák-Sárosi, and my son, Lehel Deák.

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INTRODUCTION

1. Aim and scope of this thesis

The aim and scope of this thesis are the following:

(i) To provide a text together with translation and notes of twelve poems attributed to the eleventh-century poet, Fland Manistrech, from the Book of Leinster. These texts are not meant to represent a definitive edition, as in many cases not all the MSS of a given poem were consulted; and even where they were, I made no attempt to establish a stemma. Where a translation already existed, I based mine on that, and the significant differences between my translations and the earlier ones are discussed in the Notes and the Footnotes which accompany each poem.

(ii) To give a comprehensive analysis of the metrical features of these poems by describing these features and comparing them with the requirements of dán direach in the ClModIr period.

(iii) To give a comprehensive analysis of the language of these poems, and compare it with that of SR; moreover, an attempt is made to compare the language of these poems with one another.

We know that Fland Manistrech lived and worked around the middle of the 11th century, right in the middle of the Middle Irish period, so the poems attributed to him represent a corpus which can be fixed in time. It is hoped that the analyses mentioned in (ii) and (iii) above will provide a point of departure or reference for the analysis of undated poetry from the MIr period written in the same metres.

2. Manuscripts

As this thesis intends to examine Fland Manistrech’s language, the texts presented here are mostly based on manuscripts which can be dated close to his lifetime. The early MSS in which his poems have survived are all dated to the Middle Irish period of the language (LL, LU and R). I have mostly relied on the Book of Leinster, which is the only manuscript in which all the twelve poems can be found; and I have provided variant
readings from *Lebor na hUidre* and Rawlinson B502 for the four poems which appear in them, too (note that there is remarkably great variation in the readings of even these MSS). Readings from later manuscripts are only referred to when the evidence of the metre shows that some kind of emendation is necessary, but the Middle Irish manuscripts provide no help, or when the version from the MIr MS does not make sense. I have also included certain stanzas in my edited texts that appear in *R* but are omitted in *LL* if I thought it very likely that they were an integral part of the original poem. Between these three MSS and the ones which come next in chronological order (*The Book of Lecan* and *The Book of Ui Maine*), there is a gap of several centuries, so the evidence provided by them is often not relevant to the linguistic analysis in this thesis.

3. The poems

There are fourteen poems attributed to Fland Manistrech in the *Book of Leinster*. These are the following (the number of lines they contain is also marked; the number which precedes each first line denotes my numbering of the poems):

Volume I:

(F8) "Éistid a eolchu cen on"--on the deaths of the warriors of the Túatha Dé Danann; a part of *Lebor Gabála*.

*LL* I 11*18-11*39, pp. 41-46. 152

(F9) "Toísig na llóngse dar ler"--on the deaths of the sons of Míl; a part of *Lebor Gabála*.

*LL* I, 16*9-16*1, pp. 60-62. 72

"A gillu gairm n-ilgráda"--on the names of the personages of Munter na Tromdáma.

*LL* I, 27*54-28*49, pp. 108-11. 100

Volume III:

(F10) "Ríg Themra dia tesband tnú"--on the pre-Christian kings of Ireland from Eochu Feidlech to Nath Í.

*LL* III, 13*37-132*4, pp. 504-508. 140

"Ríg Themra tóebaige íar tain"--on the Christian kings of Ireland from Lóegaire to Máel Sechnaill, successor of Brían Bóruma.
(F11) "Mugain ingen Chonchraid chain"—on the miraculous birth of Áed Sláne.

(F12) "Inn eól dűib in senchas sen"—on the kings of Cashel.

Volume IV:

(F1) "Cia triallaid nech aisnís senchais Ailig eltaig"—on the dynasties of Ailech, Mide and Brega.

(F2) "Cind cethri ndíní iar Frigrind forraig gleogal"—as above.

(F3) "Asnam ní scōl sadal"—as above.

(F4) "Aní do-rōnsat do chalmu clanna Eōgain"—as above.

(F5) "A ngluind a n-é́chta a n-orgní batar infir"—as above

(F6) "Mide magen clainne Cuind"—on the kings of Meath.

(F7) "Síl Áeda Sláne na sleg"—on the kings of Brega.

Total (in LL): 2058

Four of these poems also appear in other MSS from the Middle Irish period: Mide
mægen, Sìl Áeda Sláne and Inn eól dúib in R, and Mugain ingen in LU. As I believe that some of the stanzas found in these MSS but omitted in LL constituted an integral part of these poems (see Introduction to each poem), I have included these in the main text. This of course means that in my edition some of these poems are longer than in LL; for example, in Sìl Áeda Sláne I have 146 lines instead of LL’s 142, and in Inn eól dúib 68 instead of LL’s 60.

4. Previous editions

Nine poems from the list above have already been edited from LL and translated into English. (Concerning the details, see the introductory section on each poem.) They are: Êstid a eólchü (p. 233), Toisig na llongse (p. 263), Cìa trìallaid nech (p. 1), Cind cethri ndùini (p. 27), Ascnam nì seôl (p. 50), Anì do-rónsat (p. 71), A ngluind a n-ëchta (p. 113), Mìde mægen (p. 154), and Sìl Áeda Sláne (p. 202). Mugain ingen (p. 304) was edited by Windisch from both LL and LU and translated into German. These ten poems can also be found in this thesis.

Inn eól dúib (p. 322) was edited from R by Ó Donnchadha without any translation. I have provided a translation for this poem.

Of the other three poems, only the LL diplomatic edition exists. Due to limitations which keep a Ph. D. thesis within certain bounds, I can only present one of these three poems here (Rìg Themra dìa teshbàid tnuÁ—p. 263). I intend to deal with the remaining too, Rìg Themra tòeibeàige tÀar tain and the particularly challenging A gìllu gaìrm in the near future.

Note that some of these poems also appear in MSS which date from after 1200 (see again the introductory section on each poem). There are also several other poems attributed to Fland that only appear in MSS dating from after the Middle Irish period. However, it does not fall within the scope of this thesis to discuss these poems.

I am greatly indebted to the work of scholars who have previously worked on these texts. Without their contributions, it would have been much more difficult for me to present this work. I have greatly relied on their work, and their invaluable comments and suggestions are given due credit in this thesis.

5. Ascription and Authorship

In the case of poems dating from the Middle Ages, authorship is often difficult to establish with absolute certainty. This applies to the works of Fland Manistrech, too.
In *LL* the following ascriptions can be found.

The phrase "Fland Manistrech ceoini" appears before the following poems: *A gillu gairm, Éstid a eólchu* (F8), *Ríg Themra díta tesband tinú* (F10).

*Toisig na llongse* (F9) is preceded by the following sentence: *Is do haidedalb na toisechs a anuas ro chan in senchaid so sí* with the word *senchaid* glossed as "i.e. Fland Manistrech".

The phrase "Fland ceoini" appears before *Ríg Themra toebeage iar tain, Mugain ingen* (F11), and *Inn eóil dúib* (F12).

"Fland. Manistrech ceoini" is written on the top of folio 181%, where seven of our poems follow (F1-F7). "Fland. ceoini" is written over *Mide* on fol. 184", i.e. just before the sixth poem (F6) (see Note on p. 179), so the scribe seems to have been aware of the fact that F1, F2, F4 and F5 constitute a cycle (more on this in the Introduction to each poem).

"Fland Manistrech. ceoini" is written on the top of folio 185* before the seventh poem (F7), although it is likely that this is by a later hand (see p. 202).

The editors of *LL* take the first poem of this series, *Cú triúllaid nech* (F1), as the work of Fland, and the next six as poems attributed to him.

In *LU* *Mugain ingen* (F11) is preceded by the following sentence: *Conid do chumnigud in gníma sin 7 díathaisid hi cumnì do chuch ro chun in senchadh inso i.e. Fland Manistrech.*

To my knowledge, the authorship of *Ascnam ní sóid sadal* (F3) (p. 50), *Toisig na llongse* (F9) (pp. 264-265), *Inn eóil dúib* (F12) (p. 323), *Mide magen* (F6) and *Sil Áeda Sláne* (F7) has been challenged. Fland's authorship of these last two poems was questioned by F. J. Byrne (1968: 383-403). His argument is worth citing here in length.

"This poem [Sil Áeda Sláne] contains several errors: for instance, it omits Conaing mac Flainn (†849) and his son Dúnchad (†831), who are both recorded as kings in the annals. More serious is the total disarray in the chronology of the regnal years assigned to each king. MacNeill took note of the discrepancies, stating: 'In [poem] VII., which deals with the dynasty of Brega, Flann is in his own district, and does not depend on our chronicle, indeed is often remarkably at variance with it. No doubt the

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1 1913: 43.
2 Byrne's note: "I. e. 'the selfsame ancient chronicle which forms the common ground, *verbatim*, of the "Annals of Ulster" and the "Annals of Tigernach" down to the lacuna 767-973 in Tigernach'--*ibid.*, p. 43."
manuscripts of Monasterboice afforded plenty of data, authentic and otherwise, about the kings of Brega.' This attempt at an explanation is unsatisfactory, for the annals, as we have seen, appear to derive from a Brega chronicle and their general accuracy seems unimpeachable. Furthermore, the poem ends with Muirchertach ua Congalaig (†995), and the final quatrain is an admission of ignorance as to the subsequent regnal succession:

Íarra lat iarmothá sein
a baird Fhiontain a čolaig
ór nach fail sunda co se
sáegul síl Áeda Sláne.

(LL 186a 9)

'Search for what is there besides, bard Fintan, thou learned man, since there is no longer here the age of Áed Sláne's race.'

The reference to 'bard Fintan', which puzzled MacNeill, is probably to be understood in the light of the Middle Irish text 'The settling of the manor of Tara' published by Best in Ériu (1910) 121-72, in which the antediluvian Fintan mac Bóchra relates the pre-history of Ireland and the correct division of the provinces to an assembly of the Uí Néill at Tara. Less probably, it may refer to the author of the poem. It is reasonably certain that the ascription to Flann Mainistrech is a libel on that scholar’s learning. It is true, as MacNeill remarks, that Máelsechnaill, like his predecessors of the Clann Cholmáin, waged a bitter feud against the Síl nÁedo Sláine, and that in the eleventh century the kingship of Brega often passed out of their hands, but it is not correct to imply that the dynasty had died out in Flann’s own lifetime. It was represented by the families of Ua Cellaig and Ua Congalaig, several of whom are accorded the title of king of Brega in the annals down to the Norman invasion [FN omitted]. Síl Áeda Sláne na sleg is the last of a group of seven poems in the Book of Leinster. [...] Poems VI [Mide

5 Ibid., p. 99.
magen] and VII [Síl Áeda Sláine], unlike the others, are also found in Rawlinson B502. Poem VI, Mide magen clainne Cuidhe, deals with the Clann Cholmain; a scribal ascription to Flann Mainistrech has been erased in LL. Poem VII bears no ascription, and neither poem seems earlier than the Rawlinson manuscript itself, which was written in the first half of the twelfth century. There is therefore no reason to saddle Flann Mainistrech with responsibility for its blunders.

First of all, I do not think that the fact that these two poems, unlike the others, can also be found in R could be used as proof against the authorship of Fland, as there is another poem by him to be found in this MS (Inn eól duáib). In fact, these three poems follow one another in R in the following order: Inn eól duáib, Mide Magen, Síl Áeda Sláine. Secondly, Síl Áeda Sláine says the following in 1.87: "oc Mainistir móir molaim" 'it was at great Monasterboice that I praise', which seems to point to the fact that the author was actually Fland (see Section 6 below). Thirdly, Mide magen is shorter in LL than in R, and in the former one it stops at the king who was still reigning when Fland died (see Introduction to this poem, pp. 154-155). Fourthly, setting up genealogical tables is a difficult task even for modern scholars, and Jaski (1994: 169) has noted some inaccuracies in Byrne’s genealogical tables of Síl nÁedo Sláine published at the end of the article cited above, so I do not think that this can be used for arguing against Fland’s authorship either. And finally, the linguistic features displayed in these two particular poems do not give us any reason to doubt that they were actually written before 1100 (see Vol. II, pp. 186 and 188).

6. The poet (Based on Moore’s entry on Fland from 1889 in the Dictionary of National Biography on CD-ROM, and on Carey’s entry in the revised edition of this work, which is forthcoming).

Fland Mainistrech (i.e. Fland of Monasterboice) is mentioned several times in the various annals (e.g. in AU 1056, T ii: 289, FM ii: 870, 890) and in various other sources.

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4 Byrne’s note: "See Best and O’Brien’ edition, volume iv. 803, n.1."--However, see my note on that particular poem.

5 Byrne’s note: "The Ulidian regnal poem which forms part of the same group in the MS seems to have been composed not earlier that 1113 x 1127; see Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie, xxix (1964) 381 f."
He died in 1056, and in *AU 1056* he is described as ‘eminent lector and master of the historical lore of Ireland’, and in *T ii 289* as ‘the Gaels’ author, both in literature and history and poetry and versification.

Fland belonged to the Cianacht Breg, who had ruled Brega before they were displaced by Sil nÁeda Sláine of the Ui Neill in the 8th century. By the early 11th century Fland’s family seems to have gained a powerful position in Monasterboice: e.g. Domnall son of Mac Nia, who died in 1005, was the monastery’s superior and Fland’s fifth cousin. Fland’s father, Echtigern son of Óengus seems to have also been lector in Monasterboice. The power of Fland’s family is also manifest in that one of his two sons, Echtigern became the superior (*airchinnech*) of Monasterboice.

Fland’s writing career probably started during the second reign as king of Ireland of Máel Shechlainn mac Domnaill of the Southern Ui Néill (1014-1022). His compositions mainly deal with history, both native and foreign, and the material he discusses is sometimes legendary, sometimes authentic.

He is interesting for modern scholarship from several points of view: his works provide a source for the study of the early history of Ireland (e.g. MacNeill identified most of the kings and battles mentioned in F1, F2, F3, F4, F5, F6 and F7 in 1913: 37-99); and the fact that we know when he lived and there are poems ascribed to him in MSS which were compiled within or about a 100 years after his death, makes these texts interesting from the point of view of linguistic and metrical analysis. (See Section 1 on p. vi.)

7. Structure of the thesis

In the first volume, each poem is presented with a short introduction which enumerates the MSS in which the particular poem can be found, and it also contains reference to previous editions and translations. This is followed by a metrical analysis; then the text, the notes and the translation are presented. The second volume comprises the detailed Linguistic Analysis of all the texts, the Summary of Metrical Features (hence SMF), the Summary of Linguistic Features (hence SLF), the linguistic comparison of the poems in the Comparison Based on Linguistic Criteria (along with the Tables used for this analysis), the Comparison with *Saltair na Rann*, the Conclusion; as an Appendix the Corpus, which contains all the words that occur in the poems grouped into linguistic categories (i.e. whether noun, verb, adjective, etc.), from which the material for the Linguistic Analysis itself was drawn; and finally, the List of Abbreviations and References.
8. Ordering of poems in the thesis

I start with the poems in Vol. IV of LL; then I discuss the ones in Vol. I and two of the poems in Vol. III.

9. General Remarks

1. The poems are numbered from 1 to 12.
2. When I refer to T, I use the pagination of the reprinted version.
3. Citations that are longer than three lines are indented.
4. In the poems written in dechnad cummaisc (F1, F2, F4 and F5), I have followed the editors of LL in that I have also printed the quatrains in the form of two long lines, with a caesura after the 4th or the 8th syllable.
5. In the Corpus and the Linguistic Analysis only the initial letter of a proper noun is capitalised, while in the edited text the first letter of each stanza is capitalised.
6. The order in which the material is presented in the Linguistic Analysis more or less follows that in the chapter on Middle Irish in SNG.
7. As in Middle Irish poetry it is extremely difficult to decide whether a certain verbal form is relative or not, I have only marked a verb rel. if it appears in the special rel. form, or if it is absolutely certain that the construction would require a relative verb even in MR.
8. Note that MacNeill does a battle-identification in his edition, which I have not done here.
9. In my translation, hiatus words appear with a diphthong.
10. In the translation I normally present a personal name in its normalised form—for example, F8. 90 has Coirchend, which appears as Corrcend in my translation.
11. I do not normally translate sobriquets.
12. In the analysis of consonant clusters, I have followed Thurneysen (Thur. §120), according to whom <r>, <l> and <n> represent class L (L') consonants in certain consonant groups.

10. General editorial principles

1. The first element of population names (cenél, eland, etc.) is not spelt with a capital letter, and they are listed under the common nouns in the Corpus. The editors of LL are not quite consistent in their orthography of these words: cenél, clann and their various declensional forms are spelt with a lower-case initial in F4. 1, 38, 41, 57, 111, F5. 52 and
53; but they are printed with an upper-case initial in F4. 73, 110 and 125.

2. When a consonant belonging to class L (Murphy, 1961: 32) is spelt with a single letter after a long vowel or a diphthong, I have supplied the second letter—e.g. Néill. The usage in LL varies. These variations are discussed in the section on Orthography in the Linguistic Analysis (Vol. II, p. 5: 1.15.)

3. Following the editorial principles of the editors of LL, I do not italicise single-letter strokes such as h, m and n in my transcription of R.

4. My punctuation differs from that found in the diplomatic edition of LL. I have put a full-stop at the end of every stanza, and I have supplied commas where names are enumerated.

5. When a 3rd person poss. pron. is attached to a preposition ending in a vowel, the a is often lengthened in MIr. However, I have not marked these vowels long in my text if the scribe did not do so himself, as there is no metrical evidence for their length. On the other hand, when the poss. pron. appears as o in the MS, I have consistently marked these long, as I consider them to be the merged form of o and a. (So, for example, I have 'ca in F1. 7, but 'cō in F1. 21.)

6. When a hiatus word has two long vowels, it is the vowel-length which is marked, and not the hiatus; e.g. in F12. 19 I print Cūan and not Cūan.

7. Compound verbs are hyphenated.

8. I do not capitalise mae or húa when they are a part of a name, even if the latter word is used in the sense ‘descendant’ and not ‘grandson’.

9. Where there is a sequence of a consonant + abbreviated r + vowel, MacNeill supplies a h in the cases when lenition would be expected. Thus he has rothrén for LL rotrén in F5. 130. I follow LL in that I do not supply a [h], but italicise the abbreviated r.

11. The Corpus

1. I only give the gender of a noun if it is also given in DIL.

2. I have worked on the presumption that generally prepositions take the same case as they did in OIr; and I list them under the OIr cases unless I have proof to the contrary. When acc. is used for dat. or vice versa, the noun appears under the MIr case-heading.

3. In the section on Proper Names in the Corpus, the grammatical categories obviously do not distinguish between sg. and pl.

4. I treat Mael, Fergal, etc. as masc. nouns, unless there is evidence to the contrary.

5. Día, although capitalised, is listed under the common nouns; just like Rí, used
figuratively of God.

6. When there is a variant reading in $R$ or in $LU$, I only give the $LL$ reading, unless there is proof for the fact that it is corrupt. However, I always note that the given reading appears only in $LL$. If this is marked after the line number, then it means that that particular word (or case) appears only in $LL$; if this is marked following the word itself, then that means that the variant reading is very similar to that in $LL$—e.g. it might only differ from it in the spelling of the unstressed vowel. For example, $LL$ has $co$ cét $cath$ in F6. 17, while the $R$ reading is $co$ cét $chath$. This phrase first appears under the acc. sg. of o-stems, where the line number is followed by ‘$LL$’, as the $R$ version has the dat. However, this phrase appears again under the gen. pl. of u-stems, where the word $cath$ is followed by ‘$LL$’, as basically $R$ has the same form as $LL$, the only difference being that there the initial consonant of $cath$ is lenited.

7. Under Substantivised adjectives, a noun is marked masc./fem. if it refers to a person and neut. if it refers to an object/concept.

8. The lines in bold in the Corpus draw the attention to a MIr feature in the morphology of the underlined word. The letters in bold highlight a MIr feature in the system of initial mutations or a variation in orthography. The words hiatus, gender and decl. (=declension) indicate that there is something peculiar about a certain word as far as one or more of the above-mentioned features are concerned. These features are discussed in the Linguistic Analysis.

9. I have tried to keep the Corpus as short as possible, so a closely connected word following a noun is only given if I want to emphasise a linguistic point (i.e. if a masc. o-stem noun in the gen. sg. is not followed by lenition); words belonging together are also listed if it is necessary to make the meaning clear, or if the second word is the second element in a place-name or a personal name.

10. When, in the case of a certain word (esp. in that of a proper noun) reference is made to a certain source in order to identify either its stem-class or gender, the reference is given only where the word is first listed in the Corpus.

11. When a suspension stroke is extended according to MIr standards, the new form is not marked in bold unless it can be verified by rhyme (e.g. bládna--nom. pl.).

12. Substantivised adjectives appear under the adjectives in the Corpus, but they are discussed in the section on the Noun in the Linguistic Analysis.

13. Prepositions which took only the dat. in OIr + o-stem nouns with a $-m$ in the unstressed syllable appear under the dat. sg. of o-stems (e.g. immulluch $Cerna$--F7. 116).
PART I

METRICAL ANALYSIS,
TEXTS,
NOTES,
TRANSLATION
CÍA TRÍALLAID NECH (F1)

INTRODUCTION

This poem is the opening one in Fland's ambitious cycle of poems on the principal branches of the Uí Néill (MacNeill, 1913: 37-47; Carey, forthcoming). The person mentioned in 1. 3 is probably Muiredach úa Máel Choluim (+1061), the superior (airchinnech) of Derry (ibid), for whom Fland seems to have written this cycle of poems.

The poet uses metrical devices to indicate that F1, F2, F4 and F5 constitute a cycle; they are written in the same metre, dechnad cummassc; there is linking alliteration between F1–F2 and F4–F5; and dúnad is present between F1–F2 and F1–F5. For a more detailed discussion, see SMF, Vol. II, p. 129: 5.2.

Note that LL is the only MS where all of these poems can be found.

This poem relates three legends on how Ailech got its name. The first legend also appears in F8. 89-96 (LL 1392-1399).

MSS (based on Gwynn, 1924: 100):
LL 181*1
Re
BB
Lc
M
S (D ü 2)
S3
H

LL is clearly legible all through.

Previous edition and translation:
Gwynn, 1924: 100-107, from the MSS listed above.
ANALYSIS OF THE METRE

Metre and stanza structure
The metre of this poem is dechnad cummaisc (8^2 4^2 8^2 4^2 mixed with 4^2 8^2 4^2 8^2, 8^2 4^2 4^1 8^2, etc.) (Murphy, 1961: 50). Below can be found the description of the stanza structure of the poem, with the monosyllabic line endings highlighted.

8^2+4^2+8^2+4^2; 5, 7, 11, 13, 14, 15, 18, 25, 34 (9)
8^2+4^2+4^2+8^2; 9, 19, 22, 23, 24, 28, 29 (7)
8^2+4^2+4^2+8^2; 1, 2, 4, 6, 16, 32, 33 (7)
4^2+8^2+4^2+8^2; 3, 10, 30 (3)
4^2+8^2+4^2+8^2; 12, 20, 26 (3)
4^2+8^2+4^2+8^2; 8, 31 (2)
4^2+8^2+4^2+8^2; 21, 35 (2)
8^1+4^2+4^2+8^2; 17 (1)
8^1+4^2+4^2+8^2; 27 (1)

According to Ní Dhomhnaill's criteria (only a can be quadrasyllabic--1975: 79), in bardic poetry 44 of these 70 couplets would be accepted (44/70=63%), while according to Knott's criteria (both a + c can be quadrasyllabic--1966: 17-18), 56 (56/70=80%).

End-rhyme
In F1. 13-14 the rhyme with gletin shows that the initial vowel in aitir is [e].
In th(a)ige : bine (F1. 19-20) the rhyme shows that we should read the alternative genitive form, thige here.
Note that the spelling in lind-sea does not highlight the rhyme with inse (F1. 39-40).
A consonant from group x (Ó Cuív: C_e.--see SMF, Vol. II, pp. 111-112: 2) rhymes with a consonant from group l (C^) (Murphy, 1961: 33) in athar : cathach (F1. 35-36).
We have imperfect rhyme between Fothart and toracht (F1. 59-60) (see SMF in Vol. II, pp. 118-121: 2.5).

Fidrad freccomail is present between all the stanzas (34/34=100%). On F1. 22-23, see Note on p. 15.
Between stanzas 3+4 (ll. 6-7) and 13+14 (ll. 26-27), f. f. is between g and e, and between a stressed and an unstressed word.
Between stanzas 4+5 (ll. 8-9), f. f. is between f and f.
Between stressed and unstressed: stanzas 5+6 (ll. 10-11), 18+19 (ll. 36-37), 21+22 (ll. 42-43), 23+24 (ll. 46-47), 27+28 (ll. 54-55), 28+29 (ll. 56-57), 31+32 (ll. 62-63), 33+34 (ll.
We can only get f. f. in 34+35 (ll. 68-69) if we read ní fil for ní fil in l. 69.

**Alliteration and lorga** (SMF. Vol. II, pp. 105-109: 1.2; p. 123: 3)

Alliteration is not present in: 1a, 2d, 3b, 4c, 5ab, 7a, 8c, 9a, 10c, 12c, 14d, 15a, 17a, 19b, 21b, 22c, 24cd, 26d, 28d, 32d, 33b, 34d, 35b, 37a, 39ab, 46d, 47ab, 51a, 55a, 56cd, 57a, 58c, 60c, 61a, 66cd, 67a, 69ab (44).

Concerning F I. 7b and 8d, see Notes on p. 13.

In 11a one would expect the f to be lenited after càs, so we would get alliteration in the line.

In 22c the only way to get alliteration would be to have the acc. don fecht-sain instead of dat. dond fecht-sain.

Wherever there is alliteration in d, it is always between the last two stressed words in the line. (Note that in F I. 58 Ailech alliterates with Ailech--one of them refers to the girl, and the other to the place.)

**Lorga** between a and b (when there is no alliteration in b): 3b, 19b, 21b, 25b, 55b, and 63b (6). In 13b, 45b, 65b and 67b we have both lorga and alliteration (4).

Note that 11b, 17b, 22d, 25b, 27b, 37b, 40d, 42d, 52d, 55b, 60d, 62c and 63b contain only one stressed word, so they can not have alliteration (13). However, seven of these are second lines in the stanza (line b), which means that they could make lorga with a; but four of them do not do this.

The figures for lines with alliteration and lines which contain only lorga (minus the four lines referred to above) are 98/140=70%.

**FIRST LONG LINE**

**Internal rhyme** (3)

breith : srelth (F I. 31)
Herind : glebind (F I. 43)
rúaid : úaill (F I. 49)

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1 Note that each long line is divided into two short ones, and these are marked by ab and cd respectively. I have taken into consideration only those lines which contain more than one stressed word.
There seems to be imperfect aicill between da-ringned and Frigrend (F1. 61). See Note on p. 20.

Note that F1. 31, 43 and 49 have both internal rhyme and úaitne.

SECOND LONG LINE (either aicill or úaitne must be present—SMF, Vol. II, pp. 105-109: 1.2)

Aicill (13/35=37%)
án : lláim (F1. 2)  
sóer : gáel (F1. 8)  
amra : Dagda (F1. 16)  
ail : sain (F1. 32)  
airmend : fairmend (F1. 48)  
ergnaid : rebraid (F1. 62)  
trá : lá (F1. 66)  
cund : sund (F1. 4)  
lecht : fecht (F1. 12)  
opair : cotaig (F1. 18)  
druine : chlune (F1. 44)  
chlochair : fochaid (F1. 54)  
glór : ór (F1. 64)

Note that in F1. 64 and 66 both internal rhyme and aicill are present (2).

Úaitne (27/35=77%)
airech : graigeach (F1. 6)  
Cicuil : gletin (F1. 14)  
aile : bine (F1. 20)  
Dagda : Temra (F1. 24)  
búada : Áeda (F1. 28)  
dindgna : tarla (F1. 34)  
glaine : uile (F1. 38)  
allaid : congaib (F1. 42)  
trebad : domain (F1. 46)  
armaig : ernaig (F1. 50)  
chlochair : athair (F1. 54)  
debech : Ailech (F1. 58)  
ergnaid : robraid (F1. 62)  
reá : ciá (F1. 70)  
donna : Dagda (F1. 10)  
opair : chetaig (F1. 18)  
fecht-sain : ulc-sín (F1. 22)  
thoil-seom : guin-seom (F1. 26)  
chórad : éin[f]er (F1. 30)  
brethach : cathach (F1. 36)  
glandsa : lind-sea (F1. 40)  
druine : aile (F1. 44)  
airmend : Frigrend (F1. 48)  
fondgel : ingen (F1. 52)  
band-sa : dind-sa (F1. 56)  
anacht : toracht (F1. 60)  
thairthim : Imchill (F1. 68)
In F1. 6 airech makes full rhyme with graigech. See a discussion of this feature (rudrach) and other similar examples in the SMF in Vol. II, p. 122: 2.7.

Internal rhyme (17/35=49%)

- arm slán : Garbān (F1. 6)
- ãeth : bæth (F1. 20)
- trá : anđā (F1. 26)
- aínm : airm (F1. 34)
- gibis : inis (F1. 38)
- tomsech : torsech (F1. 46)
- cnis : fis (F1. 54)
- ngargbrut : arggut (F1. 64)
- riaguil : chíanaib (F1. 70)

- fer : ndel (F1. 10)
- díth : bith (F1. 24)
- bert : lecht (F1. 28)
- ben : cned (F1. 36)
- Dagda : amra (F1. 44)
- hóir : óg (F1. 50)
- úair : úaid (F1. 58)
- samail : adaig (F1. 66)

In F1. 14 there is imperfect internal rhyme (Corrcend : torged)--see Note on p. 14.
On F1. 30, see Note on p. 16.
In F1. 68 Ailech seems to rhyme with Ailech. (See SMF, Vol. II, p. 121: 2.6.)

Where there is no úaitne, aicill is always present (F1. 2, 4, 8, 12, 16, 32, 64 and 66).
Both úaitne and aicill are present in F1. 18, 48 and 62 (3).
Both úaitne and internal rhyme are present in F1. 6, 10, 20, 24, 26, 28, 34, 36, 38, 46, 50, 58 and 70 (13).
Aicill, internal rhyme and úaitne are all present in F1. 44 and 54 (2).

Proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in c when it is quadrasyllabic (not counting the last one, which always makes either úaitne or aicill with d): 7/20=35%.

Proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in d (not counting the last word, which rhymes with the final of b): of the 56 stressed words in d in this poem, 30 make aicill or internal rhyme with a word in c (=54%).


1. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L + b (rules 1, 2, 3):
   \[ L^hP^h-C^hP^h, C^hP^h-C^hP^h, L^hP^h-C^hP^h, C^hP^h-L^hP^h \]

- eltaig : Ercaill (F1. 1-2) (e. r.)
- lecht : fecht (F1. 12) (a.)
- Fothart : toracht (F1. 59-60) (e. r.) (imperfect because of medial consonant)
- bert : lecht (F1. 28) (i. r.)
- anacht : toracht (F1. 59-60)
- anacht : Fothart (F1. 59-60) (imperfect because of medial consonant)
2. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2):

\[
\text{L}'\text{L}^v\text{-}C^C; C'C'-\text{L}'\text{L}^v; L'C^v\text{-}C'C; C'C^v\text{-}C'C; C'L^v\text{-}\text{C}'\text{L}^v; L'C^v\text{-}L'C^v
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{nderna} : & \text{Temra (F1. 23-24) (e. r.)} & \text{Dagda : & tarla (F1. 33-34) (e. r.)} \\
\text{imgel} : & \text{ingen (F1. 51-52) (e. r.)} & \text{foglaig : & roblaid (F1. 61-62) (e. r.)} \\
\text{amra} : & \text{Dagda (F1. 16) (a.)} & \text{airmend : & fairmend (F1. 48) (a.)} \\
\text{ainm} : & \text{airm (F1. 34) (i. r.)} & \text{Dagda : & amra (F1. 44) (i. r.)} \\
\text{ingell} : & \text{Frigrend (F1. 47-48) (e. r.)} & \text{domna : & Dagda (F1. 10)} \\
\text{Dagda : & Temra (F1. 24)} & \text{armaig : & ernaig (F1. 50)} \\
\text{nderna : & Dagda (F1. 23-24)} & \text{fondgel : & ingen (F1. 52)} \\
\text{roglain : & ernaig (F1. 49-50)} & \text{fondgel : & imgel (F1. 51-52)} \\
\text{airmend : & Frigrend (F1. 48)} &
\end{align*}

3. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain S + C/L + \( ^h \) (rules 3, 4 and 6):

\[
\text{L}'S^b\text{-}L'S^b; C'S^b\text{-}C'S^b
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{muin-seom} : & \text{guin-seom (F1. 25-26) (e. r.)} & \text{insin} : & \text{lind-sea (F1. 39-40) (e. r.)} \\
\text{indsa} : & \text{dind-sa (F1. 55-56) (e. r.)} & \text{tomsech} : & \text{torsech (F1. 46) (i. r.)} \\
\text{thoil-seom} : & \text{guin-seom/muin-seom (F1. 25-26)} & \text{a} & \text{gland-sa} : \text{dind-sa/indsa (F1. 55-56)}
\end{align*}

4. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C/L + \( ^h \) (rules 2 and 3):

\[
\text{L}'C^b\text{-}L'C^b; C'C^b\text{-}L'C^b
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{findchill} : & \text{Imchill (F1. 67-68) (e. r.)} & \text{thairthim} : & \text{Imchill/findchill (F1. 67-68)}
\end{align*}

5. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L (rules 1 and 2): \( \text{L}'P^v\text{-}C'P^v \)

\text{Corrcend} : torged (F1. 14) (i. r.) (imperfect because of final consonants) (See Note on p. 14.)

6. One consonant corresponds to two: a consonant from class 1 (C') is added:

\[
\text{C'C'}\text{-}C'; L'C'-C'C'
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{cãemna} : & \text{nAeda (F1. 27-28) (e. r.)} & \text{glanda} : & \text{Dagda (F1. 9-10) (e. r.)} \\
\text{glanda} : & \text{domna (F1. 9-10)}^1 &
\end{align*}

7. Two or three consonants correspond to three or to four consonants

a) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2):

\[
\text{L}'L^v\text{-}C'C'C; CL'C'-C'C'; L'C'C'\text{-}L'L'C'C'; C'C'C'\text{-}C'C'C; C'L^v\text{-}C'C'C'
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{ndernad} : & \text{febglan (F1. 11-12) (e. r.)} & \text{armslán} : & \text{Garbán (F1. 6) (i. r.)}
\end{align*}

\[1\text{ Note that nd = nn.}\]
dindgna² : tarla\Dagda (F I. 33-34) 
ergaid : ermaig (F I. 49-50) (e. r.)
roglain\armaig : ergaid (F I. 49-50) 
ergaid : rebraide (F I. 62) (a.)
ergnaid : fogglaig (F I. 61-62)

b) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L (rules 1 and 2): C\P\C\C--C\P

ngargbrut : arggut (F I. 64) (i. r.)
c) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + S + C/L + h (rules 1, 3, 4, 5):

Chphsh"chp'>s'' : fecht-sain luc[h]t-sin\ulc-sin (F I. 21-22) (e. r.)

Elision

a) Unstressed short vowel preceded by another vowel: five examples. Elision is required
in four cases: in F I. 21b, 24c (see Note on p. 15), 26d (see Note on p. 16) and F I. 56d.
In F I. 69b the metre does not require elision. (4/5=80%)

b) do\de V; do\de + f: seven examples. In one of these (F I. 2c) the metre requires
elision; while in six cases (F I. 32c', 47a, 52c, 64d--x3) the metre requires that the vowel
in the preposition should be pronounced. (1/7=14%)

c) Dropping of the initial vowel of an unstressed word (prep. + poss. pron./article):
I. After vowels: F I. 7a, 66d (ocus lá 'na) (or read is lá [i]na). (2)
There is no dropping in F I. 57a.
II. After consonants: F I. 21a, 61b. (2)
III. At the beginning of a line/after caesura: there is no dropping in F I. 17b.

d) Dropping of the final vowel of an unstressed word (prep. + rel. particle):
This is required in F I. 10c (before a consonant). On F I. 9a, see Note on p. 13. (1)

Dúnad

The poem opens with the conjunction cía (monosyllabic), and it ends with disyllabic ciá,
the pronoun. Note that the meaning and the sound are not identical in these two words,
so this is not a regular saigid-type dúnad (Murphy, 1961: 44); however, it is still based on

¹ Provided that this is a compound of dind--see DIL.
Cia tríallaid nech aísnís senchais  Ailig eltaig
d’éis Echdach án  is gait (a) chlaidib a lláim Ercaí\n.

Ermór neich ro iaráig  úli  ó Máel Choluim
Eochaid iar cund  ro sluind rí saund do druining Dobuill.

Derb mår(o) iaráig  cías\n sóer do-róni Ailech
ní cheil Eochaid armslán airech  Garbán (is) graigeach.

Cia ro buí aice ’ca déam  Imchell fin[fl]er
is Garbán sóer  òa Gairb ò gáel fáel no figed.

Fíg cia las’ ndernad iarum  in gním glanda\n in fer las’ tucad a domna  i ndel Dagda.

Dá n-iaráigther cías\n fochond ara ndernad
a meic im lecht  condail(t) ro fecht in fert febglan.

Fígthar cid dia n-apar Ailech  airdaire aitir
dond ail tūargaif Corrcend Cicuil  torged gletin.

Geguin Corrgend  mac Flatheman ó Chruach clunid
Áed ard amra  ropo mac don Dagda dulig.

Dia ndechaid Áed co mnaí Corrgind  inna lepaid
ba hole opair  úair nách fer cotaig ro chetaig.

Ceachaing Corrgend  iarna chrád for lár a th(a)ige
coro marb Áed iar n-áeth aire\n ba báeth bine.

1 Hectoir \LL.
2 cia \LL.
3 See Note on p. 13.
4 cia \LL.
5 aile \LL.
Bátar óc Hérend 'cò ibrar  amra in lué[h]t-sin
cona fúraratar dond fecht-sain  ìarsind ules-sìn'.

Oirggher or cádh ná hanagar dáig na nderna
nín-tá-ne² a díth ol in Dagda  fo bith Temra.

25 Acht tòchaid in marb ro mudaig  fora muin-seom
is³ ferr dún trá trel díth thoil-seom  andá a guin-seom.

Co rraib fo mèla fon marb-sín  cén nach cæemna
co fagba licc bas bér buáda  for lecht nÁeda.

Arigis líc òs Loch Febail  ba feidm feinnded
co túargaib súas co crúsas chórred ùais int cín[fl]er.⁴

Ed as-bért oc breith ind eirc  dar sreith slige
ach ach do ail  is do sain do-maid mò chríde.

Coir cid Ailech do rád ris  ol in Dagda
corop ed a⁵ aîm in dindgna  airm ì tarla.

35 Techtad⁶ Néit mac Indú Ailech  bráthair athar
ocus Nemain a ben brethach  na cned cathach.

Corop Ailech Néit as-béthaigh⁷  ò cech duine
gibis glaine  òr is leis ind inis uile.

Íarfaíse nech and  cia déine ro gab in inse
tan do-ringned in gním gland-sa  òsind lind-sea.

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¹ isind lué-sain LL
² ni thá LL
³ om. in LL
⁴ See Note on p. 16.
⁵ a om. in LL
⁶ Techt LL
⁷ or as-bérthar
Lánmemor lim it Túatha Dé Donand drongaig
im Néit mac Induí in allaid cona congaib¹.

Cí a rí (ro) buí for Héirind uile glébind glaine²
(acht in) Dagda druine ní chlune nach n-amra n-aile.

A n-amn³ i ndernad in dindgna demi dolaid
tomsech treblaid in tres amser torsech domain.

Do-rócht mór ndíne do Ailiuch i mbíd ingell⁴
ailig airmend co tánic in fairmend Frigrend.

Frigriu mac Rudi rúaid roglain co n-úaill ergnайд
tuc la hór a Alpain armaig⁵ óg a ernraig.

Ergnайд in cerdd diarbo aindir Ailech imgel
ciarbo do Fubthaire fondgel ropo ingen.

I n-athiud dos-fuc⁶ dar muir mac Rudi rathraig
íar cnis chlochair rop fochoaid cen fis día hathair.

At-raacht Fubthaire día iarair ciarbo indsа
glice in band-sa co toracht conice in dind-sa.

Do sin bretha isin daingen co⁷ nglúair ngráigech
úair ba debech rucáid úaid⁸ Ailech i nAilech.

And ba húamon ri Fubthaire Frigriu Fothart

¹ cona ngáib cona scíthaib cona congaib LL
² glaine om. in LL.
³ an amser LL.
⁴ Imchell LL.
⁵ ergnайд LL.
⁶ do-fuc LL.
⁷ co om. in LL.
⁸ ro fucad LL.
Fiacha Sroiptine rod n-anacht nóco toracht.

Tech da-ríngned and 'má mnaí la Frigrend foglaig ropo ergnaid ós roí rebraid ara roblaíd.

Ro gníd do dergibur drumnech íarna dlugu co ngargbrut glór de arggut de ór de umu.

Ro hecrad do gemmaíb glainib gním ro nglen-ón ba samail trá adaig ocus lá 'na medón.

Mad-ngiúil di sein Ailech Frigrend fêgaíd findchill Ailech Néit ní tréic tre thairthim Ailech Imchill.

Ní fil i crí ro-fessad cach ní acht Diá
riaguil reá ro-fítir ó chhíanaib ciá. C.
NOTES

Gwynn’s edition and translation significantly differ from mine in some places. These differences are discussed in the Notes below and in the Translation section. (All references are to Gwynn, 1924: 100-107--text, 1924: 401-403--Notes, 1935: 142--Corrigenda.)

FI. 1. Gwynn takes cía as the indefinite pronoun. However, in this case one would expect cía to be followed by the conjunct prototonic form of the verb, which does not happen here. I would prefer to take this as the conjunction, with the lenition mark omitted because of the abbreviation of r. Also, if we accept Gwynn’s interpretation, then I do not see how we could fit nech into the sentence.

FI. 2. There is an extra syllable in this line: based on some of the other MSS, Gwynn omits the a and reads gait claidib for LL gait a claidib (only LL, Lc and Re have the a). I have accepted this emendation; however, as gait is a fem. noun, I think one should preserve the lenition of c.

Based on the other MSS, the editors of LL suggest that we read Hectoir instead of Hectoir, which is what Gwynn has, too. LL is the only MS with Hectoir. I have accepted this solution, as eltaig and Hectoir would not make perfect rhyme (there is no continuant in Hectoir to balance the l in eltaig—see the rules for rhyming consonant clusters in SMF, Vol. II, pp. 111-112: 2), while eltaig and Ercaí would.

FI. 5. In the form this line appears in LL, the caesura must come after an unstressed word, do-. I believe that this has to be avoided whenever it is possible, as the same phenomenon occurs only in ten other long lines in these poems—and for seven of these no other MS evidence is available (see SMF, Vol. II, p. 108: 1.2 c). The other problem is that with the exception of S, all the other MSS have ciaso instead of LL cía.

For LL māro ìarfaig, Re has derb ro ìarfaig, and Lc and S derb mar ìarfaid, which allows the caesura to come after this verb. There is no problem with the caesura either in S3, as this MS has derb mā do ìarfaidh ciaso sōer do-ngni Ailech. B, H and M have mar ro, mà ro, and mar do respectively as well as ciaso, which gives us an extra syllable in the line. I believe that there are two solutions for the problem in LL—both of these will give us the correct syllable count and the caesura will come after a stressed word, ìarfaig: a) to read mār(o) and ciasu, which will give us the correct syllable count and the caesura will come after a stressed word, ìarfaig; b) or read mār(o), and cía as a disyllable. Based on the evidence of the other MSS cited above, I have opted for the first solution; though
I admit that mār(o) is a problematic reading, as although there are examples cited for the dropping of the o in ro after a conjunct particle in MIR in SNG: 279-280: 11.3; as well as examples of the dropping of the o in ro even when it is not preceded by a conjunct particle in MIR poetry (SNG: 280: 11.6), still there are no examples of this phenomenon cited with má in SNG. Maybe this is (im)mar, conj., ‘when’? Concerning ciasu, see also the Note on F1. 11, p. 14.

F1. 6. There is an extra syllable in this line in LL. As this is the only MS where is appears in this line, the editors of LL suggest that we omit it. This is what Gwynn does, too, and I have accepted this solution.

F1. 7. Four (B, M, Re and S3) out of the eight MSS have ar câe, while the others agree with LL in having aice. As aice gives good sense, I have not changed this line. The lenition of fin[fer] after Imchell is unhistorical, and may represent an attempt by the scribe to get alliteration between the last two words of the line (note that this would be the only way to get alliteration in this line).

F1. 8. LL has a lenition mark over the f in no figed, while Gwynn does not. In these poems the verb is more often than not lenited after a particle (see Vol. II, pp. 60-61: 8.4). In order to get alliteration in F1. 8d one must either read both làel and figed with a lenited f (in this case, gæl is in the dat. with the lenition mark omitted over the f in gæl), or both words with a non-lenited one (then gæl would be an example of the acc. used for dat.) Alliteration would not work with sær, which is what most of the other MSS have here instead of fæl.

F1. 9. There are two ways of getting the correct number of syllables in the line: we could either read cia as a disyllable (as in F1. 70), or lasa for las. The evidence of the other MSS is quite confusing here: in Lc and S the situation is the same as in LL; in H, Re and S3 one would have to read cia as a disyllable and lasa for las; while B and M have gribda before the last word in the line, with cia as a monosyllable and lasa as a disyllabic form. Gwynn has the following note on this line:

"I print L's [=LL] reading, writing lasa ndernad for lasndernad as cia is probably monosyllabic; but I suspect that the true reading is Féi cia lasa ndernad in gni'm gribda glanbda [these last two words are found in B and M]: the precise meaning of glanbda (found also in SnR and TBC) is unknown to me" (1924: 402).

(Note that according to DIL, glanbda means 'bright (?)'), clear (?').) As the LL version
makes perfect sense I suggest that we read lasa and do not alter anything in the line.

Fl. 10. Based on some of the other MSS (B, H and Re), Gwynn reads ìndeil (dat. sg.) for LL ìndel (acc. sg.), which I think is fixed by rhyme (ìfer).

Fl. 11. LL is the only MS with the reading cà: the others have càsù, just like in Fl. 5. I have followed the other MSS here, just like the editors of LL, as this will give us the correct syllable count. Although note that even without sù it would be possible to read cà as a disyllable, as in Fl. 70, and this will also give us the required number of syllables.

Fl. 12. The ò in condalt seems to be a scribal error--LL is the only MS with this reading. This word is either an adj. qualifying lecht or an adverb qualifying ro fecht.

Fl. 14. Based on three of the other MSS (Lc, M and S), Gwynn has torgenn for LL torged, which is the only MS with this reading (B has torrted, H tortenn, Re toirted, and S3 toirrteann). Torgenn would make perfect rhyme with Corrcend/Corrgend (where <c>/<g> = [g]--see O’Rahilly, 1942a: 142), if it is the imperf. ind. sg. 3 prot. of do-airicc ‘finds, gets’, with an unlenited g (the other possibility would be to take this as the imperf. ind. sg. 3 prot. of do-roich, with a lenited g, ‘reaches, comes to’--but I would opt for do-airicc). I presume the -enn is the new MIr pres. ind. sg. 3 conj. ending. I have only found two examples of this new form in the poems I have examined: in ni étann (F5. 133) (ad-cota) and in dia tesband (F10. 1) (do-esta); however, these verbs were influenced by benaid, and so the -ann ending appears earlier in them--see SLF. Vol. II, p. 155: 105. For this reason, I would be more inclined to accept the LL reading (the -ed ending in LL is supported by the B and Re readings). In this case we will not get perfect internal rhyme here but note that only 17 of the 35 second long lines have internal rhyme--see p. 5).

Gwynn does not capitalise Cicuil, while the editors of LL do. Gwynn notes (1924: 402 and 1935: 308) here that the reading is doubtful, and that the meaning of both torgenn/torged and Cicuil is obscure. He translates the verbal form as ‘who waged’, and suggests that Cicuil may be a place-name; however, it is not listed in Hogan. DIL cites this line under cicul, ‘cycle’, with “n. pr.?” in brackets. I do not know what the significance of this word is.

Fl. 15. Based on all the other MSS, Gwynn has Flathemain for LL Flatheman. The nom. sg. is Flathem, which is an n + o-stem, so the expected gen. would be either Flatheman or Flaithim. Perhaps LL preserves the older gen. form here, and the gen. Flathemain in the other MSS represents the gen. of Flatheman, an original n-stem gen. which is taken

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to be the nom., and then starts to be declined as an o-stem. For examples of original n-stems treated as a-stems or o-stems in these texts, see Vol. II, p. 44: 3.14 b).

F1. 20. Gwynn has *iär n-óeth aire* for *LL iär n-áeth aile*. *LL* is the only MS with the reading *aile*. In his edition Gwynn translates *iär* as 'though', which I do not believe is possible, but he also has the following note on this phrase: *"iär n-óeth aire* might mean 'in accordance with an oath that bound him', so to avenge his dishonour. The meaning seems, however, to be that he was bound by allegiance to Aed as the king's son: and perhaps in 18 *fer cotaig* means 'liegeman', not 'husband'" (1924: 403). The evidence of the other MSS, as well as the fact that the *LL* reading with *aile* makes less sense ('after\'in accordance with another oath'), have prompted me to accept Gwynn's suggestion.

F1. 22. Gwynn has *iarsind ule-sin* for *LL isind luc-sain*. Only two MSS (*Le* and *S*) have Gwynn's version, although note that this reading seems to be supported by *fidrad freccomail*, which in one form or another is present between all stanzas in *LL* with only this exception (see pp. 2-3, and SMF, Vol. II, p. 124: 3.3). As far as rhyme is concerned, both *ule-sin* and *luc-sain* (: *luc[hl]t-sin*) would be acceptable (*CºPbSh--CºPbSh* in the first case, and *PºSb--CºPbSh* in the second—for rules, see SMF, Vol. II, pp. 111-112: 2), provided that we read either *sain* or *sin* in both of the rhyming words. I have decided to follow the reading of *Le* and *S* because of *fidrad freccomail*.

Gwynn reads *LL cona fuaratar* ('until they found him') as *cona fuaratar* ("but they found him not"); the problem is that this does not seem to make much sense in the light of what follows in the next few stanzas.

F1. 24. Gwynn has the following note on this line "several texts have *ni.n.ta.ne*, which is preferable [to *ní thá*], as otherwise the line wants a syllable" (1924: 403). None of the other MSS agree with *LL* here, and four (*B, H, Re, S3*) indeed have *nin tá-ne*. *M* has what seems to be a corruption of this form (*nim tain*), while *Le* and *S* have *ní dènta*. Thus the MS readings seem to point to original *nin tá-ne*. Gwynn thinks that the *LL* version wants a syllable as he elides the *a* after *ní thá*. However, in these poems there is no compulsory elision when an unstressed short vowel is preceded by another vowel (see SMF, Vol. II, pp. 125-128: 4).

F1. 26. The only way to get the required *úaitne* or *aícall* in this long line is to put the caesura after *thoil-seom*. However, in this case there will be one syllable missing in 26c. Gwynn, based on two other MSS (*Le* and *S*), supplies *is* before *ferr*, and I have accepted
this solution.

F1. 27. Gwynn believes that "caemna is a corruption of caema, put for coime `tenderness'' (1924: 403), because it rhymes with nAeda. However, Murphy (1961: 33) argues that in Early Irish poetry it was possible to have one consonant balanced by two consonants in a rhyming pair. For other similar examples, see SMF, Vol. II, pp. 113-116: 22.

F1. 30. Keeping in mind that either uaitne or aicill is required in the long line, F1. 30 could be divided in two ways: if we put the caesura after suas, then we will get aicill with crúas; and if we put the caesura after chórad, then we will get uaitne with eifler. The question arises as to whether one would gain anything additional (i.e., internal rhyme, which is present in about half of the second long lines--see p. 5) by giving preference to one of the divisions. The way the line appears in LL, the answer is no. However, Gwynn emends LL co tuargaib (perf. sg. 3 prot. of do-fócaib; perf. prot. stem tuargab--according to DIL) to co tógab, in order to create rhyme with chórad. (On the interchange between a palatal and a non-palatal consonant in the pret./perf. of verbs in MIr, see SNG 300: 12.33, 302: 12.45, 305: 12.59 and 306: 12.68.) But note that all the MSS, with the exception of S (which has do-farcaib), agree with LL here, so I did not accept this emendation; and as well as that, there is not a single example cited for tógab in DIL. Also note that three of the MSS (Lc, S and S3) have uas for LL uais (adj.), which can thus rhyme with crúas. Úas in the meaning `noble' seems to be badly attested according to DIL, which cites only three examples. On the other hand, uais is a well-attested word, and DIL makes a tentative suggestion that the earlier form of the adjective may have been ús, úas. However, Thur. §375 and §850 explicitly say that the form of the adj. is uais. As far as crúas is concerned, according to DIL, the earlier acc./dat. sg. form was crúais--and they cite three examples of crúais rhyming with úais. Indeed, it would be very tempting to put the caesura after chórad, and read crúalíjs : úais, although the MSS do not provide definite evidence for internal rhyme here.

F1. 32. is do sain do-maid mo chride: there are two possibilities for the interpretation of this line. First, do maid could be the weak, MIr perfect of maidid, replacing the OIr reduplicated form (see DIL), with do used for ro (for do used for ro--already in Saltair na Rann--, see SNG 280: 11.4). The new perfect form would first have been ro maid, and the MIr confusion of preverbs would have resulted in the form we have here. The other possibility would be to interpret this form the way Gwynn does (1935: 247), who takes this to be the 3rd sg. pres. ind. of do-maid, 'bursts forth'. However, there are no examples in DIL of do-maid with cride as its subject or object, while the latter word does appear
with maidid in *DIL* twice, referring to the condition of being broken-hearted. Note that only *Le* and *M* agree with *LL*, and the rest of the MSS have ro maid. Still, I would be more inclined to accept Gwynn’s interpretation, as otherwise this would be the only example in the texts I have examined of do for ro, as well as of the weak pret. or perf. of maidid (see Vol. II, p. 88: **12.31** and pp. 296-299, 301-302, 306-310). So presumably this is do-maid, used with the meaning of maidid, ‘breaks’. Ro maid in the later MSS could have arisen as a result of the already-mentioned confusion between ro and do.

Fl. 33. In order to get the correct number of syllables we should read coir as a disyllable. Following *M*, Gwynn has do-raga ris (fut. sg. 3 of do-tét) for *LL* do rágid ris (vn. of ráidid, ‘says’). Note that *B*, *H* and *S3* agree with *LL* here (with the final a erased in do radha in *S3*), while *Le*, *Re* and *S* have do radha ris (in these MSS, coir is monosyllabic). I believe that radha in *Le*, *Re* and *S* represents the late MIr form of the verbal noun, ráda, while the *M* form represents the reinterpretation of d [6] as g [y], which arose from the confusion between lenited, non-palatal d and g (present already in MIr). Note also the structure x do rád fri nech, ‘to call someone x’.

Fl. 34. There is one syllable missing in this line. Based on the other MSS, Gwynn supplies an a before ainm, and I have accepted this suggestion.

Fl. 35. There is one syllable missing in this line. Based on some of the other MSS (*B*, *M* and *Re*), Gwynn suggests that we read techtad, and I have accepted his suggestion.

Fl. 39. Īarfais--this form is cited in *DIL* as subj. pres. sg. 3 of īarmi-foich (=OIr prototonic stem of īarmi-foich plus the OIr subj. pres. sg. 3 absolute ending). *Le* and *S* have īarfaidis, pret. sg. 3 of īarfágid--however, this will leave us with an extra syllable in the line; *H* and *M* have īarfaid– (probably īarfaidis, but a trisyllabic form in any case), which again will leave us with an extra syllable; *Re* has īarfaidhe, *B* īarfaid and *S3* īarf-. In theory, the *LL* form could also be fut. sg. 3 (OIr prototonic stem + OIr s-future sg. 3 absolute ending), or pret. sg. 3 (OIr prototonic stem + OIr weak, s-pret. sg. 3 absolute ending). I have opted for the subj. here. For examples of the s-subj. in these texts, see Vol. II, p. 92: **12.41**. Cf. also dían ī-arfaís in F5. 138 (p. 142), which is also a problematic form.

Fl. 40. Based on *S* and *S3*, in his Corrigenda Gwynn corrects *LL* gním gland-sa (:. lind-sea) to gním glondsá, ‘deed of violence’, taking it to be the gen. sg. of *glonnas*. The problem is that this is the only example cited in *DIL* under *glonnas*. *H*, *Le* and *Re* agree
with LL here, while B has glansa and M coimsi. As glonas is such a badly attested word, it is perhaps more likely that glandsa is the adj. glan with the demonstrative pronoun -sa, the double ņ being quite common in MIr before an s (see SNG 234: 3.17, and Vol. II, p. 22: 2.13). For the variation between a and o in stressed syllables before a non-palatal consonant, see SNG 232: 3.6, and Vol. II, p. 18-19: 2.4.

F1. 42. LL is the only MS with cona ngáib cona scíathaib cona congaib. All the other MSS have im Néit mac Indui in allaid cona congaib. I believe that the latter reading is better, as it will give us perfect úaitne as well as alliteration in F1. 42c.

F1. 43. There is one syllable missing in this line. Based on the other MSS, Gwynn omits the ro and supplies glaine after glébind. This emendation is verified by úaitne, end-rhyme, and alliteration.

F1. 44. There are two extra syllables in this line in LL. B, H, M and S3 basically agree with the LL reading; S omits in, which will still leave us with an extra syllable; and Re omits acht in, which will give us the correct number of syllables. Lc has in cluine acht in Dagda druine amra aile, where aile as qualifying Dagda or perhaps a substantivised amra does not make much sense. Perhaps the best solution would be to follow the Re reading; but note that Dagda, with the exception of a genitival construction in F1. 10, is always used with the definite article in this poem. Another possibility would be to omit acht and elide the i in in after glaine in the preceding line (F1. 43), but I have no definite example of elision across lines or across a caesura (see SMF, Vol. II, p. 128: 4.8). Note that this couplet is the most elaborate one in this poem, as all the stressed words are metrically fixed in it. Gwynn proposes adopting the Re or the Lc reading in his Notes.

F1. 45. There is an extra syllable in this line in LL. Based on five of the other MSS (B, H, M, Re and S3), Gwynn reads a n-ammm instead of LL an amser (Lc and S have in tan and in tam respectively). This is what the editors of LL suggest, too. If we accept this emendation, then this would be the only instance of the neuter article + noun in the texts I have examined. (It is used once together with the demonstrative particle, i, in F4. 1.) There is a possibility that this is an for in; however, I have no example of an for in in these texts. Note that amser also appears in the next line, and this is what may have confused the LL scribe.

F1. 46. In his Corrigenda, Gwynn corrects his translation of toimsech trebaid from ‘a spacious abode’ to ‘a rent-yielding tilth’. His Notes prove that he had in mind O’Clery’s
gloss, cited in DIL: "toimhseach treabhadh i.e. treabh no baile da toimhsdi cios". I think that if we take tomsech trebaid as referring to dindgna, then "spacious abode" would make good sense here.

FI. 47-48. We have imperfect rhyme between Imchell and Frigrend in LL, as there is no voiceless consonant in the medial consonant cluster of the second word to balance the [x] in the first (for rules, see SMF, Vol. II, pp. 111-112: 2). Also, LL is the only MS with this reading, as all the others have ingell, 'promise, vow', which will give us perfect rhyme with Frigrend.

As far as LL i mbid is concerned, the MS evidence is quite confusing here: Re has imind, B immid, M imid (= all a corruption of i mbid?), Lc and S have imad (= imbed, imbad, later imad, 'abundance?'), while H and S3 um Néitt/um Néid. So the possible translations would be 'where a vow existed'; 'an abundance of vows'; 'around Néit of vows'. I believe that this is a cheville, so the context will not help with the translation.

FI. 49. Based on five of the other MSS, Gwynn reads rograig for LL roglain (Lc and S agree with LL here). I think that both readings make sense.

FI. 50. Both the editors of LL and Gwynn suggest that we read armaig for ergnaid. This emendation is based on B, H, M, Re and S3 (Lc and S have adbaill). Ergnaid appears in both the line preceding and following this one (i.e. in FI. 49 and 51), and this is what may have confused the LL scribe.

FI. 53. Based on the other MSS, Gwynn reads dos-fuc for LL do-fuc. As LL is the only MS with this reading, and as dos-fuc seems to make more sense here, I have accepted his suggestion.

FI. 54. The editors of LL note that the lenition mark over the f is erased in fochaid. However, I believe that it is just faded.

FI. 57. There is one syllable missing in this line. Based on six of the other MSS, both the editors of LL and Gwynn suggest that we read co ngluair for ngluair. In theory, one could also read ngluair as a disyllable, taking it and the following adj. as qualifying daingen, acc. sg. However, the first solution seems to be the more likely one, especially as all the other MSS, with the exception of S (which has in gel graigech), have co. (Note that DIL cites this example with a question-mark under gluair).

Note also that Gwynn has graigech for LL ngraigech, although this latter version appears
in five other MSS. I think that this is a perfectly acceptable MIr form, with acc. used for dat.

FI. 58. Based on B, H, Lc, M, Re and S3, Gwynn has rucad úaid for LL ro fucad. LL is the only MS with this reading (S has rucad úadha). Note that both readings make sense; however, úaid would make internal rhyme with úair, which is present in about half of the second long lines (see p. 5).

FI. 59. Gwynn lists Fothairt as the LL reading in his variant readings. Note that the MS has Fothart; however, there is a stain on the vellum which does look like a subscript i.

FI. 61. Based on Lc fodlaid and S3 foglaid (noun, `plunderer`), Gwynn has la Frigrinn foglaid for LL Frigrend foglaig (foglach, adj.). The rest of the MSS (with the exception of M soghlaigh) have foglaig. The spellings foglaig and foglaid may represent the confusion of lenited palatal d and g in final position (see SNG: 234: 3.18 and Vol. II, p. 22: 2.14, where I have two examples); or we may have here the fem. form of an adj. used with a masc. consonantal stem in the acc./dat. sg. (on this phenomenon, see O’Brien, 1954: 346-349, and 1958: 102, where this example is cited). I have accepted the LL reading.

Concerning Gwynn’s other emendation (Frigrinn for Frigrend), apart from LL, Frigrend appears in four other MSS (B, M, Re and S). The rest have either la Frigriu or la Frigri. Gwynn is right in that one would expect Frigrinn here in the acc., but the MS evidence does not provide us with this form. I have the following forms of this name in these texts: it occurs only once apart from the forms found in this poem (dat.: iar Frigrind—F2. 1); F1 has nom. Frigriu in ll. 49 and 59; originally gen. Frigrend (: ingell) used for nom. in l. 48; and acc. Frigrend in this line. If this is not a scribal slip for Frigrinn (which I consider very unlikely because of the evidence provided by four other MSS), or does not represent a scribal attempt to get imperfect aicill with -ringned (although there is only one aicill in the first long line in this poem--see p. 4), then I think that we may be dealing with the gen. of an original n-stem noun reinterpreted as a nom., and declined as an o-stem. For original n-stems treated as å-stems or o-stems, see Vol. II, p. 44: 3.14 b). The evidence from these poems seems to indicate that an n-stem (Frigriu) and an o-stem (Frigrenn) nominative were used with their respective declensions.

FI. 69. In order to get the correct number of syllables in the line as well as a disyllabic ending (which is required by the metre), we should read Díá as a disyllable.
Fl. 70. In order to get the correct number of syllables in the line as well as a disyllabic ending in $d$ (which is required by the metre), we should read reā and ciā as disyllables.
Although (some)one may try to tell the story of Ailech of the herds after noble Eochaid, it is [like] robbing the sword from the hand of Hercules.

The greater part of all that the grandson of Máel Choluim demanded Eochaid hitherto expounded intelligibly for the people of the Doball.

Surely, if he asked, what mason built Ailech? Eochaid the arm-proof noble does not conceal\(^1\) that it was Garbán of the horses.

Who was there at the building?\(^2\) It was his tribesman Imchell and Garbán the mason\(^3\), grandson of Garb, from a warlike kin, who was building it.

Look, who was he by whom the bright work was done thereafter? The man by whom its materials were brought, as a requital for the Dagda’s scion.

If it be asked, what was the cause for which it was made? Round his son’s seemly grave he raised the nobly-bright tomb.

Let it be seen why famous Ailech is called so at all? From the stone lifted up by Corrcenn Cicuil who used to

\(^1\) Gwynn translates \textit{ni cheil} as a pret. form. However, I think it is unlikely that this verb is treated as a \textit{léicid}-type weak-verb here (pret. sg. 3 \textit{ni léic}).

\(^2\) Lit. "at it at its building".

\(^3\) This seems to make more sense here than "noble Garbán".
find battle.

15 Corrcenn, the son of Flathem, from Cruach—hearken!—
killed noble and famous Áed who was the stern Dagda’s son.

When Áed came to Corrcenn’s wife into her bed;
it was a wicked deed, since her partner did not allow (it).

Corrcenn strode forth, after he had been outraged¹ in the
midst of his house;
and he slew Áed, in accordance with an oath that bound
him?²; it was a foolish crime.

The warriors of Ireland were seeking him--famous is that
folk--
until they found him as a result of that expedition after that
evil deed.

‘Let him be killed’, cried each man, ‘let him not be spared
for what he has done.’
‘We shall not have his death’, said the Dagda, ‘for Tara’s
sake.’

25 ‘But lift up on his back the dead man he has destroyed;
it is better for us to take a spell of his service than to smite
him.’

‘And may he be under the shameful burden of the dead man,
without any mercy,
till he can find a stone that shall be a trophy over Áed’s
grave.’

He noticed a stone above Loch Foyle—it was a warrior’s task-

¹ iarna chráid—I have given DIL’s translation here. Gwynn’s translation, ‘after murdering him’, makes less sense in the light of what follows.

² See Note on p. 15.
and raised it up with a champion's strength; noble was the hero.  

This is what he said as he carried the burden over road after road,

' Ach, ach! The stone! It is by it my heart breaks!'

'It is right that it is Ail-ach that is said of it', said the Dagda; so that was the name of the height (fortress?), in the place where this happened.

Néit, son of Indúi, his father's brother, used to possess Ailech,  
with Nemain, his law-giver wife, of the wounds of war.

That the bright neck of land^ may be called by all men Ailech Néit, since the whole island belongs to him.

Someone may ask then, what race held the island, when that bright deed^ was accomplished above this lake?

I have remembered it well, it was the Túatha Dé Danann in their hosts,  
around Néit, the son of Indúi the wild, with their war-harness.

Who was king over the all of clear-melodious, radiant Ireland?

The strong^ Dagda, you hear of none other so famous.

The time when the fortress was built--a sorrowful certainty--,

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1 lit. 'a singular man'
2 Or "the bright valley"?
3 or 'this feat of prowess'--see Note on p. 17.
4 *DIL* cites this line under *1 druine*, 'firmness, solidity, strength'.

24
was the third lamentable epoch of the world—a spacious
abode\textsuperscript{1}.  

There arrived at Ailech, where a vow existed?\textsuperscript{2}, many
generations,
before the famous\textsuperscript{3} Frigriu came to the far-seen\textsuperscript{4} rock.

Frigriu, the son of fierce, very bright Rude, with clever pride,
brought, along with gold, from arm-clad Scotland his
implements complete.

Cunning was the craftsman whose wife was very white Ailech,
though she was daughter to Fubthaire of the white soles.

In flight across the sea the son of prosperous Rude bore her
over the surface of a causeway: it was a temptation unknown
to her father.

Fubthaire arose to seek her, though it was a hard task
--cunning was this deed--, and he came unto this height.

Thereupon she was carried into the fortress, full of horses,
clamorous;
when battle was joined, Ailech was brought from him to
Ailech.

Then Frigriu of the Fotharta was afraid of Fubthaire;
it was Fiachu Sroptine who protected him till he reached
[Ailech].

\textsuperscript{1} Gwynn changes the order of the two chevilles, and has `The time when the fortress was
built, a spacious abode, was the third lamentable epoch of the world, a sorrowful certainty'.

\textsuperscript{2} See Note on p. 19.

\textsuperscript{3} \textit{fairmend}—this is the only attestation of this word in \textit{DIL} (under \textit{2 formenn}).

\textsuperscript{4} lit. `very clear'. Note that this is the only example cited in \textit{DIL} under \textit{airmenn}.
A house was built about his wife by the robber Frigriu; it was noted above the field of exercise for its great renown¹.

It was built of red yew tooled and arched, overlaid with pure unwrought silver, and gold, and bronze.

It was decked with gems and crystal², a work that held fast in it³; alike were day and night in the midst of it.

As a result of that, the name Ailech Frigrenn stuck [to it] well thenceforth—behold the bright church—, Ailech Néit does not lose through oblivion the name Ailech Imchill.

There is none alive who might know everything, but God only; who knows the ordering of times from of old⁴.

¹ I take this line as referring to tech.

² Gwynn takes glainib to be the dat. pl. of the adj. glan. However, in that case the n would not be palatal.

³ lit. 'that stuck to it'

⁴ One could also take this to mean 'he(who) knows the ordering of times from of old, whatever it shall be'.
CIND CETHRI ÑDÍNI (F2)

INTRODUCTION

This is the second poem in the cycle on the principal branches of the Úi Néill.

MacNeill has the following note on this poem (1913:54): "This [the last] stanza fully corroborates the ascription to Flann, proving that the poem could not have been composed after the reign of Niall (s.o. Mael Sechnaill), who outlived Flann by five years."

MSS: LL 181b13

Lc

D ii 2

12 N 5 (RIA)

12 N 5 is the collection of the Petrie Papers from the 19th c. In a note Petrie states that he copied F2 from Lc. This poem is not listed in the Table of Contents to Lecan, and the fact that it does appear there is not mentioned in the RIA Index. In Lc this poem directly follows F1.

95% of LL is clearly legible.

ANALYSIS OF THE METRE

Metre and stanza structure
The metre of this poem is *dechnad cummaise* (8\(^2\) 4\(^2\) 8\(^2\) 4\(^2\) mixed with 4\(^2\) 8\(^2\) 4\(^1\) 8\(^2\), 8\(^2\) 4\(^2\) 4\(^2\) 8\(^2\), etc.) (Murphy, 1961: 50). Below can be found the description of the stanza structure of the poem, with the monosyllabic line endings highlighted.

\begin{align*}
4^1+8^2+4^2+8^2: & \quad 2, 4, 18, 19, 24, 28 (6) \\
8^2+4^2+8^2+4^2: & \quad 7, 8, 9, 20, 22 (5) \\
8^2+4^2+4^2+8^2: & \quad 1, 11, 13, 32 (4) \\
4^2+8^2+4^1+8^2: & \quad 14, 15, 27, 34 (4) \\
4^1+8^2+4^1+8^2: & \quad 10, 16, 21, 26 (4) \\
8^2+4^2+4^2+8^2: & \quad 29, 31, 33 (3) \\
4^2+8^2+4^2+8^2: & \quad 6, 12, 17 (3) \\
8^1+4^2+4^2+8^2: & \quad 3, 25 (2) (\textit{caesura} comes after an unstressed word--see Notes on F2. 5 and 49 on pp. 38 and 42.) \\
4^1+8^2+8^2+4^2: & \quad 5 (1) \\
8^1+4^2+8^2+4^2: & \quad 23 (1) (\textit{caesura} comes after an unstressed word--see Note on F2. 45, p. 41) \\
8^1+4^2+4^1+8^2: & \quad 30 (1)
\end{align*}

According to Ní Dhomhnaill's criteria, in bardic poetry out of these 68 couplets 26 would be accepted (=38%), while according to Knott's criteria (allowing for \(c\) to be quadrasyllabic and \(d\) being octosyllabic), 41 (=60%).

End-rhyme:
Note the interchange of stressed \(o\) and \(a\) before a non-palatal consonant in \textit{forráin} : Alláín (F2. 25-26). For other similar examples, see Vol. II, p. 18: 2.4.
A consonant from group \(x\) (\(C^b\) in Ó Cúiv's notation) rhymes with a consonant from group 1 (\(C'\)) (Murphy, 1961: 33): \textit{fossad} : Frossach (F2. 59-60).

\textit{Fídrad freccomail}

Linking alliteration is not present between the following stanzas: 6+7 (ll. 12-13) (although both stanzas begin with the same word, and this might provide a link here), 10+11 (ll. 20-21), and in 26+27 (ll. 52-53) (3 cases; \(30/33=91\%)\).
The only way to get \(f. f\). in 9+10 (ll. 18-19), 15+16 (ll. 30-31), 24+25 (ll. 48-49) and 32+33 (ll. 64-65) is to accept the unstressed substantivising particle, \(a\), as one of the alliterating words (see Murphy, 1961: 38).
In 21+22 (ll. 42-43) \(f. f\). is present between an unstressed and a stressed syllable, and between \(d\) and \(t\).
In 8+9 (ll. 16-17) the two sēs might provide a link, and in 20+21 (ll. 40-41) blíadnaib and mblíadna might provide a link.

Alliteration and lorga

Alliteration is not present in: F2. 1b, 3a, 4c, 6d, 7a, 9a, 11a, 12cd, 16d, 18c, 19a, 20d, 23a, 27a, 28c, 29a, 30c, 31a, 32c, 33ab, 35ab, 37a, 40d, 41a, 45a, 46d, 47a, 48d, 49a, 50d, 51b, 52c, 53a, 54d, 56cd, 57a, 58cd, 60d, 62d, 63a, 64d, 65b, 67ab, 68c (50).

In 8+9 (ll. 16-17) the two sēs might provide a link, and in 20+21 (ll. 40-41) blíadnaib and mblíadna might provide a link.

In order to get alliteration in F2. 19b one must either read mac Mael Fithrig ro faemad or mac Mael Fithrig ro faemad. On lenition after the gen. of Mael and after ro in these poems, see Vol. II, pp. 46-47: 3.16 b and p. 60: 8.4 b.

The only way to get alliteration in F2. 21a would be to take ô (=úa) as a stressed word. The only way to get alliteration in F2. 25b would be to read either cia fuair forrá[i]n or cia fuair forrá[i]n (for the lenition of the direct object of a verb, see Vol. II, p. 28: 2.29 II i. However, alliteration would not really be necessary here, as we already have lorga between a and b.

Note that in l. 51a trí alliterates with thri.

The only way to get alliteration in 54d would be to treat mac as an unstressed word; still, even in this case, the alliteration would not be between the last two stressed words in d, which is a requirement in this metre. (See SMF. Vol. II, pp. 105-106: 1.2.)

On F2. 38d, 58ab and 59b, see the Notes on pp. 40 and 42.

Lorga between a and b (when there is no alliteration in b): 1b, 15b, 33b, 43b and 63b (5). In 21b and 61b we have both lorga and alliteration. On 25b, see the remark above.

Note that there is only one stressed word in 10d, 13b, 15b, 43b and 44d, so these lines can not have alliteration (5). However, three of these are second lines in the stanza (line b), which means that they could make lorga with a; but this does not happen in 13ab.

The figures for alliteration and lines which contain only lorga (minus the line referred to above) are 87/136=64%.

FIRST LONG LINE

There is no perfect aicill, úaitne or internal rhyme in the first long line.
SECOND LONG LINE (either aicill or úaitne must be present—see SMF, Vol. II, pp. 105-109: 1.2)

Aicill (15/34=44%)

ágmár : ánraeth (F2. 2)
dáena : Áeda (F2. 26)
trí : Li (F2. 30)
rélad : gèbad (F2. 34)
galach : anad (F2. 48)
thríall : Niall (F2. 54)
fiáil : Níall (F2. 62)
foil : coich (F2. 68)
línd : Cind (F2. 20)
rúin : Dúín (F2. 28)
secht : fecht (F2. 32)
ceín : Néill (F2. 42)
hóen : Æed (F2. 52)
riam : Niall (F2. 60)
Níall : ngiall (F2. 66)

A consonant from group x (C^b) makes aicill with a consonant from group l (C^a) (Murphy, 1961: 33): in F2. 48 and 68. Note that ánraeth (F2. 2) is a variant spelling of ánrad, so this does not belong to this group. See also SMF, Vol. II, p. 112: 2.1.

Note that in F2. 2, 48, 54 and 68 both internal rhyme and aicill are present (4).

Úaitne (21/34=62%)

ágmár : Eógan (F2. 2)
fethet : fic[h]et (F2. 6)
mbrethaib : Éochaíd (F2. 10)
mórtha : Fiachna (F2. 14)
foibdi : umli (F2. 18)
chomram : ergal (F2. 24)
cæmfer : dianglan (F2. 36)
Eógain : bIadnaib (F2. 40)
mbladaib : Alig (F2. 46)
fofdaib : Temraig (F2. 50)
eólaitg : a’irim (F2. 64)
-rélad : bládan (F2. 4)
chachta : certa (F2. 8)
eólaitg : Rímid (F2. 12)
fénnid : bliadnaib (F2. 16)
gáie : Tuile (F2. 22)
rélad : giallad (F2. 34)
fáelur : Glündub (F2. 38)
hergnaid : Temraig (F2. 44)
galach : Ailech (F2. 48)
aile : duine (F2. 56)

There is perfect rhyme between hergnaid and Temraig in F2. 44. See a discussion of this feature (rudrac) in SMF, Vol. II, p. 122: 2.7.

In F2. 10 mbrethaib makes úaitne with Éochaíd; see the note on this in SMF, Vol. II, p. 122: 2.7.

Internal rhyme (16/34=47%; 15/34=44% where there is no emendation needed)

Ailech : airech (F2. 2)
fialglan : mbIádan (F2. 6)
cobrád : Cholmán (F2. 12)
locht : hocht (F2. 18)
úa(i)g : buan (F2. 4)
clethail : cethair (F2. 8)
Mind : find (F2. 14)
gaín : Maile (F2. 22)
In the second long line where there is no uaitne, aicill is always present. There is only one second long line one which does not have any kind of ornamentation (uaitne or aicill or internal rhyme) as it stands in LL: F2. 58. Neither of the short lines contains alliteration either. See Note on p. 42.

Both uaitne and aicill are present in F2. 34 (1).
Both uaitne and internal rhyme are present in F2. 4, 6, 8, 12, 14, 18, 22, 36, 38, 50, 56 and 64 (12).
Aicill, internal rhyme and uaitne are all present in F2. 2 and 48 (2).

Proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in c when it is quadrasyllabic (not counting the last one, which always makes either uaitne or aicill with d): 14/32 = 44%.

Proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in d (not counting the last word, which rhymes with the final of b): of the 74 stressed words in d in this poem, 31 make aicill or internal rhyme with a word in c (= 42%).


1. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L + b (rules 1, 2, 3):
   C^p_b...L^p_b; C^p_b...C^b_h; C^p_b...L^p_hC^p_b
   Erca : certa (F2. 7-8) (e. r.)
   locht : hocht (F2. 18) (i. r.)
   seacht : fecht (F2. 32) (a.)
   chachta : certa|Erca (F2. 7-8)

2. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L (rules 1 and 2): C^p-C^p
   orddain : torcaib (F2. 31-32) (e. r.)

3. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2):
   C^C^v--C^C^v; C^C^v--L^L^v; C^C^v--C^L^v
   Subni : umli (F2. 17-18) (e. r.)
   comland : Domnall (F2. 61-62) (e. r.)
   comrand : Domnall (F2. 36) (i. r.)
   fodaib : Temraig (F2. 50)
   chomram : ergal|Fergal (F2. 23-24)
   Fergal : ergal (F2. 23-24) (e. r.)
   ágmar : ánraith (F2. 2) (a.)
   cobrád : Cholmán (F2. 12) (i. r.)
   foibdi : umli|Subni (F2. 17-18)
4. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C/L + b (rules 2 and 3):
\[ C^bC^b - C^bC^b; \ C^bC^b - C^bC'^r \]

\textit{fubthad} : Murchad (F2. 27-28) (e. r.) \hspace{1cm} \textit{mórtha} : Fiachna (F2. 14)

5. One consonant corresponds to two: a consonant from class 1 (C') is added:
\[ C^c - C'; \ L^y - C'^v \]

\textit{íarair} : bliadnaib (F2. 15-16) (e. r.) \hspace{1cm} \textit{firdil} : Rimid (F2. 57-58) (e. r.)
\textit{ágmar} : Êoëganëgleogal (F2. 1-2) \hspace{1cm} \textit{fælur} : dûrdul (F2. 37-38)
\textit{Eo™ain} : bliadnaib (F2. 40) \hspace{1cm} \textit{fennid} : bliadnaib (F2. 16)
\textit{dûrdul} : Glûndub (F2. 37-38) (e. r.)

6. One consonant corresponds to three consonants: consonants from class 1 (C') are added:
\[ C'C'C' - C'' \]

\textit{mbliadân} : dianglan (F2. 35-36) (e. r.) \hspace{1cm} \textit{fialglan} : mbliadân (F2. 6) (i. r.)
\textit{cæemfer} : dianglan (F2. 36) \hspace{1cm} \textit{Eo™ain} : riarglán (F2. 39-40)

7. Two or three consonants correspond to three consonants
a) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C/L + b (rules 2 and 3):
\[ C'^vC'^v - C'C'^v; \ C'^vC'^v - C'C'^v; \ C'^vC'^v - C'C'^v \]

\textit{nemthruim} : Sechnuill (F2. 53-54) (e. r.) \hspace{1cm} \textit{iathbla} : Fiachna (F2. 13-14) (e. r.)
\textit{mórtha} : iathbla (F2. 13-14)

b) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2): C'C'C' - C'C'

\textit{riarglán} : bliadnaib (F2. 39-40) (e. r.) \hspace{1cm} \textit{ergnaid} : Temraig (F2. 49-50) (e. r)
\textit{degblaid} : Temraig (F2. 43-44) (e. r.) \hspace{1cm} \textit{fodlaib} : ergnaid (F2. 49-50)
\textit{hergnaid} : Temraig (F2. 44) \hspace{1cm} \textit{hergnaid} : degblaid (F2. 43-44)

c) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L (rules 1 and 2): C'P'C' - C'P'

\textit{ardgus} : tarddus (F2. 64) (i. r.)

\textbf{Elision}

a) Unstressed short vowel preceded by another vowel: nine examples. In three cases elision is required by the metre (F2. 9a, 16c, 31b), while in another three cases it is not (F2. 30c, 67b-\(x\)). In one case, elision depends on whether one expands the abbreviation 7 as \textit{is} or as \textit{ocus} (F2. 54d: \textit{målle oclus}). In F2. 36d and 38d elision depends on whether one reads \textit{[im]målle oclus’is} or \textit{målle oclus}. (3/9=33%)

1 Note that \textit{nd} = \textit{nn}.
b) Unstressed short vowel + unstressed long vowel: I have one certain example. Here (F2. 1a) the metre requires no elision. Concerning F2. 21a, see Note on p. 39. (0/1=0%)

c) `do`de + V; `do`de + f: eleven examples. In four cases the metre requires elision (F2. 9b--see Note on p. 38; F2. 13a--see Note on p. 39; F2. 24d, 32d) (note that elision is not indicated by the LL scribe in these cases). In three cases this type of elision would be one way of getting the correct number of syllables (F2. 10d--`ocus d'Eochaid`, F2. 21a--see Note on p. 39, F2. 27b--see Note on p. 40); while in four cases (F2. 18c, 23b, 41b, 51b) the metre requires that the vowel in the preposition should be pronounced. (4/11=36%)

d) Dropping of the initial vowel of an unstressed word (prep. + poss. pron.): F2. 45b (after a consonant; see Note on p. 42).

e) Dropping of the initial vowel of the conjunction is: F2. 61a (after a vowel--not indicated by the scribe). On F2. 59b, see Note on p. 42.

f) The reduction of nāro to nār: concerning F2. 27b, see Note on p. 40.

Dúnad

Note that the last word is not identical with the first one in this poem (cind--ciá, pron.); it echoes the first word of F1 (eíə, conj.). However, the first two letters of the opening word, cind, are repeated in the closing word, ciá. See also SMF, Vol. II, p. 129: 5.

or read is do Eochaid
Cind cethri ndíni iar Frigrind forraig gleogal
Ailech ágmar ro gab ánrrath airech Eògan.

Eògan mac Néill ro rígad i nAílíuch iaram
ub(i)g ar-rálad ri ré d’a fichet bùan bliadhan.

Bá Muridach and días é dún ní dichet
fialglan fethet ri ré cethri mblíadhan fe[h]jet.

Fichi fa dí do Murchertach mór mac Erca
CLETHAIL CHACHTA ocus a cethair co certa.

Certfichi a trí [d’Forggus]1 do Domnall cen deochair2
acus do Bäetán co mbrethaib ocus d’Eochaid.

Óenocht mblíadhan do Cholgain mac Domnaill dirig
Cobrád n-eólaig la trí secht do Cholmán Réimid.

Óenocht (mblíadhan) do Áed Ollán mac Domnaill ósa³
Iathbla
da secht do Subní Mind mórtha mac find Fíachna.

Fég a dó do Máel find Fithrig iaruna iarair
Ernáin[e] mac Fíachnai in féinid re⁴ sé blíadnaib.

A sé fo chethair do Chrundmáel mac sáer Subní
cen locht do Fergus co foibdi a hocht umli.

A deich do Máel Dùin mac Máel Fithrig (mar) ro fáemad⁵

---

1 do Fergus LL
2 cen deochaid LL
3 ós LL
4 ré LL
5 See Note on p. 39.
Se mís do Erthaile ó Chrundmáel cétaib cure gaíne gaile sé mís do mac Maile Tuile.

Trí secht mblíadan do mac Maile Dùin do Fergal clandad chomram trí secht do Áed Allá(i)n na n-ergal.

Erbb úait secht cóic do Niáll Frossach cia fúair forrá[i]n a deich dáena do Máel Dùin mac Áeda Alláin.

Óen ar tríchait do Áed Ordnide náro fubhath dá dó cen rúin do mac Máele Dùin do Murchad.

Mad Niáll Caille mac Áeda Ordnide airig fíche a trí òs lách Maig Lí ba rí Ailig.

A cóic fa thrí do Máel Dùin (do) mac Áeda ind orddain a trí dá secht do Áed Findliath fecht ní terc torcaib.

Tríallais Murchad mac Máile3 Dùin ré secht mblíadan réil ro rélad conná gèbad acht a giallad.

Gabais a mac Flathbertach fri ré nóí mblíadan comrand cáemfer malle ocus Domnall dianglan.

Domnall iar sin fría nóí [mblíadna]3 déc fri dúrdul fial in fáelur malle ocus Niáll glan4 Glúndub.

Gabais Niáll for Temraig tírig ríge ríarglain

Flaithbertach i nAiliuch Eògain teóra bhliadnaib.

---

1 x is made on the i
2 Mel LL; Maili Le
3 om. in LL; fri ré náí mblíadan Le, D i 2
4 om. in LL; glan Le, gel D i 2

Teóra bliadna déc do Domnall cona degblaid i rríge Ailig co hergnaid riásin Temraig.

Tárraid Flathbertach is Chond is Tadé 'cò taigib re ré cóic mbliadán co mbladaib ar mag Ailig.

Óenblíadain déc do Murchad Glún i lLár lainech ìar ngreis galach cen anad ropo leis Ailech.

A hocht do Domnall ú Néill i nAliuch hergnaid firu foilaid ìar mbeith i rrígu for Temraig.

A trí fó thrí do Fergal i rríge Ailig trí cóic la hóin ìeret ro gab Æed ind ainig.

Trícha bliadán do Flathbertuch húa Néill nemthruim Æed and ro thrìall målle ocus Niall mac Mael Sechnuill.

Sé ríg déc dìb ro gabsat for Hérind ule na ríg aile fúraratar bríg ò cech dune.

Dìb Murchertach ocus Domnall, Forggus¹ firdil Bìetán na ndám, Eochaid ocus² Cholmàn Rímid.

Rím Æed Uaridnach, Subne Mend, (i)s Fergal fossad Æed Ollàn riàm ocus a bràthair Níall Frossach.

Fég Æed Ordnide is Níall Caílle cètaib comland Æed Findlíath fìal, in Glundub Níall ocus Domnall.

Derb ro sechnus drem na llethrig ciabtar lánfir

¹ Fergus LL.
² is LL; 7 Le, D ii 2

36
ardgus n-eòlaig connàchas tarddus i n-àrim.

65 A cóic cethrachat do rígaib ro gab Ailech
ó Eògan fial co torae[h]t Niall na ngíall ngaigeach.

Gébas Ailech armothá i rré ar-biá
acht drech' ros foíd ní fitir nech coich ná ciá. C.

\footnote{1 dréach LL}
NOTES

All references are to MacNeill, 1913: 48-50.

F2. 4. The internal rhyme with bűan shows that we should read úag for ùaig. As úag is an á-stem noun, the OIr nom. sg. would have been ùag. Note that in MIr the occurrence of the nom. sg. of á-stem nouns with a palatal consonant is quite common, and so are the examples of the object of a verb with a non-palatal consonant (see SNG: 243: 5.6; for other examples in these poems, see Vol. II, p. 36-38: 3.6).

F2. 5. This is a problematic line. The way it appears in LL, the caesura must either come after a trisyllabic word, Muridach (I have only six examples of this--see SMF, Vol. II, p. 107: 1.2 a), or after o, in which case the caesura would have to come after an unstressed word (I have only ten other examples of this, and for seven of these no other MS evidence is available--see Vol. II, p. 108: 1.2 e). Also, in this metre, it is not very common to have a monosyllabic line ending in an octosyllabic line either (ibid). As far as the other MSS are concerned, there is no problem with the caesura as both have dā ēisi for LL dīa ēis (83). If we followed this reading, then we would be left with an extra syllable in LL ò dūn ní dichet (dichet is the perfective pres. sg. 3 prot. form of tēit). A possibility might be to have elision across the caesura; however, I have no definite example of this--see Vol. II, p. 128: 4.8). And I do not think it would be possible to omit ní either, as in these texts I only have examples of the prot. form used for the deut. in verbs where the original prot. form began in t- or r--see Vol. II, pp. 78-79: 12.5. Note that Lc has ò dūn fichead (maybe imperf. ind. sg. 3 without no of fichid, 'fights?'), and D ii 2 ò dūn riced (maybe imperf. ind. sg. 3 without no of rigid, 'controls, rules?'). Thus the alliteration is lost in these two MSS. I do not know how to solve the problem in LL, as dichet as an old form seems to be authentic; I can suggest nothing better than putting the caesura after the ò.

F2. 9. There is an extra syllable in this line. Based on AU, both the editors of LL and MacNeill, 1913: 48, suggest the reading d'Forggus for do Fergus. The ò of do definitely has to be elided. Probably it is the scribe, and not the poet, who is to blame for this slip, and for the same one (i.e. Fergus for Forgus) in F2. 57 as well. Cf. F4. 27 and 36; in the latter case the imperfect internal rhyme with ollgus shows that it was definitely the scribe who had not transcribed the name correctly. The other two MSS omit Forgus and have as ead fūair Domnall here. Byrne, 1973: 283 also has Forgus.

LL cen deochaid is a scribal error for cen deochair--‘without distinction \ discrimination’. Deochair is the form in Lc, while D ii 2 agrees with LL here. Note that

38
DIL cites this line from LL under ? deochaid.

F2. 13. There are two extra syllables in this line: MacNeill (ibid.) suggests that we omit Ollán, which he considers to be a gloss. However, in this case we would not get alliteration in 13b; moreover, the other two MSS both have Ollân/Allân. Lc reads A secht Æed Ollán mac Feargail òsa iathbla, and D ii 2 Òenocht d’Àedh Allân mac Fergail òsa iathbla. On the basis of this, I suggest that we omit mbliadan in LL, put the caesura after Domnaill and read d’Àed and òsa iathbla. Note that Ôenocht mbliadan also appears in the previous stanza (F2. 11), and the scribe might have been looking at that and so made a mistake.

MacNeill (ibid.) also suggests that we read Ré ocht mbliadan or Rím ocht mbliadna instead of Òenocht mbliadan, to alliterate with the closing word of the preceding couplet. However, note the lack of f. f. in the other two MSS as well, and there are two other instances in this poem where fidrad freccomail is definitely not present between stanzas (see pp. 28-29).

F2. 16. Based on AU, MacNeill (ibid.) has Ernain[e] for LL Ernain. Lc has Domnall, and D ii 2 Ernán. The correct form of the name in the nom. is Ernáine (Jaski, 1994: 86); AU 636 has gen. Ernani; see also O’Brien, 1962: 621. Read re for ré. The lengthmark must be a scribal slip, as this word can only be the prep. fri here. Or, alternatively, one could emend the end of ll. 15 and 16 to iarna iarar and ré sé mbliadan respectively (cf. F2. 33); however, this would mean too much interference with the text. The other two MSS have a sé is bliadain here.

F2. 19. There is one syllable in excess in this line. MacNeill (ibid.) suggests that we either omit do (however, in this poem the construction is always X blijadna do Y), or read A deich do macc Máile Fithrig mar ro fäemad (omitting Mäel Dùin). Lc has A deich do Mäel Dùin mac Maile Fithrig do fäemhadh, with one extra syllable in the line. I can see the following possibilities here: a) omit mar in LL and put the caesura after the first Mäel--especially as neither of the other two MSS have mar; or b) follow Lc and put the caesura after Maile. On the gen. of Mäel in these poems, see Vol. II, p. 3.16 a; on the omission of ro in the perf. passive, see Vol. II, p. 82: 12.12.

F2. 21. In order to get the correct number of syllables, read d’Erthaile, or elide the Ò (=úa) after this name. Note that the only way to get alliteration in F2. 21a is to treat Ò as a stressed word.
F2. 24. The \( i \) in Alláín (dat. sg. masc.) must be an error; see my collection in Vol. II, p. 252. The same form appears in F2. 26 as masc. gen. sg., and this might have confused the scribe. The other two MSS have Allán.

F2. 25-26. The rhyme here shows that we should read forrá[ijn] : Alláín. This is what the other two MSS have as well.

F2. 27. Read \( d' \) for do or nár for náro (SNG: 279: 11.3) in order to get the correct number of syllables. The other two MSS have (in a normalised form) d'Áed úr Oirdnidi na n-urchor here, which will give us the required number of syllables. Read ar trichait for LL. ar trichait. It is important to indicate that the \( i \) is written over the \( t \) in the MS, as one would expect lenition after ar. If this abbreviation is not indicated, then one can easily draw the conclusion that ar here was mixed up with for.

F2. 31. There is one syllable in excess in this line. MacNeill (ibid.) suggests that we omit the second do. His suggestion is supported by the reading of the other two MSS. In the diplomatic edition of LL there is a lengthmark over the \( a \) in fa. However, this lengthmark does not appear in the MS.

F2. 32. The o in torcaib (pres. ind. sg. 3 prot. of do-furgaib) must be short in order to get the rhyme with orddain. Note that DIL lists this example (torcaib) under the noun 1 tore, o, m II ('chieftain, hero'); however, I do not think that this interpretation is possible here.

F2. 33. One syllable is missing in this line. MacNeill (ibid.) has Mael for LL. Mel. suggests that we read macc Máile Dúin. This emendation is supported by the Le reading, and also by the fact that in the poems I have examined, the unstressed form, Mel, occurs only in F6. 133 (gen.) and F7. 142 (acc.), while I have five certain examples of the disyllabic gen.--three alone from this poem (see Vol. II, p. 46: 3.16 a). Du 2 has Tríallais Murchad a mac minglan here.

F2. 34. In the MS of LL. connâ is in stain, and the Facsimile has òna. This is also noted by the editors of LL. As MacNeill worked from the Facsimile, he also has òna.

F2. 37. There are two syllables missing in this line. MacNeill (ibid.) and the editors of LL suggest that we supply mblíadna after the numeral adjective. This suggestion is supported by the reading of the other two MSS which have fri ré náí mblíadan. Note that the \( a \) is
added subscript in fria in LL.

F2. 38. There is one syllable missing in this line. MacNeill (ibid.) suggests that we read immalle or in Glundub. The other two MSS both have immalle, and an adj. (glan (Lc)/gel (D ii 2)) between Niall and Glundub. Both of these readings will give us alliteration in the line, which is otherwise lacking in LL, and the correct number of syllables, with reading is for LL ocur. I have opted for the Lc reading as far as the qualifying adjective is concerned.

F2. 39. gabais Niall for Temraig tírig ríge riarglain is a problematic phrase and could be analysed in the following ways:

a) Gabais is the verb/predicate, Niall is the subject, for Temraig tírig is a prepositional phrase, and ríge riarglain is the object. Riarglain could be taken as the fem. acc. sg. of the adjective, and in this case ríge should be taken as a fem. noun. (I have only one certain example of nge followed by a qualifying adj. in these texts, and in that case, it is definitely masc./neut.—see Vol. II, p. 14: xviii) However, riarglain could also be regarded as the gen. sg. of the substantivised adj. riarglan, qualifying ríge, in which case it is masc. In both cases the translation would be: ‘Niall took the sovereignty of pure obedience over dominant Tara’ (note that this is the translation suggested by DIL with a question-mark, and this is the version that I have accepted).

b) Gabais for is the verb/predicate, Niall is the subject, Temraig tírig is the semantic object, and ríge riarglain is an attributive gen. qualifying the object, ‘Tara’. In this case, ríge can only be taken as a masc. noun here (with final -e for -i), as riarglain should be in the gen. as well. The translation would be: ‘Niall ruled over dominant Tara of the sovereignty of pure obedience’. This seems to make less sense than the interpretation discussed under a).

On the gender of ríge, see Bergin, 1938: 218.

F2. 40. MacNeill (ibid.) and the editors of LL suggest the reading teóraib for teóra, in order to get aicill with Eogain. We already have úaithe here between Eogain and bliadain, although I do have some examples from these poems where both aicill and úaithe are present in the second long line (SMF, Vol. II, p. 108: 1.2 b). However, in these texts aicill is present only if line c in the second couplet is quadrasyllabic (ibid)—which is not and can not be the case here. For this reason, I would not emend this line. Note also that Lc has teóra bliadand (: rianglann) and D ii 2 teóra bliadhain (: rianglaim).
with LL.

F2. 42. In the MS céin is in stain, and the Facsimile has cét. This is also noted by the editors of LL.
Note that MacNeill has nela for LL neda (the Facsimile has neda). Lc has neada, and D ii 2 neadha. This word is not listed in DIL, and I do not know what it means.

F2. 44. There is a misprint in MacNeill’s edition where he has co hernaid for LL co hergnaid.

F2. 45. The caesura must come after an unstressed word in this long line (see Vol. II, p. 108: 1.2 c); but note that the poet had to accommodate three names here. The other two MSS agree with the LL here. Maybe one could omit the first is and put the caesura after Tadc: Tãrraid Flaithbertach. Cond is Tadc [o]cò taigib.

F2. 49. The MS of LL has do do here, which must be a scribal slip. This is also noted by the editors of LL.
Note that the caesura must come after an unstressed word (see Vol. II, p. 108: 1.2 e). The other two MSS agree with LL here.

F2. 57. Concerning Forgus, see the Note on F2. 9 on p. 38.

F2. 58. One syllable is missing here. MacNeill (ibid.) suggests the reading n-olldám instead of ndám. Without this emendation, we would not get the required aicill or úainine—and then this would be the only second couplet in dechnad cummaise without either of these in these poems (see SMF, Vol. II, p. 108: 1.2 b). By accepting MacNeill’s suggestion, we can get aicill with Cholmán. One of the problems with this solution is that in this case the caesura would have to come after an unstressed word, is, which never happens in the second long line (see Vol. II, p. 108: 1.2 e). The other problem is that the evidence of the other MSS does not support MacNeill’s suggestion, as Lc has Bãedàn na [m]hãd, and D ii 2 Bãedán na mbãgh. (Cf. also Dondchaíd na ndám : Colmán in F7. 139-140, written in debide.) I do not know how to solve this problem; maybe this line should be regarded as an irregular one, given the difficulty the poet had when trying to accommodate three names. I suggest that we put the caesura after ndám, and read ocus for LL is in order to supply the missing syllable (the other two MSS have 7).

F2. 59. There is one syllable in excess here. MacNeill (ibid.) suggests that we omit is. In
this case we should read Fergal with an unlenited f, which will give us alliteration with fossad. The other two MSS have two extra syllables in this line here: they both have is, and also Suibne maith Meand for LL Subne Mend. I believe that we could also read (i)s, as I have two other examples where the i in this word is dropped at the beginning of a line after a caesura (Vol. II, p. 127: 4.4 a). In this case we could still get alliteration here, as I have several examples where is ocus is not followed by lenition (Vol. II, p. 73: 10.1).

F2. 67. To get the required twelve syllables and the disyllabic ending here, one must read ar-biā as a trisyllable.

F2. 68. To get the required twelve syllables and the disyllabic ending here, one must read ciā as a disyllable.
At the end of four generations after Frigriu—an overpowering contest—,
Eógan, a hero among lords, took warlike Ailech.

Eógan, the son of Niall was made king in Ailech thereafter,
--a grave was arranged for him1—for a period of two long scores of years.

Muridach was there after him—he cannot depart2 from the fort3,
let them attend the illustrious man4—for twenty-four years.

Twice twenty [years] for great Murchertach, the son of Erc,
--a war-rock5 of mastery6--, and four years for certain.

Just twenty-three for Forggus and Domnall without distinction/discrimination,
seven [years] for Báetán with judgements and for Eochaid.

Eight years for Colgu, the son of just Domnall,
--a learned man's utterance7—with three times seven for Colmán Rímíd.

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1 MacNeill does not translate this phrase (ina(i)g ar-rálad), which contains the nom. sg. of the noun meaning 'grave', and the perf. pass. sg. of the verb ar-áil, 'causes, arranges'. DIL gives the following translation of this line under ar-áil: 'perfectly has it been settled for a period of forty years(?)'.

2 I take ni dichet to be the perfective pres. sg. 3 prot. of tét. MacNeill translates it as 'they depart not'.

3 i.e. he was buried there or his name will always be attached to it?

4 fialgan: lit. 'the noble, pure one'

5 clethail: 'a warrior-rock'? This example is cited in DIL under the compounds of cleth with the following curious remark: "(? leg. -áile c.)". I do not understand this remark, as this "emendation" would ruin the internal rhyme with cethair.

6 chachta: lit. 'of bondage'

7 This line is cited in DIL both under cobrad, 'boss of shield', and conrád, 'utterance', with a question-mark. Both the rhyme and the meaning prove that we have conrád here.
Eight [years] for Áed Ollán, the son of Domnall over his meadowy land¹,
twice seven for Suibne Menn whom you (pl.) praise², the fair son of Fiachnae.

Behold, two [years] for fair Máel Fithrig after he has been sought out,
Ernáine, the son of Fiachnae, the warrior, for six years.

Four times six [years] for Crundmáel, the noble son of Suibne,
without fault for Fergus with swiftness, eight [years] of submission.

Ten [years] were granted for Máel Duín, the son of Máel Fithrig,
you have Fland above [the] sea, eighteen [years] for the son of Cenn Fáelad.

Six months for Erthaile, the grandson of Crundmáel, with hundreds of troops,
—an excellence of valour--, six months for the son of Máel Tuile.

Three times seven years for Máel Duín’s son, for Fergal,
three times seven [years] for Áed Allán of the combats who used to establish glory³.

Grant seven times five [years] to Níall Frossach, though he met overthrow⁴,
ten fine ones [= years] for Máel Duín, the son of Áed Allán.

¹ This line is cited in DIL under the compounds of fath.
² or ’exalted S. M.’, if mórtha is the past participle.
³ chomran; lit. ‘triumph, victory’
⁴ Cf. F5. 38 (LL 23750) fúair in fáel farrán-- ‘the fierce man met overthrow’.
Thirty-one [years] for Áed Ordnide who was not terrified, twice two [years] without disguise for Máel Dúin's son, for Murchad.

As for Niall Caille, the son of watchful Áed Ordnide, for twenty-three [years] over Mag Li of heroes he was king of Ailech.

Three times five [years] for Máel Dúin, the son of Áed of dignity, three and two sevens for Áed Findliath now—it is not seldom that he engages in [battle].

Murchad, the son of Máel Dúin tried to get the kingship for a period of seven years, clearly it was made known, so that he would not take anything but his submission.

His son Flaithbertach reigned for a period of nine years, --a partnership of fair men--along with vehement-pure Domnall.

Domnall after that for nineteen years towards a hard departure^, along with bright Niall Glúndub--noble is the wolf-man.'
Ni'ail took the sovereignty of pure (undisputed) obedience? over dominant Tara,

Flaithbertach in Ailech of Eógan for three years.

Nineteen years for Fergal, the son of Domnall of the rod², five [years] after some time for Murchertach, the son of Ni'all ...

Thirteen years for Domnall with his good fame in the kingship of Ailech evidently, before [his rule in] Tara.

Flaithbertach and Conn and Tadc reigned⁴ in their homes for a period of five years with famous deeds over the plain of Ailech.

Eleven years for armed¹ Murchad Glún i Ilár, after an onset of the valiant ones⁵ it was without delay that he possessed Ailech.

Eight [years] for Domnall, the grandson of Niall, in renowned Ailech,

--truest of sharings--, having been in kingship over Tara.

Three times three [years] for Fergal in the kingship of Ailech, three times five [years] with one [was] the period that Æed of honour ruled.

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¹ See Note on p. 41.
² dela: i.e. of the sceptre. This could also be an attributive gen. sg. with the meaning 'prop, pillar, support'.
³ See Note on p. 42.
⁴ Tárraid Flaithbertach ... / re ré cóic nblúdán is cited in DIL under do-airret e) 'gets, attains, secures', accompanied by the remark "Cf.". This is preceded by one example from BB and one from Lc which both have the construction tárraid (X) Y bliadna ('X reigned for Y years').
⁵ or 2 lainnech 'eager'
⁶ iar ngreis galach is cited in DIL under gres(s), á, f with the remark "(m.?)"--which means that they treat galach as a qualifying adj.; however, I have taken galach to be the gen. pl. of the substantivised adj.
Thirty years for Flaitbertach, the grandson of vigorous Niall, 
Áed then who came in? along with Niall the son of Máel Sechnaill.

Sixteen kings of them ruled all Ireland, 
the other kings won respect? from every man.

Of those [who ruled Ireland] are Murchertach, Domnall, and 
truly beloved Forggus, 
Báetán of the companies, Eochaid and Colmán Réimí.

Count Áed Uaridnach, Suibne Menn, (and) staunch Fergal, 
Áed Ollán beforehand and his brother Niall Frossach.

Behold Áed Ordnide and Niall Caille with hundreds of 
combats, 
noble Áed Findlíath, the 'Black-kneed' Niall, and Domnall.

Truly, I have omitted the group of half-kings3, though they 
were whole men 
--a learned man's noble task--, so that I have not taken them 
into account.

Forty-five kings have ruled Ailech 
from noble Éogan until Niall of the hostages, who were rich 
in horses' appeared4.

1 nemthruim- lit. 'not heavy'
2 ro thríall: lit. 'attempted, endeavoured'. Cf. F2. 33.
3 Note MacNeill's remark here (1913: 54): "By leithrig, "half-kings," Flann means those who 
rulled part of Ireland and did not acknowledge another as king of all Ireland, not those who were 
joint-kings of Ireland, for he has named the joint-kings, Domnall and Forggus, Baetán and 
Eochaid" (F2. 9, 10).
4 DIL cites this line under graigech with the remark "sic MS" inserted between ngiall and 
ugraigech. Le and D ii 2 agree with LL here, and I do not see any reason for emending this line.
5 co torach[h]t Niall is cited in DIL under do-roich II with the meaning "oft. in wide sense 
happens, arises, appears".
No one, except the person\(^1\) who has sent them\(^2\), knows who\(^3\) will rule Ailech henceforth in the time to come.

\footnote{\(^1\) i.e. God}

\footnote{\(^2\) MacNeill translates ros foid with the future perfect.}

\footnote{\(^3\) I take coich and cia to be synonyms. However, it is also possible that coich here means 'whose descendant'.}
ASCNAM NÍ SEÓL SÁDAL (F3)

INTRODUCTION

This poem does not belong to the cycle on the principal branches of the Úi Néill; it is written in two different metres (see pp. 51 and 53), and its subject is taken up again in poems F4 (Aní do-rónsat do chalmu) and F5 (A ngluind a n-éhta a n-orgni), which directly follow this one in LL. MacNeill (1913: 39-40) suggests that this may either be a fragment of an older poem used by Flann in the composition of F4 and F5; or (and this is what he considers to be more likely) this is actually Flann's work, too, who, having started on this poem, became dissatisfied with the metrical form, and adopted a new form, in which the longer line gave greater freedom; and then he abandoned this poem altogether, deciding to treat its subject matter in two separate poems. He also has the following note on the last stanza (1913: 58): "Here is further indication that this poem was an unfinished experiment. Some of the battles named in it are omitted in IV. [F4] by Flann, who perhaps could not find sufficient details about them." (For cross-references between F3 and F4, F5, see MacNeill, 1913: 56-58.) My conclusion as to authorship is discussed in Vol. II, p. 188: 5.1.

MS:
LL 182'23

99% of the MS is clearly legible.

Previous edition and translation:
MacNeill, 1913: 54-58 (from LL).
ANALYSIS OF THE METRE

This poem is written in two different metres. The two parts are discussed separately below with the exception of the Analysis of rhyming consonant clusters and Elision, as these are not metre-specific.

Part 1: Stanzas 1-17 (ll. 1-68) are written in rinnard (6^2 6^2 6^2 6^2) (Murphy, 1961: 64), although note that occasionally this metre is called lethdechnad (ibid).

Stanza structure
The first part of the poem is a mixture between rinnard trí n-ard, where c makes úaitne with b and d, and rinnard ceithri n-ard, where both a and c make úaitne with b and d (Murphy, 1961: 64, and Ní Dhomhnaill, 1975: 78). This is a rannaigecht-type metre, so the main rhyme is between b and d.

We get the following stanza types:
1) c makes úaitne with b and d: 1, 2, 3, 5, 7 (imp.), 8, 11, 12, 14, 15 (10).
2) a and c make úaitne with b and d: 4, 9, 10, 13, 16, 17 (6).
3) a makes úaitne with b and d: 6 (1).

In stanza 13 a (togairm) makes full rhyme with b (comlaind) and d (nDomnaill). See a discussion of this feature (rudrach) in SMF. Vol. II, p. 122. 2.7.

Note that in l. 1 if we read sādaíl for sādal, then this line will make úaitne with b and d, so this stanza will belong to type 2).

Fìdrad freccomail is present between the following stanzas: 3+4 (ll. 12-13), 8+9 (ll. 32-33), 9+10 (ll. 36-37), 11+12 (ll. 44-45), 15+16 (ll. 60-61), 16+17 (ll. 64-65) (6).

F. f. is present between a stressed and an unstressed word in 5+6 (ll. 20-21), and 6+7 (ll. 24-25) (2).

F. f. is present between ch and g in 12+13 (ll. 48-49) (1).

F. f. is not present in seven cases. (9/16=56%)

Alliteration and longa

Alliteration is not present in the following lines: 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, 25, 29, 31, 33, 34, 37, 40, 45, 48, 52, 55, 57, 59, 61, 65, 67, 68 (26).

Alliteration is not between the last two stressed words in d in F3. 20, 36 and 64 (3).

There is double\paired alliteration in F3. 19, 20 and 36 (3). See SMF, Vol. II, p. 123: 3.2.

In F3. 66 we can only get alliteration if we do not lenite sǐni after ro. On lenition after
do, ni, no and ro in these poems, see Vol. II, p. 60: 8.4 b.

The figures for alliteration are \(39/68=57\%\).

\textit{Lorga} can be found in ll. 1-2, 17-18, 29-30, 37-38, 45-46, and 53-54 (6 cases out of 17=35\%; 5 of these are in \textit{rinnard tri n-ard}). See also SMF, Vol. II, p. 109-110: 1.3.

The figures for \textit{lorga} and alliteration are \(45/68=66\%\).

\textit{Aicill}

Between a and b (4/17=24\%):

mebaid : debaid (F3. 5-6)  
Chethirn : lethfeidm (F3. 25-26)  
Uchbath : bruthgal (F3. 17-18)  
togairm : sodbraind (F3. 49-50)

Note that \textit{Uchbath} is a variant spelling of \textit{Uchbad}. See also SMF, Vol. II, p. 112: 2.1.

Between e and d (5/17=29\%):

didail : gnímaib (F3. 3-4)  
crâebduis : Øengus (F3. 23-24)  
síthi : Lífi (F3. 35-36)  
Dathe : Ache (F3. 19-20)  
ndétla : Détna (F3. 27-28)

\textit{Internal rhyme}

Between a and b (3/17=18\%):

remib : debaid (F3. 5-6)  
cétaib : sétaiib (F3. 65-66)  
 crúaid : búaib (F3. 13-14)

Between e and d (10/17=59\%):

brath : cath (F3. 7-8)  
taccomol : Fortama(i)l (F3. 31-32)  
bét : chét (F3. 43-44)  
rád : bág (F3. 51-52)  
Finni : Cilli (F3. 63-64)  
lén : mBél (F3. 15-16)  
tríall : ngíall (F3. 39-40)  
mbrátha : Átha (F3. 47-48)  
deórata : Europa (F3. 59-60)  
deabaid : mebaid (F3. 67-68)

Note that there is imperfect rhyme between \textit{nDruitn} and \textit{luid} in F3. 51-52.

I believe it very unlikely that \textit{cath} in ll. 19 (twice), 27 and 35 is meant to rhyme with the same word in ll. 20 (twice), 28 and 36, or \textit{deich} in F3. 55 with the same word in the following line.

On F3. 31-32, see Note on p. 62.
Stanza 3 and 14 are the only ones which have neither aicill nor internal rhyme. (2)
Stanzas that have both aicill and internal rhyme: 2, 13 (2).
Of the first couplets, F3. 5-6 has both aicill and internal rhyme.

The figures for words making internal rhyme per stressed words in d are \( \frac{10}{38} = 26\% \).
The figures for words making internal rhyme aicill per stressed words in d are \( \frac{15}{38} = 39\% \).

**Dúnad**
The poem begins with ascnam, and the first section ends with mís; so the sound m appears in both words. See SMF, Vol. II, p. 130: 5.6.

**Part 2:** The second part of the poem (stanzas 18-23, ll. 69-92) is written in rannaigecht fota recomarcach, also commonly called rannaigecht bec \((7^2 \ 7^2 \ 7^2 \ 7^2)\) (Murphy, 1961: 53).

**Stanza structure**
1) a and c make úaitne with b and d: 18, 19, 22, 23 (4).
2) a makes úaitne with b and d: 20, 21 (2). (In both cases c makes imperfect úaitne with b and d.)
   In the last stanza c (chaidchi) seems to make full rhyme with b (laimthi) and d (aidchi);
   see a discussion of this feature (rudrach) in SMF, Vol. II, p. 122: 2.7.

**Fidrad freccomail** is present between all the stanzas. \( \frac{5}{5} = 100\% \)
Note that between stanzas 22 and 23 (ll. 88-89), an unstressed (2nd) syllable makes f. f. with a stressed syllable.

**Alliteration** is not present in the following lines: 75, 82, 84, 87, 88 (5).
On ll. 79 and 92, see the Notes on pp. 63 and 64.
The figures for alliteration are \( \frac{19}{24} = 79\% \).

**Aicill**
Between a and b \( (2/6 = 34\%) :\)
Arand : barand (F3. 77-78)  
oraig : foraib (F3. 81-82)

Maybe aicill is meant between rogaig : mbladaig (F3. 69-70). (On the interchange of stressed o and a before a non-palatal consonant, see Vol. II, p. 18: 2.4.)
Between c and d (4/6=67%):

tólaib : ólaig (F3. 75-76)  
fairend : Cairell (F3. 83-84)  
rudach : curach (F3. 79-80)  
rained : maïded (F3. 87-88)

There is imperfect aicill between chaidchi and airdi in F3. 91-92.

Internal rhyme

Between a and b (4/6=67%):

ríg : bríg (F3. 69-70)  
Aed : sáer (F3. 81-82)  
athnertach : Flathbertach (F3. 73-74)  
Oscer : broscur (F3. 85-86)

Note that there is imperfect internal rhyme between Alpan and barand in F3. 77-78.

Between e and d (2/6=34%)

forrán : nAllán (F3. 71-72)  
choemúail : òenúair (F3. 91-92)

Note the interchange of stressed o and a before a non-palatal consonant in F3. 71-72. For other similar examples, see Vol. II, p. 18: 2.4.

With the exception of the last stanza, either aicill or internal rhyme is present between a and b; and F3. 81-82 contains both internal rhyme and aicill.

Either aicill or internal rhyme is present between c and d.

The figures for words making internal rhyme\aic// per stressed words in d are 6/13=46%.

Dúnad

There is no dúnad here, as the second section of the poem begins with gabsat and ends with aicill. See also SMF, Vol. II, p. 130: 5.7.


1. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2):

C"C"-C"C"; C"C"-L'L'; L'L'-C'L'; C'L'-C'C'; L'C'-C'C"  
Luigneach : mbudnech (F3. 14/16) (e. r.)  
comlaind : nDomnaill (F3. 50/52) (e. r.)  
tarbe : Chairne (F3. 46/48) (e. r.)  
armach : Luigneach/mbudnech (F3. 13-16)  
roglach : fodbach (F3. 30/32) (e. r.)  
cræebdus : Óengus (F3. 23-24) (a.)  
Chethirn : lethfeidm (F3. 25-26) (a.)  
mbodba . tarbe (F3. 45-48)
2. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C/L + h (rules 2 and 3):
C₈C₁₈…C₈C₁₈; C₈C₈,…C₈C₈; L'₈C₈…C₈C₈
lethbe : Eithne (F3. 22/24) (e. r.)
laimthi : aidchi (F3. 89-92) (e. r.)
Uchbath : bruthgal (F3. 17-18) (a.)
chaidchi : laimthi/aidchi (F3. 89-92)

3. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L (rules 1 and 2): P'C₈—P'C₈
ndetla : Dētna (F3. 27-28) (a.)

4. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L + h (rules 1, 2, 3): L'₈P₈—L'₈P₈
athnertach : Flathbertach (F3. 73-74) (i. r.) (second consonant cluster)

5. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + S + h (rules 1, 3 and 4): S₈P₈—S₈P₈?
Oscur : broscur (F3. 85-86) (i. r.)

6. One consonant corresponds to two: a) A consonant from class I (C') or L (L') is added:
C'L₈—L₈; C'L₈—C'; C'L₈—L₈; C₈—C'C₈; P₈—L'₈P₈
togairm : sodbraind (F3. 49-50) (a.) (in final position) ?¹
armach : dulad/Muman (F3. 37-40)
togairm : comlaind/nDomnaill (F3. 49-52) (both in medial and final position)
taccomol : Fortama(i)l (F3. 31-32) (i. r.)²
b) A consonant from class g (P) is added: P'C₈—C₈: ndetla : lēni/ndéni (F3. 25-28)

7. One consonant corresponds to three consonants: consonants from class I (C') are added: C₈—C'C'C₈; togairm : sodbraind (F3. 49-50) (a.) (in medial pos.) ?

8. Two or three consonants correspond to two or three consonants:
a) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2):
C₈C₈—C₈C₈; C₈C₈—C₈C₈/C₈C₈; L'₈C₈—C₈C₈
airgnai : nDaigri (F3. 62/64) (e. r.) fodbai : airgnai (F3. 61-64)

¹ On sodbraind, see Footnote on p. 67.
² If Fortama(i)l is from fortail (see DIL); see also the Note on p. 62.
-ringni : airgnai/nDaigri (F3. 61-64) tarrgrach : Luignech/mbudnech (F3. 13-16)?

Elision
a) Unstressed short vowel preceded by another vowel: two examples. In one case (F3. 11) the metre does not require elision. In the other case (F3. 85), we can only get the correct number of syllables with elision. (1/2 = 50%)

b) Unstressed short vowel + unstressed long vowel: one example (F3. 64), and the metre requires elision here. (1/1 = 100%)

c) Dropping of the initial vowel of an unstressed word: (prep. + article): one example. The metre requires that there should be no dropping (F3. 33), although note that the scribe indicates the opposite. See also Note on p. 62.
Ascnam ní seol sádal
íar sain slicht cen breóbail
co n-écesem cen didail
do gnímaib síl Eògain.

5  Ba remib ro mebad
nírbo debaid tuá
cen brath briathar goa
in cath i Sléib Chuá.

Ba remib ro mebad
10 cath Segsa for Duáich
ili a ngluind gnoaig
dáig [no] betis cruáich.

Cath cruíaid co nnirt armach
ar búaid túath líth Luignech
nírbo lén in tarrgrach
for Eógán mBél mbudnech.

*Cath Cúle, cath Uchbath
ardd bruthgal bág toche
*cath Dromma, cath Dathe
20 cath Ache, cath Oche.

Im chath Chind chruíaid n-aithle
Lasnado\(^1\) cen lethbe
i torchair caín\(^2\) cræbdus
Óengus *ocus* Eithne.

25 Im chath i nDún Chethirn
lethfeidm làech rod lèini\(^3\)

\(^1\) Lasnadó *LL*

\(^2\) *Note that this could also be* caín.

\(^3\) *le is made on* the *u*
\[\textit{cath} \textit{Roith ni råd ndétla} \]
\[\textit{cath} \textit{Détna}^1 \textit{co ndéini}^2.\]

\textit{Cath i torchair Ailill}

\begin{itemize}
\item [30] Inbanna rüad roglach
taccomol glond claidbech
Äed Fortama(i)l? fodbach.
\item [35] Forlond \textit{(o)}\textit{con} Dathi
\textit{cath} Elli nåd chlethe
\textit{cath} Slemna co sithi
\textit{cath} Lifí, \textit{cath} Lethe.
\item [40] Lotar \textit{secht} cét armach
úadib angbaid dulad
tucsat íar triáll Lagen
cét ngíall a tír Muman.
\item [45] Trénochath Insi Áne
for slüag nAlban n-ulach
i farcbad bét bladach
fairend trí chéit curach.
\item [50] In \textit{cath oc} Áth Medóin
milib glond garg tarbe
lathe mbrátha mbodba
\textit{cath} Átha Dá Chairne.
\item [55] Gabsat íar troch togairm
sodbraind coscain comlaind
í nDruim Ríg rád n-imlaind\(^3\)
luid båg for \textit{mac} nDomnaill.
\end{itemize}

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\(^1\) Détna \textit{LL.}; cf. \textit{F4. 21, F6. 32.}
\(^2\) \textit{con teni LL.}
\(^3\) \textit{i added subscript}
Geguin öenfer üadib\(^1\)
ard àrim no sechid
\(fiche\) deich [de] flathib\(^2\)
la sé deich do dechib.

Fer co ríab eon sodain
do guin ba gargg dune
deórata n[a] gaile
míl Éireann uile.

Eól dúib a ndo-ringni
mac Néill Ailigh airgnai
Áed Finni co fodbai
i cath Cilli Úa nDaigri.

Deich cétaib co n-úagai
iár sétaib ro síni
don debaid con-rúali
mebaid for cóic míli.

Gabsat ríam ind ríg rogaig
brígh mbladaig bec[h]tait n-airig
selad forrán co feraib
ríá nÁed n-ard nAllán nAiligh.

Art athnertach ind úabar
Flathbertach dín cech deóraid
do-rimmart gairgiu tólaib
i nInis\(^3\) n-ólaig Éogain.

Ardrí Alpan art Arand

---

\(^1\) gloss on öenfer in margin: Mähl Umai mac Bætæín meic Murchertaig

\(^2\) fiche deich flathib \textit{LL}.

\(^3\) in insi written over in nInis
bág barand brúthi bairend
tuc anfar dar (s)rafán rudach
tri chochait curach Cairell.

Cechaing Áed aidchi n-oraig
foraib ba sáer im-rulaid
ros marb fri Fergna fairend
acht Cairell lucht a churaig.

Cath aile i nOscar úallach
ba broscur bladach bágach
for Fland nGoáin ro rained
ro maíded arna bárach.

Reraig roi róig ringthí
for mac Longsíg lúaith laimthí
ba cloí dia chóemúáill¹ chaidehi
di airdi óenúair aidchi. C.

¹ icimúáill LL
NOTES

All references are to MacNeill, 1913: 54-56.

F3. 6-8. The metre requires that we read *tuā, goā* and *Chuā* as disyllables.

F3. 10-12. The metre requires that we read *Duāich, gnoāig* and *cruāich* as disyllables.

F3. 12. According to MacNeill (ibid: 54) one syllable is missing in this line, and he and the editors of LL suggest (although MacNeill does this with a question-mark) the reading *no betis cruāich*, taking *no betis* to be the substantive verb. However, in OIr the use of the substantive verb with an adjectival predicate is extremely rare (Quin, 1975: 58); and Dillon (1928: 339-341), who examined constructions of the substantive verb with a predicative adjective in Old and Middle Irish, has the following to say on this matter:

"To conclude, the available evidence does not show that the substantive verb could be used with a predicative adjective in the same way as the copula in the early period. The instances which occur in early texts belong to a class of adjectives which, from their meaning, may be used adverbially, and may therefore be predicated by the substantive verb like ordinary adverbs." (ibid: 341.)

On the same page he also cites Ó Máille (1912: 1-102), who points out that the usage of the substantive verb with a predicative adjective has spread widely in PH, including two large classes, participles and adjectives in -ach. (Note that our adjective belongs to the latter group.) So this could be one possibility, although I have no other certain example of the substantive verb used with a predicative adjective. Alternatively, we could take this form as the 3rd pl. past subjunctive or the secondary future of the copula, and read *dāig* as a disyllable to get the correct number of syllables.

F3. 22. MacNeill (ibid: 54) suggests the reading *Losnado* for *LL Lasnado*. The historical form would probably be what MacNeill suggests, as this word appears to be the gen. sg. of *? losnaid, i, m* (DIL). The forms *Losnado* and *Lasnado* exhibit the interchange of stressed *o* and *a* before a non-palatal consonant, which is common in MIr, so I do not see any reason for emending the *LL* reading as far as the first syllable is concerned. For other examples of the same feature, see Vol. II, p. 18: 2.4. The lengthmark on the *o* must be a scribal error.
F3. 27. MacNeill (ibid: 54) suggests the reading Roth? for Roith on the basis of the form Bellum Roth in AU 636. However, on p. 57 he has the nom. sg. (or pl.?) form Rotha in his translation. Can not Roith be the gen. of roth, an o-stem noun? In Hogan, 1910: 589, there are two examples of the gen sg. with a non-palatal consonant, and two with a palatal consonant (our example being one of them). MacNeill (ibid: 57) identifies this battle with that of Mag Rath, and Hogan under Roth also asks us to compare this form with Mag Rath. Unfortunately, this word is not fixed by the metre.

F3. 28. MacNeill (ibid: 54) and the editors of LL suggest the reading Dëtna for Dëtla; the scribe probably made a slip here, as the previous line ends in ndëtia (cf. also F4. 21 is cath Dëtna, and F6. 32 i cath Dëtna). Hogan, 1910: 344 has Dëtnae, while he does not list Dëtla.

MacNeill also suggests co ndëni for LL con teni, as that would make more sense; moreover, the d in déni is fixed by alliteration, and the long è by rhyme.

F3. 32. MacNeill (ibid: 55) suggests the reading Fortobel for Fortamail on the basis of AU 549; it is possible that internal rhyme (taccomol : Fortobel) is meant here. However, internal rhyme between c and d is not always present (p. 52); and as far as rhyme between stressed o and stressed a before a non-palatal consonant is concerned, I have only three examples which could be considered absolutely definite, as they are end-rhymes (see Vol. II, p. 18: 2.4). DIL lists this word under fortamail, an i-stem adjective, and the AU form seems to be the only attestation of it with a non-palatal ending. Maybe the AU word is a different one from fortamail and the scribe, not being familiar with it, substituted the familiar Fortamail for it. If we do not accept this emendation, then there will be three stanzas in the first part of the poem which have neither aicill nor internal rhyme between c and d.

F3. 33. There is one syllable missing in this line. MacNeill (ibid: 55) suggests that we read [o]con Dathi and not co ndathi with a question-mark. I presume this place-name is identical with the one in l. 19, which is the only example of this proper noun listed in Hogan, 1910: 338 (cf. also Belach Dathi, 1910: 100, and MacNeill, 1913: 56). The line does make sense in this case too. Or read cosin dathi--‘with the swiftness’?; although I believe that this is less likely.

F3. 44. MacNeill suggests the reading fairend trí cét curach for fairend trí chét curach.
I would not emend this line, as this phrase simply represents the breakdown in the declension of the numeral 'three', as historically one would expect nasalisation after its gen. (which is what we have here), and lenition after the nom./acc. neuter (Greene: 1992: 507). On initial mutations after the numeral adjective, see Vol. II, p. 52: 5.1-5.2.

F3. 55. There is one syllable missing in this line. The editors of LL and MacNeill, ibid: 55 suggest the reading do flathib, which is required not only by the metre, but by the syntax as well. However, it might be better to read the historical form deði, which is found in some of the other poems in this thesis (see Vol. II, pp. 69: 9.8).

F3. 59. There is one syllable missing in this line. The syllables in deórata and in ngaile are fixed by the metre (deórata rhymes with Europa, and ngaile should be disyllabic as it is the last word in the line). DIL suggests that we read co ngaile. The problem is that the dat. sg. of gal would be gail. The only word in DIL which could have a dat. sg. gaile is gaile, m, 'stomach'—however, I do not think that this would fit in here. Prof. Breatnach has suggested that I read na gaile. The only peculiar thing would be that there is a dot over the n, which would not be used before a vowel. (See also the Note on F5. 22 on p. 132.) Maybe we should simply add is (copula) at the beginning of the line?

F3. 63 and 64. MacNeill (ibid: 55) suggests that we read Finne and Cillc for Finni and Cilli respectively. However, the LL spelling simply shows the MIr confusion of final unstressed vowels.

F3. 79. MacNeill (ibid: 55) suggests the reading anair for aniar with a question-mark. Anair would of course fit in with the fact that the person in question came from Scotland. However, it is also possible that the poet simply means to say 'from the direction of the (North-)West coast of Ireland'. MacNeill believes that the scribe altered this word in order to make it rhyme with rian; however, rhyme between two words within the same line does not occur in F3, or in any of the poems in this thesis. MacNeill also suggests that we read rian for srian; both the meanings of the two words and the pattern of alliteration seem to support this solution. (Note that variation does exist between r- and sr- in riab and sriab.) Both suggestions are repeated by the editors of LL.
F3. 85. Note that DIL prints cath Aile (cath aile in my edition) under roínid.

F3. 87. The metre requires that we read Goàn as a disyllable.

F3. 91-92. MacNeill (ibid: 56) and the editors of LL suggest that we read chóemúaill for LL icimúaill. The LL reading seems to be corrupt as icimúaill does not appear in DIL; moreover, with the LL reading we would not get alliteration in the line, which is otherwise present in almost 80% of the lines in the second part of the poem (see p. 53). chóemúaill makes sense, and it will also make internal rhyme with òenúair (F3. 92); and without this emendation, this would be the only second couplet in this poem without aicill or internal rhyme (although there is imperfect aicill between chaidchi and airdi) (see SMF, Vol. II., p. 120: 2.5.5).
Let us go over then— it is not an easy course—, an account (of a tale) without flaw?,
till we tell, without detriment³,
of the deeds of Éogan’s race.

5 They were victorious
--it was not a silent struggle--
--without revealing⁴ words of falsehood--
in the battle in Sliab Cúa.

They were victorious
10 in the battle of Segais against Dáui,
many are their remarkable? feats⁵;
it was to be expected that they would be gory.

A hard battle with the power of armed men
to master? the festive lordships of the Luigni⁶,
15 the expedition was not a defeat⁷ against Éogan Bél, who had many troops.

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¹ I have accepted DIL’s suggestion (found under ad-cosnai) to treat slight as the dir. obj. of ascnam, as I believe that far sain is simply an adverb here. Note that MacNeill has ‘Let us proceed—[...]—according to sequence’ here.

² cen breobail: lit. ‘without a crushing/injuring state’? This example is listed in DIL under the compounds of breó, d, f, ‘flame’. However, Prof. Breatnach has suggested that the first element might be a formation from the verbal stem of breóid, which can mean ‘enfeebles, weakens, injures’, or from its vn. bréoad, earlier breüd.

³ cen didail: DIL: ‘without disparagement, extenuation?’.

⁴ This is DIL’s translation, which appears under brath with a question-mark. Another, although less likely possibility would be ‘without betrayal— a word of falsehood’.

⁵ ili a nglünd gnoaig is cited in DIL under gnóach, o, ā, with a question-mark. I think that gnoaig here is the nom. pl. masc. form of the adj.

⁶ ar búaid túath líth Luignech is cited in DIL under líth with the remark: ‘? Attrib. gpl.’. I think that this is what it is. For other examples of the new, o-stem type gen. pl. of u-stem nouns, see Vol. II, p. 41: 3.10 b.

⁷ i.e. it did not end in defeat
The battle of Cúil, the battle of "Groans", high fury, a proper fight(?)
the battle of Druimm, the battle of Dathe,
the battle of Ache\(^1\), the battle of Oche.

Along with the battle, of stern consequences\(^4\), of Cenn
Lasnado without partiality,
in which fell, fair branching tree,
Óengus and Eithne.

Along with the battle at Dún Cethirn
--[it is] the effort of warriors of one of the sides which has
hindered it\(^3\)--,
the battle of Roth?--it is not a rash saying--,
the battle of Détna with vehemence.

The battle in which strong and
cOMBATIVE Aílll Inbandae fell,

\(^1\) See Footnote on F4. 65, p. 106.

\(^2\) The information concerning toche in DIL is quite confusing. First there is toich, an
indeclinable adj., 'natural, proper, inherently right'; then \(^2\) toiche, '? propriety', with one
example, which DIL seems to take as the abstract from the adj.; finally, ? tocha (? toich), with
four examples (including this one), with no meaning or explanation given. One of the examples
cited in DIL under tocha is from MD iii 344.93, ba tgaírm tocha (tocha), which Gwynn translates
as 'it was an appropriate title'. There is another example cited from MD iii 458.108, ba tairm
tacha (tacha seems to rhyme with Loch a here), for which Gwynn offers no translation 'it was a
... sound'. (Note that this phrase is cited in DIL under tacha, 'want, necessity, scarcity; hardship,
distress' as well). I think that the form in our poem is probably the attributive gen. sg. of the
abstract *tochae ( =tocha in DIL ) (cf. ard--ardae, aird e, so both toiche and tocha could possibly
be the abstract of toich). There is another possibility, namely that this is the noun tacha, already
referred to above--for examples of the interchange of stressed o and a before a non-palatal
consonant, see Vol. II, p. 18: 2.4. So the suggested translations would be 'a proper fight', or a
'fight of hardships'. MacNeill has 'a strife for rights (?)' here.

\(^3\) "Not traced." (MacNeill, 1913: 56)

\(^4\) Im chath Chind chrúaid n-aíthle / Lasnado: if chrúaid n-aíthle was a cheville, we would
not expect lenition after Chind.

\(^5\) i.e. foiled the victory in a battle? This is a very difficult line. Prof. Bretnach suggested
that lethfeidm might actually refer to the efforts of the warriors on one side of the battle. Note
that DIL cites this example under the compounds of leth, 'side', along with MacNeill’s translation:
'half-effort'.

66
a union\(^1\) of feats of the sword,  
Áed Fortobol\(^2\) of the trophies.  

A superiority in numbers at Dathe\(^3\),  
the battle of Elle which is not hidden,  
the battle of Slemain lasting long,  
the battle of Life, the battle of Leth\(^4\).  

Seven hundred armed men of them  
went forth--a fierce (valiant?) expedition--,  
they brought, after traversing Leinster,  
a hundred hostages from the land of Munster.  

The fierce battle of Inis Áne  
against the bearded army of Scotland\(^5\),  
when there was left--a famous deed--  
the manning of three hundred boats.  

The battle of Áth Medóin  
with thousands of feats--a fierce benefit?--\(^6\),  
an ill-fated doomsday,  
the battle of Áth Dá Chairne.  

They took, after summoning doomed people\(^7\),  
a good portion ???\(^8\) of a full victory?,  
in Druim Ríg--a very pleasant saying--

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\(^1\) Note that this is the only example cited in *DIL* for *taccomol*.  
\(^2\) See Note on p. 62.  
\(^3\) See Note on p. 62.  
\(^4\) See MacNeill, 1913: 57.  
\(^5\) Lit. `against the army of Scotland of the bearded ones'; *cf.* F4. 61 for *sluágo Alban ulach*.  
\(^6\) *milib glond garg tarbe*: or `with thousands of fierce feats of success' = successful feats  
\(^7\) *iar troch togairm*: or `after a fatal summoning'.  
\(^8\) I was not able to identify the word *sodbraind*. Maybe it is a corrupt form of *so-* (`good, excellent') + acc. sg. of *tann*, `part, portion'?
the fight went against Domnall's son.

A single man of them slew
--a great reckoning you follow--,
55 twenty tens of lords,
with six tens of tens.

The "Man with the stripe", apart from that [battle],
was a fierce man for slaying,
an outlander of valour,
60 the champion of all Europe.

You know what the son of Niall
of famous Ailech has done,
Áed Finne with spoils,
in the battle of Cell Úa nDaigri.

With ten hundred with wholeness,
along pathways he has pushed,
65 to the contest he journeyed,
he routed five thousand.

Before him the choice kings
assumed splendid authority--trusty noblemen--,
70 an assault with men was inflicted

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1 Note that in DIL this is the only example cited for cen sodain.

2 Note that this is the only example cited in DIL under ? fodbac, without any meaning given. FM i 508 has fodbhi. In my opinion, this is the acc. pl. of fodb, o, n, later m and f, 'spoils'.

3 i.e. complete

4 bech[h]tai n-airig is cited in DIL under bechta[e], iä, f, with a question-mark. Here I have taken this to be the gen. sg. form of the noun (preposed gen.--see Vol. II, p. 97: 13.2). Another possibility would be 'the preciseness of a nobleman', with bech[h]tai as nom. sg.

5 selad forrán is a problematic phrase. It is cited in DIL both under selat, o, m 'a while, a space of time', and the verb sligad. There is a problem with both possibilities: a) from the data in DIL it seems that the earliest form of the noun is selat, and in the texts I have examined, this would be the only example of [d] spelt with <d> (in this case forrán is gen. pl.); b) if this is sligad, then this is the only example of this form in both DIL and in these poems for the pret./perf. pass. of this verb; I have eight examples of slecht (in this case forrán is nom. sg.). I believe that another
by noble Æed Allán of Ailech.

The vigorous1 bear of pride,  
Flaithbertach, shelter of every outcast,  
75 he subdued him—fiercest of floods—,  
in festive Inis Eógain.

²Scotland’s high-king, the bear of Arran,  
vehement boldness which crushes rocks²,  
Cairell, brought from the west4 over the impetuous5 sea  
three times fifty boats.

Áed set out on a limited⁶ night,  
against them nobly he advanced,  
he slew them [all] along with Fergnae of the troops,  
except Cairell and the crew of his ship.

80 Another battle in Oscor of laments⁷  
--it was a famous, resolute overthrow--,  
was won over Flann Góan,

possibility would be to read selajid (=selaig, with confusion of palatal lenited g and d), pret. sg.  
3 abs. of sligid; note that I have one example of selaig (F5. 35) and one of selaid (F5. 111)—  
although the syntax would require a passive construction. So the possible translations are: either  
‘a period of assaults with men’ or ‘an assault with men was inflicted’. MacNeill’s translation is  
‘was inflicted’.  

¹ Note that this is the only example cited for athnertach in DIL.

² MacNeill has the following note on the following two stanzas: "I cannot trace this event  
in the annals" (1913: 58).

³ brúthi bairend: lit. ‘of the crushing of rocks’. Note that this line is cited in DIL under  
brúid with a question-mark.

⁴ See Note on p. 63.

⁵ This line is cited (with a question-mark), along with one more example, under rudach,  
without any meaning given. However, there is another word, ruthach, ‘running, swift, impetuous’  
which is only attested once (LU 857), where it is used for describing the sea. Cf. F5. 97: cach rian  
rethach, ‘every running sea’.

⁶ i.e. short? This line is cited in DIL under orach with a question-mark.

⁷ Oscur ûallach: or ‘proud Oscor’
it was vaunted\(^1\) the next day.

He subdued a battle-field\(^2\) [where] great kings were mangled\(^3\),
against the son of swift, daring\(^4\) Loingsech\(^5\),
two special signs\(^6\) [that he saw] at the same time of the night
crushed\(^7\) his fine pride for ever.

\(^1\) Cf. F10. 107: \textit{maiti int Airgdech a dith de}--\textit{Airgdech, his death was boasted of on account of it}?

\(^2\) \textit{reraig roi} is cited in \textit{DIL} under \textit{rigid} with the following explanation: '\textit{? won a battle}'.

\(^3\) Two other possibilities would be: 'He subdued a battle-field, great kings were mangled';
or 'he subdued a battle-field of the mangling of great kings', depending on whether one takes
\textit{ringthi} to be the pret. pass. pl. abs. of \textit{ringid}, or the gen. sg. of its verbal noun of \textit{ringid}, which is
not listed in \textit{DIL}.

\(^4\) This is the only example cited in \textit{DIL} under \textit{? laimthi}, with the note "Cf. \textit{lamad}" (vn. of
\textit{lamaid}, 'dares'). I take this word to be the gen. sg. of this u-stem verbal noun. For the palatal
consonant, see Thur. §306.

\(^5\) = \textit{Flaithbertach} mentioned in l. 74 (MacNeill, 1913: 58).

\(^6\) Another possibility would be to take \textit{di airdi} to be the prep. + the dat. sg. of \textit{airde},
'greatness'--this is what MacNéill has--. instead of \textit{di} numeral adj., + \textit{airdi}, nom. dual of \textit{airde},
io, n, later f, 'sign'. The \textit{aicill} with \textit{chaidchi} would be imperfect in both cases, because there is no
voiceless consonant in \textit{airdi} to balance the voiceless consonant in \textit{chaidchi}; however, with \textit{airde},
'greatness', there would also be a stop without another stop to balance it (see \textit{SMF}, Vol. II, p.
120: 2.5.5).

\(^7\) Lit. 'it was a crushing for his fine pride'. \textit{cloi}, f, means 'whirlwind, gust' and 'cry, sound'. None of these meanings fits into the context here. However, under 'ascription doubtful',
there is an example from \textit{LL} 21935 (\textit{MD} iv 98.99), where this word is translated as 'oppression'.
This and related meanings could have developed under the influence of \textit{cloid}.
ANÍ DO-RÕNSAT DO CHALMU (F4)

INTRODUCTION

MSS: \(L\!L\) 182b12

\(Lc\) (only the first ten stanzas and stanza 12)

\(D\) ii 2 (only the first ten stanzas and stanza 12)

99\% of \(LL\) is clearly legible.

Previous edition and translation: MacNeill, 1913: 58-70 (from \(LL\)).

MacNeill says the following about the last nine stanzas (F4 121-138): "After stanza 61, all the dates that I have found are later than the death of Flann Manistrech, 1056. Hence it appears that the poem was continued by a later writer. Flann's part must have ended with stanza 60, of which the closing a nglúnib alliterates with the beginning of the next section of the poem [= of the cycle], a ngluind. The additions do not include Domnall's victory over the Ulaid in 1099, or his greatest victory, gained over a powerful combination under his rival for the monarchy, Muirchertach Ua Briain, in 1103. We may therefore date the couplets 61-69 between the years 1091-1099."

I have noticed a stylistic difference between the two parts (i.e. the one attributed to Fland Manistrech, and the other to somebody else). While Fland uses the conjunction ocus/is/7 34 times in this poem, it does not appear at all in the last 18 lines.

Concerning linguistic differences between this piece of text and the other poems, see Vol. II, p. 160: XIV.
ANALYSIS OF THE METRE

I analyse the two parts mentioned in the Introduction separately.

**Metre and Stanza Structure**

The metre of the poem is *dechnad cummaisc* \((8^2 4^2 8^2 4^2\) mixed with \(4^2 8^2 4^1 8^2, 8^2 4^2 4^2 8^2, 8^2 4^2 4^1 8^2,\) etc.) (Murphy, 1961: 50). Below can be found the description of the stanza structure of the poem, with the monosyllabic and trisyllabic line endings highlighted.

1st part:

- \(8^2+4^2+4^2+8^2\): 1, 6, 15, 18, 19, 24, 31, 34, 39, 42, 43, 47, 50, 58 (14)
- \(8^2+4^2+8^2+4^2\): 4, 5, 16, 23, 28, 45, 46, 60 (8)
- \(4^1+8^2+4^2+8^2\): 21, 22, 25, 37, 48, 52 (see Note on F4. 104, p. 98), 56 (7)
- \(8^2+4^2+4^1+8^2\): 9, 17 (see Note on F4. 34, p. 92), 30, 51, 54 (6)
- \(4^1+8^2+4^2+8^2\): 14, 26, 32, 35, 36 (5)
- \(4^2+8^2+4^2+8^2\): 3, 11, 20, 38, 53 (5)
- \(4^1+8^2+4^1+8^2\): 12, 27, 33 (3)
- \(8^1+4^2+4^2+8^2\): 29, 55, 59 (caesura comes after an unstressed word in the first long line in all of these) (3)
- \(4^2+8^2+8^1+4^2\): 7, 8 (see Note on F4. 15, p. 90) (2)
- \(8^1+4^2+4^1+8^2\): 40 (1)
- \(4^1+8^2+8^1+4^2\): 44 (1)
- \(4^1+8^3+4^1+8^2\): 10 (1)
- \(4^1+8^2+4^2+8^2\): 13 (1)
- \(4^1+8^2+4^1+8^2\): 49 (caesura comes after an unstressed word in the first long line--see Note on F4. 97, p. 97) (1)

*No caesura* + \(4^2+8^2\): 41 (1) (see Note on F4. 81, p. 97)

*No caesura* + \(4^1+8^2\): 57 (1) (see Note on F4. 113 and 114, pp. 99 and 100)

Note that in six cases the *caesura* has to come after a trisyllabic word--this occurs always in the first long line. In stanzas 14 and 35 one could also have \(8^1\) in the first short line instead of \(4^1\), but in this case the *caesura* would have to come after an unstressed word.

(See also Vol. II, pp. 107-108: 1.2 a and e.)

2nd part:

- \(8^2+4^2+4^1+8^2\): 63, 64, 66 (see Note on F4. 132 on p. 100), 67 (4)
- \(4^2+8^1+4^1+8^2\): 65, 69 (2)
- \(8^3+4^2+8^1+4^2\): 61 (1)
According to Ni Dhomhnail's criteria (only a can be quadrasyllabic—1975: 79), in bardic poetry out of the 120 couplets of the first part of the poem 49 would be accepted (49/120 = 41%), while according to Knott's criteria (both a and c can be quadrasyllabic—1966: 17-18), 86 (86/120 = 72%). Of the 18 couplets of the second part, 11 would be accepted in the first case (=61%), and 12 in the second (=67%).

End-rhyme
On F4. 65-66, see Note on p. 96.
Note the interchange of stressed o and a before a non-palatal consonant in fodbrand: anmand (F4. 75-76) (1st part). In the 2nd part, we find a--a in Lachlaind: athraind (F4. 131-132) (cf. F4. 137 Lochlaind), and in lacha: Macha (F4. 137-138). For other similar examples, see Vol. II, p. 18: 2.4.
Note that the rhyme is not highlighted in spelling in Ailbe: Adni (F4. 19-20).
Note that Chonchath (F4. 63-64), Anbith (F4. 95-96) and Garbith (F4. 101-102) could also be spelt with final -d (?), so we get regular rhyme here. See also Vol. II, p. 112: 2.1.

Fidrad freccomail is not present between the following stanzas (1st part): 3+4 (ll. 6-7), 14+15 (ll. 28-29), 15+16 (ll. 30-31), 16+17 (ll. 32-33), 18+19 (ll. 36-37), 20+21 (ll. 40-41), 22+23 (ll. 44-45), 23+24 (ll. 46-47), 24+25 (ll. 48-49), 25+26 (ll. 50-51), 35+36 (ll. 70-71), 39+40 (ll. 78-79), 40+41 (ll. 80-81), 47+48 (ll. 94-95), 48+49 (ll. 96-97), 52+53 (ll. 104-105), 53+54 (ll. 106-107), 54+55 (ll. 109-110), and 59+60 (ll. 118-119) (40/59 = 68%).
Note that many of the stanzas begin with cath, which might provide a link.
F. f. is present between a stressed and an unstressed word:syllable: 2+3 (ll. 4-5), 5+6 (ll. 10-11), 10+11 (ll. 20-21), 43+44 (ll. 86-87), 44+45 (ll. 88-89), 58+59 (ll. 116-117) (6).
F. f. is present between an unstressed and a stressed syllable: 4+5 (ll. 8-9), 6+7 (ll. 12-13), 9+10 (ll. 18-19), 13+14 (ll. 26-27), 27+28 (ll. 54-55), 41+42 (ll. 82-83) (6).
F. f. is present between g and e: 4+5 (ll. 8-9), 6+7 (ll. 12-13), 8+9 (ll. 16-17), 27+28 (ll. 54-55), 51+52 (ll. 102-103) (5).
In 38+39 (ll. 76-77), if Fallama(i)n is not lenited after ocus, then f. f. is between a stressed and an unstressed word; if it is lenited, then f. f. is between a vowel and a lenited f.
Alliteration and lorga

1st part: alliteration is not present in the following lines: 1ab, 3a, 4c, 5a, 7ab, 9b, 11b, 13a, 14d, 15ab, 16d, 17b, 18cd, 19a, 20c, 21ab, 22c, 24c, 27a, 31b, 32ab, 34d, 35b, 36d, 37a, 38cd, 39a, 40c, 41a, 43a, 44d, 46d, 49a, 50cd, 51a, 53a, 63a, 64d, 65a, 66cd, 67a, 68d, 69a, 70d, 73a, 74d, 75a, 76c, 78d, 79b, 82cd, 83a, 85a, 87a, 88d, 89a, 91ab, 92c, 93a, 94d, 97a, 98cd, 99b, 100c, 101a, 102c, 103a, 105a, 107a, 109a, 111a, 112c, 117a, 120c (86).

Alliteration is not between the last two stressed words of the line in 4d, 26d, 40d, 54d, 86d, 100d, 104d and 112d. (8)

Double\paired alliteration appears in F4. 86d. (1) (See Vol. II, p. 123: 3.2.)

In 1. 75b we get alliteration if Finnachta is not lenited after oclus; and lorga with 75a if it is lenited.

Lorga between a and b (when there is no alliteration in b): 1b, 7b, 9b, 31b, 33b, 37b, 55b, 79b, 91b and 99b (10). In 3b, 5b, 45b, 49b, 83b, 89b, 95b, 97b, 101b, 107b, 115b and 119b (12) we have both lorga and alliteration. Concerning 75ab, see the remark above.

Note that there is only one stressed word in 2c, 10d, 29b, 32d, 37b, 48c, 55b, 59b, 78c, 90d, 92d and 120d, so these lines can not have alliteration (12). However, four of these are second lines in the stanza (line b), which means that they could make lorga with a; but this does not happen between 29ab and 59ab. (2)

The figures for lines with alliteration and lines which contain only lorga (minus the two lines referred to above) are 154/238=65% (note that there are two long lines without caesura, so these count as one).

2nd part: f. f. is not present between 62+63 (ll. 124-125), 64+65 (ll. 128-129), 65+66 (ll. 130-131). (5/8=62.5%).

F. f. is present between g and c in 60+61 (ll. 120-121) and 68+69 (ll. 136-137) (2).

F. f. is present between an unstressed and a stressed syllable in 68+69 (ll. 136-137).

In 67+68 (ll. 134-135) chind and Cind might provide some link.

2nd part: Alliteration is not present in the following lines: 122d, 123b, 124d, 126c, 127b, 128c, 130c, 131b, 132cd, 133a, 134c, 136cd, 137a, 138d (16).
Alliteration is not between the last two stressed words in 134d (1).

\textit{Lorga} between \textit{a} and \textit{b} (when there is no alliteration in \textit{b}): 127b and 131b (2). In 125b and 133b (2) we have both \textit{lorga} and alliteration.

There is only one stressed word in F4. 126c and 136d, so these lines can not have alliteration (2).
The figures for lines with alliteration and lines which contain only \textit{lorga} are $\frac{21}{36}=58\%$.

\textbf{FIRST LONG LINE--1ST PART}

\textbf{Internal rhyme (3)}

\begin{align*}
\text{Dremne : demni (F4. 31)} & \quad \text{fial : dían (F4. 77)} \\
\text{Maige : gainne (F4. 83)}
\end{align*}

\textit{Aicill} (4)

\begin{align*}
\text{chalmu : clanna (F4. 1) (intended?)} & \quad \text{cath : rath (F4. 25)} \\
\text{cerbb : Cerdd (F4. 95)} & \quad \text{Fergal : ferad (F4. 101)}
\end{align*}

Note that the spelling does not highlight the \textit{aicill} internal rhyme in F4. 1 and 31.

\textit{Úaitne} (1)

\begin{align*}
\text{fuiglech : degrach (F4. 77)}
\end{align*}

Of the first long lines, F4. 77 has both \textit{úaitne} and internal rhyme.

\textbf{SECOND LONG LINE--1ST PART} (either \textit{aicill} or \textit{úaitne} must be present--see SMF, Vol. II, pp. 105-109: 1.2)

\textit{Aicill} (25/60=42\%)

\begin{align*}
\text{-rädid : ārim (F4. 2)} & \quad \text{brón : mór (F4. 4)} \\
\text{fearb : deibaid (F4. 12)} & \quad \text{Airb : airm (F4. 18)} \\
\text{tríath : iath (F4. 20)} & \quad \text{Sremm : cend (F4. 24)} \\
\text{brón : mór (F4. 26)} & \quad \text{mbríg : ríg (F4. 34)} \\
\text{forrân : Ollán (F4. 40)} & \quad \text{garggním : ardric (F4. 48)} \\
\text{dúir : Dúin (F4. 54)} & \quad \text{ngarb : charn (F4. 60)} \\
\text{bíth : [Chrích] (F4. 66)} & \quad \text{áebda : Æeda (F4. 70)} \\
\text{garggním : ardric (F4. 78)} & \quad \text{Finne : cinne (F4. 84)}
\end{align*}
There is imperfect aícill between chroba[i]ng and torcAair (F4. 30), bladach and farcbad (F4. 62) cossair and torcAair (F4. 80), ngarglond and Albdon (F4. 104), and orddain and torcAair (F4. 116). (5)

Where there is no úaitne, aícill is always present (though imperfect in F4. 104).

In F4. 12, 34, 40, 70, 84, 94, 98, 110 and 118 both internal rhyme and aícill are present (9).

Úaitne (35/60=58%)

-tossaig : fessin (F4. 6)
achri : Eithne (F4. 10)
fera[i]nd : sonaim (F4. 22)
chroba[i]ng : Ailill (F4. 30)
ingand : Domnall (F4. 36)
trebaínd : Coraind (F4. 42)
anble : Subne (F4. 46)
Hérend : Cúaland (F4. 52)
feraind : Conaing (F4. 58)
anfád : Chonchath (F4. 64)
fúacra : cétta (F4. 72)
imrall : anmand (F4. 76)
Finne : Caille (F4. 84)
árbaí : Rúadrach (F4. 88)
theichle : aithbe (F4. 92)
borbgnim : Anbíth (F4. 96)
sorðdain : Ardgair (F4. 116)

In F4. 38 dodaing makes full rhyme with Chonaill. See a discussion of this feature (rudrach) in Vol. II, 122: 2.7.

On F4. 24, see Note on p. 91.

Note that Chonchath (F4. 63-64) and Anbíth (F4. 95-96) could also be spelt with final
-d (?), so we get regular rhyme here. See also Vol. II, p. 112: 2.1.

There is imperfect *úaitne* between ferailb and Lagen (F4. 12), ndrengat and Connacht (F4. 14), tairchel[1] and Murchad (F4. 82), and londbarr and Dondchad (F4. 118). (4)

**Internal rhyme (31/60=52%)**

- **tríathach** : Fiachrach (F4. 6)
- **fráech** : lúech (F4. 12)
- **scél** : Bél (F4. 28)
- **mBrec** : secht (F4. 34)
- **toga** : Coba (F4. 42)
- **dlúthach** : Tnúthgal (F4. 50)
- **Góan** : crón (F4. 56)
- **bét** : cét (F4. 62)
- **bráth** : Áth (F4. 68)
- **foroll** : cromond (F4. 72)
- **glé** : é (F4. 76)
- **fial** : Niall/Nial[1] (F4. 82, 84)
- **cian** : trián (F4. 94)
- **díl** : ár (F4. 110)
- **eochair** : Eochaid (F4. 116)

- **clú** : ú (F4. 8)
- **rige** : Sige (F4. 22)
- **cráeb** : Áed (F4. 30)
- **cám** : Áed (F4. 40)
- **oliband** : Domnall (F4. 44)
- **áeb** : Áed (F4. 52)
- **foglaid** : Congail (F4. 58)
- **ög** : Rón (F4. 64)
- **ol[1]band** : Domnall (F4. 70)
- **alt** : mac (F4. 74)
- **crúadach** : búadach (F4. 80)
- **cuman** : nUlad (F4. 86)
- **dianblait** : Diarmait (F4. 98)
- **fáen** : cáem (F4. 112)
- **luinde** : Tuinne (F4. 118)

In F4. 18 *cath* seems to make internal rhyme with *cath*, and in F4. 46 and 54 *mac* with *mac*.

In F4. 36 there is imperfect rhyme between ollgus and Forrgus¹, in F4. 96 between burbbu and Ultó, in F4. 102 between scafl and Máel, and in F4. 114 between fargbad and Arad (although see Note on p. 100).

A consonant from group x (Cb) rhymes with a consonant from group l (C') (Murphy, 1961: 33) in dlúthach and Tnúthgal (F4. 50).

Where there is no *aicill, úaitne* is always present (though imperfect in F4. 14 and 82).

Both *úaitne* and *aicill* are present in F4. 2 (1).

Both *úaitne* and internal rhyme are present in F4. 8, 22, 28, 30, 42, 44, 50, 52, 56, 58, 62, 64, 68, 72, 74, 76, 80, 84, 86, 94, 112, 116 (22).

*Aicill*, internal rhyme and *úaitne* are all present in F4. 84 and 94 (2).

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Proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in \(c\) when it is quadrasyllabic (not counting the last one, which always makes either \(\text{úaitne}\) or \(\text{aicill}\) with \(d\)): \(30/55 = 55\%\). (On F4. 18, 54, 96 and 102, see the remarks above.)

Proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in \(d\) (not counting the last word, which rhymes with the final of \(b\)): of the 138 stressed words in \(d\) in this section of the poem, 56 make \(\text{aicill}\) or internal rhyme with a word in \(c\) (=41\%). On F4. 18, 30, 46, 54, 80, 96, 102 and 104 see the remark above. On F4. 60, see Note on p. 95.

SECOND LONG LINE--2ND PART

Internal rhyme (1/9=11\%)

\(\text{crúaid} : \text{fo-rúair}\) (F4. 124)

\(\text{Aicill}\) (6/9=67\%)

\(\text{chomraind} : \text{Domnaill}\) (F4. 124)  
\(\text{thimm} : \text{cind}\) (F4. 126)

\(\text{rrath} : \text{cath}\) (F4. 128)  
\(\text{chill} : \text{cind}\) (F4. 132)

\(\text{lim} : \text{cind}\) (F4. 134)  
\(\text{seng} : \text{chend}\) (F4. 138)

F4. 124 is the only line which has both internal rhyme and \(\text{aicill}\).

\(\text{Úaitne}\) (2/9=22\%)

\(\text{mallacht} : . \text{Connacht}\) (F4. 122)  
\(\text{anmain} : . \text{imguin}\) (F4. 136)

Where \(\text{úaitne}\) is not present, \(\text{aicill}\) is always present, with the exception of F4. 130.

Proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in \(c\) when it is quadrasyllabic (not counting the last one, which always makes either \(\text{úaitne}\) or \(\text{aicill}\) with \(d\)): \(1/7 = 14\%\).

Proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in \(d\) (not counting the last word, which rhymes with the final of \(b\)): of the 19 stressed words in \(d\) in this section of the poem, 7 make \(\text{aicill}\) or internal rhyme with a word in \(c\) (=37\%).

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1. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L + b (rules 1, 2, 3):
L'Pb--CPb; L'Pb--CPb; CbPb--L'Pb; CbPb--CPb

certa : Erca (F4. 3-4) (e. r.)
Connacht : -comart (F4. 100) (a.)
glondalt : Connacht (F4. 13-14) (e. r.)
rec[h]ta : Erca (F4. 25-26) (e. r.)

2. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C/L + b (rules 2 and 3): CbL'--CbC'; LbC'--
C'C'; CbC'C'; LbC'C'; CbC'C'; CbC'C'; LbL'C'; CbL'C'; CbL'C'; CbL'C'; CbL'C';

chromthar : Chonchath (F4. 63-64) (e. r.)
chumthar : Murchad (F4. 81-82) (e. r.)
glondchar : Donchad (F4. 117-118) (e. r.)
achri : Eithne (F4. 10)
theichle : Aichel'aithbe (F4. 91-92)
sechme : Eithne (F4. 9-10) (e. r.)
Aichel : aithbe (F4. 91-92) (e. r.)
achri : sechme (F4. 9-10)
anfad : Chonchath (F4. 64)
anfad : chromthar (F4. 63-64)

3. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2):
C'C'C'; L'C'C'C'; C'C'C'L'; L'C'C'L'; C'C'C'L'; C'C'C'L'

Ailbe : Adni (F4. 19-20) (e. r.)
cumne : Subne (F4. 45-46) (e. r.)
omnus : Congus (F4. 59-60) (e. r.)
degrach : Temrach (F4. 77-78) (e. r.)
Dremne : demni (F4. 31) (i. r.)
foglaid : Congail (F4. 58) (i. r.)
magdai : Charnai (F4. 67-68) (e. r.)
ollbann : Domnall (F4. 44, 70) (i. r.)
onlgail : Domnall (F4. 39-40) (e. r.) (medial consonants)

chomland : nDomnall (F4. 35-36) (e. r.)
enedmar : Fergal (F4. 53-54) (e. r.)
comlaid : Domnall (F4. 73-74) (e. r.)
úamnach : Rúadrach (F4. 87-88) (e. r.)
badb : Garb (F4. 102) (a.)
ollgail : Congail (F4. 55-56) (e. r.)
londbarr : Domnall (F4. 118) (a.)
garb : charn (F4. 60) (a.)

Provided that <b> = [v].
4. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L (rules 1 and 2):
\[C^P \sim -C^PC^P; \quad P^C \sim -P^PC^P\]

orga(in) : Colga(in) (F4. 65-66) (e. r.)
cuindeig : Muindeirgg (F4. 69-70) (e. r.)
füa(a) : cëtna (F4. 72)

cerbb : cerdd (F4. 95) (a.)
ngarg : arg (F4. 108) (a.)
orddain : Arddaig (F4. 115-116)

5. One consonant corresponds to two consonants

a) A consonant from class l (C') or L (L') is added:
\[C'L^\prime-L'; \quad L'P^\prime-P'; \quad C'C^\prime-C'; \quad P'C^\prime-P'; \quad C^bC^\prime-C^b; \quad L^\prime-C'C'; \quad P^\prime-P'C'; \quad L'P^\prime-P'\?\]

ollguirm : Domnuill (F4. 39-40) (e. r.) (final consonants) alt : mac (F4. 74) (i. r.)
cham : clanna (F4. 1) (a.)
cæmma : Æda (F4. 105-106) (e. r.)
æebda : Æda (F4. 70) (a.)
Críachan : ûathmar (F4. 106) (a.)
dlúthach : Tnúthgal (F4. 50) (i. r.)
oaice : Roáilt (F4. 103-104) (e. r.)²

b) A consonant from class x (C^b) is added: \[C^bP^b-P^b\]
mBrec : secht (F4. 34) (i. r.)

6. Two or three consonants correspond to three or four consonants

a) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2): \[C'C'C'--C'L'; \quad C'C'C'--C'C'; \quad C'C'--L'C'C'; \quad C'L'C'--L'C'; \quad C'L'C'--C'C'; \quad C'C'C'--L'C'\]

fodbrand : anmand (F4. 75-76) (e. r.)
nglanbróg : Anbith (F4. 95-96) (e. r.)
scenmech :: ndrummech (F4. 27-28)
anble :: cumne\Subne (F4. 45-46)

b) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L (rules 1 and 2):
\[C^P \sim -C^PC^P; \quad C^P\!C^\prime-C^P\!C^\prime\]

Arddaig : Ardgair (F4. 115-116) (e. r.)

orddain :: Ardgair (F4. 116)

¹ Note that here and in comdian : saindian (F4. 85-86), nd = nn.
² Provided that <t> = [d] here.
³ Provided that <b> = [v] here.
Section 2

1. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2): C'C''--C'C''; C'C''--L'L''C''; C'L'C''--C'C''; C'L'C''--L'L''

chomraid : Domnaill (F4. 124) (i. r.)
derbaid : Ergair (F4. 127-128) (e. r.)
inmain : imguin (F4. 135-136) (e. r.)
anmain :: imguin (F4. 136)

2. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C/L + b (rules 2 and 3): C'hC''--C'hC''

Lachlaind : athraind (F4. 131-132) (e. r.)

3. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L + b (rules 1, 2, 3):
C'hPb--C'hPb

chorracht : Connacht (F4. 121-122) (e. r.)
mallacht : chorrracht\Connacht (F4. 121-122)

Elision (1st part)

a) Unstressed short vowel preceded by another vowel: ten examples. In eight of these, elision is required by the metre (F4. 29a, 59a, 63b, 81--see Note on p. 97; F4. 85a, 95a, 97a, 97b--see Note on p. 97), while in two cases there should be no elision (F4. 76d--see Note on p. 96; F4. 88c). (8/10=80%)

b) Dropping of the initial vowel of an unstressed word (prep. + poss. pron.\article; preverb): F4. 2c (after a vowel; indicated in spelling).
No dropping required: F4. 12d (beginning of short line), F4. 37b (beginning of short line, not indicated in spelling), F4. 60d.

c) Dropping of the initial vowel of the conjunction is: F4. 25b (beginning of short line; not indicated in spelling), F4. 96d (not indicated in spelling). Dropping is not required in F4. 67a. On F4. 24c and 108c, see the Notes on pp. 91 and 98.

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1 Ni Dhomhnaill, 1975: 19, §34: "Má thagann consan lom is a leithéid féin le chéile i gcarn, ceiltear séimhiú i gcónaí ar an dara consan acu agus comhairtear an péire consan mar aon chonsan amháin".

2 Provided that <g> = [v] here.
Elision (2nd part)
a) **Unstressed short vowel preceded by another vowel:** two examples. In both of these, elision is required by the metre (F4. 126d, 129b). (2/2 = 100%)

b) **Dropping of the initial vowel of an unstressed word** (prep. + art.): no dropping is required in F4. 136d (beginning of short line).

Dúnad

a) **1st part:** Part of the first stressed word of the poem (aní) is repeated in the last word of the poem (nglíinib). (See Vol. II, p. 130: 5.6.)

b) **2nd part:** the first letter of the very first word of the poem is the same as the last letter of the closing one: aní--Macha. (See Vol. II, p. 129: 5.3.)
Anf do-rônsat do chalmu clanna Eògain
ciá 'me-rád id ní ët a áirim eòlaig.

Inn eól dúib cath Slèibe Cuá clú co certa
mebaid cen brón rìa Murchertach mór mac Erca.

5 Is¹ cath Ocha for Ailill Molt is mó gessib
tríathach tossaig² i tochair hùa Fiachrach fessin.

Ocus cath Gránne for Findchath fègait eòlaig
ría Murchertach co clú cáemfir rìa n-ü nEògain.

Cath Cell Osnaid for slüag(o) Muman is mó sechme
i tochair Òengus co n-achri ocus Eithne.

Ocus cath Inde for Illa(i)nd i mbith glanfer
fräech for feraib isin debaid fri læech Lagen.

Is cath Delgga cath Mucrama ba mór glondalt
cath i Túaim Drubi dia ndrengat for slüag Connacht.

15 Is cath Segsa i tochair Duach³ Tenga Uma
mebaid rìa Murchertach Mena ba mór guba.

[Ocus]⁴ cath Cúlí cath Dromma tróeta flathì
cath i mMaig Airb ocus in cath i n-aimr Ache⁵.

¹ ocus LL
² tossach LL
³ See Note on p. 91.
⁴ is LL
⁵ i nArd Machi LL
Cath Almaini  cath Chind Eich ocus cath Ailbe
ro bris in tríath  ocus in cath i n-iath Adni.

Is cath Dētna  i torchair Ardgal mac Conaill
ríge fera[i]nd  la cath Átha Sige sonaim.

Serbchath Slēbe  Éblinne for mathe Muman
(is) for Echaid Sremm  i farcbad ilar cend curad.

Certfichi cath  (i)s a dó ro rath rēle rec[h]ta

Cath Slicige  rīa Forggus rīa nDomnall ndrumnec
nī scēl scemnnech  i torchair Eōgan Bēl buidnech.

Cath Cūl Conairi i Cera  rīana fairind2
crāeb ch[ã]em chroba[i]ng  i torchair Āed ocus Ailill.

Cath Cūle Dremne for Diarmait  demni scēlaib
i torchair trīcha cēt cafnid  dona tênaib.

Is cath Mōna Daire Lothair  co llfn Chruthne3
[s]Āed mBrec co mbríg  do-cersat and secht rīg Cruthne.

Cath Gabra Lifí for Lagniu  immiad chomland
ollgus imgand  mebaid rīa Forggus rīa nDomnall.

Cath Slemna rīa Colmān Rfmid  [in]na roraind
and ba dodaing  do cheniul Eōgain is Chonaill.

1 Fergus LL.
2 fairind LL.
3 See Note on p. 92.
4 im LL.
5 Fergus LL.
Is cath Slabri for Brandub mac Echach ollguirm cäem in forrann ro briss Áed Ollán mac Domnuill.

*Cath* Slébe Tüad rí Subne Mend for claind Conail toga trebaind i torchair Mäel Coba Coraind.

*Cath* Rátha Both rí Subne beós rods bröena ollband ága mebaid for Domnall mac Åeda.

*Cath* for Cummaskach rí Crundmáel cêtaib cumne for mac Ailella cen anble rí mac Subne.

Ocus Conall mac lond Longsig réil a réimend robo garggnfnm i rrubad mac ardríg Hërend.

*Cath* Slébe Fuait rí Fergal dos fanair fóí dlüthach ngleè i mbith Tnúthgal is Cú Roí.

*Cath* Findabrach for laechraid Lagen na lümmland áeb na Hërend i mbith Áed mac Cellaig Cúaland.

*Cath* i torchair Inrechtach argg Connacht cnedmar mac Dúinchaíd dúir la mac Mäel[e] Dùin la Fergal.

*Cath* in Oscair rí nÀed Ollán cosinn ollgail i torchair Fland Gőan co nglanbail mac crón Congail.

*Cath* Maige Ítha rí nÀed for clanna Conail foglaidd feraínd i rrubad mac Congail Conaing².

*Cath* for Airgīallo i fích Fíachrach näro omnus

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¹ fóí *LL*  
² ing is made on *II*
ba guban(ng)barb d'a rubad oco charn Congus.

Cath Insi Áine for slúago Alban ulach
ba bét bladach i farbhd lucht trí cét₁ curach.

Cath Focharta for cosmu in Chóícioil nád chromthar
óg int anfadh i rrubad Áed Rón is Chonchath.

Is cath Uchbath for làechraid Lagen lín orgg(i)n
Bran and ro bfhth [Dub Dá Chrich] is Áed mac Colga(i)n.

Cath Fráechmaige is cath Átha Medöin magdai
ba bráth bodbái ced in cath oc Áth Dá Charnai.

Cath Irchara la Mæel Dúin nád charad cuindeilg
ol[I]band aëbda for Domnall mac Æda Muindeirgg.

Cath Clóitige rí a nÁed Ordnide ro éta
foroll füacra forsin Domnall crodond cétna.

Cath Dromma Ríg rí a nÁed for claind Colmáin comlaind
co n-alt imrind i torcratar dà mac Domnaill.

Díarmait Odor ocus Finnachta na fodbrand
glē [a] n-imrall [is] derb roptar é a n-anmand.

Ocus Fallama(i)n fial fuiglech ba dfán degrach
ropo gargnním inro bfhth mac ardrgf Temrach.

Cath Sailtere rí a Murchad múaí ba mó gresaib²
crúadach cossair i torchair Mael bùadach Bresail.

¹ The gen. of trí was followed by nasalisation in OIr (Greene: 1992: 507), and this is why I have expanded c. as cét.
² gresaib LL
Cath for Danaru i nDaire Chalgaig nád chumthar fial in tairche[l] mebaid rí Níall is rí Murchad.

Cath Maige Ítha for Gullo co ngním gainne flaith fial Finne rodas cinne Nfál[l] cían Caille.

85 Cath Leithe in Chaimm rí Níall[l] Caille na slúag saindítan cuman comdían for ríg nUlad for ríg nAirgíall.

At-rullai ass rí Ulad mac Echach úamnach ríg Airgíall ule i n-árbach acht mac Rúadrach.

Ro bítha and trí meic Cathail cètaib cennach 90 Cummascach, Congalach corrach ocus Cellach.

Cath rí a Níed Findléath for Gullo i nGlind Aichle co rrabatar fó sár theichle iarna aithbe.

[Ba] amnas cath Locha Feáil rí a Níed arad cían bas cumain i rrubad dá trían na nDanar.

95 Andso in cath cerbb for Conaillib Cerdd co nglanbríg burbbu borbgním mebaid for Ulto is for Anbith.

Doidngiu in cath i Cill Úa nDaigri andá cech dodaing cen díanblait and Diarmait ocus Flann mac Conaing.

Cath Gulbain Guirt rí a Níall nGlundub ní gníom sruthé 100 ríg[a] Connacht cáem dos-comart im Mael Cluche.

Cath Maige Úatha rí Fergal ferad flandbríg and ro scafl badb dí a rrubad Mael Garb mac Garbhth.

Cath rí a mac Néill i mBairind i mbítha oäic
ríg Gall (na) ngarglond  Aufer [is] Albdon mac Roáilt.

105  Cath rí a Murchad  for Connachtú cen nach cámna
Cathal Cruachan i mbíth is mac úathmar Úeda.

Cath Formailí ríam for Conall  Clóen cen chísu
(is) for slúag Gall  ngarg i rrubad arg Máel ard Ísu.

Cath Maige Nathrach rí a nGlún i  lLár òis Logaill1
ní dál deróil i farcbad ard cheneóil Chonaill.

Cath Maige Glaiss  rí a n-úi Néill for clanda Conaill
fáen fúa baraind  úa cáem Conaing Gilla Colaim.

Cath i n-íath Ulad  rí a Murcherdach mac Domnaíl
i fargbad [ár] slúag Arad án iar crád Chomgaill.

115  Cath Craifbe Telcha for Ultu  rí a nÁed Arddaig
eochar orddáin i torchair Eochaid mac Ardgair.

Ocus Cú Dulig a mac is  Garbith glondchar
luinde londbarr  Dub Tuinne, Domnall is Dondchad.

Na catha dèdencha dremna  a Dé dúil
i torcratar fir cen(a n-)árim  fora nglúnib.

Cath Tráchtáta Eóthaili ármid  céim cen chorracht
ro bris Ardga(i)r  úa na mallacht  for slúag Connacht.

Cath Maige Lénai na llürech  rí a slúag Allig

1 Lógaill LL
cruaid in chomraind \( \mathit{fo-rùair mac} \) Domnaill a aidid.

125 \( \text{Cath} \) Corre Cullen na cùanart \( \mathit{for claind} \) Conaill
necorbo thimm \( \mathit{ro delgte} \) a cind \( \mathit{ria} \) colaind.

\( \text{Cath} \) Maige Lènai ro lamad \( \mathit{ba leor derbaid} \)
Domnall \( \mathit{co rrath} \) \( \mathit{ro briss in cath oc} \) Æth Ergair.

\( \text{Cath} \) Craind Crichid \( \mathit{ria Feraib na Craibe} \) at-chúala
for Feraib Luirg \( \mathit{ro brissed} \) ropo chhùaird chhàanna.

In rùac i mMaig Adar úane \( \mathit{ria n-óa} \) Lachlaind
(ní) \( \mathit{riachtatar chill} \) \( \mathit{ro bätar} \) cind ìarna n-athraind.

Olc \( \mathit{ro bätar Gaill in dune} \) a Dé demin
necorb olc lim \( \mathit{a mbeith} \) cind ar chind ros tenid.

135 \( \text{Cath} \) Cind Chorad \( \mathit{ria nDomnall mac} \) Ardgair inmain
i torcratar fir cen anmain \( \mathit{isind imguin} \).

\( \text{Cath} \) for Ulto \( \mathit{ria mac meic} \) Lochlaind ind lacha
Dond Slèbe seng \( \mathit{tucad a chend} \) co hArd Macha. A.
NOTES

All references are to MacNeill, 1913: 58-70.

F4. 3. MacNeill notes that the metre requires that we read Cuia as a disyllable.

F4. 5. There is one extra syllable in this line. MacNeill suggests the following: "read is for ocus, or omit Molt which may be a gloss, or omit is". The other two MSS both have ocus and Molt, and omit is (copula)--this means that the caesura would have to come between Ailill and Molt. I would prefer to retain the copula, read is for ocus, and put the caesura after Ocha, as it happens very rarely in these poems that a name is cut into two by the caesura. I do not think it would be possible to read iis for the copula here, as I have only one example of such a form--this being at the beginning of a line followed by the pronoun ã (see Vol. II, p. 127: 4.4 a).

F4. 6. In LL the caesura is marked only by an imperfect uaitne between tossach and fessin. However, the other two MSS have tosaig/tosaiigh, which will give us perfect uaitne. This will of course change the meaning of the phrase as well: instead of 'a noble beginning', we will have 'a nobleman of precedence'.

F4. 9. There is one syllable in excess in this line. MacNeill suggests that we read sluag instead of sluago. (Cf. F4. 61--for sluago.) This suggestion is supported by the reading of the other two MSS. MacNeill also suggests (1913: 63) that perhaps we should read Cell Osnaid (or Cell Llosnaid?) as one word. His suggestion makes no difference from the metrical point of view. Note that in F3. 21-22 this same battle is referred to as Im chath Chind chruid n-aithle \ Lasnado. See also the references in Hogan, 1910: 208 (Cell Osnaid) and 226 (Cenn Losnada).

F4. 11. The i in for Illa(i)nd must be a scribal error. According to O'Brien, 1973: 225, Illann was originally an n-stem noun (gen. Illandon), but see gen. Illaind in Binchy, 1975: 14.368, 382. The form Illaind can only be interpreted as the gen. of an o-stem here--however, after the preposition for one would expect Illand (acc./dat. of an o-stem or the short dat. of an n-stem), or Illandain (acc. of an n-stem). D it 2 has Illand (Lc has Aili/I here).
F4. 15. We could read Duach either as a monosyllable or a disyllable. (In the latter case the caesura would have to come after Duach.) For this reason, I print it as Duach and not as Duach or Duäch. MacNeill has the following note on this word: "The O. I. nom. Duël must have been known to Flann. The dative Duaich, two syllables, is in III. 3 [=F3. 3]." Here the originally gen. form is used as nom. On this phenomenon in original consonantal stems, see Vol. II, p. 44: 3.14 b).

F4. 17. There is one syllable missing in this line in LL. MacNeill suggests that we read i tróetta or 'ma tróetta. Lc and D ii 2 both have Cath Cúili ocus cath Droma tráethad flaithi, which will give us the required number of syllables. We could follow these two MSS; or in LL we could either insert is between Cúili and cath, or read ocus for is at the beginning of the line in order to solve the problem (cf. the Note on F4. 5, p. 90). I have opted for the last solution. I take tróeta to be the pret. pass. pl. absolute form of tráethaid, while the form in the other MSS is the pret. sg. conjunct one.

F4. 18. MacNeill has the following note on this line: "The alliteration and internal rhyme or assonance regular in the second half of the couplet are not observed here." (1913: 59). However, internal rhyme is not always present in this metre (see Vol. II, pp. 105-109: 1.2). As far as the required aicill/uaitne is concerned, aicill is present in Lc, which has cath a Muig Gairb / ocus in cath i n-airm Aichne: and (rudrach) uaitne in D ii 2, which has cath Cind Aichle / ocus cath a muigh airm Aiche. As to the historical correctness of these battles, MacNeill notes that the two battles which appear in LL, that of Mag Airb and Armagh, do not appear in AU or T (1913: 64). I was not able to find the battles which appear in the other two MSS either. However, Hogan, 1910: 15 lists cath Aiche under Aiche from the Book of Ballymote and O'Curry's Manuscript Materials, noting that it is enumerated along with cath Muige Ailbe and cath Almaine--and these two battles are referred to in the next stanza (F4. 19-20). So I suggest that we read i n-airm Aiche for LL i nArd Machi.

F4. 22. MacNeill and the editors of LL suggest that we read ferann with a final palatal consonant, as this word will give us uaitne with sonaim. However, MacNeill translates the word as the gen. pl. This line should definitely be emended in order to get the required marker of the caesura.

F4. 24. There is one syllable in excess in this line. MacNeill and LL suggest that we read
mór instead of ilar, with the same meaning, ‘many’. If we do this, then the caesura will have to come after farc bad, which will then make (imperfect) úaitne with curad. However, the problem with this suggestion is that D ii 2 has ilar, and Lc imad (earlier imbed, imbad, ‘a large number’). These two MSS have a torchair (D ii 2) and a ndrochair (Lc) for LL i farc bad, so they do not have úaitne in this line. However, they do not have is before for, so Sremm can make aicill with cend. As far as LL is concerned, my suggestion is to omit is (I do not have any definite examples of (i)s before a stressed word beginning in a consonant--see Vol. II, p. 127: 4.4 a), put the caesura after Sremm, and thus get aicill in order to mark the caesura—and of course retain the LL reading, ilar.

F4. 25. MacNeill suggests that we read 'sa dò for is dò to get the twelve syllables, and I have accepted his suggestion. (See also Vol. II, p. 127: 4.4 a)

F4. 26. There is one syllable missing in this line. MacNeill notes this, but makes no suggestions here. The editors of LL do not emend this line either. I suggest that we supply riá before Murchertach. Compare mebaid cen brón riá Murchertach mór mac Erca (F4. 4); for brissid with riá, see LU 2797.

F4. 27. According to MacNeill, the name Fergus is wrongly transcribed here and in 36, because the name of the king in question is Forggus or Forcus (c = g). He also points out that it is clear from the (imperfect) rhyme ollgus : Forggus in F4. 36 that this error is due to the scribe and not to the author. Cf. also F2. 9 and 57.

F4. 29. MacNeill suggests that we read ríana fairind (pl. 3) for LL ríana fairind (sg. 3). This phrase seems to refer to the following of Forggus and Domnall in the previous stanza, so ‘won by their following’ seems to make more sense here than ‘won by his following’.

F4. 30. Both the editors of LL and MacNeill suggest that we emend chem to cháem\chóem, and I have accepted this suggestion.

LL proposes the reading chrobaj\lng (gen. sg., ‘family’) for chrobang, which can thus make úaitne with Ailill; so we can get the required ornamentation to mark the caesura.

F4. 33-34. MacNeill notes that both lines end in the word Cruthne, ‘Picts’. As words which have the same form as well as the same meaning are normally not allowed to rhyme with
each other, and as I have no definite example of such rhyming pairs in end-rhyme position in these poems, one of them is probably wrong here. (The same problem arises only in F5. 23-24—Muman : Muman and in F5. 135-136 nglonnaib : nglonnaib, where the rhyme is emended by MacNeill and by the editors of LL—see the Notes on pp. 132 and 142, and SMF, Vol. II, 121: 2.6.) MacNeill has the following interesting note on the possible source of this couplet: "Both [= Annals of Ulster, Annals of Tigernach] have verses ascribed to Cenn Faelad, from which the second line of this couplet is borrowed" (1913: 65). (The couplet in question in AU 563 goes like this: adhbur comroma do-cert / im rTgh Cruithne im Āedh mBrec; and in Tigernach : 105 like this: adhbur comrainne nād cert / secht rīg Cruithnach im Āedh mBrecc—cf. im Āed mBrec co mbrīg do-cersat and secht rīg Cruithne in our poem—1. 34.) I believe that the lines cited above make it more likely that it is l. 33 (co līfn Chruthne) which would have to be emended—maybe we would need a word starting with l because of alliteration (although note that we already have lorga between a and b)—read co līfn luibne, 'with a great number of spears'?

The other problem with this stanza is that there is an extra syllable in F4. 34. MacNeill and LL suggest that we omit and. The problem with this solution is that in this case the caesura would have to come after do-cersat, so we would get neither uaitne nor aicill to mark the caesura (we would also end up with two internal rhymes in the long line—mBrec : secht, mbrīg : rīg—, which does not occur anywhere else in this poem). Alternatively, one could elide the i in im after Chruthne in l. 33—in this way we could get one internal rhyme and one aicill in the line; but I have no definite example of elision across lines (see Vol. II, p. 128: 4.8). There is also the possibility of reading 's for im before Āed (see Vol. II, p. 127: 4.4 a)—this would solve the problem both with the syllable count and with aicill—but note that the couplet on which this one seems to be based (see the Note above) has im Āedh mBrec. However, I have no better suggestion to make.

F4. 35. The editors of LL print Cath for MS cath. I think that this reading should be emended, as otherwise the abbreviation of cath is marked consistently all through.

F4. 36. Concerning Fergus/Forrgus, see note on F4. 27 on p. 92.

MacNeill has the following note here: "The next stanza is preceded by a special sign. A somewhat similar sign precedes the earlier stanza beginning with Cath Slicige. These signs seem to indicate the termination of the lists of victories won (1) by Murchertach Macc Erca, (2) by his sons Forrgus and Domnall." (1913: 60).
F4. 37. There is one syllable missing in this line. MacNeill (although with a question-mark) and LL suggest that we read inna roraind instead of na roraind. This would fit in well with the 4+8/8+4 syllable pattern, so I have accepted their suggestion.

In the MS the i is added subscript in roraind. This is also noted by the editors of LL.

F4. 41. LL suggests that we read dat. sg. Mind instead of Mend. The abbreviation in the MS might be extended as in instead of en; however, the horizontal stroke would normally indicate -en, -er. In this case, this is just acc. used for dat., and I would not emend this form. Compare do Subni Mind in F2. 14; and for rfa + acc., see Vol. II, pp. 66: 9.5.

F4. 43. MacNeill has ro säs (as in the Facsimile) for LL rodas. In the MS the d is illegible as there is a stain over it. However, rodas bröena, 'who [i.e. Suibne] has scattered them' seems to make more sense than ro säs bröena, 'it sated beaks (?)' (this is MacNeill's translation--maybe he was thinking of the badly attested word, bröe, 'spike, point?). DIL cites the LL line under the verb bráenaid, 'wets, sprinkles', and translates it as 'was scattered by S.[Subne]?', thus taking the verbal form to be the perfect passive. However, I do not think that this is acceptable, as for the perf. pass. of the verb bráenaid one would expect *ro brëanad in the sg. and *ro brëenta in the pl. I suggest that we take this form as the 3rd sg. perf. with the new ending in a vowel (SNG, 300: 12.32). For other examples of the same feature, see Vol. II, p. 87: 12.26.

F4. 48. The MS has robo and not roba as printed in LL.

F4. 49. The words Cath Slebe Fuait rfa Fergal are repeated at the bottom of the page in the MS, although probably in a different, later hand. This is not noted in LL.

dos fanair foï--This is a problematic phrase. To me dos fanair looks like a verbal form. MacNeill does not translate this phrase and this is the only example given in DIL under ?do-fanair. I have the following tentative suggestion to make: 1. This could be the present passive form of the verb anaid with an inorganic f, alliterating with foï. Although in Olr the pres. pass. ending without a -th- was restricted to strong verbs (Thur. §578), in Mir this spread to some weak verbs as well (SNG: 297: 12.21). 2. The sequence dos could be explained by the confusion of the preverbal particles no|do\ro (SNG: 280: 11.4, 11.5) (however, I have no certain example of this confusion in the poems I have examined). I suggest that here do could stand for no, and is used here to infix a pronoun--note that in Mir even the passive forms of
the verb could take an infixed pron. (SNG: 289: 11.40). However, even the suggestions above have not made it possible for me to be able to translate or interpret this phrase.

F4. 49-50. MacNeill notes that we should read foí, ngleag and Roí as disyllables.

F4. 54. There is one syllable missing in this line. MacNeill has the following note here: "to preserve the caesura, and since it does not seem likely that a scribe would substitute Dùnchaid for the historically correct form Dùnchada ( = Dùnchado), I suggest that Mæle is to be read instead of Mæel". (The LL notes suggest Mæel.) I have accepted MacNeill’s suggestion--note that the disyllabic gen. of Mæl appears in F2. 22, 23, 28, F5. 71 and F6. 68. It would not be possible to read older Dùnchada for LL Dùnchaid, because then the aicill between dúir and Dúin would be lost, and there would be nothing to mark the caesura--so Fland must have been using the newer form. However, I do believe that the kind of substitution MacNeill alludes to can happen (i.e. a scribe substituting the newer form for the older)--cf. F6. 115-116, where one has Dondchada : borrfada and Dondchaid : borrfaid as variant readings--although here one can not decide which is the original one (see Note on p. 184).

F4. 56. MacNeill has the following note on Goan: "Goan preserves and old spelling but rhymes with crón. In III. [F3.] second last couplet, Goan is two syllables". DIL cites this rhyming example with a question-mark. Note that in F3. 87 this word in disyllabic. Not counting this example, in this poem there are altogether 30 second couplets out of 60 with internal rhyme, so internal rhyme could be intended here.

F4. 58. In the MS, the ing in Conaing is made on ll. This is also noted by the editors of LL.

F4. 60. I take guban to be a scribal error for gubalel. This is the only occurrence of the word cited in DIL. On the other hand, gubalel is fairly well attested (compare ba mór guba in F4. 16). The form found in this text occurs in a cheville and is followed by nasalisation: ba guban ngarbh. I believe the scribe must have been influenced partly by the following nasalisation and partly by the attempt to create internal rhyme with rrubad, which appears in about half of the second long lines.

F4. 61. In the MS a diminutive o is superscript in sliaog. This is also noted by the editors.
of LL. Cf. the Note on F4. 9, p. 90.

F4. 65-66. MacNeill and LL suggest that we read orrgan (gen. pl.) for orrgain. I believe one would expect a noun in the gen. pl. after lín, and orrgain could only be acc./dat. sg. of orgun, orcun, ā, f, so I have accepted their suggestion.

MacNeill and LL also suggest that we emend Colgain to Colgan in order to get the historical genitive of Coleu, Colgu--this follows from the previous emendation, as otherwise we would not get the end-rhyme with orggaH'In. I believe that here the scribe substituted the new, o-stem type gen. for the consonantal stem gen. in an originally masc. consonantal stem (for other examples of the same phenomenon, see Vol. II, p. 44: 3.14 b).

There are two syllables (reading 7 as ocus) or three syllables (reading 7 as is) missing in F4. 66. On the basis of AU 737 MacNeill suggests that we supply Dub Da Crích (LL Notes: Dub Dá Chrích--note that historically one would expect lenition after gen. dá--Greene: 1992: 506); in this case read 7 as is. The suggested emendation will give us aicill between bín and Chrích, thus we will get the required marker of the caesura.

F4. 72. MacNeill has úacra for LL fúacra. However, the f here is an organic one (Thur. §725). Moreover, MacNeill’s version spoils the alliteration. Both the MS and the Facsimile have fúacra.

MacNeill has the following note on crodon: "note that while cró as monosyllable becomes long, it has a short vowel in the compound, crodon : foroll" (1913: 61). See also Bergin, 1938: 136.

F4. 76. There are two syllables missing in this line. The LL notes suggest that we read glé [a] n-imrall and [is] derb, ascribing these emendations to MacNeill, although they are not to be found in his edition. Another possibility would be to read glé as a disyllable, gleé. (Both glé and gleé would be the substantivised adj. glé, meaning ‘clearing’--see DIL.) The reading gle[é] n-imrall could be supported by the fact that a disyllabic gen. form, fixed by úaithe, occurs in this poem in 1. 50 (ingleé : Roí); and the nasalisation in this phrase could be due to the fact that this is a cheville (see also Vol. II, p. 32: II g). However, with this reading the internal rhyme between glé and é would be lost, and as otherwise 30 second couplets have internal rhyme in this poem (see p. 77), I believe that the suggestion made by the editors of LL would be preferable here.
F4. 77. On the basis of the gen. Follamain in AU 796, MacNeill emends Fallamain to Fallaman. O'Brien (1962: 626) has "Fallamain, see Allamain", Follaman, Folloman, and Follamain (Follomon) on p. 654. The metre does not provide any help here.

F4. 79. In the MS and the Facsimile there is a lengthmark over the s in grgsaib (: Bresail). This may just be a slip of the quill. The editors of LL print gresaib. MacNeill has a long vowel (gr&aib), and he suggests the reading gressaib (:Bresail).

F4. 81. MacNeill has the following note on this line: "The usual caesura after the fourth or eighth syllable is not observed." (For other examples, see Vol. II, p. 108: 1.2 d.)

F4. 87. Note that AU 827 and 839 have Echdach and not Echach. Byrne, 1973: 285 has nom. Eochaid. We probably have here the confusion of the two names.

F4. 92. The diplomatic edition of LL and MacNeill do not have a punctum delens over the s in sár, while the MS and the Facsimile do.

F4. 93. There is one syllable missing in this line. I suggest that we read ha (or is) anmas etc., as this would restore the 8+4 structure of the line. MacNeill notes the problem, but neither he nor LL propose any emendation.

Note that arad appears with a lower-case initial in DIL under 3 ara, and is referred to as an 'appositional gen.'. LL capitalises this word, while MacNeill does not. AU 866 refers to Æd as 'Áed m. Neill'--that is, without a sobriquet. I have followed MacNeill and DIL here.

F4. 95. MacNeill capitalises cerdd, while LL does not. Hogan (1910: 288) has Conailleib Cerd as a headword, so Cerdd must be part of the name of the population group. Hogan identifies them with the Conaille Muirthemne. AU 864 has "i tfr Conalli Cerd", which the editors translate as "in the territory of [the descendants of] Conall the Craftsman".

F4. 97. There must be two elisions in this line: one between doidagiu and in, and the other between nDaignri and andá in order to get the correct number of syllables. The caesura can only come after an unstressed word, i here (for other examples, see Vol. II, p. 108: 1.2 c); another possibility would be to put it after nDaignri, but I have no definite example of elision across a caesura\two lines.
F4. 99. MacNeill suggests that we read Gulban instead of Gulbain. This must be an example of the old consonantal stem genitive being taken as nominative, and being given an o-stem gen. I see no reason for emending this line, as this phenomenon does occur elsewhere, too. For other examples, see Vol. II, pp. 44: 3.14 b).

Cath Gulbain Guirt is a problematic expression. MacNeill takes guirt as the gen. sg. masc. of the adj. goirt, i, 'bitter, sharp', and translates it as 'the battle of harsh [Benn] Gulban'. However, the editors of LL capitalise goirt as if it was part of a proper name; cf. DIL "dh'iarasmadh shluagaidh Gulban Guirt (sic. leg.) for the descendants of the host of Gulba Guirt, Luc. Fid. 389.10", cited under guila, and Hogan, 1910: 452: "cath occ Gulbain Guirt for Connachtaib" FM ii 580 and "i nGulpain Guirt, Tl. 120". Hogan identifies this place-name with Benn Gulban, Benbulbin in co. Sligo. According to MacNeill (1913: 68), this battle between Nfall and Máel Cluche is mentioned in AU 912 (=AU 913), but the place itself is not named. Perhaps in view of the examples cited from DIL and Hogan above, it may be better to take Guirt as a part of the place-name.

F4. 100. There is a syllable missing in this line, which MacNeill and LL emend by changing rfg to rfg[a]. I have accepted this suggestion, as this will give us aicill between Connacht and comart, so we will have the required marker of the caesura.

F4. 103-104. Read oaic and Roailt as disyllables in order to get the required 12 syllables and the disyllabic line ending. We have the correct number of syllables in L. 104 the way it appears in LL; however, the customary caesura after the 4th or the 8th syllable seems to be missing in this line. As in the poems written in this metre that I have examined we do get the caesura in all the second long lines, I believe that this line must be corrupt. I suggest that we omit na between Gall and ngarglond and insert [is] between Aufer and Albdon; in this way we not only get the required caesura, but also imperfect aicill between ngarglond and Albdon--and this would be required here to mark the caesura. Note also that in the MS there is a fullstop after ngarglond, which is a scribal device used occasionally for marking the place of the caesura (the same happens, for example, in F2. 4, 20, 54 and F4. 64, 108--all marked in the diplomatic edition of LL).

F4. 108. MacNeill and LL suggest that we read for slüag nGall ngarg for for slüag Gall ngarg, "unless the preceding g has had a euphonic counteraction" (MacNeill, 1913: 62). I think that there are two possibilities here: this is either the dat., so the n is not needed at all,
or this is the acc. with the mark of nasalisation omitted between two consonants, to which MacNeill seems to allude. For other examples of the omission of nasalisation, see Vol. II, p. 29-31: 2.30.

The line contains an extra syllable. MacNeill suggests that we either elide the vowel of is after chisu in F4. 107, or we might read i mbth instead of i rrubad. The problem with the first solution is that I have no definite example of elision across a caesura\two lines (see Vol. II, p. 128: 4.8)--still, I believe that we could read (i)is here, as I have other examples of 's at the beginning or in the middle of a line (see Vol. II, p. 127: 4.4 a). Another solution would be to omit is altogether. At any rate, these solutions would mean less interference with the text than replacing i rrubad with i mbth. Also note that in the MS there is a fullstop after ngarg, which is a scribal device used occasionally for marking the caesura (for other examples, see Note on F4. 103-104, pp. 103-104). This will give us the required metrical marker of the caesura (in this case, aicill). Also note that if we do not omit is and read i mbth instead of i rrubad, the caesura would have to come after arg, which would thus make aicill with ard; however, in these poems aicill can only mark the caesura in the second couplet if line c is quadrasyllabic (see Vol. II, p. 108: 1.2 b), which would not be the case with this particular emendation.

F4. 109. MacNeill notes that the lengthmark on Lógaill (:Chonaill) is not correct and should be deleted. MacNeill takes Logaill to be a place-name; however, he notes that in AU 973-974 the engagement is said to be at Dún Clóítige (1913: 68). This supposed place-name is not listed in Hogan. Taking the lengthmark as an n-stroke does not solve the problem either. This line seems to be peculiar in that one has to make the caesura in the middle of a closely knit semantic unit, i.e., in the middle of a name. Note that the caesura has to come after an unstressed word in this line (see Vol. II, p. 108: 1.2 c).

F4. 112. The editors of LL note that in the MS and the Facsimile there seems to be an abbreviation stroke over the f in fua, which they do not expand. I do not think that this is an abbreviation stroke in the MS; it looks much more like a slip of the quill. Mac Neill, who worked from the Facsimile, has for ûa, which gives a syllable too many, so he suggests the possibility of reading fua = foa with a question-mark. I believe that this is the prep. fo, 'under', and the possessive pronoun a.

F4. 113. The usual caesura after the 4th or the 8th syllable is not observed in this line. Note
that the poet had to accommodate two personal names and the name of a population group here. For other examples, see Vol. II, p. 108: 1.2 d.

F4. 114. There is one syllable missing in this line. MacNeill suggests the reading Araidí (?) (= Dál nAraidí) for Arad, or ár slúag n-Arad n-án. If we accept the first solution, then the caesura would have to come after án, and it would be marked by aicill between án and cráid. However, in these poems aicill can only mark the caesura in the second couplet if line c is quadrasyllabic (see Vol. II, p. 108: 1.2 b), which would not be the case here. On the other hand, MacNeill’s second suggestion would make it possible to have aicill between ár and án, in which case c would be quadrasyllabic.

F4. 117. Note that the way this line appears in LL, the caesura must come after an unstressed word here. However, if one reads is Cú Dulig for ocus Cú Dulig, and ocus Garbhíth for is Garbhíth, then the caesura will come after Dulig, a stressed word. See also Vol. II, p. 108: 1.2 c.

F4. 120. There is one extra syllable in this line. MacNeill suggests that we read cen áirim or omit fir, which is added above the line in the MS (this is also noted in LL). Unfortunately, metrical ornamentation will not help here. I have opted for the first solution.

F4. 122. MacNeill suggests that we read Ardgar instead of Ardgair. The latter form seems to be the gen. which occurs in F4. 116 and 135. For nom. sg. see O’Brien, 1962: 511; for inflexion, Uhlich, 1993: 165.

F4. 126. MacNeill has rí a colaind (with elision of the poss. pron.) for LL MS and Facsimile rí colaind. rí either stands for frí (frí + poss. pron.) (acc. to Dil, deiligidir takes frí (le, re)—the only OIr example cited has frí), or for the preposition rí. Note that the line makes sense both with and without the poss. pron., and so both of the above-mentioned interpretations are possible.

F4. 132. There is one syllable in excess in this line. MacNeill suggests (with a question-mark) that we omit ro. However, in this case the caesura should come either after riachtatár or cind. This means that we would not get the required marker of the caesura (here aicill between cill and Cind). I would suggest that we omit ní and put the caesura after chill, as in this way we
can get the required aicill. In this case rfachtatar could be analysed as the pret./perf. pl. 3 prototonic form of ro-saig, used for the deuterotonic one (I have two examples in these poems of prot. used for deut. in verbs where the original prot. form began in r; see Vol. II, p. 79: 12.5 c). Of course, this emendation would change the meaning of the line ('they reached' instead of 'they did not reach'). It might also be possible to read nf rfachtar, which would also give us the correct number of syllables and the aicill--SNG: 303: 12.49 lists two examples of the ending -tar used instead of -tatar in verbs which have a t-pret, and one of them is the perf. pl. 3 of ro-saig: co rūactar from Saltair na Rann. However, as there are no examples of the form rfachtar in DIL or in SNG, I have opted for the first suggestion, even though I do not find it entirely satisfactory because of the change in meaning referred to above.
What Eógan’s descendants have done of valiant deeds, although you mention [them], the learned men cannot recount [them].

Do you know the battle of Sláib Cú—a certain fame—, that was won without sorrow by great Muirchertach, the son of Erc?

5 And the battle of Ocha over Ailill Molt—a greater than spells—, —a nobleman of precedence—, in which fell Fíachra’s grandson himself.

And the battle of Gránne over Findchath which learned men examine, [won] by Muirchertach with a goodly man’s renown, by Eógan’s grandson.

The battle of Cenn Losnado over Munster’s army—what we mention most—, where fell Óengus the keen and Eithne.

10 And the battle of Ine over Illand, in which a brave man was slain; men raged in the strife against the hero of the Leinstermen.

And the battle of Delg?, the battle of Mucrama—it was great prowess, —, the battle in Túaim Drubi, where they trample on the army of the Connachtmen.

15 And the battle of Segais where Dáui Tenga Uma fell, it was won by Murchertach of Min, it caused great wailing.

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1 See Note on p. 90.

2 *is mó sehme*: I believe that *DIL* is mistaken when it lists sehme (with a question-mark) under sech, the vn. of seichithi. Prof. Breatnach has suggested that this could be the 1st pl. pres. ind. of the verb sichid/sechid.

3 This is *DIL*’s translation of glondalt, which appears with a question-mark under the compounds of glond.

4 *dia ndrengat*: *DIL*: ‘when they overcome’; under dringid.
And the battle of Cúl, the battle of Druimm—lords were vanquished,  
a battle in Mag nAirb, and the battle of Ache’s place?¹.

The battle of Almu, the battle of Cenn Eich, and the battle of Ailbe,  
that the [same] lord won, and the battle in the land of Aidne².

And the battle of Détina, where fell Ardgal son of Conall;  
kingship of land, [won?] by the battle of Áth Síge which I proclaim.

The bitter battle of Slíab Éblinne lost by the nobles³ of Munster  
(and) by Echaid Sremm, where many heads of heroes were left.

Precisely twenty battles and two—clearness of record has been granted⁴  
great Murchertach mac Erca won without sorrow.

The battle of Slígo, won by Forggus and by ringletted Domnall  
--it is no babbling? tale--, where fell Eógán Bél, who was rich in troops.

The battle of Cúl Chonairi in Cera, won by their⁵ following,  
where Áed and Ailill fell, the comely branch of a family.

The battle of Cúl Dremne over Diarmait--most certain of stories⁶--,  
where fell thirty hundred--bewail [them]?--of the valiant ones.

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¹ See Note on p. 91.
² or ‘of the Aidni’?
³ mathe: lit. ‘the good ones’
⁴ ro rath réle rec[h]ita is cited in DIL under the perf. pass. of ernaid.
⁵ See Note on p. 92.
⁶ demni scélaib: ‘surest of tidings’ DIL
⁷ One can either take caíad to be a cheville (this is what MacNeill does, and I have  
followed his translation here), or another possibility would be to treat it as a relative (without no),  
‘whom you bewail’.
And the battle of Móin Daire Lothair, with a multitude of the Picts; there fell seven kings of the Picts [and] Áed Brec of honour.¹

35 The battle of Gabair Lifi over the Leinstermen of many encounters² --a very rare, great deed--, was won by Forggus and Domnall.

The battle of Slemain won by Colmán Rímid in his great share?³; it was hard there for the race of Eógan and Conall.⁴

And the battle of Slabre over Brandub, the son of very splendid Eochu, precious is the assault which Áed Ollán, the son of Domnall won.

The battle of Sliab Túad won by Suibne Menn over Conall’s race, where fell Máel Chobo of Corann, a choice hero⁵.

The battle or Raith Both by Suibne also, who has scattered them⁶, was won over Domnall, the son of Áed--a great exploit of war.

45 A battle against Cummascach won by Crunmmáel, with hundreds of memories, against Ailill’s son without excess, won by Suibne’s son.

And Conall, the fierce son of Loingsech--clear are his doings⁷--, it was a fierce deed when the son of Ireland’s high-king was slain.

¹ See Note on p. 92.
² for Laigniu / immaid chomland--or cheville: ‘a full strife’--if one takes the second last word as immad, immaid, ‘strife’.
³ [in]na roraind = territory?
⁴ MacNeill: ‘there the kindred of Eógan and Conall were hard to withstand’ (1913: 65).
⁵ lit. ‘the choice of a hero’. ‘choice hero’ is DIL’s translation of toga trebaind, which appears under trebann.
⁶ i.e. his enemies.
⁷ See DIL under réim(m) b).
The battle of Slíab Fúait, won by Fergal ……?1, a close1 encounter1, in which were slain Tnúthgal and Cú Roi.

The battle of Findubair over the warriors of the Leinstermen of active blades?, where Áed, son of Cellach of Cúalu, delight of Ireland, was slain.

A battle in which fell Inreachtach, champion of the wound-dealing Connachtmen,
son of stern Dúnchad, at the hands of Fergal, Máel Dúin’s son.

The battle of the Oscoir2, won by Áed Ollán of great warlike ardour, where fell Flann Góan of pure goodness4, Congal’s swarthy son.

The battle of Mag Ítha won by Áed over the race of Conall, where Congal’s son Conaing, the plunderer of land, was slain.

7A battle against the Airgíalla in vengeance5 for Fiachra who was not cruel|rough6;
60 it was a wild lament, when Congus was slain at his cairn.

1 See Note on p. 95.

2 Note that this is the only example cited in DIL under dlúthach.

3 dlúthach ngleé: DIL cites three examples under 2 glé (including this one), and says: "see gleó" ('fight, combat'). This phrase literally means 'a close thing of an encounter'.

4 DIL has cnedmar = cnedach; three examples are cited, including this one. Argg Connacht cnedmar could also mean 'the wound-dealing champion of the Connachtmen'.

5 MacNeill, 1913: 66: "AU does not name the place".

6 There are three examples cited for glanbail in DIL from Féilire Óengusso and one from Lism. L. under the compounds of glan, with the translation 'pure goodness'.

7 Note that the following two stanzas appear in reverse order in MacNeill's translation.

8 i fich Fiachrach is cited in DIL under 2 fich with a question-mark.

9 náro omnus: if náro stands for nárbo; however, I have no other example of this; or maybe this is the perf. sg. 1 of *omnaid from omnaígid-‘whom I did not fear’?
The battle of Inis Áne against the hosts of bearded Scots¹, it was a splendid deed, where the men of three hundred boats were left behind.

The battle of Fochairt² against the fair ones of the Province that is not subdued, --complete is the fury--, where Áed Rón and Conchath were slain.

65 And the "battle of Groans"³ against the warriors of the Leinstermen of many devastations⁴, Bran was slain there, [and Dub Dá Crích], and Áed, the son of Colggu.

The battle of Fráechmag and the battle of vast⁵ Áth Medóin; it was a deadly doom, too, as regards the battle at Áth Dá Charnai.

The battle of Irchair won by Máel Dúin, who did not love contract[s]? over Domnall, son of Áed Muinderg, a fine, great exploit⁶.

70 The battle of Clóitech by Áed Orndide who won [it]⁷ --a mighty challenge--, over the same blood-stained Domnall.

¹ for slúago / Alban ulach; lit. ‘the army of Scotland of the bearded ones’--cf. F3. 42. for slúag nAlban n-ulach.

² Hogan, 1910: 426: under fochard.

³ MacNeill has the following note here (1913: 66): "An editorial note in AU [737] says, "Uchbadh.--Another name for Ath-Senaigh." I take it to be a common noun." T has "Cath Atha Senaigh i. cath Ucbadh". This was probably originally a common noun describing the battle, which later came to be used as a proper noun, designating the battle itself. Cf. F3. 17 cath Uchbath.

⁴ Lagen lin orgga(in): or cheville: ‘a great number of devastations’. See also the Note on p. 96.

⁵ cath Átha / Medóin magdai is cited in DIL under magda, ‘great, vast’, with MacNeill’s translation (‘the battle of Áth Medóin of the plains’) and a question-mark. I think that ‘vast’ makes sense here.

⁶ In F4. 44 MacNeill translates ollband ága as ‘great exploit of war’. However, here he renders oll[l]band áebda as ‘a pleasant overlord (?)’. I do not see any basis for the latter translation.

⁷ ro ēta; lit. ‘who got [it]’
The battle of Druimm Ríg won by Áed over the combative race of Cholmán\(^1\), with a many-pointed weapon?\(^2\), where the two sons of Domnall fell.

Díarmait Odor and Fínnachtae of the divisions of spoils
--a clearing of [their] errors\(^3\)--, [it is] certain, these were their names.

And noble Fallaman of judgements, who was swift and fierce\(^4\), it was a fierce deed in which was slain the son of Tara’s high-king.

The battle of Sailtere, won by stately Murchad, greatest of encounters\(^5\), a cruel slaughter, where victorious Máel Bresail fell.

A battle against the Danes in Daire Calggaig that is not sung?
--noble is the protection?--was won by Níall and Murchad.

The battle of Mag nítha against the Foreigners with a hard\(^6\) deed, long-lived Níall of the Callann, noble prince of the Finn, overcame\(^7\) them.

\(^1\) for claind Colmán claindind: the initial consonant of claindind is not lenited, so it is more likely that it qualifies claind here.

\(^2\) The phrase co n-alt imrind is a problematic one. MacNeill does not translate it, and I believe that it could be interpreted in the following two ways:
  a) This phrase is cited in DIL under 1 alt I b) "extended applications" (e.g. ‘of the socket of a weapon’; ‘of some part of a sword’). I believe that imrind must be the word listed in DIL under 2 imrind (cf. deibide n-imrind). However, no part of speech or stem-class is indicated, and the only meaning given is "metrical term the linking of long lines (of a stanza) by rhyme". Maybe in connection with weapons this word could be interpreted as referring to something ‘having many points’--cf. 1 imrind in DIL, ‘object having many points’. Cf. also sfl Eogain (n)-imrind in F5. 122, ‘Eogan’s very keen? race’.
  b) For alt, DIL also gives the meaning ‘metre (type of composition)’ under 1 alt II c). In the light of this, co n-alt imrind could also be interpreted as ‘with a poem having rhymes all round’ (i.e. the battle referred to here in F4. is celebrated with such a poem).

\(^3\) See Note on p. 96.

\(^4\) DIL: ‘Mid. Ir. adj. occurring only in early poetry, prob. fiery, fierce; angry, furious’; under degrach.

\(^5\) ba mo gresaib: lit. ‘it was greater than encounters’

\(^6\) DIL, under gainne "c) hardness (?)”.

\(^7\) DIL cites the form rodas cinne under the strong verb cingid, later cinnid d), ‘overcomes, surpasses’. If this is the verb cingid, then it is conjugated as a weak verb here, with the new, Mr perf. sg. 3 ending in a vowel (SNG: 300: 12.32 and Vol. II, p. 87: 12.26). Note that I have four examples of the reduplicated pret. of cingid, eccheaing in these poems (Vol. II, p. 80: 12.6 b) -- on
The battle of Leth in Chaimm, won by Níall Caille of the especially swift armies—it is a very vigorous memory—, over the king of the Ulaid, over the king of the Airgíalla.

From it escaped the king of the Ulstermen, the terrible son of Eochu; all the kings of the Airgíalla [were left] in the slaughter, except the son of Rúadrí.

There the three sons of Cathal with hundreds of payments were slain:

Cummascach, Congalach the unsteady, and Cellach.

A battle won by Áed Findlíath over the Foreigners in Glenn Aichle so that they were under the humiliation of having to flee, having been overthrown.

Cruel was the battle of Loch Febail won by Áed of the charioteers; long will it be remembered, in which two-thirds of the Danes were slain.

Verbs which appear with both a strong and a weak pret., see *ibid* in Vol. II. There is also the possibility that this is the weak verb *cinnid* in the meaning 'completes, finishes' ('finished them' in our text?). However, I believe that the meaning of *cinnid* fits in here better, so I think that *DIL*’s interpretation is the more likely one.

1 There are only two examples cited in *DIL* for *comdian* (including this one).

2 = ransom? *DIL* takes this as a cheville; this line is cited under *cennach a*) bargain, transaction, compact.

3 *fó sár theichle*: lit. 'under its his humiliation of fleeing' (see Note on p. 97). *DIL* cites this line under *teichel* [á, f. ?] = *teiched*, 'fleeing, flight', along with one more example, also by Fland: do-rat for tríuno tūath tef(t)chill (; Chethirn) (F5. 31). Then *DIL* adds: "but seems opposed to *teiched in: cen nach teichel dochuaid ass | rue a theged co Achess, SR 6219". The meaning 'fleeing, flight' seems to make sense here as well as in F5. 31.

4 *íarna aithbe* is cited in *DIL* under *aithbe*, 'decline, decay', with a question-mark. I believe that here we are probably dealing with the use of this noun in an extended sense ('overthrow'). Note that both possessive pronouns in the line seem to be in the sg. (*fó sár, íarna aithbe*), although the meaning must be pl. (referring to 'Foreigners').

5 See Note on p. 97.

6 *andso:* or 'harder'.

108
--fiercest of any fierce exploits--", the Ulstermen and Anbith were defeated.

Harder was the battle in Cell Úa nDaigri than any [other] hardship; Diarmait and Flann son of Conaing [were left] there without vigorous strength.

The battle of Gulban Guirt^ won by Nfáll Glúndub--it is not a deed of dignity--,

100 the kings of the Connachtmen, well he smote them^, including Máel Chluiche.

The battle of Mag nÚatha, won by Fergal who used to spread red power; there he loosed the warspite^, when Máel Garb, the son of Garbith was slain.

A battle won by Nfáll’s son in Bairenn where youths were slain, the kings of the Foreigners of fierce deeds, Aufer [and] Albdon, the son of Roált.

105 A battle won by Murchad against the Connachtmen without any sparing^, where Cathal of Crúachu and Áed’s formidable son were slain.

The battle of Formáel he won against Conall Clóen, without tributes, (and) against the army of the fierce Foreigners, where a champion, noble Máel Ísu fell.

---

7 See Note on p. 97.

1 burbbu borbgnim: I have given DIL’s translation here, which is found under borb b). Lit. 'fiercer than a fierce exploit'.

2 See Note on p. 98.

3 rig[a] Connacht / cæem dos-comart: or ‘the kings of the fine Connachtmen, he smote them, etc.’ See Note on p. 98.

4 MacNeill suggests two translations for and ro scafl badb: ‘there he loosed the warspite’ (= the scaldcrow) (cited in DIL under scaild II i), and ‘there a scaldcrow screamed’ alternatively in his Notes--he probably interprets the verb (‘scatters, spreads, releases’) in a metaphorical sense here. He also adds that "the verb apparently should be scael : Mael". The problem is that according to the evidence in DIL, scaell ends in a palatal l, while Mæl in a non-palatal one, so the internal rhyme is imperfect here.

5 cæemma: lit. ‘protection’
The battle of Mag Nathrach won by Glúin i Láir above Logaill, it is not a petty encounter, where the slaughter of the race of Conall was left.

The battle of Mag Glas won by Nóall’s grandson over Conall’s race, prostrate under his wrath was Conaing’s comely grandson, Gilla Coluim.

A battle in the land of the Ulstermen, won by Murchertach, the son of Domnall, in which the slaughter of the armies of the splendid Araid was left, having tormented Comgall.

The battle of Cráeb Thelcha against the Ulstermen, won by Áed of Ardach, in which fell Eochaid, son of Ardgar, a guide of dignity.

And Cú Dulig his son, and Garbith, lover of brave deeds, the valour of warlike chiefs, Dub Tuinne, Domnall and Donnchad.

The furious battles of late, o God of Creation! in which men have fallen to their knees without number.

The battle of Trácht Eóthaili—recount!—, a step without flinching, Ardgar, the grandson of curses won, against the army of the Connachtmen.

The battle of Mag Lénai of breastplates, won by the army of Ailech;

---

1 See Note on p. 99.
2 See Note on p. 100.
3 iar cráid Chomgall; or ‘after the death of Comgall’; see Footnote on Fl. 19 iarna chráid on p. 23.
4 DIL cites this line under ? ardaig, and is not sure whether this is a place-name here. Hogan, 1910: 36 does have Ardach as a place-name, and I have no better suggestion to make. I have followed MacNeill’s translation here.
5 cen árim; lit. ‘without counting’
6 DIL cites cen chorracht along with two more examples under corracht = corraige.
--hard was the encounter—the son of Domnall met his fate.

125 The battle of Corr Cullen of the warrior bands against Conall's race was not fainthearted—their heads were parted from their body.

The battle of Mag Lénai was dared—it was great enough, confirm [it].

Domnall with good luck won the battle at Áth Ergair.

The battle of Crann Crichid, by Fir na Craibe—you have heard, against the Fir Luirg it was won—it was a fine campaign.

The rout in green Mag n'Adair [won] by Lochlann's grandson—they reached the church[yard]; heads were hewn asunder.

Ill had the Foreigners of the fortress behaved, o God undoubted! I did not think it ill that they should be face to face towards [the] fire.

135 The battle of Cenn Corad, won by Domnall, the son of beloved Ardgar, in which men fell lifeless in the strife.

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1 In DIL crúaid in chomraind is cited under meaning b) (partnership, pact, alliance) of comrann.

2 ría colaind: or 'from [their] body'—see Note on p. 100.

3 derbaid could either be the imp. 2nd pl. of derbaid, 'certifies, confirms', or the noun derbaid meaning 'hindrance, prevention'—in the latter case ba leòr derbaid would mean 'it was a great hindrance'.

4 co rath: or 'with grace'

5 Note that Breatnach—SNG: 285: 11.24—translates at-chůala as 1st sg. However, most verbal forms in chevilles in these poems are either in sg. or pl. 2.

6 or 'savage'? chůanna could mean both.

7 See Note on p. 100.

8 MacNeill does not translate ros tenid. I can see only one way of interpreting this phrase: ros stands for fri + the abbreviated form of the definite article, (-s) (In MFr this form of the article appears before t or d with prepositions which acquire an s when the definite article is attached to them—SNG: 259: 7.8). Tenid is the acc. sg. of teine, 'fire'. I believe that the author probably refers to the Fire of Hell here.

9 ría nDomnall mac Ardgair inmain: note that the adj. could also refer to mac here.
A battle against the Ulstermen, won by the grandson of Lochlann of the lake; slender Donn Slébe—his head was brought to Armagh.
INTRODUCTION

MS: LL 183b18

95% of the text is clearly legible; in the second half of folio 184a the left-hand side margin is faded.

Previous edition and translation:
MacNeill, 1913: 70-82 (from LL)

According to MacNeill, the last event recorded in this poem refers to an entry in AU 1047, so he comes to the following conclusion concerning the dating of the whole cycle (comprising F1, F2, F4 and F5): "Flann’s poem would thus seem to have been composed within the years 1047-1056." (1913: 82)
ANALYSIS OF THE METRE

Metre and Stanza Structure
The metre of the poem is *dechnad cummaisc* (8\(^2\) 4\(^2\) 8\(^2\) 4\(^2\) mixed with 4\(^2\) 8\(^2\) 4\(^1\) 8\(^2\), 8\(^2\) 4\(^2\) 4\(^1\) 8\(^2\), etc.) (Murphy, 1961: 50). Below can be found the description of the stanza structure of the poem, with the monosyllabic line endings highlighted.

\[4^1+8^2+4^2+8^2: 4, 5, 7, 8, 11 \text{ (see Note on F5. 22, p. 32)}, 12, 14, 29, 35, 41, 46, 55, 67, 68 (14)\]
\[8^2+4^2+4^2+8^2: 1, 2, 10, 13, 22, 25, 38, 40, 42, 43, 50, 53, 65 (13)\]
\[4^2+8^2+4^2+8^2: 9, 15, 18, 19, 24, 32, 48, 56, 57, 63 \text{ (see Note on F5. 126, p. 141)}, 66, 69 (12)\]
\[4^1+8^2+4^1+8^2: 3, 6, 16, 21, 27, 47, 54 (7)\]
\[8^2+4^2+4^1+8^2: 17, 30, 33 \text{ (caesura comes after an unstressed word in ll. 65)}, 44, 51, 52, 59 (7)\]
\[4^2+8^2+4^1+8^2: 26, 28, 31, 37, 62, 64 (6)\]
\[8^2+4^2+8^2+4^2: 34, 60, 61 (3)\]
\[8^1+4^2+4^2+8^2: 36, 45, 49 (3)\]
\[8^1+4^2+4^1+8^2: 23 \text{ (see Note on F5. 45, p. 133)}, 58 \text{ (caesura comes after an unstressed word in ll. 45 and 115)} (2)\]
\[4^2+8^2+8^2+4^2: 39 (1)\]

No *caesura* + 4\(^1\)+8\(^2\): 20 \text{ (see Note on F5. 39, p. 133)} (1)

According to Ní Dhomhnaill’s criteria (only \(a\) can be quadrasyllabic—1975: 79), in bardic poetry 45 of these 138 couplets would be accepted (=33%), while according to Knott’s criteria (both \(a\) and \(c\) can be quadrasyllabic—1966: 17-18), 87 (=63%).

End-rhyme
See the Notes on F5. 31-32, p. 133, and F5. 115-116, p. 139.
Imperfect rhyme: *chumtaig* : *Uultaib* (F5. 107-108). See also Vol. II, p. 120: 2.5.5.
Note the interchange of stressed o and a before a non-palatal consonant in F5. 47-48 (Corná(i)n : Gabrá(i)n). For other examples, see Vol. II, p. 18: 2.4.
Rhyme not highlighted in spelling: *achar* : *Chathul* (F5. 41-42), *daidbre* : *Laigniu* (F5. 55-56).
Note that in F5. 39-40, of the two identical rhyming words (*ndiberg* : *Diberg*) one is used as a common noun, and the other as a sobriquet.
A consonant from group x (C') rhymes with a consonant from group 1 (C') (Murphy, 1961: 33) in Rathach : athar (F5. 19-20) and Curchach : Murchad (F5. 69-70).

Fidrad freccomail is not present in stanzas 25+26 (ll. 50+51). (67/68=99%)  
F. f. is between a lenited and a non-lenited f in 1+2 (ll. 2-3). (See Vol. II, p. 124: 3.3.) In F5. 21 the lenition mark over the f in fer must be supplied, and then we will get f. f. between a vowel and a lenited f; otherwise f. f. would be between a stressed and an unstressed word.

F. f. is present between a lenited and a non-lenited s in 9+10 (ll. 18-19).  
In 13+14 (ll. 26-27) f. f. is present either between a stressed or an unstressed word, or between an unstressed syllable and a stressed word (see Note on F5. 26, p. 132).  
F. f. is present between a stressed and an unstressed word/syllable in 14+15 (ll. 28+29), 20+21 (ll. 40-41), 22+23 (ll. 44-45), 23+24 (ll. 46-47), 29+30 (ll. 58+59) 37+38 (ll. 74-75), 39+40 (ll. 78-79), 41+42 (ll. 82-83), 42+43 (ll. 84-85), 51+52 (ll. 102-103), 58+59 (ll. 116-117) (11).

F. f. is present between two unstressed syllables in 54+55 (ll. 108-109).  
F. f. is present between g and e in 42+43 (ll. 84-85).  
F. f. is present between t and d in 54+55 (ll. 108-109).

Concerning the form Sechnaill in F5. 110, see Note on p. 138.

Concerning 68+69 (ll. 136-137), see the Note on F5. 136, p. 142.

Alliteration and lorga

Alliteration is not present in the following lines: 2cd, 3b, 5a, 6c, 7b, 9a, 10d, 11a, 12cd, 14d, 15a, 17a, 20d, 21a, 23a, 25a, 27a, 28d, 31a, 32d, 35a, 36d, 40c, 41a, 42cd, 43a, 44cd, 46cd, 47a, 48c, 49a, 51a, 52c, 56cd, 58d, 59a, 60cd, 61a, 64c, 66d, 69ab, 72d, 73b, 74d, 76cd, 77a, 79b, 80cd, 81a, 82d, 84d, 85a, 87ab, 88cd, 89a, 90c, 93a, 96c, 102d, 103b, 104cd, 105b, 109a, 110d, 111a, 112d, 114d, 119b, 121b, 122d, 125ab, 126d, 127a, 128c, 133a, 134c, 135a, 136d, 138c (93).

Alliteration is not between the last two stressed words of the line in 8d, 16d, 18d, 26d, 38d, 92d, 98d, 108d (8).

In 3a the only way to get alliteration is to treat mac as a stressed word. The only way to get alliteration between the last two stressed words of the line in 18d is to read ro sainig for ro sainig. On lenition after the particles do-, ní, no and ro in these
poems, see Vol. II, p. 60: 8.4.

In 23b we can only get alliteration if we accept the suggested emendation.

In 123b the only way to get alliteration is to read **im Furadrán fuatlán** (dat.) for **LL im Furadrán fuatlán** (acc.).

**Lorga** between a and b (when there is no alliteration in b): 1b, 3b, 79b, 103b, 105b, 119b and 121b (7). In 35b, 43b, 53b, 83b, 99b, 101b, 111b, 117b and 129b (9) we have both lorga and alliteration.

If the historical lenition after nírbo was omitted, then we would get **lorga** between F5. 25a and b. (On the absence of historical lenition after the copula, see Vol. II, p. 27: 2.29 g). Another possibility would be to read **meic Sētnai** for **mac Sētnai**.

There is only one stressed word in 1b, 4c, 14c, 25b, 49b, 70c, 100c, 106c, 120d, 134d and 136c, so these lines can not have alliteration (11). However, three of these are second lines in the stanza (line b), which means that they could make lorga with a; however, this does not happen in 49ab. On 25b, see the remark under lorga above.

The figures for lines with alliteration and lines which contain only lorga (minus the line referred to above) are 180/275=65% (note that there is one long line without caesura, so this counts as one).

**FIRST LONG LINE**

*Aicill* (11/69=16%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trom : goll (F5. 7)</th>
<th>Sliab : fiad (F5. 9)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gnín : lín (F5. 11)</td>
<td>Dondchad : molthar (F5. 85)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ír : gním (F5. 91)</td>
<td>Néill : leir (F5. 93)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tríall : rían (F5. 97)</td>
<td>Céim : Neill (F5. 107)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aile : clainne (F5. 131)</td>
<td>Crech : nech (F5. 133)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bráth : chách (F5. 135)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the first long lines, both aicill and internal rhyme are present in F5. 97.

**Úaitne** (5/69=7%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feithmec : debthach (F5. 67)</th>
<th>Fōla : fialu (F5. 83)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cerbaill : foraill (F5. 113)</td>
<td>Chéti : cêtna (F5. 117)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
aile : calma (F5. 131)

Among the first long lines, F5. 67 and 83 have both ûaitne and internal rhyme. Both ûaitne and aicill are present in F5. 131.

**Internal rhyme (5/69=7%)**

- Niall : clan (F5. 43) fial : dian (F5. 67)
- firu : finnu (F5. 83) tríath : rían (F5. 97)
- gló(i)r : món (F5. 103)

A consonant from group x (C') rhymes with a consonant from group I (C') (Murphy, 1961: 33) in tríath : rían (F5. 97).

**SECOND LONG LINE** (either aicill or úaitne must be present—see SMF, Vol. II, pp. 105-109: 1.2)

**Aicill** (46/69=67%)

- turim : clunid (F5. 2)
- mac : thlacht (F5. 6)
- tríathglan : biathadh (F5. 10)
- lindmuir : inbuid (F5. 14)
- brígail : ndigail (F5. 20)
- bíg : réig (F5. 32)
- nAllán : farrán (F5. 38)
- cèin : réir (F5. 42)
- slóg : cór (F5. 52)
- fir : ríg (F5. 56)
- cháin : lá[i]m (F5. 62)
- túr : nDúin (F5. 66)
- ngormland : Domnall (F5. 72)
- òenlus : Òengus (F5. 76)
- and : [nGall] (F5. 88)
- argg : ard (F5. 94)
- trocha : Locha (F5. 98)
- bréce : sét (F5. 104)
- seng : cend (F5. 108)
- cùairt : Rùaire (F5. 116)
- chrúaid : rúaid (F5. 124)
- reraig : ndedaig (F5. 130)

- thálgud : ágmár (F5. 4)
- cranda : ngalla (F5. 8)
- choss : oss (F5. 12)
- bindgil : [imgil] (F5. 16)
- dordmass : forglas (F5. 30)
- críech : scíth (F5. 34)
- cuir : Duib (F5. 40)
- ri : trí (F5. 46)
- már : án (F5. 54)
- tuind : lluing (F5. 60)
- brónbrìg : mòrrìg (F5. 64)
- armtha : marbtha (F5. 70)
- rand : Fland (F5. 74)
- ossaid : chossain (F5. 86)
- anad : Arad (F5. 90)
- Rìge : ile (F5. 96)
- guin : -tuil (F5. 102)
- dogairm : chomainm (F5. 106)
- delbglan : Fergal (F5. 114)
- már : ág (F5. 118)
- fàel : Aed (F5. 128)
- aibli : gainmi (F5. 134)
A consonant from group x (C^b) makes aicill with a consonant from group l (C') (Murphy, 1961: 33) in écnach : cétmad (F5. 136).

There is imperfect aicill in F5. 18 (bladaig : saigid) and F5. 100? (dograch : forbach).

On the aicill between firu and firu in F5. 80, see Note on p. 137.

Note that the aicill is not highlighted in spelling in F5. 4.

\[ \text{Uaitne (30/69=43\%) } \]

- turim := filid (F5. 2)
- cranda := Crinna (F5. 8)
- bladaig := sainig (F5. 18)
- nArad := Muman (F5. 24)
- imléir := Crundmaill (F5. 28)
- Lagen := Muman (F5. 44)
- grianna := Brêna (F5. 50)
- othrad := Echdach (F5. 68)
- salmchar := Donndchad (F5. 82)
- ossaid := Casil (F5. 86)
- trucha := Betha (F5. 92)
- dograch := Temrach (F5. 100)
- amma(i)l := ollam (F5. 120)
- thrucha := Macha (F5. 126)
- fodla := amra (F5. 132)

A consonant from group x (C^b) makes úaitne with a consonant from group l (C') (Murphy, 1961: 33) in othrad := Echdach (F5. 68).

Imperfect úaitne: forbbraig := Bregmaig(Cernaig (F5. 35-36) and mennat := Connacht (F5. 112).

\[ \text{Internal rhyme (42/69=61\%; 37/69=54\% where there is no emendation needed) } \]

- crich := gnîm (F5. 8)
- beirt := Eirc (F5. 16)
- brechta := Erca (F5. 20)
- gledgus := Fergus (F5. 26)
- Dùinn := e(i)uir (F5. 30)
- Franc := Grant (F5. 36)
- thâlgud := òenur (F5. 4)
- lindmuir := samraíd (F5. 14)
- glaine := ule (F5. 22)
- glèmín := [Nèlléin] (F5. 26)
- forbbaig := Cernaig (F5. 36)
- imslàn := Gabrá(i)n (F5. 48)
- dochla := Tethba (F5. 58)
- disse := Asse (F5. 78)
- dânu := ngíallu (F5. 84)
- anad := Ulad (F5. 90)
- Rige := ule (F5. 96)
- chlothbind := Sechnaill (F5. 110)
- imrind := Domnaill (F5. 122)
- reraig := Ailig (F5. 130)
- aiblí := mara (F5. 134)
A consonant from group x (C') rhymes with a consonant from group I (C'') (Murphy, 1961: 33) in crich : gnim (F5. 8) and trebar : Belach (F5. 66).

Imperfect internal rhyme: gleor(g)da : Eú(o)pa (F5. 22) and cacht : -rat (F5. 62).

Note that the internal rhyme is not highlighted in spelling in F5. 46 and 112.

Note that where uaitne is not present, aicill is always present (though the aicill in F5. 100 and the uaitne in F5.112 are impervect, and the aicill is doubtful in F5. 80—see above).

In F5. 10, 16, 20, 30, 32, 38, 40, 42, 46, 56, 64, 66, 72, 74, 88, 98, 108, 116 and 128 both internal rhyme and aicill are present (19).

Both uaitne and aicill are present in F5. 2, 4, 14, 96, 100, 130, 134 (7).

Both uaitne and internal rhyme are present in F5. 18, 24, 26, 28, 36, 44, 48, 50, 58, 68, 78, 82, 84, 92, 110, 122, 126 and 132 (18).

Aicill, internal rhyme and uaitne are all present in F5. 8, 86, 90 (3).

Proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in c when it is quadrasyllabic (not counting the last one, which always makes either uaitne or aicill with d): 39/66=59% (counting only the perfect ones).

Proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in d (not counting the last word, which rhymes with the final of b): out of the 177 stressed words, 88 make aicill or internal
rhyme with a word in c (=50%) (if the suggested emendations are accepted).


1. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2):
   - C'c"-C'c''; C"L'-L'c"; L'c"-L'C''; C'L"-C'L"; C'C--L'C''; C'L"--C'C'; C'C"--C'C'; L'C"--C'C'; C'C--C'L'
   - amlaid : samraid (F5. 13-14) (e. r.)
   - thálgu : ágmar (F5. 4) (a.)
   - gledgus : Fergus (F5. 26) (i. r.)
   - bindgil : [imgil] (F5. 16) (a.)
   - dublaid : Crundmail (F5. 27-28) (e. r.)
   - Corná(i)n : Gabrá(i)n (F5. 47-48) (e. r.)
   - Aignech : ailech (F5. 87-88) (e. r.)
   - lindmuir : inbuid (F5. 14) (a.)
   - inmléir : Crundmail (F5. 28)
   - inmléir : dublaid (F5. 27-28)
   - imrind : Domnaill (F5. 122)
   - imslán : Corná(i)n (F5. 47-48)
   - dograch : nglegrach/Temrach (F5. 99-100)

2. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L (rules 1 and 2):
   - C'C--C'C'; P'C"--P'C'; P'C--C'P'
   - orbbo : Forgo (F5. 29-30) (e. r.)
   - argg : ard (F5. 94) (a.)
   - torcaid : horgain (F5. 90) (i. r.)

3. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C/L + b (rules 2 and 3):
   - C'bC"--C'bC'; C'Cb--C'bC'; C'Cb--C'C'; L'C'b--L'C'b; C'bC'--C'C'/C'bC'
   - mbechda : Tethba (F5. 57-58) (c. r.)
   - curchach : Murchad (F5. 69-70) (e. r.)
   - dechraind : Sechnaill (F5. 109-110) (er.)
   - feithmech : deibthach/Echdach (F5. 67-68)
   - clothbind : dechraind/Sechnaill (F5. 109-110)
4. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L + h (rules 1, 2, 3):
L^phC^ph; P^chL^ph; L^phC^ph; P^chL^ph; C^phL^ph

4.1 Consonants:
ollait : Connacht (F5. 111-112) (e. r.)
cúaidt : Rúaire (F5. 116) (a.)
brechta : Erca (F5. 20) (i. r.)

nglacáin : Artán (F5. 127-128) (e. r.)
beirt : Eire (F5. 16) (i. r.)
Franc : Grant (F5. 36) (i. r.)

5. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain S + P + h (rules 1, 3 and 4): S^p^p-S^p^p

5.1 Consonants:
broscur : loscud (F5. 32) (i. r.)

6. One consonant corresponds to two: a) a consonant from class I (C^i) or L (L^i) is added:
P^i-P^iC^i; L^i-C^iC^i; L^i-C^iC^i; C^i-C^iC^i; C^i-C^iL^y

Écuind : théiltuing (F5. 5-6) (e. r.)
tétigel : hécen (F5. 10) (i. r.)
âéhda : Æda (F5. 71-72) (e. r.)
te(t)chill : Chethirn (F5. 31-32) (e. r.)
thâlghud : mbâegul/benur (F5. 3-4)
áile : amra (F5. 131-132)
Cerbaill : forail/Conaing (F5. 113-114)

b) A consonant from class x (C^xh) is added: P^xh-C^xph: mac : thlacht (F5. 6) (a.)

c) A consonant from class g (P^gh) is added: P^gC^g-C^g; P^gC^g-L^y

Fótla : fialu (F5. 83)

7. One consonant corresponds to three: consonants from class I (C^i) are added:
C^iC^iC^i-C^i; C^iC^iC^i-C^i

tríathglan : biathad (F5. 10) (a.)

b) A consonant from class x (C^x) is added: P^x-P^xC^x; P^xC^x-L^y

brónbrig : mòrrig (F5. 64) (a.)

8. Two or three consonants correspond to three or four consonants:
a) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L (rules 1 and 2): C^pC^p-C^pC^p
b) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2):
C'C'C'--C'C'; C'L'C'--C'C'; C'C'C'C'--C'C'; L'C'--C'L'C'

côemgris : òenmis (F5. 45-46) (e. r.)
ngormland : Domnall (F5. 72) (a.)
gormraind : Domnaill (F5. 121-122) (e. r.)
sadbrite [=sadbriu de] : Lagniu (F5. 46) (i. r.)
imrind : gormraind (F5. 121-122)

c) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P -f C/L -F ' (rules 1, 2 and 3):
C'L'C'b--L'C'b; C'bC'C'--C'bC'; L'C'b--C'C'C'
gormthorc : longphort (F5. 61-62) (e. r.)
nEchdruim : Sechnaill (F5. 75-76) (e. r.)

Elision

a) Unstressed short vowel preceded by another vowel: fourteen examples. In ten of these, it is necessary to have elision (F5. 20d, 27a, 46c', 59a, 73b, 75b, 84c, 98d, 125b, 136c), and in four examples there should be no elision (F5. 1a, 60d, 61b, 84d). On F5. 134d, see Note on p. 142. (10/14=71%)

b) Unstressed short vowel + unstressed long vowel: one example. The metre does not require elision here (F5. 8d). (0/1=0%)

c) doíde + V; doíde + f: one example (F5. 108d), and the metre does not require elision here. (0/1=0%)

d) Dropping of the initial vowel of an unstressed word: (prep. + poss. pron.\article):
At the beginning of a line: F5. 8c.
After a consonant: F5. 9a, 29b, 103b (not indicated in spelling in F5. 9a and 103b).

1 sadbriu de in (LL sadbrite)--on whether de is stressed or not, see Vol. II, p. 51: 4.11.
After a vowel: F5. 46d, 117a (not indicated in spelling in 117a). The metre does not require dropping in F5. 6d and 12d.

c) **Dropping of the final vowel of an unstressed word** (prep. + rel. part.): F5. 128c (before a consonant).

dropping of the initial vowel of the conjunction is: F5. 96d (at the beginning of the line; not indicated in spelling).

g) **Dropping of the initial vowel of the copula (is):** F5. 138c (not indicated in spelling).

h) **The reduction of coro to cor:** On F5. 134d, see Note on p. 142.

**Dúnad**

The last word of the poem, ciā, does not form a dúnad with the first word of the poem (aṅgluind), but it echoes the first word of the first poem of the cycle (F1), indicating that this is the closing poem. (See Vol. II, p. 129: 5.2.) However, in this poem the first and last letter of the opening and closing words are identical. See Vol. II, p. 129: 5.3.
TEXT

A ngluind a n-éhta a n-orgni batar infir
is liú turim connáchas clunid ó filid.

Fecht (ro) buí Muridach mac Eògain and i mbáegul
ina thálgud ósin tràcht ágmar a òenur.

5 Ba and do-lluid Eocho Abratchaín mac Écuind
co mbert in mac co tart fo thlacht ina thétluing.

Dar trethan trom ro fuc in goll leis in ngilla
'na crích cranda fúaír gním ngalla\(^1\) ó ríg Crinna.

Cinged (is)sin slíab co tabrad fiad in dían dreachach
10 téitung triaithglan dó ba hēcen bìathad Echach.

Ingnad in gním don mac cen lín cen choin câelig
ar lúas a choss tarrachtain oss isna slēbib.

Sechtmain secht mis ocus secht mblìadna bof amlaid
darsin lindmuir [nó]co tânic inbuid samraid.

15 Slecht leis iar sein Eocho do rúadgním a roaírm
dia beirt bindgil tuc Eirc [n-imgil] ingin Loäirm.

Lán ind Hēriu do gnímaib sīl Eògain Ailig
có mbùaid bladaig oc saigid ní süail ro shainig.

Slecht sesca ríg is dá coícait ruirech rathach
20 brechta brígail mac\(^2\) Erca i ndìgail a athar.

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\(^1\) n is superscript

\(^2\) or meic?
Im fer co ríab nád chloítis catha ná cure
gleór(g)da glaine [do-rochair] (im) míc Eúr(o)pa ule1.

Orgain na Cliach  ó Lúachair co Cassel [eurad?]2
im íath nArad  ón tríath ro thogal mag Muman.

25 Móir gním Ainmere mac Sétainí nírbo snédbéim
glédgus glémiún do-fuit la Fergus mac [Nélléin]3.

Ní lugu in scédl Conall Cáel no chanad dublaíd
ergnus n-imléir do-ceil la Fergus mac Crundmail.

Cid arg Airgíall Dúchadh mac Ultáin 'na orbbo
30 Máel Dún dordmass rod c(i)úir i nDún forglas Forgo.

Fecht aile dó do-rat for tríuno tūath te(t)chill
ba broscur bríg loscud na ríg i nDún Chethirn.

Clothrí Cíannachta Cenn Fáelad and ro anmaid
cond Cruthne círich ocus Dúngal mac scíth Scandail.

35 Selaig Fergal flaith Féic follnastar for Bregmaig
ní Franc forbbai og acht is Conall Grant úa Cernaig.

Conaing Cnogba mac Amalgada co n-ainiuch
la Áed nAlláin fúair in fáel farrán i nAiliuch.

Ort leiss Tommaltaigh mac Dunechd na ndíberg
40 cen aichnius cuir ocus Flaithgius mac Duib Díberg.

Do-chúaid Áed síar co Tír Dá Glass ba gním n-achar

1 See Note on p. 132.
2 Muman LL
3 Crundmail LL
cáem alt i céin [cen] tāeb acht a réir ò Chathul.

Ceachaing Níall Frossach seacht cétaib cian bas cuman iar triáll Lagen co tuc cét [ngiáll] a tír Muman.

45 Mad Àed Ordnide [Mide] ros cacht fri cõemgrís sadbriu de1 in rí ort Lagniu fo trí 'sinn ôenmis.

Mór in siriud ó Áth Chlíath co Carn cáem Corná(i)n tērnam imślán iar n-argain im gérma(i)g Gabrá(i)n.

Gargaing in chrech do-rat dar Ultu cen nach sēna

50 ganna grianna ro-siacht ò Banna co Brēna.

Tròethais cu[ü]? Essa Rūaid co rrogail rolaind marbsat a slōig Rogallach clainne cóir Conaill.

Cond clainne Cēin Cummascach mac Tūathail tolgda la Murchad már do-rochair ardrí án orbba.

55 Ardrí Hērend Níall Caille ra chobair daidbre is turim fir ro śudig dā rīg for Laigniu.

Lānorggain leis Mide co Bondammair mbechda ni drend dochla [tuc cethra] Fer Cell īs Tethba.

Ro briss Àed Findliath for Gaillu i nĪthu achar

60 Alpdu for tuind ro élai a lluing a athar.

Int Àed cētna ro folaig Gaillu in gormthorc ros cacht fo chāin is do-rat lá[i]m dara longphort.

Lāmair Lorcán mac cáem Cathail ciarbo bine

1 sadbrite LL
Mórbarggain Maige [Breg] *ocus* Mide miduill

trebar ros túir ótá Belach nDún co Sinaind.

Slecht leis Flannacáin fial feithmech in dian debthach
rí Dáil Araide nos othrad mac á[i]n? Echdach.

Orggsit in Gaill Insí Dar Gargrend na curchach¹

ciaptar armtha uile ro marbtha la Murchad.

Muridach *mac* Máele Dúin din nAirther² n-áebda
glacc na ngormland ro bith la Domnall *mac* Áeda.

Ardrí Airgíall Máel Dúin *mac* Fergaile ind forlaind
rothuir na rand do-rochair la Fland *mac* Domnaill.

Do-chêuaid Níall Glündub co Grellaig Elte i nEchdruim
leis ar öenlus [do-er]³ Óengus húa Máel Sechnaill.

Slecht la Fergal ár nGall i nGlind Gerg co ñglasse
dá fichet déc ní dám disse i n-ár Asse.

Assin Taltin inbaid öenaig ed ad-fédem

dréim dar firu ro chacht *mac* Néill firu Hérend.

É féin dia n-éis ro chacht i n-óenuch na n-öllechar
co slán salmchar araí ciarbo chrád do Dondehad.

Do sein (do-l)luid co firu Fôtla finnu fialu
dune as dánu corra gaib ule a ngíallu.

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¹ First ch added above the line.
² See Note on p. 137.
³ do-rochair LL
85 Conos tuc ìarum do Dondhad molbhar massib ellach n-ossaid ro chossain im Chellach Casil.

Cathroíníud riám forsná Gaullu co Snám Aignech nírbò bét and na dà chét [nGall]¹ ìarna n-airlech.

Ort leis Gamandrad Locha Cúan (co n-)éictaib umal torcaid anad co horgain Arad is Ulad.

Ulaid ìar n-ír oclus na Gaill im gním ígretha ba triàin trucha lotar ass síar co Slàb Bitha.

Ro briss mac Néill forro do léir lìth cen chàemna for Amlaib argg (is) for Matudàn mac n-ard nÀeda.

90 Ár dà fichet oclus dà cét cend ro-chlune dib òg Rìge (is) na gabàla ile ule.

Ort leis in tríath Torolb ro triall cach rían rethach tollais trocha dia mboì i llóngais Locha Echach.

Oïrggis Insi Gall in garrgrí ba gním ìglegrach² nírbò dograch tuc a forbach i tìr Temrach.

Tròethais Ciannacht Glinne Gemin ní gním ìgoà Goàch do guin is de con-tuil mac Duìb Roà.

Ro airgset Gaill glò(i)r Ard Macha mòr (im)ma snììb mac Néill nì brèc ro marb for sét dà cét dùìb.

100 Dìth leis rìg Lòegaire laindrig lìnìb ilàeb nírbò dogairm in caur diarbo chomainm Cinaòd.

¹ Historically, one would expect nasalisation after nom. dual cèt.
² second g is made on a c
Ba crúaid in céim ruc mac Néill Conaing in chumtaig sa[i]r for sét senig är trí cét² cend leis do Ultaib.

Do-chúaid húa Néill i mMide múad mó cech dechraidn co clú chlothbind [nól]coro dall hú Mael Sechnaill.

Selaid Murchad mathe fer nÓl nÉcmacht n-ollalt míne mennat oclus ro gab rigí Connacht.

Căemăa² Cerbaill Laidgnén Locha Ûat[h]ne foraill in del delbglan do-lluid la Fergal mac Conaing.

110 Cechaing Áed Ailig for creich i mBréfni bladach leis cid fian cuairt do-rochair Niall üa Ruarc rebach³.

Ro slecht Conaire⁴ ocon cēti in caur cētna Matudán már is and fo-rurim ág n-éca.

Éclond aicme Ênna Óengus ardd a chongga(i)b do-cer la sîl Eōgain amma(i)l cíarbo ollam.

120 Ardri cheneō̄l Lugdach laindrig luadit gormraind rodas bruí sîl Eōgain (n)-imrind trí uí Domnaill.

Dégrí Derluis do-thu[i][t](im) im Furadrán füatlán Cú Chaille chrúaid oclus romac in rüaid Rüarcán.

125 Rí Húa nDorthaind Mäelán do-cer leò i rroí chatha (i) tessaig thrucha ro bith flaith Húa mBresail Macha.

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1 The gen. of trí was followed by nasalisation in OIr (Greene: 1992: 507), and this is why I have expanded c. as cēt.

2 cāem h. MS

3 See Note on p. 139.

4 = Conaille? See Note on p. 139.
Mandrais [Ultu]  |  Flassibertach fial na ngéall nglacban
las' rubad fæl  |  Cú Ulad is Àed is Artán.

Ard húa Canaind Caillé Conaill  |  cirrsit claidib

Ànrad aile  |  Mathgamain clainne Céin calma
ba fial fodla  |  do-rochair la Níall n-ard n-amra.

Àrim a crech  |  ní étann nech ní nách ada
cid as aidbli  |  coro áirmi gainmi in mara.

Mèraid co bráth  |  a n-ad-chóad do châch dia nglonnaib
ní ara n-écnach  |  ní écind cétmad dia [fonnaib]².

Fland fer légind  |  ó Manistür rod mór Dià
(i)ss é dos-róna  |  dia n-tarfaís nech cróda ciá.  C.

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¹ See Note on p. 142.
² nglonnaib LL.
NOTES

All references are to MacNeill, 1913: 70-82.

F5. 3. There is an extra syllable in this line. Both MacNeill and LL suggest that we omit the ro, and I have accepted their suggestion.

F5. 9. There is one extra syllable in this line. MacNeill suggests that we read sin for issin, and I have accepted his suggestion. See also Vol. II, p. 128: 4.5.

F5. 14. There is one syllable missing in this line. MacNeill suggests with a question-mark that we might read nóco instead of co. I have accepted his suggestion.

F5. 15. Both the syllable count and the end-rhyme require that roäirm should be disyllabic.

F5. 16. There are two syllables missing in this line. MacNeill and LL suggest that we add n-imgil (:bindgil) after Eire. MacNeill also points out that in F1. 51 diarbo aindir Ailech imgel, imgel qualifies a girl, Ailech. I have accepted this suggestion.

Both the syllable count and the end-rhyme require that Loäirn should be disyllabic.

F5. 19-20. MacNeill supplies a h in brackets after the initial consonant of goicait in dā coicait. This is what one would expect historically (Greene: 1992: 505); however, I have other examples in these poems where lenition after dā is not present or is simply not marked (see Vol. II, p. 52: 5.1).

I believe that this stanza could be interpreted in two ways: a) one could take slecht as passive used for active with mac Erca as the subject (‘sixty kings and twice fifty opulent over-kings he cut down / [...] the son of Ere, etc.’). Note that in ro slecht Conaire [...] in caur cētna (F5. 117), ‘the same hero cut down Conaire’, the perf. passive of sligid is used with an active sense. See also SNG: 306: 12.66 and Vol. II, p. 90: 12.36.

b) One could also take slecht to be a real passive form, the singular being used for the plural. In this case one would have to expand m--c as meic in l. 20, and we could take the phrase meic Erca as a genitival construction anticipating indigail a athar. Then the translation would be ‘sixty kings and twice fifty opulent over-kings were cut down [...-a
powerful, shattering rock—in revenge for Ere's father.

F5. 21. The lenition mark over the f in im fer is omitted.

F5. 22. There is one syllable missing in this line. MacNeill has the following note here:
"Unless the Latin form Europa is written instead of the Irish Eorpa, the missing syllable must belong to the rhyming word gleorgda, which in any case can hardly be correct. The phrases in this couplet, "fer co riab" and "mil Europa ule," are copied from III. 15 (= F3. 57, 60), where Europa rhymes with deorata, so that the Latin spelling, through habit, is written where the Irish should have Eorapa." (MacNeill, 1913: 71.)

DIL lists the word gleorgda under gleorda with a question-mark. I believe that the <g> is a scribal error. I also believe that the first two words gleór(g)da glaine are not corrupt, as it is a requirement in this metre to have either úaitne or aicill in the second long line, and glaine makes úaitne with ule. Also, note that I have 37 certain examples of internal line in the second couplet out of a total of 69 (see p. 118), so it is quite likely that internal rhyme (although imperfect) is meant here between gleór(g)da and Eúr(o)pa. I suggest that we omit im and read [do-rochair] mil Eúr(o)pa ule. In this way we will get the 12 syllables, úaitne, and internal rhyme; and the line will also make sense. See also Note on F3. 59, p. 63.

F5. 23-24. Both lines end in the word Muman. As I have no definite example in these poems of two words of the same form and meaning rhyming with each other in end-rhyme position, I suspect that one of them must be due to a scribal slip (cf. also F4. 33-34, p. 92; F5. 135-136, p. 142; and Vol. II, p. 121: 2.6). MacNeill suggests (with a question-mark) that we replace the first Muman with curad, "of heroes". His suggestion is repeated in LL. I have accepted it, as in this way we can also get alliteration in 23b.

F5. 26. MacNeill believes that Crundmail was transferred from the following couplet, and he and LL suggest that we read Nélléin. Both the rhyme with snèdbeim and the data in AU 569 justify his suggestion.

As far as gledgus is concerned, the vowel in the first syllable seems to be irregular and there is no example in DIL of this particular form under the compounds of gleó; also
note that this form is fixed by rhyme with Fergus. Maybe this is a compounding form from the syncopated stem of gliäd: gled-.
Do-fuit seems to be a variant form of do-tuit already in OIr (Thur. §543); here it is probably used in order to get alliteration.

F5. 28. MacNeill prints ergnus ním leír, which he does not translate, for LL ergnus n-imléir.

F5. 31. MacNeill suggests that we could perhaps read techill (Chethirn) instead of tetchill with a question-mark. He also calls the attention to the úaitne theichle (aithbe in F4. 92. I believe that these two words must be the same. The form listed in DIL is teichel, 'fleeing, fight', which makes sense here, and in my opinion the spelling with t must be a scribal slip. See also the Footnote on F4. 92, p. 108.

F5. 35. Note that the editors of LL capitalise Féic, taking it to be a proper noun, while MacNeill does not. He translates this word as 'fierce (?)'; note that the only word of the same form listed in DIL is féice, féic, 'a ridge-pole', 'highest point'--also used of people. I do not think that this could fit in here. Based on Hogan, 1910: 408, I have followed the editors of LL.

F5. 39. MacNeill says the following about this line: "Usual caesura missing, the metrical rule having been relaxed to admit proper names." (MacNeill, 1913: 71.) For other examples, see Vol. II, p. 108: 1.2 d.

F5. 42. There is one syllable missing in this line. MacNeill and LL suggest that we read cen before táeb with a question-mark. I have accepted their suggestion.
Note that there is no fullstop in the MS after táeb as indicated in LL. A fullstop is sometimes used to mark the caesura by the scribe (e.g. in F2. 4, 20, 54 and F4. 64, 108--all marked in the diplomatic edition of LL); however, it would not be possible for the caesura to come after táeb here.

F5. 44. There is one syllable missing in this line. According to MacNeill (and his suggestion is accepted by the editors of LL), it is obviously the word giall (Triall) which was omitted by the scribe after cét (note that this line seems to be based on F3. 39-40:

133
tuesat íar triall Lagen / cét ngíall a tír Muman). The nasalisation after cét, acc. sg., should also be supplied here.

F5. 45. There are two syllables missing in this line. MacNeill believes that the missing word is probably Mide after Ordnide (his suggestion is based on AU 802, and is repeated by the editors of LL). In this case the fem. infixed pronoun in ros cacht must be used for the masc. one, as it must be referring to Mide (for other examples see SNG: 266: 10.6). However, this would be the only example in my texts of this usage. There is also the possibility that the infixed pronoun serves as the relative marker here—however, this is very rare (SNG: 288: 11.36), and I have no other certain example of this in these texts either. Or maybe the missing word is a word other than Mide, to which the infixed pronoun in ros cacht refers. If we accept MacNeill's solution, then the caesura would cut ros cacht into two, and so it will have to come after an unstressed word. For other examples of the same phenomenon, see Vol. II, p. 108: 1.2 c. I have no better suggestion to make here.

F5. 46. MacNeill suggests that we read the full form sadbriu de (:Lagniu) for LL sadbrite in order to highlight the rhyme. Concerning the LL spelling and form, see Vol. II, p. 51: 4.11.

F5. 48. MacNeill and the editors of LL suggest that we read im gérma(i)g (: têrnam). As I have 37 certain examples of internal rhyme in the second couplet out of a total of 69 in this poem, it is quite likely that this is what is intended here. The scribe probably wrote down the alternative dat. form by mistake. Hogan 1910: 160 has "devastating Germag Gabráin" under Carn Cornán, so it seems that he is taking gérma(i)g as part of a place-name. Note also that Gabráin is not nasalised (concerning nasalisation in these poems, see Vol. II, p. 29-33: 2.30).

The only way to get the required marker of the caesura here is to emend Cornán in F5. 47 and Gabráin in this line to the alternative gen. ending, -án, and then we would get uailne with imslán. The i in Cornán is a subscript one (although this is not noted by the editors of LL), and may have been added by the scribe. For the gen. sg. of masc. o-stems ending in -án, see Vol. II, p. 35: 3.5 a).

F5. 51. There is one syllable missing in this line. MacNeill and LL suggest that we read
cuí (disyllabic), acc. pl. of cuí, instead of cú. This example is listed in DIL under cú, n.pr. which, according to DIL, can also mean 'hero' as a common noun, and there is one more example cited for this usage (note that cú is a very badly attested word). Maybe it would be better to read is tróethais cú here?

F5. 53. The Facsimile has Cono for MS Cond. MacNeill, who worked from the Facsimile, emends Cono to Cond.

F5. 55. MacNeill and the editors of LL suggest that we read daidbriu for daidbre, in order to highlight the end-rhyme with Laigiu. Although at this stage of the language final unstressed vowels would have fallen together as a schwa, when two rhyming words end in a vowel in these poems, these vowels are most of the time identical in orthography (see Vol. II, p. 5: 1.16). However, as this is not always the case, and as the form daidbriu is not a historical one (daidbir is an i-stem adjective, so the acc. pl. of the substantivised adj. would have been daibdri in OIr), I would not emend this line.

F5. 58. There are two or three syllables missing in this line (depending on how we read 7). MacNeill and LL suggest that we supply rue (or tuc) cethra before Fer Ceil is Tethba. However, MacNeill also has the following note on this line in 1913: 77: "AU 839, 'indred Cell ocs Beithri la Niall.' Perhaps Bethra (:Tethba) was in the missing part of the line above." Without evidence from other MSS, I do not think that this question can be decided. As the first suggestion is acceptable both from the point of view of the metre and of the meaning, I have accepted it.

F5. 59. The MS has achaer with the e expunged, and the a added subscript. This is also noted by the editors of LL.

The caesura has to come after Gaillu i, with elision between the u and the i. As according to Murphy, when elision occurs, it is the second vowel which is elided (1961: 39), I consider F5. 59a to have the syllable count 8^, and to end in a stressed word.

F5. 61. MacNeill has the following note here: "In 'facsimile', r ...... folaig, with indication of one or more letters missing before it, is added in the margin." (1913: 72) LL has the following to say on this matter: "in marg. r{obriss} for] with obriss for erased." I would like to note that ro folaig is written in the margin, and I am not certain whether there is a dot
over the f.

F5. 62. MacNeill and *LL* suggest that we read *láim* for *láim* in order to get the required marker of the *caesura* (here *aicill* with *cháin*). Probably the scribe wrote down the alternative form, nom. for acc., by mistake. On the nom. and acc. sg. of á, f nouns in these poems, see Vol. II, pp. 36-38: 3.6 a.

F5. 63-64. MacNeill has the following note on *ro* and in 1. 64 (based on his interpretation of *AU* 863-864): "For *ro fand* [=weakened] : *ro dall.*" As *andaíd* (= *ad-annai*, 'kindles, stirs up') makes sense here, I see no reason for emending this line. However, MacNeill has the following note on this couplet on p. 78:

"Lorcan was with the Norsemen at the rifling of the prehistoric tombs of the Boyne valley, and at the plundering of Brega in 863. His blinding by the high-king in the following year was an effective sentence of deposition. Flann implies that the punishment was deserved."

This interpretation is reflected in MacNeill's translation, which is "He took in hands Lorcan, Cathal's comely son, though he was noxious; he weakened sorrow's force when he blinded the great king of Meath". However, if we take the verb to be *andaíd*, then the implication does change significantly. I also think that *bine*, 'crime, wrong-doing' can only refer to an act and not to a person, as MacNeill has it in his translation ('noxious')--and I believe that *bine* qualifies Áed's act, and not Lorcan's. Flann also seems to refer to Lorcan in a positive way when he calls him *mòrrig*. So my translation is "He challenged Lorcan, Cathal's comely son, although it was a crime; / he stirred up sorrow's force when he blinded the great king of Meath." Concerning *lámair* (MacNeill: 'took in hands'; my translation: 'challenged'), see Footnote on p. 147.

F5. 65. There is one syllable missing in this line. MacNeill and *LL* supply *Breg* after *Maige*. Note that in this case the *caesura* will have to come after an unstressed word. For other examples of the same phenomenon, see Vol. II, p. 108: 1.2 c.

F5. 68. As I have 37 certain examples of internal rhyme in the second couplet in this poem, it would be very tempting to read *mac á[i]n Echdach* (: Dáil) (with the adjective preceding the noun--for other examples, see Vol. II, p. 97: 13.1).
F5. 71. *LL* has the following note on the word *nAirther*: "*n may be expunged*". The mark over the *n* in the MS could be a mark of expungement, or just a stain. There is no *punctum delens* in the Facsimile. If the *n* is not expunged, then the *nas.* after *din* is probably due to the influence of the last sound of this word, as well as to the following nasalisation by the gen. pl.

Note that the *caesura* cuts a semantic unit into two.

F5. 76. There is an extra syllable in this line. MacNeill suggests that we read *do-cer* instead of *do-rochair*, and I have accepted his suggestion.

F5. 78. MacNeill suggests that we read *fichit* instead of *fichet*. However, *fichet* as a nom. dual form seems to be supported by other examples in O'Brien, 1938: 366, so I do not see any reason for emending this line. Cf. F6. 201 *da fichet*.

F5. 80. MacNeill has the following note on this line: "The reading of *firu* twice in this line is questionable." (1913: 73.) As I have no definite example of *aicill* between words which are identical in form and meaning in these poems (see Vol. II, p. 121: 2.6), maybe it would be better to read a word here beginning with *d*, in order to get alliteration in F5. 80c. *Aicill* or *úaitne* would definitely be needed here in order to mark the *caesura*; however, I have no suggestion to make concerning the word which could possibly replace *firu*.

F5. 83. There is an extra syllable in this line. MacNeill believes that *do sein* is perhaps to be read in its contracted form, *din*. However, this is a "ghost" word which was "created" by early editors mistranscribing *di*, the contracted form of *didiu*, as *din*. Then the next step was to think that *din* stood for *do sein*. I believe that the way to emend this line is to read *luid* for *do-lloid*.

F5. 88. There is one syllable missing in this line. Based on *AU* 926, MacNeill suggests that we either read *cind* = *cinn* after *and* or *Gall* after *ché*.* Cind* will not provide us with the required marker of the *caesura* in the line, while supplying *Gall* after *ché* will give us *aicill* with *and*.

F5. 89. MacNeill has the following note on this line: "One syll. in excess. But in words
like *gamanrad*, in which a liquid (n) is expanded into a syllable, that syllable is sometimes not counted in verse." (MacNeill, 1913: 73.) However, I do not know if this would be possible here, as I have no other example of the phenomenon referred to by MacNeill in these poems. I suggest dropping co n- in order to get the correct number of syllables. Also note that *LL* takes *Gamandrad* to be a proper noun, while MacNeill does not. *DIL* cites this line under the meaning 'a warrior stock or band' of *gamanrad*. Based on Hogan, 1910: 435, I have followed the editors of *LL* here.

On the name *Loch Cúan* see Gwynn, 1924: 146.11.

F5. 94. There is an extra syllable in this line. MacNeill suggests that we omit is. I have accepted his suggestion.

F5. 96. Both MacNeill and the editors of *LL* print *isna* as one word, and MacNeill takes it as the conjunction *is* and the nom. pl. fem. article *na*. I see no reason to object to this, but in this case it would be better to divide *isna* into two words.

F5. 103. The metre requires that we read 'ma for *imma*, and *sniib* as a disyllable. MacNeill emends *mór* to *móir* (: *glóir*). I do not think that this latter emendation is absolutely necessary, as the first long line rarely has internal rhyme (I have four such examples in this poem apart from this one—see p. 117). Moreover, *móir* as gen. sg. masc. or acc./dat. sg. fem. adj. would not fit in here. Still, it is very tempting to have a reading here which will give us internal rhyme. I believe that in this case we should emend *glóir* to *glór*, gen. pl. ('the loud-voiced Foreigners'). An attributive gen. pl. seems to occur in F3. 14 (*ar búaid túath líth Luignech*—'to master? the festive lordships of the Luigni'—see Footnote on p. 65).

F5. 104. Read *díib* as a disyllable in order to get the correct number of syllables and the rhyme with *sniib*.

F5. 108. MacNeill suggests that perhaps we could read *sair* for *sar*. *Sair* seems to make more sense here than any of the words appearing in *DIL* as 1, 2 and 3 *sár*, so I have accepted his suggestion.

F5. 110. MacNeill's *clothbind* for *LL* *chlothbind* is a misprint, as the lenition mark is
clearly visible in the Facsimile.

MacNeill and the editors of LL expand the suspension stroke over the s in the last word in different ways. MacNeill reads Sechnaill, while LL has Shechlaind (dechraind). In this poem this word occurs twice, but only in an abbreviated form. LL expands them in two different ways: as húa Mael Sechnaill (:Échdruim) in F5. 76 and as húa Mael Shechlaind in this line. First, concerning lenition: a following closely connected word is not always lenited after the gen. of Mael in these poems (see Vol. II, p. 47: 3.16 b). Second, on the form itself: the non-abbreviated form occurs in full in LL in F2. 54 (Sechnuill : nemthruim) and in F7. 142 (maill : Sechnaill). In F6. the editors of LL expand the abbreviated form as Sechnaill in ll. 121, 133, 137, 185 and as Shechnaill in F6. 182 and 200 (rhyming with Flaind in F6. 200). The R version of F6. has the full form Sechnaill in F6. 121, 137 and 200. Although the editors of LL may have meant to achieve 'visual rhyme' here between dechraind and Shechlaind (which they do not attempt in the case of Flaind : Shechnaill in F6. 200), still, in view of the evidence discussed above I believe that the best way to expand the abbreviation stroke here is to read Sechnaill. See also the Note on F6. 182, p. 188.

Note that in order to get the correct number of syllables, húa should be read as a disyllable. However, as I have 37 certain examples of internal rhyme in the second long line in this poem, maybe it would be better to read nóco ro for coro (or Máile for Mael) and clú : hú (cf. F5. 14 [nójeco tâníe]). For the various forms of ún in these poems, see Vol. II, p. 38: 3.7 c.

F5. 112. MacNeill's ríge for LL rígi must be a misprint: both the MS and the Facsimile have rígi.

F5. 115. Note that the caesura has to come after an unstressed word. For other similar examples, see Vol. II, p. 108: 1.2 e.

F5. 115-116. There is a problem with the rhyme in bladach : rebach (F5. 115-116). Maybe read bledach, 'vast'?

F5. 117. MacNeill has the following note on this line: "See AU 995. Instead of Conaire we should probably read Conaille, of which people Matudán was king" (1913: 81). As he is not quite sure of this proposal, and as I could not find any other evidence apart from
the *AU* entry, I did not change the *LL* reading.

F5. 118. MacNeill and the Facsimile have *forurmi* for MS *forurim*.

F5. 119. Both MacNeill and *LL* suggest that we read *chonggah* (`weapon’, OIr nom. sg.) (*ollam*), for MS *chonggaib* (OIr acc./dat. sg.). The scribe wrote down the alternative form, acc. sg. for nom. sg., by mistake. On the nom. and acc. sg. of ā, f stems, see Vol. II, pp. 36-38: 3.6 a.

F5. 120. MacNeill and *LL* suggest that perhaps we should read *ammal* (*ollam*) for MS *ammail* (although they do this with a question-mark). The only way to get the required marker of the *caesura* here (in this case, *úaitne*) is to accept the suggested emendation. *la síl Éogain amma(i)l* is a problematic phrase. This line is cited in *DIL* under *ammail* with a question-mark; no translation is given. There are only two other examples cited—one from Thes. ii. 295 §5, where this form is analysed by Stokes and Strachan as a compound of an-/am- and bail, and is translated as ‘evil person’. The other example is from *SR* 5558, where it is an adjective according to *DIL*: *gnim n-ammail (xclannaib)*. If one follows Stokes’ and Strachan’s analysis, then *amma(i)l* in our text could only be a compound of an-/am- (originally a negative prefix, which later also starts to be used as an intensive prefix) and of bail, later also bail, ā, f, ‘prosperity, good luck’. If we take am- to be the intensive prefix, then bail here must be in the gen. pl., and the whole word probably refers to *síl Éogain*: lit. ‘of great fortunes’. Note, however, that according to *DIL*, the a(i)m- form of the prefix an- is not found with the meaning ‘very, great’. The other possibility is to take am- as the negative prefix. As Fland would probably not have qualified *síl Éogain* in a negative way, then *amma(i)l* must refer to *Oengus* in l. 119, bal being nom. sg. here. In this case bal is used in a metaphorical sense, that is, transferred to a person: ‘the unfortunate one’. I believe that MS *amma(i)l* is another example of the scribe using the original, OIr acc. sg. form for nom. sg. (see Vol. II, pp. 36-38: 3.6 a).

F5. 123. The MS has *do-thutim im*, which must be an example of ditography, and it will also leave us with an extra syllable. This is also noted by the editors of *LL*, who suggest that we read *do-thuit im*. MacNeill’s suggestion that we omit the preposition im must be a misprint, as he does translate the preposition later on. I take this form to be the pres. ind. sg. 3; but in theory it could also be perf. sg. 3; however, I do not have a single
example of do acting as a perfective particle in these poems. Concerning do-maid in F1. 32, see Note on p. 16.

F5. 125-126. I have decided to capitalise Húa, which occurs once in each of these long lines, as in both cases it is the first element in the name of a population-group.

F5. 126. There is an extra syllable in this line. MacNeill has the following note here: "Perhaps i at the beginning of the line does not count, following the final vowel of catha [in F5. 125]." (1913: 74.) However, I have no definite example of elision across line boundaries (see Vol. II, p. 128: 4.8), so another solution would have to be found. The úaitne between thrucha and Mácha shows that the caesura has to come after thrucha. One could read tessach thrucha--'a fever of doom' here instead of i tessaig thrucha; however, this would spoil the internal rhyme between tessaig and Bresail, of which I have otherwise 36 certain examples in this poem (see p. 118). Maybe the best thing would be to omit the i altogether and take tessaig thrucha as an independent dative. (For other examples of the independent dative in these poems, see Vol. II, p. 34: 3.2.) Note that Hogan (1910: 633) cites Tessaighe Thrucha as the dat. sg. of a place-name, of which this is the only example. The phrase i tessaig thrucha is also cited in DIL under tessach, 'fever', with a question-mark, and also under trocha, 'doom', with the remark "? gs. as attrib.". Yes, I do think that this is the gen. sg. of trocha[el], iâ, f, and the phrase 'in a fever of doom' does seem to make sense here.

F5. 127. There are two syllables missing in this line. MacNeill and LL supply Ultu after mandrais, and I have accepted their suggestion.

F5. 130. There is one syllable missing in this line. MacNeill and LL suggest that we read Áed ard (or án) Ailig. I have supplied [ard].

F5. 133. MacNeill and the Facsimile have étam for étann, which is what the diplomatic edition has. The MS has étam, which is corrected to étann--this is also noted by the editors of LL. nech can only be the subject here, so étann must be the correct reading. This is an example of the pres. sg. 3 conjunct ending -ann-enn, which will become very popular in late MIr. (See also SNG: 293: 12.12, Vol. II, p. 85: 12.21, and SLF, p. 155: 105.)
F5. 134. The only way to get the required marker of the caesura (here aicill) in this line is to put the caesura after aidbli (: gainmi) rather than áirmi as is done in LL.

In order to get the correct number of syllables in 134d, we should either have elision between gainmi and in or read cor(o) áirmi.

F5. 136. MacNeill has the following note on the last word, nglonnaib, which is identical with the last word of the previous line:

"The repetition must be a scribal error. The last word should alliterate with Flann, which begins the next verse, but I cannot supply it, unless there is a noun forram, "reckoning" (for + rín). Cp. "forrainhe, watching or keeping cattle," O'Donovan, Suppt., in the sense of keeping count of the cattle (?)." (1913: 74)

The editors of LL suggest that we read fonnaib. `pleasures', with a question-mark. I have accepted this suggestion, as I have no definite example in these poems of two words of the same form and meaning rhyming with each other in end-rhyme position. (cf. also F4. 33-34, p. 92; F5. 23-24, p. 132; and Vol. II, p. 121: 2.6). Moreover, the fact that fidrad freccomail is present in one form or another between all the stanzas with one exception (see p. 115), also seems to support this emendation.

F5. 137. Read Dià as a disyllable.

F5. 138. Elide the i in iss and read cià as a disyllable in order to get the required twelve syllables and the rhyme with disyllabic Dià in F5. 137. (Concerning the rules for elision in these poems, see Vol. II, pp. 125-128, section 4.)

dia n-iarfaís--This form is cited in DIL as the subj. pres. sg. 3 of fأrmi-foich--however, one would expect the conjunct/prot. ending here (see the Note on F1. 39, p. 17).
Their deeds, their exploits, their devastations that were manly, it is more than can be recounted so that you can not hear them from a poet.1

On one occasion Muiredach, the son of Eógan was there in danger in his sleep above the dangerous shore on his own.

There came Eochu Abratchaín, the son of Éconn, and seized the lad, and brought him under covering into his rigged ship.

Over the vast, stormy sea the one-eyed man carried the youth with him; in his wooded territory he got valiant service from Crinna’s king.

The swift, fair-faced one used to go upon the moor3 to capture a deer; he was forced to feed Eochu, the furious-bright one4, the nobly pure one5.

A wonderful feat for the lad, without a net, without a dog to accompany him?, by the swiftness of his feet to catch deer on the moors6.

He was like this for seven days, seven months and seven years,

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1 MacNeill: 'their numbering is too great for you to hear them from a poet' (1913: 75).
2 na: or 'into'
3 (is)sin sliab: or 'into the mountain'
4 téitgel: I think that 6 téit, 'warm, hot, furious', makes more sense in this compound than 1 téit, 'rope, cord', although this example (téitgel) is cited under the compounds of the latter word with MacNeill's translation, 'Eochu of the white rigging'. I take the cheville here as referring to Muiredach, and not to Eochu.
5 triathglan: if the first element qualifies the second (cf. MacNeill: 'a bright lord'--1913: 75).
6 isna sléibib: or 'in the mountains'
beyond the sea, until the time of one summer arrived.

15 Then Eochu was cut down by him with the mighty stroke of his great weapon; as a result of his melodious-bright action he won the hand of [very fair] Erc, the daughter of Loarn.

Ireland is full of the deeds of the race of Eógan of Aílech; striving with renowned excellence, not little did they distinguish themselves.

Sixty kings and twice fifty opulent over-kings he cut down --a powerful, shattering rock²--, the son of Erc in avenging his father³.

Including the "Man with a Stripe" whom battles or troops could not subdue, --bright clearness--the champion of all Europe fell⁴.

The devastation of Cliú from Lúachair to [heroic?] Cashel⁵, as well as the country of the Araid⁶, by the lord who conquered Munster's plain.

25 A mighty deed, it was not a feeble stroke, Anmeri, the son of Sétnae fell by the hand of Fergus, the son of [Néllén?]--a clearly smooth deed of combat.

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¹ lit. 'it' (= sil in F5. 17). The translation of *ni síuil ro sainig* appears in *DIL* under *sainigidir*.

² *brechta brigail*: lit. 'a powerful rock of shattering'. *DIL* cites this phrase under *brecht*, adj., 'variegated, varied', with a question-mark. Prof. Breatnach has suggested that this word could be the gen. sg. of *brechtad*, 'act of variegating, breaking the uniformity of', a vn. formation from *brecht*, used in a metaphorical sense here.

³ See Note on p. 131.

⁴ See Note on p. 132.

⁵ *Cassel [curad]*: or 'Cashel of heroes'

⁶ *Araid*: in his translation of F5 24 MacNeill has *Arai*, while in F5 90 *Araid*. I am using *Araid* throughout.
A no less famous tale, Conall Cáel who used to sing a melancholy song—very perceptible excellence--, fell by the hand of Fergus, the son of Crundmáel.

As for the Airgíalla's champion, Dúnchad, the son of Ultán in his homeland,

Máel Dúin of the fine deep voice slew him in very green Dún Forggo.

At another time he brought flight upon the strong men of the kingdoms,

it was a destruction of powers, the burning of the kings in Dún Cethirn.

The famed king of the Ciannachta, Cenn Fáelad, [he was] there for misfortune,

and the head of the territories of the Picts, Dúngal, the sad son of Scannal.

Fergal cut down the lord of Fiace? who ruled over the plain of Brega, he is not an extorting Frank®, but Conall Grant, the grandson of Cernach.

Conaing of Cnogba, the son of Amalgaíd of dignity,

by Áed Allán the fierce man met overthrow in Ailech.

By him (Áed) was slain Tommaltach, the son of Duneched of the

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1 This might refer to the fact that Conall was a poet.

2 rod ciüir--DIL lists this example under crenaid with a question-mark; however, it would be difficult to fit in any of the meanings here. I would suggest that this word belongs to cúraid, 'chastises, punishes', and that we should read rod c(i)úir (: Dúin).

3 i.e. Máel Dúin

4 Concerning teichel, see Footnote on F4. 92 on p. 108.

5 See Note on p. 133.

6 lit. 'he is not a Frank of tribute'--this phrase, ni Franc forbbaig (: Cernaig), and tuc a forbach (: dograch) in F5. 100 are cited in DIL under forbach, 'an extraordinary levy, surtax', with the following remark: "Form and meaning doubtful in these two passages." For the phrase in F5. 100, DIL also gives MacNeill's translation: 'their trophies', with the remark "tribute wrung from them?". I believe that 'levy, tribute' make sense in both cases.
maraudings¹,

taken unawares² and Flaithgius, the son of Dub Díberg.

Áed went westward to Tír Dá Glass—it was a fierce deed—,
a fair venture? (from) afar, receiving not alliance? but submission from Cathal.

Níall Frossach went forth with seven hundred, long it will be remembered, till, having traversed Leinster, he brought a hundred [hostages] from the land of Munster.

As for Áed Ordnide, he subdued [Meath?] with precious valour;
as a result of it, the king was enriched; he overran Leinster three times in one month⁴.

Great is the journey? from Áth Cliath to fair Carn Cornán;
he returned safe⁵ after having plundered around Gabrán's fierce plain?⁶.

Fierce is the raid he made over the Ulstermen, without any denial,

--the fierce, brilliant ones?—, it reached from the Bann to the Bréna.

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¹ mac Dunechda na ndíberg is cited in DIL, under meaning a) 'marauding' of diberg with the following remark: "possibly in sense (c) or (d)?"; c) 'marauder', d) 'strife, vengeance'. In my opinion, all of these meanings could fit in here.

² cen aichnius cuir—lit, 'without firm recognition'—I take cuir to be the attributive gen. sg. of cor 14, 'precise meaning unknown' according to DIL, but sometimes translated as 'firm, strong'.

³ cäem alt—cf. glondalt (F4. 13) 'great prowess'; ollalt (F5. 111) 'of great adventures'.

⁴ sadbriu de in ri / ort Laigniu: or 'the king, who overran [etc.], was all the richer for it'

⁵ ténam inslán—lit. 'a very safe return'

⁶ See Note on p. 134.

⁷ ganna grianna is the only example cited in DIL under ? ganna. DIL suggests that the first word might be the pl. of the substantivised adj. 1 gand, 'scanty', and gives the following explanation: "sterile, waste lands (after the pillage)?" Maybe 'sterile and scorched'? MacNeill does not give any translation here. Prof. Breatnach has called my attention to Binchy's edition of 'The Saga of Fergus mac Léti' in Ériu 16. On p. 44 Binchy translates fa gann (n)gle as 'fierce was the conflict', and cites two other examples from other texts where gann appears to mean 'hard, fierce'. So we could take gann as an acc. pl. adj. qualifying the Ulstermen ('the fierce, brilliant Ulstermen'), or as the nom. pl. of the substantivised adj. (see the translation above).
He overthrew the heroes? of Ess Rúaid with great, very eager warlike ardour; his (their?) armies slew Rogallach of the race of upright Conall.

The head of the race of Cían, Cumamusca, the son of strong Túathal, by great Murchad fell the noble high-king of possessions. The high-king of Ireland, Níall Caille, who gave help to the poor, it is a true account, he set up two kings over the Leinstermen. The thorough ravaging of Meath by him to Bondamair of the bees, --it is not an inglorious onset, [he carried off the cattle] of the Fir Cell and of Tethba. Áed Findlíath defeated the Foreigners in fierce [Mag] Ítha; Alpdu escaped over the sea by means of his father’s ship. The same Áed smote the Foreigners--the splendid hero, he subjected them to tribute and took control of their encampment.

He challenged Lorcán⁸, Cathal’s comely son, although it was a crime; he stirred up sorrow’s force when he blinded the great king of Meath.

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¹ See Note on p. 134.
² orbba: or ‘of inheritance’ (gen. sg.)
³ co Bondamair mbechda--this is the only example cited in DIL under bechda.
⁴ ni drend dochla--I have given here DIL’s translation, which appears under dochla.
⁵ a lluing--note that MacNeill takes a to be the prep. i. However, a, ‘by means of’, does make sense here; moreover, this would be the only example of a for i in the texts I have examined.
⁶ ro folaiig--lit, ‘submerged, eclipsed’?, if this is fo-luigi.
⁷ do-rat lái jim dara longphört--lit. ‘has brought a hand over’
⁸ lámair--on the basis of MacNeill’s translation (‘took in hands’) it seems that he takes this verb as belonging to lámaigid, also occasionally lámaid, meaning ‘touches, handles’. However, this is a weak verb, so one would not expect lámair as the pret. form. In fact, this is the long á-pret. of lámaid, OIr ro-laimethar, ‘dares, ventures’. DIL cites this line under lámaid with MacNeill’s translation.
⁹ Concerning ro and, see Note on p. 136.
The great devastation of the plain [of Brega] and of great central Meath; prudently he searched them from Belach nDúin to the Shannon.

Noble and wary Flannacán was cut down by him—the contentious, swift one—, the king of Dál nAraide who supported them (= the Dál nAraide?)\(^2\), the splendid son of Eochaid.

The Foreigners devastated Inis Dar Gaigrenn of the boatsmen\(^3\); although they were armed, they were all killed by Murchad.

Muiredach, Máel Dúin’s son, the protector\(^4\) of beautiful Orior, was slain by Domnall, the son of Áed, the grasper\(^5\) of burnished blades.

The high-king of the Airgíalla, Máel Dúin, the son of Ferghal of the superiority in numbers\(^6\), the great hero of the quatrains\(^7\), fell by the hand of Flann, the son of Domnall.

Níall Glúndub went to Grellach Elte in Echdruimm; at his hands, deliberately, fell Óengus, the grandson of Máel Sechnaill.

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1. *DIL* suggests with a question-mark under *3 mid*, 'mid-, middle, centre', that the first element in *miduill* might belong to *1 mid*, 'mead'. I think that 'central' makes sense here.

2. ri Dáil Araide nos othrad—*DIL* cites this line along with MacNeill's translation ('the king of D. A. who kept men in pay (?)') under *othraid*, 'maintains, supports', and then remarks: 'the obj. of the vb. may be the Dál Araide, i.e. the supporter of his people'. According to this interpretation, this line could also mean 'the king who supported the Dál nAraide'. See the translation above.

3. Note that this is the only example cited in *DIL* under the meaning 'boatsman' of *curchach*.

4. *dín*—I give this word in *DIL*’s translation.

5. *gormland*—I give this word in *DIL*’s translation, which appears under the compounds of *gorm*.

6. *ind forlaind*—*DIL* cites this under the meaning 'superiority in strength or numbers' of *forlann*.

7. i.e. who is mentioned in the poems.
The slaughter of the Foreigners in green Glenn Gerg was done by Fergal; two hundred and forty—it is not a trivial company, in the slaughter of Aisse.

[Going] from Taltiu at assembly-time—this we relate—overcoming men, Níall’s son subdued the men of Ireland.

Afterwards he made himself subject in the assembly of the notables with the agreement of the psalm-loving ones, however, although it was a torment for Donnchad.

Then he came to the fair-haired, noble men of Fótlá, bravest of men, and took their hostages all.

And afterwards he gave them to Donnchad—it is splendidly praised; a union of truce that he had striven for with Cellach of Cashel.

The battle-rout of the Foreigners before him to Snám Aignech; it was not an ill deed there, [that] the two hundred [Foreigners] were cut down.

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1 *disce*: note that this is the only example of this word cited in *DIL*.

2 *dréim*: I give this word in *DIL*’s translation.

3 *ollchar*: lit, ‘the lovers of greatness’

4 *i.e.* of the clergy. This is the only example cited in *DIL* under *salnchar*.

5 MacNeill has the following note on this and the previous couplet: "Flann seems to imply that Muirchertach withdrew, took up arms, and compelled the assembly to submit to him. Donnchad, the high-king, was ready for hostilities, perhaps proclaimed Muirchertach an outlaw. [...] The clergy, no doubt, intervened, and Muirchertach, as we may gather from the poem, obtained a reluctant amnesty." (1913: 79) I have underlined the part which I think he misinterpreted, as I believe that only *é féin* can be the object of *róchacht*.

6 *co firu Fótlá finnu fialú*: or ‘to the men of Fótlá, the fair-haired, noble ones’

7 *molthar massib*: or ‘let him be splendidly praised’, or ‘who is splendidly praised’

8 *ellach n-ossaid*: *DIL* cites this example under *ellach c*) ‘joining in battle, engaging’, with the following remark: "the following exx. may also come here: ellach n-ossaid a union of truce, a league [etc.]". I think that *DIL*’s interpretation makes more sense than MacNeill’s ‘gathered company’, especially as for *os(s)ad DIL* gives only ‘a respite, cessation, a truce’.
The Gamandrad of Loch Cúan were slaughtered by him, with deaths of subject folk;

he was forced to remain till the devastating of the Ulstermen and the Araid.

The Ulstermen in wrath and the Foreigners, on a fear-rousing adventure --a third were doomed, set off westward to Slíab Betha.

Niall’s son defeated them utterly--a festival without pleasure--,
[he defeated] Olaf the champion (and) Matudán, the noble son of Áed.

A slaughter of two hundred and forty heads--you hear--,
of them as far as [Glenn] Rige, and all the many captures.

By him was slain the lord Torolb who had crossed every running sea;
he pierced ill-fated men when he was in the fleet of Loch Neagh.

He ravaged the Hebrides, the fierce king--it was a deed of acclaim--
it was not disastrous--he brought their tribute(s) to the land of Tara.

He vanquished the Cíanacht of Glenn Gemin--it is not a false exploit--;

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1 See Note on p. 137.
2 torcaid anad--lit. ‘he attempted waiting?’--if the verb is do-fairget.
3 See Footnote on F5. 24, p. 144.
4 im gnim ngertha--I give DIL’s translation, which appers under grith e) with a question-mark.
5 ba trian trucha--lit. ‘the doomed people were a third’. I do not agree with DIL when it lists trucha under trocha, [iǎ, f], ‘untimely death, doom’, as an attributive gen. sg. with a question-mark. I believe that trucha is the nom. pl. of tru, k, m+f, ‘a doomed person’. On the form trucha see Vol. II, p. 42: 3.11 a.
6 cach rían rathach--cf. F3. 79. dar (s)rian rudach, ‘over the impetuous? sea’.
7 i llongais Locha Echach--or ‘on an expedition’ on Loch Neagh.
8 ba gnim nglebrach--lit. ‘a clamorous deed’
9 dograch--lit. ‘sad’
10 See Footnote on F5. 36, p. 145.
Góach he wounded; that is why Dub Roa's son fell asleep.

The loud-voiced Foreigners plundered great Armagh around their ...? Níall's son, it is not a lie, slew two hundred of them on the way.

By him the king of brilliant Lóegaire of many varied excellencies perished, he was not of ill renown, the hero whose name was Cináed.

It was a hardy step that Níall's son, Conaing of protection took eastward on a narrow path; [he made] a slaughter of three hundred heads of the Ulstermen.

Níall's grandson went into glorious Meath, greatest of all good territories, with fame of sweet report, until he blinded the grandson of Máel Sechnaill.

Murchad defeated the nobles of Ól nÉcmacht of great adventures? --smoothness of abodes--and took the kingship of the Connachtmen.

Cerball’s comely grandson, Laidgnén of vast Loch Úaithne, the bright-shaped pillar, came with Fergal, the son of Conaing.

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1 con-tuil--i.e. ‘died’
2 (i)mmas sníúb: this is the only example cited in DIL under ? sníú.
3 dith leis rig Lóegaire laindrig--laindrig could also refer to ‘king’.
4 This is the only example cited in DIL under dogairm--the meaning given is ‘of ill repute (?)’. I believe that this makes sense here.
5 mathe fer nÓl nÉcmacht--lit. ‘the good ones’; or ‘the goodness’?
6 mine mennat--‘smoothness of abodes’ is DIL’s translation, which appears under mine, ‘smoothness?’, with the following explanation: "i.e. fertile soil, cf. mín tire". DIL also cites this example under ménat, u, rarely o, ‘a place of abode’, with the remark "? gp.". I believe that taking this to be a gen. pl. is just one possibility, as ménat could also be in the nom. sg., and then mine would be a preposed attributive gen., ‘a smooth abode’.
7 i.e. hero
8 do-lluid la: MacNeill, 1913: 81: "i.e., was cut off by".
Áed of Ailech proceeded on a plundering expedition into famous Breifne; although it was a distant journey, the sprightly Níall, the grandson of Rúarc fell by his hand.

The same hero cut down Conaire at the assembly-place; great Matudán, it is there that he inflicted deadly oppression.

The champion of Énda’s kindred, Óengus--high is his weapon--, the unfortunate one fell by the race of Eógan, although he was a ruler.

The high-king of the bright race of Lugaid, whom splendid verses praise, Eógan’s very keen race trod them down, Domnall’s three grandsons.

The good king of Derlus fell, around Furadrán who filled a bier hardy Cú Chaille and the formidable man’s strong son, Rúarcán.

Máelán, the king of the Uí Dorthainn, fell at their hands on the field of battle; in a fever of doom was slain the ruler of the Uí Bresail Macha.

Noble Flaithbertach of the white-handed hostages destroyed the [Ulstermen], he by whom was slain a wolf, Cú Ulad, and Áed and Artán.

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1 See Note on p. 139.
2 Níall ãa Ríaire rebach: or ‘Níall, the sprightly grandson of Rúarc’.
3 or ‘the Conaille’? See Note on p. 139.
4 ág n-éca is cited in DIL under 3 ág c), ‘oppression’. However, it could also belong to 2 ág, ‘fight, battle’.
5 éclond aicme Éína--I have given DIL’s translation here, which appears under éclond.
6 ollam--DIL: “in early poetry used of warriors”.
7 cheneol Lugdach laindrig: or ‘the race of bright Lugaid’.
8 This is the only example cited in DIL under fuaílán ?.
9 See Note on p. 141.
Noble Úa Canainn of Conall’s portion whom swords maimed?¹ he ruled in strength² till [noble] Áed of Ailech crushed him.

Another hero, brave Mathgamain of the race of Cian³, who was generous in sharing⁴, fell by noble, renowned Niall.

The reckoning of their forays—one does not find anything that is not lawful—,
what is more measureless till you count the sands of the sea?

What I have told to all of their feats will live till doom;
it is not for defaming them that I would not tell the hundredth of their [pleasures?].

Fland the Lector from Monasterboice that God has magnified,
it is he who has compiled them, if any brave man asked who.

¹ cirrśit claidh—MacNeill has ‘that swords carved’, referring to Conall’s portion. However, DIL only has ‘mangles, maims’ for cirrid.
² rotrén reraig—or ‘the very strong one ruled’. I have given here DIL’s translation of this long line, which appears under rigid, ‘rules’, with a question-mark. Cf. F3. 89—reraig roi, ‘he subdued a battle-field’.
³ Mathgamain clamne Céin calma: or ‘of the brave race of Cian’
⁴ ba fial fodla—lit. ‘who was the generous one of sharing’
MIDE MAGEN CLAINNE CUIND (F6)

INTRODUCTION

MSS: LL 184b20
    R 163b18
    M 28va.22 ff.
    B iv 2
    D iii 2
    23 E 26
    24 A 2
    H 4. 1. 3 (TCD)
    H 4. 17 (TCD)

Previous edition and translation:

In this work I have relied mostly on LL, and I have also given all the variant readings from R, some of which are superior to LL. In problematic cases I also cite M, and occasionally I also use evidence from B iv 2 and 24 A 2 to support certain readings.

LL is clearly legible all through. Most of the Facsimile of R is clear.

Kuno Meyer has the following note on this poem in the Facsimile of R:
"A poem of fifty-seven stanzas enumerating the kings of Meath who had their seat at Uisnech, from Congal, the first king of the race of Níall, to Donnchad mac Murchada. [...] The original poem ended with stanza 51, as it does in LL. 184b, with the death of Conchobar ua Maelsechnaill at the hands of Murchad mac Flainn in 1077. Hence it cannot have been composed by Flann Manistrech (who died in 1056), as the scribe of LL. and O'Curry say. Other copies in B.IV.2, fo. 70 a, and in 23 E 26, p. 245." (1909: xiv.)
However, MacNeill has the following note on this poem at stanza 48 (ll. 189-192 in my text):
"As Conchobor (s.o. Flann +1013 s.o. Mael Sechnaill +1022) was reigning when Flann Mainistrech died, the next two stanzas are by a later author, who may also have made changes in the foregoing part of the poem. The final stanza shows that Conchobor (48) was the last king named in the original poem. He outlived Flann Mainistrech." (MacNeill, 1913: 92.)

Conchobor is first mentioned in stanza 48, the length of his reign is mentioned in 49, and his death in the second couplet of stanza 50. Then in the last stanza (51) the poet closes the line of the kings enumerated with Conchobor, and the poem ends with a dunad. Thus the lines referring to Conchobor's death and the reign of his son might well be an interpolation; all the more as the poet declares in stanza 51 that forty-seven kings ruled Mid up to the reign of Conchobor, which is a further indication that the poem was actually written during his reign, and he was the last one mentioned in the list of kings. The fact that the end of the poem could have been tampered with is also indicated by the absence of lines 191-194 in R, M, B iv 2 and 24 A 2 (the second couplet in 48 and the first one in 49), which mention Domnall and Conchobor. (Note that there is a dunad in R after 204, as well as after 228.)

As far as the relationship between LL and R is concerned, LL can not be a copy of R or of the version from which R was copied, as there are quite a few significant differences between the two MS versions. The most important of these are discussed in the Notes on pp. 179-189.

I have followed the following principles when handling the variant readings:

1. I generally follow LL, which is more clearly legible than R. I only incorporate the R reading in the main text when there is definite proof that the LL reading is corrupt. Some of the words in R seem to be a corrupt version of what is found in LL: Grann (F6. 76), denn (F6. 95), chlaind (F6. 159), mbúadail (F6. 123), crith (F6. 125), in tsachair (F6. 131), in glan Gáedel (F6. 140). See also the Notes on pp. 182, 186, 184 and 185.

2. The differences between the marking of glide-vowels (e.g. magen--maigen) are ignored.

3. In general, R has fewer abbreviated forms than LL; I only note these if there is a linguistic point in question.

4. Variation between ndinn is ignored where it has no special significance.

5. The variation between final sss is ignored.
6. The variation between e(t)cht is ignored.

7. The variation between al(i)ui in unstressed syllables is ignored.

8. In R final -ig is always spelt -ieh with one exception (F6. 57: cętaig).

9. The variation between initial i(-) and hi(-) is ignored unless these letters come after a preposition affixing a h before a vowel.

10. The variation between nasalised initial mm, rr and ll is ignored unless there is an infixed pronoun in question.

11. In R, bliadna is often abbreviated as b. I have supplied an m before it where it is necessary.

12. Single letter abbreviations are not italicised.
ANALYSIS OF THE METRE

Metre: d dbide scailte (fota) (7^x 7^x+1 or 2 7^x 7^x+1 or 2).

Stanza structure
7^17^27^2 7^2: 5, 6, 8, 13, 23, 24, 27, 29, 45, 50 (10).
7^17^27^2 7^3: 1, 4, 11, 14, 22, 41, 42, 46 (8).
7^27^27^2 7^3: 2, 19, 20, 35, 37 (5).
7^17^27^2 7^3: 12, 26, 44, 48, 49 (5).
7^27^27^2 7^3: 9, 28, 39 (3).
7^17^27^2 7^3: 38, 40 (2).
7^27^27^2 7^3: 36 (1).

Stanzas without rinn 7 aídrinn in the first couplet
7^27^27^2 7^2: 7, 10, 15, 16, 17, 31, 34, 43, 47 (9).
7^17^27^2 7^3: 3, 30, 33 (3).
7^17^27^2 7^3: 18, 32, 51 (3).
7^17^27^2 7^3: 21, 25 (2).

The figures for rinn (number of couplets with 7^x7^x+1 per total number of couplets) are 74/102=73%. O’Cuív has 70/102, and the difference arises from the fact that he subtracted those four couplets from the total where a consonant from group x (C^n) rhymes with a consonant from group l (C’)--see below.

End-rhyme
A consonant from group x (C^n) rhymes with a consonant from group l (C’) (Murphy, 1961: 33): brath : Donchadh (F6. 91-92), daith : choídaig (F6. 101-102), chatha : (n)Donchada (F6. 151-152, 163-164). (4)

On F6. 49-50 and F6. 102, see the Notes on pp. 181 and 183.

**Fidrad freccomail**

*Fidrad freccomail* is present in 1+2 (II. 4-5), 2+3 (II. 8-9), 3+4 (II. 12-13) (between two identical words), 7+8 (II. 28-29), 12+13 (II. 48-49), 13+14 (II. 52-53), 16+17 (II. 64-65), 17+18 (II. 68-69), 18+19 (II. 72-73), 22+23 (II. 88-89), 23+24 (II. 92-93), 24+25 (II. 96-97), 27+28 (II. 108-109), 28+29 (II. 112-113), 29+30 (II. 116-117), 34+35 (II. 136-137) (I take *húa* to be stressed here), 36+37 (II. 144-145), 37+38 (II. 148-149), 38+39 (II. 152-153), 40+41 (II. 160-161) (between two identical words), 41+42 (II. 164-165), 44+45 (II. 176-177), 49+50 (II. 196-197) (between two identical words), 50+51 (II. 200-201) (24) (plus note the special cases below).

*F. f.* is present between a stressed and an unstressed word in 6+7 (II. 24-25), and between an unstressed and a stressed syllable in 11+12 (II. 44-45).

*F. f.* might be present between 4+5 (II. 16-17) if we ignore *amsir*, the first stressed word in l. 17; or the linking words might be *Cond* and *Chuind*.

*F. f.* is present between *th* and *d* in 20+21 (II. 80-81).

The linking word in 21+22 (II. 84-85) is probably *Dírma*.

The linking word in 30+31 (II. 120-121) is probably *Sechnaill*.

The linking word in 39+40 (II. 156-157) is probably *Fergal*.

The linking word in 42+43 (II. 168-169) is probably *DonchaId*.

The figures for *fidrad freccomail* are 32/50=64%.

**Alliteration** is not present in the following lines: 5, 11, 18, 19, 26 *LL*, 28, 32, 38, 43, 45, 49, 50, 52, 54, 61, 62, 64, 67, 68, 73, 75, 76, 80, 88, 92, 100, 108, 111, 120, 128, 132, 134, 136, 137, 138, 151, 152, 156 *LL*, 158, 159 *LL*, 165, 173, 174, 176, 178, 180, 182, 184, 185, 190, 192, 200, 204 (53).

Alliteration is not between the last two stressed words in line *d* in F6. 8, 84 (I take *húa* to be stressed here) and 196. (3)

My figures for alliteration are 148/204=73%, while Ó Cuív’s 141/204. The difference must be due to my emendations in F6. 35, 40, 41, 62, 86 and 172 (all based on *R*), and also to whether one takes the noun to be acc. or dat. in F6. 7 and 106 (see below).

In order to get alliteration in F6. 7 one has to take *Inis* as dat. and lenite the *f* in *Fáil*. 158
We can only get alliteration in F6. 74 and 199 if mac\meic is stressed; and in F6. 169 if mac is unstressed in the construction X mac\meic Y.

If in F6. 106 we read the accusative instead of the dative (i \flaithiuim firmaith), then we will get alliteration in the line. Note that this is what R has.

In F6. 113 LL the lenition of f after náir, which would be expected historically, is not marked, thus we can get alliteration here.

In F6. 133 the spelling would indicate that the scribe considered Mel to be an unstressed word; however, we can only get alliteration in this line if both mac and Mel are stressed. Concerning F6. 172, see Note on p. 187.

**Internal rhyme** in the first couplet (11/51=22%):

| deich : feith (F6. 49-50) | mac : glacc (F6. 57-58) (mac is stressed) |
| daig : flaith (F6. 85-86) | Donnail : chomlaínd (F6. 101-102) |
| fínaír : Chlíain (F6. 141-142) | bét : é (F6. 145-146) |
| bliadain : Liamuin (F6. 165-166) | riagla : bliadna (F6. 173-174) |
| Mide : tige (F6. 177-178) | delbglain : Temraig (F6. 193-194) |
| magMide : anfina (F6. 197-198) |

A consonant from group x (C^x) rhymes with a consonant from group l (C^l) (Murphy, 1961: 33): daig: flaith (F6. 85-86).

In F6. 9-10 amsir seems to rhyme with hamsir.

There is imperfect rhyme between Diarmaid and bliadain (F6. 105-106), Got and ole (F6. 185-186--see Note on F6. 155-156, p. 186) and secht and bec (F6. 201-202). (3)

**Internal rhyme** in the second couplet (37/51=73%; twice in F6. 147-148 and 167-168)

| eride : Mide (F6. 3-4) | amra : calma (F6. 15-16) |
| déc : é (F6. 23-24) | dalb : Carn (F6. 27-28) |
| éca : Détna (F6. 31-32) | Mide : Lini (F6. 39-40) |
| caem : Æed (F6. 47-48) | Sláne : sále (F6. 51-52) |
| ilach : birach (F6. 55-56) | Temraig : derlaig (F6. 59-60) |
| diannblaid : Diarmait (F6. 63-64) | daine : Máele (F6. 67-68) |
| Bregach : Fledach (F6. 71-72) | alt : Grant (F6. 75-76) |

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1 See Note on p. 182.

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Rhyme not highlighted in spelling: F6. 67-68, 107-108 LL and 175-176. The spelling of the rhyming pair in F6. 39-40 is from two different MSS.

Internal rhyme appears in both couplets in stanzas 13, 15, 26, 36, 37, 42, 44 and 49 (8).

Internal rhyme is not present in either of the couplets in stanzas 2, 3 (see below), 5, 9, 11, 21, 28, 38, 46, 47 and 48 (11).

What may possibly correspond to one type of breccad rhyme found in bardic poetry (Ní Dhomhnaill, 1975: 45-54) can be found in the third stanza, where the word aimsir occurs in each line of the stanza in both LL and R.

Proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in d (not counting the last word, which rhymes with the final of c, and not counting aimsir either): 39/107=36% (my figures); 39/105=37% (Ó Cuív’s figures). The slight difference in the second number can be explained by the fact that I took mac to be stressed in F6. 48 and 156, as an adj. intrudes into the construction X mac Y.

1. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2):
   \[ C^\text{C} - C^\text{C}'; \ C^\text{C} - C^\text{L'}; \ C^\text{C} - L^\text{L'}; \ L^\text{L'} - C^\text{C} \]
   Subne : chuibde (F6. 61-62) (c. r.)
   amra : Banba (F6. 133-134) (c. r.)
   chomland : Domnall (F6. 163-164) (i. r.)
   riagla : bliadna (F6. 173-174) (i. r.)
   dalb : Carn (F6. 27-28) (i. r.)
   bliadna : iarla (F6. 95-96, 147-148) (i. r.)
   iarma : certbliadna (F6. 77-78) (c. r.)
   diamra : òenbliadna (F6. 153-154) (e. r.)
   Domnall : chomlaing (F6. 101-102) (i. r.)
   amra : calma (F6. 15-16) (i. r.)
   Temraig : derlaig (F6. 59-60) (i. r.)
   forlund : Domnall (F6. 175-176) (i. r.)

2. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C/L + b (rules 2 and 3):
   \[ L^\text{C}^\text{h} - C^\text{C}^\text{h}; \ C^\text{C}^\text{h} - L^\text{C}^\text{h}; \ C^\text{C}^\text{h} - C^\text{C}^\text{h}; \ C^\text{C}^\text{h} - C^\text{C}^\text{h}; \ L^\text{C}^\text{h} - L^\text{C}^\text{h} \]
   borraith : torchaír (F6. 91-92) (i. r.)
   Chobthaig : ndorchaí (F6. 103-104) (i. r.)
   breithland : Seachnall (F6. 119-120) (i. r.)
   Dondchada : bordfada (F6. 115-116) (i. r.)
   Chobthaig : Dondchaid (F6. 167-168) (i. r.)

3. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L (rules 1 and 2): \[ C^\text{P}^\text{c} - C^\text{P}^\text{c} \]
   derg : lomlerg (F6. 85-86) (c. r.)

4. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain S + C/L + b (rules 3, 4 and 6): \[ L^\text{S}^\text{h} - L^\text{S}^\text{h} \]
   millse : ChròInse (F6. 183-184) (c. r.)

5. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L + b (rules 1, 2, 3): \[ C^\text{I}^\text{b} - C^\text{P}^\text{b} \]
   alt : Grant (F6. 75-76) (i. r.)

6. One consonant corresponds to two: a consonant from class I (C^c) is added:
   \[ P^\text{h} - C^\text{P}^\text{h}; \ P^\text{v} - P^\text{C}^\text{v} \]
   threnglace : ërbailt (F6. 135-136) (i. r.) (final consonants)
   éca : Dètna (F6. 31-32) (i. r.)

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7. Two consonants correspond to three or four consonants: the rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2): C*C*C*--C*C*; C*C*C*C*--C*C*

thrēnglacc : ērba(i)It (F6. 135-136) (i. r.) delbglain : Temraig (F6. 193-194) (i. r.)

8. Special case: C*C*--C*C* or C*C*--C*

magMide : anfine (F6. 197-198) (i.r.)

According to DIL, the original mutation after an- was nasalisation, which was later replaced by lenition. Note that R has anfine here, which may indicate the older type of mutation. In either case the rhyme would have been acceptable in Mr (see Vol. II, pp. 111-112: 2, and 113-115: 2.2).

Elision

a) Unstressed short vowel preceded by another vowel: twelve examples. In all of these the metre requires elision (F6. 13, 15, 31, 59, 80, 85, 87, 91, 111, 113, 116 / L, 198). (12/12=100%)

b) Unstressed short vowel + unstressed long vowel: two examples. In both cases the metre requires elision (F6. 30, 103). (2/2=100%)

c) Dropping of the initial vowel of an unstressed word (prep. + poss. pron. /article; adverb):

I. After consonants: F6. 19 (not indicated by the LL scribe). F6. 26 LL, 75, 107, 119, 122 LL, 163 LL, 184 (not indicated by the LL scribe). There is no dropping in F6. 52.

II. At the beginning of a line: F6. 36.

d) Dropping of the initial vowel of the conjunction is:

I. After vowels: F6. 6 (not indicated by the scribe). F6. 116 LL.

II. After consonants: F6. 38, 49 LL. There is no dropping in F6. 142.

e) Dropping of the initial vowel of the copula is:

There is no dropping in F6. 196 and 204.

f) do|de + V; do|de + f: three examples. In one case, the vowel has to be elided (F6. 26).
In one case, the vowel should not be elided (F6. 161). Concerning F6. 54, see Note on p. 181.

Dúnad

The poem begins and ends with the word Mide, so this is a regular saígíd type dúnad (Murphy, 1961: 44). Note that Mide is also the closing word in stanza 5 in LL, R and M. See also Vol. II, p. 129: 5.2.
Mide magen clainne\(^1\) Cuind forod\(^2\) fine\(^3\) Néill nertluind cride na Banba bricce Mide\(^4\) mag na mórchipe.

5 Mór ríg ro gab for Mide\(^5\) e
ter fine\(^6\) is antíne\(^7\) òro gab for Inis Fáil\(^8\) longas mac Míleid Espáin.

Ó amsir Hérimóin\(^9\) áin

10 co hamsir Núadat Fínd Fáil ó amsir Núadat ille co amsir\(^10\) n-àird nÚgaine\(^11\).

Ó Úgaine ule anall\(^12\) co Echaig\(^13\) Feidlech Frémand

---

\(^1\) clainne \(R\)
\(^2\) forud \(R\)
\(^3\) clainne \(L.L\)
\(^4\) Midi \(R\)
\(^5\) ar Midi \(R\)
\(^6\) etcier fine \(R\)
\(^7\) antíne \(R\)
\(^8\) òro gabsat Inis Fáil \(R\)
\(^9\) Áugaine \(R\)
\(^10\) høimsir \(R\)
\(^11\) Áugaine \(R\)
\(^12\) ò amsir Úgaine anall \(R\)
\(^13\) hÉochaid \(R\)
Ó Echaig₁ amra inn athach
có Cond calma Céchathach.

Ó amsir Chuind có cét cath²
có clannaib Néill¹¹ meic Echach⁴
ra⁵ clannaib Néill ó sein (i)le⁶

in mag-sain mag' mór Mide. **Mide.**

Conall⁸ cétrí clainne⁹ Néill
ro gab ós Mide mongréid¹⁰
secht mbliadna déc dó don dund
coro n-ergab ée opund.

A secht fichet oc fledaib¹¹
d'Fíachaig mac Néill¹² 'na degaid¹³

---

¹ Eochuid *R*
² chath *R*
³ Néill *R*
⁴ Echdach *R*
⁵ ro *R*
⁶ ó sain le *R*
⁷ in magen-sa *R*
⁸ Congal *R*
⁹ clainni *R*
¹⁰ Midi magrēid *R*
¹¹ 'na degaid *R*
¹² Néill *R*
¹³ co nemain *R*
coro chlóemchlāe\(^1\) ní dalb dath\(^2\)
forin maig oc Carn\(^3\) Fáchach\(^4\).

Ardgal mac Conaill na crech
30 secht mbládnu Ís Mide magnech\(^5\)
deog\(^6\) a topur éca it-ib\(^7\)
i cath Dētna la Lagnib.

Mane mac Cerbaill Clūana
còic bládnu déc drehbūada\(^8\)
35 co tørchaí\(^9\) íteir\(^10\) trocha
'sin maig i cath Chlōenlocha.

Díarmait mac Cerbaill chrechaig
fiche\(^11\) bládan\(^12\) 's a cethair
ardruri\(^13\) Mide na mmed

---

\(^1\) chōemlōe R
\(^2\) dalb LL
\(^3\) o[c] Carn R
\(^4\) Feradaig LL
\(^5\) moinech R
\(^6\) deoch R
\(^7\) at-ib R
\(^8\) drehbūana R
\(^9\) missing in LL
\(^10\) eítir R
\(^11\) fichi R
\(^12\) bládan R
\(^13\) ardruire R
i mMaig Lini\(^1\) ra\(^2\) losced.

*Acethair Colmáin\(^3\)* Móir maith\(^4\)
metc Díarmata ba degfraith
Dub Söl Cruthnech *mac* Trena
ro marb do rind rúadhra.

45 Blíadain ar fheidh ñar tain
do Cholmáin Bic dé bráthair
do-rocha'n flaith cáem na crech
la Åed\(^5\) *mac* n-ard nAnnerch.

*Ocht* mblíadna 's a deich cen tair\(^6\)
50 ro feith b' Suibne *mac* Colmáin\(^8\)
ro marb Åed Slánc na sleg
tair ocont sâle thondgei\(^9\).

Trí blíadna fa dó\(^10\) don dus
do *mac* Colmáin\(^11\) do\(^12\) Fergus\(^13\)

---

1 Lini *missing in LL* (erased?)
2 ro *R*
3 Colmáin *R*
4 mo raith *LL*
5 la *hÅed* *R*
6 ocht *certbliadna* dèc cen tár *R*
7 ro *feith* *R*
8 Colmáin *R*
9 tómmer *R*
10 fo *thri* *R*
11 Colmáin *R*
fíth ilach dó fo dered
i cath birach Blattened¹.

Óengus mac Colmáin chétaig²
ro glace in mBanba mbétaig³
secht mbliadna dó i Temraig thall⁴
60 a bás ro derlaig Domnall.

Conall Guthbind mac Subne⁵
a cóic fo trí⁶ tre chuibde⁷
cora⁸ ben a díanblaid⁹ de
Diarmait mac Áeda Sláine.

65 Sé bliadna dée co demin
Máel Dóid mac Subni serig
fo-rrácesat a daíne¹⁰ thair
i Cnoccaib Máele¹¹ Doáid.

¹² d' I.L.
¹³ Fergus R
¹ Blaitened R
² cétaig R
³ ro gab in Banba mb| | R
⁴ tall R
⁵ Suibni R
⁶ fa chethair I.L.
⁷ last letter illegible in R
⁸ coro R
⁹ díanblait R
¹⁰ ro fácsat a doíne R
¹¹ Máeli R
Díarmaí mac Aírmedaig áith
sé bliadna trí chat nír thláith
ro thaschair¹ in Bregach brass
Finnacta Fledach foilchass.

Fíche² bliadán nír fata³
do Murchad mac Díarmaí
da-rochair⁴ 'sin alt⁵ iar tain
la Conall Grant⁶ húa Cernaí⁷.

Díarmaí, Aírmedaich iarma
Aed, Colgcu⁸ cóic certbliádán
cethrí ríg Mide na mmed
ro marbtha⁹ oc Bile Theined.

Domnall mac Murchada móir
sé bliádán cethhrachat⁹ cóir
tuc Dìa dó flathius fata
có n-érbailt húa Díarmaí.

85 Niall mac Díarmaí in daig derg

¹ rod taschair R
² fichi R
³ nírb fata R
⁴ co torchair R
⁵ 'sinn all R
⁶ Grann R
⁷ The next stanza is barely legible in the Facsimile of R.
⁸ Colgcu R
⁹ cethhrachat R
flaith [läch] Mide¹ na lomlerg
sé blíadna² i rrig³ rebach
co torchair la Muredach.

Muíredach⁴ mac Domnaill dían
90 di blíadain don fláith⁴ lánfíal
rop é ré in borrfaith⁶ cen brath
nóco torchair la Dondchad.

Dondchad mac Domnaill na ndrech
ropo leis Temair tollmech⁷
95 trícha blíadna dó derb lend⁸
có n-érbaiti iarla Hérend.

Óenblíadain i rrig réil
do Domnall mac Dondchaíd déin
tair for ochair⁹ na halla
100 da-rochair¹⁰ la hec[h]tranna.

Muiridach¹¹ mac Domnaill daith¹²

¹ láchMid R; only Mide in LL.
² x.? [m]blíadna R
³ i ríg R
⁴ Murchertach LL
⁵ dá blíadain don fláith R
⁶ rop hē in ri borsfaid R
⁷ thuillmech R
⁸ denn R
⁹ i táeb LL
¹⁰ do-rochair R
¹¹ Muiredach R
¹² Mac Domnaill daith
cunnid in chomhlaitd chòicideig
trí bliadhna ós chlainn Chobthaig'cain
ro ndorchaig éc anapaig.

105 Diarmait mac Dondcha(i)da' daith
bláidain i fliathius firmaith
i mmudu do-chuaid' 'con chaill
tíar i cath Ruba' Chonaill.

Conchobor cæem a mathius

110 ós Héird i n-ardfliathius
is éc at-bath rí in Broga

degmac duananach Dondchada.

Deich mbliadna i fliathius nár fóen

dó do Máel Rúanaid rocháem

115 at-bath mac Dondchada dil

12 dil R

1 cunnid comluid oenchloicid R

2 Chlúain LL.

3 Cobthaich R

4 Dondchada R

5 firmaith R

6 do-choid R

7 'sin chath hi Rubu R

8 ardflathius R

9 éc at-bath ardri in Braga R

10 nárf fáen R

11 éc at-bath R

12 Dondchaíd LL, R; Dondchadhá Dondchada M, B iv 2, 24 A 2
rí in borrhfada 's l in bissig.

Dí bliadain flaith in meic maith
dar éis Máel Rúanaid in raith
ro marb² 'na brethlaind co mblaíd
120 Máel Sechnaill a derbhráthair.

Máel Sechnaill³ sáer a Slemain
secht mbliadna déc 'na deagaí⁴
at-bath iar mbüadaib⁵ co mblaíd
mac Máel Rúanaid co regail.

125 Lorcán mac Cathail na crích⁶
dí⁷ bliadain i flaithius frith
rí for Midi⁸ mall na miach
nòcoro⁹ ndall Æed Findlífhath.

Dond Chad hìa Conchobuir chrúaid
130 dá sé mbliadun¹⁰ band for búaíd
la Fland in tochnuir¹¹ cen târ

¹ in borrhfaid is R
² ro marb R
³ Sechnaill R
⁴ secht [m]bliadna 'na chertdegaid R
⁵ mbüadaib R
⁶ críth R
⁷ dá R
⁸ Mide R
⁹ nò omitted in L.L
¹⁰ dá thri bliadun R
¹¹ in tsachair R
do-rocháir mac Eochocán.

Fland mac Mel¹ Sechnaill² amra
secht [m]blíadna déc³ ós Banba
cia tír náro thréanglacc trell
nòco⁴ n-érbalt⁵ ri Hérend.

Hūa Máel Sechnaill⁶ cén omon⁷
trí blíadna do⁸ Chonchobor
máile ro⁹ Níall nGlündub ngel
140 do-rocháir gríon na nGáedel¹⁰.

Domnall mac Flaind fúair blíadain¹¹
eter Chlúain¹² is chorrLiamuin¹³
rod marb ciarbo¹⁴ glond co ngail¹⁵

¹ Máel R
² Sechnaill R
³ sē blíadna déc R
⁴ naco R
⁵ érbalt LL
⁶ Sechnaill R
⁷ omon R
⁸ don R
⁹ maróen ra R
¹⁰ do-rocháir in glan Gáedel R
¹¹ blíadain R
¹² Chlúain R
¹³ is corrLiamain R
¹⁴ ciarbu R
¹⁵ do gail R
Dondchad Dond a derbrathair.¹

145 Dondchad cen bét cen bin(n)e²
fo-fuair³ éc i n-echMide
fuair ùrla Crinna ba cet
sé bliadna⁴ finna fichet.

Fuair⁵ Óengus airdair⁶ cen ail
150 iarna athair òenbliadain
trícha cét lín a chatha
co n-érbailt mac Dondchada.

Dondchad mac Domnaill diame⁷
ro chaith cethri òenbliadna⁸
155 ro marb⁹ flaith gót¹⁰ in gossa
Fergal óc mac¹¹ Óengusa.

Fergal fuair rait[h]e¹² co rath

¹ derbthair R sic a over b omitted
² bine R
³ fo omitted in LL
⁴ bliadna R
⁵ fuair? R
⁶ airderg R
⁷ diameir R
⁸ tri bliadna ocus òenbliadain R
⁹ rod marb R
¹⁰ sic MS
¹¹ Fergal mac óc R
¹² ráithi R
coro n-indarb Congalach
oc [C]luaín Iraird¹ co clíaraib
160 ní(n)ro n-úair² acht Óenbliadain.

Óenbliadain aile³ do Æed
do mac Máel Rúnaid rocháem
fúair bás 'na chomland⁴ chatha
la Domnall mac nDonchada⁵.

165 Domnall bliadain co ba⁶ thrí
bord ro⁷ Liamuin in lethri⁸
bét do chlaind Chobthaig clíaraig
éic meic Donchaid drechmiadaig.

Carlus mac Cuind meic Donchaid
170 remes sé mbliadain mborrfuid⁹
and do-rocháir hú a Flaind Fáil
áit i rrollsat¹⁰ Gaill grithgáir¹¹.

¹ irard ós chlaind R
² nocon fúair R
³ aili R
⁴ i comlunn R
⁵ mac Donchada R
⁶ bo R
⁷ borbb ra R
⁸ láechri R
⁹ cóic bliadna is bliadain borrfaid R
¹⁰ baili i ralsat R
¹¹ crithgáir LL.
Murchertach riagla lat sain
cethri bliadna to chethair

175 fuair forlund ie Druim Chriagain cain
la Domnall mac Congalaig.

Cóic bliadna do Mide maith
fás cen tige cen degthaith
Fergal ro chrechaig cech claind

180 ra deroid flatha Domnaill.

Cóic bliadna cethrachat cóir
flathius Mael Sechnaill echnóir
rí mór Mide co millse
éec at-bath (is)sin ChroInse.

185 Mael Sechnaill Got a cethair
éec ole ra scar rā bethaid

---

1 [Mur]chadh R
2 sin R
3 bliadna R
4 Midi R
5 a is added subscript
6 cach R
7 cethrachat R
8 Sechnaill R
9 millsi R
10 'sin R
11 Sechnaill R
12 éec olec ro scar ria bethaid R
secht mbiadna Rōen1 rubnib dám
cosin cath i mMóin Milán.

Domnall dí2 bliadain a band
190
co torchaír la Máel Caland3
roba rí Midi na mmol
día éis ro gab Conchobor.

Dar éis Domnail delbglain dil
ro gab for Temraig tírig
195
dí bliadain cethri deich dron
iss ed ro feith4 Conchobor.

Conchobor magMide maith
nachorb anfín e in[t] ardflaith5
do láíd Murchadá meic Flaind
200
do-rochaír húa Máel Sechnaill6.

7Secht rig dá fichet rig rúad
8iar Conall Breg ní bhe slúag

---

1 Réna LL.
2 dā R
3 Kallan R The next four lines are omitted in R.
4 ro feith R
5 nachorb anbfín int a[ ] R
6 Sechnaill R
7 There is an extra stanza here in R:
Mile secht mbiadna secht ndeich
ó gènair Crist don chainbre[ith?]
cosin errach n-adbul n-om
inra marbad Conchobor.
8 The next three lines are completely different in R:
ó Chongal Breg na mbreoslúag

177
co Conchobor na ngním nglé
is é lín ro gab Mide. Mide.¹

Six extra stanzas follow here in R.

Murchad mac Fláinid fúair bliadain
flaithiús Mide mördaismir
lí eloicthich cen ansa cen cháin
ro marbsat meic meic Maeláín.

Óenbliadain dèc cen dechra
co torchair hic tur Thethba
roba ar brethlaind Midi immuig
Máel Sechnaill mac Conchobur.

Donnall mac Fláinid fichtib slúag
ro gab ós Midi mongrúad[
d]ro scarsat Luigní? rí inn
Díu Lúain laithi oc loch [ ]ind.

Trí mís Conchobur na ened
mac Máel Sechnaill na n-aire[ch?]”
hítha Bruuin cen glorblaid cia bé
ro gáet rig mòrglaim Mide.

Donnchad mac Murchada móir
ro gab Midi morhonóir
dá bliadain ba derb don daig
cor marbsat cland Tígernaich.

A Christ rom chunthaich hi cri
a meic Maire inginí
a Rí níne ra delb nem
do chlár Mide na maigen. Mide.

¹ Six extra stanzas follow here in R.
NOTES

All references are to MacNeill, 1913: 83-92.

The editors of LL have the following note on the ascription preceding this poem: "Fland. ċū. over Mide in Facs, but erased in MS". However, I could not see any trace of erasure in the MS; the ascription is simply written in reddish-pinkish ink which is otherwise used in decorating initials.

F6. 1-2. The LL reading might seem suspicious with clainne in both lines. R has fine in l. 2. M also has clainne, while B iv 2 and 24 A 2 agree with R here. I have opted for the R reading, although note that in stanza 3 (ll. 9-12) amsir occurs in all the four lines in LL, R and M. See remark on p. 160.

F6. 9. R has Æugaine for LL Hérimoín. This must be a scribal slip, caused by the fact that both the last line in this stanza and the first line in the next one have Æugaine. M, B iv 2 and 24 A 2 agree with LL here.

F6. 10. Both MacNeill and LL capitalise Find. I am not sure if this is a part of the name here; in his Index to *EIM* O’Rahilly lists both Núadu Fáil and Núadu Find Fáil with only one reference—and these two names actually seem to refer to the same person. *Ceir Anmann* has Nuadha Finn Fáil (Stokes, 1897: 326). In order to get alliteration in the line we should either read Núadat Find Fáil (with Find as a substantivised adjective, not being the gen. sg. masc. form with non-historical lenition of its initial consonant), or Núadat Find Fáil (with Find being the gen. sg. masc. form with non-historical lenition of its initial consonant).

F6. 14-15. The different readings in the two MSS (co Echaig LL, co hEochaid R) arose from the confusion of Echu and Echuid.

F6. 19. In order to get the correct number of syllables in LL, read the elided form of ille, le.
F6. 20. The fact that *mag* appears in this line twice might make the *LL* reading seem suspicious; however, *M, B iv 2* and *24 A 2* agree with *LL* here.

F6. 21. The *R* reading, *Congal*, is definitely a mistake here; see *AU* 480. The *R* scribe makes the same mistake again in F6. 202. *M* agrees with *LL* in both cases.

F6. 25-26. Note that the end-rhyme in *LL* and *R* is completely different. In *LL*, there is no alliteration in F6. 26; and in *R*, in F6. 25. *M* agrees with *LL* here.

F6. 27-28. *Feradaig* gives an extra syllable in *LL* in l. 28. MacNeill suggests that we read *dath* for *daith* and *Fiachach* for *Feradaig*; he seems to base his latter suggestion on *Hogan*, 1910: 161. *R* has *dath* and *Fiachach*; *M* *dath* and *Fiachach*. *Hogan*, 1910: 161 has several examples of the *R* version of the place-name, which he places in co. Westmeath. Note that in the MS the *i* in *daith* is added subscript. This is also noted by the editors of *LL*. See also the Footnote on p. 191.

F6. 32. In the MS of *LL* *Détna* resembles *cêtna* (this is noted by the editors of *LL*), and this is what the Facsimile has. MacNeill emends the Facsimile form to *Détna*. *R* has *Détna* and *M* *Détna*, which is not listed in *Hogan*. Cf. also the Note on F3. 28 on p. 62.

F6. 35. The text in *LL* is corrupt with three syllables missing. Both MacNeill and *LL* suggest that we supply *co torchair*, the latter one relying on *R*. This reading is supported by alliteration. *M* has *a-drochair*.

F6. 40. There are two syllables missing here in *LL*, and it seems that there is something erased in the text. *R* and *M* have *Lini/Líne* here. MacNeill supplies *Line*, and this is what the editors of *LL* suggest, too. This reading is also supported by alliteration.

F6. 41. There is an extra syllable in this line in *LL*. MacNeill, who had no access to the other MSS, suggests that we read *a tri* with a question-mark. However, *R* has *maith* for *LL*, *mo raith*, which will not only give us the right syllable count, but also makes more sense. *M* agrees with *R* here.
F6. 45. **Bliadain** is abbreviated in the MS of *LL*. This is not marked in the diplomatic edition, which is otherwise consistent in marking the abbreviation of this word.

F6. 49-50. The end-rhyme in *R* (**cen tār; mac Colmān**) is different from that in *L* (**cen tāir; mac Colmān**). From the linguistic point of view, both rhyming pairs would have been acceptable in *M* (tār belonged to both the o-stem and the ā-stem declension--see Vol. II, p. 45: **3.15** b; and on the gen. of masc. names ending in -ān, see Vol. II, p. 35: **3.5** a). *M* agrees with *R* here. Cf. also **cen tār; mac Eochocān** in F6. 131-132. I wonder if *LL* tāir : Colmān represents a scribal alteration?

F6. 51. Both MacNeill and the editors of *LL* note that ro marb is for ra mmarb. Note that ro marb in F6. 44 and 155 also stands for ra mmarb.

F6. 54. Here *LL* has do mac Colmān d’Fergus. In order to get the correct number of syllables, we should either read do (this is what *R* has), or follow *M*, which has deagmac instead of mac. I have opted for the first solution here. On the elision of the vowel in do, see Vol. II, p. 127: **4.4** d.

F6. 56. MacNeill has the following note on **Blattened**: "Blattene is here inflected as if it were a compound of tene, "fire." It seems to be the name of a tribe or tribal district, dat. sg. Blatiniu in the O. I. verses quoted AU 617" (= 618 in the modern edition, where this dat. sg. form is fixed by rhyme). In Hogan, 1910: 116, 117 there are more examples of the io-stem (?) inflexion than of the dental one.

F6. 59. MacNeill has the following note on this line (1913: 87): "The reading of `iiti’ as `uii’ may account for the reckoning". However, this is impossible from the metrical point of view, as even with secht, there must be elision between do and i to get the required number of syllables. With secht, there would not be any possibility for the elision of another syllable. *R* and *M* also have secht.
F6. 61. In the MS of LL the c is made on i in Subne. (This is also noted by the editors of LL.) This could represent an attempt by the scribe to highlight the rhyme with chuibde.

F6. 62. There is an extra syllable here in LL. I do not think it would be possible to elide the a after Subne in F6. 61, as I have no definite example of elision across lines/a caesura (see Vol. II, p. 128: 4.8). The R reading, which is also supported by M, B iv 2 and 24 A 2, will give us the correct number of syllables. Note that in this case we would not get alliteration—so the LL reading may represent an attempt by the scribe to get alliteration in the line.

F6. 63. MacNeill has the following note on this line: "Before de, the final d of dianblaid [= 'vigorous fame'] loses its spirant quality, and thus provides a good rhyme for Diarmait. See Meyer, Irish Metrics, preface vi." (See also Ní Dhomhnaill, 1975: 20, and Ó Cuív, 1987: 112.) Note that R has dianblait, 'vigorous strength', which also makes good sense—cf. also cen dianblait in F4. 98. M has dianblajldh here.

F6. 68. MacNeill has the following note on this line: "The placename preserved the disyllabic Doaid, which becomes one syllable in the personal name, preserved in literature, as in the previous line" (i.e. in F6. 66). For other examples of words that occur both with and without hiatus in these poems, see Vol. II, p. 17: 2.2 b.

F6. 76. The form Grann in R might represent an attempt by the scribe to get internal rhyme with all. Cf. LL Grant: alt.

F6. 86. There is one syllable missing in this line in LL. MacNeill, who did not have access to the other MSS, suggests that we could perhaps read flaith os Midi. The editors of LL, following R, suggest that we supply lāech before Mide, which is supported by alliteration. M agrees with R here.

F6. 89. On the basis of R, the editors of LL suggest that we read Muredach instead of LL Murchertach, which is what M has too. MacNeill notes that the regnal list in LL 42 also has Muredach; and this is what Jaski has as well (1994: 100). According to MacNeill, both names represent Murchad of AU 764 = 765.
F6. 98. MacNeill has the following note on Dondchaid: "This genitive is substituted for the regular Donnchada, metris causa." However, the o-stem gen. also occurs in F6. 168 and 169 (and in 115 LL), beside four examples of the u-stem gen. in this poem, so I would rather describe the u-stem genitive as the "historical" rather than the "regular" one. See also Vol. II. pp. 40-41: 3.10 a.

F6. 99. There is one syllable missing in this line in LL. MacNeill, who had no access to the other MSS, suggests that we read [ba] tair with a question-mark. Based on R, the editors of LL propose ochair for LL i táeb. With the R reading we get not only alliteration (which is also present in LL), but also internal rhyme with da-rochair.

F6. 102. MacNeill has the following note on LL chòicdaig (c:daith): "The usual form is còicedaig." (gen. sg. of còicdach, 'provincial king' according to DIL; 'province' in MacNeill's translation). I believe that this word must be the gen. sg. masc.(neut.) form of the adj. còicateach, 'fifty-fold'; in fact, this line is listed in DIL under this entry with a question-mark. R has a different construction: cuinnid comluid gèncháích (c:di), 'the champion of the struggle of the peerless? province'. M, B iv 2 and 24 A 2 have cuinnid in comhluid crithir (c:di), 'the champion of the thrilling? struggle'. I believe that there is no substantial reason for emending LL.

F6. 103. I think that the reading Chluain Chobthaig in LL is highly doubtful. R has chlainn Cobthaich here, which is what both MSS have in F6. 167 (chlaind Chobthaig). (Note that AU does not provide any help here.) The only example cited in Hogan for the supposed place-name is the afore-mentioned attestation in LL. O'Brien has Cenél Chlann Chobthaich in 1962: 455. The fact that Chluain and clainn must have been easy to confuse seems to be supported by F6. 159, where LL has oc[C]luain Iraird (which is a well-attested place-name--see Hogan, 1910: 265) beside R irard ős chlaind. Cobthaich here might refer to Cobthaich Céol Breg, son of Úgaine Már, a remote ancestor of the kings of Mide (see genealogical table in McCone, 1990: 239); so ős chlainn Chobthaig could make sense here. M and B iv 2 support the R reading, while 24 A 2 agrees with LL.
F6. 105. MacNeill and the editors of *LL* suggest that we read *Donnchada* instead of *LL Dondchaida*. *Dondchaida* must be a scribal slip or a correction, the confusion arising from the fact that both genitives (*Donnchada* and *Donnchaid*) are used in this poem. *R* and *M* have *Donnchada*. See also Vol. II, pp. 40-41: 3.10 a) (iii).

F6. 110. The lenition mark over the ł is omitted in *ard·lathius* in *LL*.

F6. 115-116. The line in *LL* lacks a syllable. Both MacNeill and the editors of *LL* suggest that we read *Dondchada* instead of *Donnchaid* in order to supply the missing syllable. This will give us internal rhyme with *borr·fada* in the next line. Another solution would be to adopt the *R* reading, and insert ēc before at·bath, which will also give us the correct syllable count. Here the internal rhyme is between *Donnchaid* and *borr·faid*. However, *M, B iv 2 and 24 A 2* support the reading *Dondchada : borr·fada*.

F6. 123. The Facsimile has *mblaid* which MacNeill emends to *mb·laid*. The MS does not have the lengthmark.

F6. 128. There is one syllable missing in this line in *LL*. MacNeill believes that it is: "probably a monosyllabic adjective after *Aed* and alliterating with *Findliath*." However, on the basis of *R*, the editors of *LL* suggest that we read *no·cor o* for *coro*, and I have accepted their suggestion. Note that with this reading we do not get alliteration in this line. *M* has *nogor ās Conall Āed Findliath*, which will give us an extra syllable.

F6. 131. Note that with the *R* reading (*in tsachair*), we do not get alliteration in the line. *M* agrees with *LL* here.

F6. 134. Based on *LL 42b* and *AU*, MacNeill speculates that maybe we should read "*a secht trí·chat ēs Banba*" (1913: 90). However, as *LL, R and M* all have *déc*, I see no linguistic or metrical reason for emending this line.
F6. 136. The editors of *LL* note that *érbaílt* is for *érbaílt* (*thrēnglāce*), which is what *R* has. *M, B* iv 2 and *24 A* 2 all have a non-palatal consonant in the first line of the couplet, and a palatal one in *érbaílt*. Altogether I have six examples of -érbaílt-érbuilt in my texts (F6. 84, 96, 136 *LL*, 152; F7. 42; F10. 36). In two of these (in the example discussed here and in F10. 36) the internal rhyme indicates that we should read the verb with a non-palatal consonant. (See also Vol. II, p. 88: 12.29).

F6. 139. MacNeill has *re* for *LL* *ro* which must be a misprint, as both the MS and the Facsimile have *ro*. The editors of *LL* have the note "sic" on this word. I take *ro* as standing for *fri*, and there are three (or maybe four--see Note on F6. 186, p. 188) other instances of *ro*/*ra* for *fri* in *LL* and also three in *R* in this poem alone (F6. 19, 166 and 180), and no occurrence of the older form; which means that *ro* was an accepted form in MIR. See also Vol. II, p. 70: 9.12. *R* has *ra* here.

F6. 140. The *R* reading *glan* seems to be corrupt here, as in the *LL* version *grian* rhymes with *Niall*. *M* agrees with *LL* here.

F6. 144. Note that neither MacNeill nor *LL* capitalise *dond*. Byrne (1973: 282) and Jaski (1994: 101) have *Donnchad Donn*; in *LL* 42* we get *Dondchad Dond mac Fláund*. *AU* 921 and 944 have no sobriquet. I have followed Byrne and Jaski here.

F6. 145. Both the MS and the Facsimile have an *n*-stroke over the *i* followed by another *n* in *binne*. Both MacNeill and the editors of *LL* emend this word to *bine*; and this is what *R* and *M* have too. The form *Donchad* in *LL* must be a misprint for MS *Dondchad*.

F6. 146. There is a syllable missing in this line in *LL*. MacNeill does not propose any emendation here. On the basis of *R*, the editors of *LL* suggest that we read *ko-fuair*, which I have accepted. *M* has *go-fuair* here.
F6. 153-154. Note that the rhyme in R is different from that in LL. There is no alliteration in R in l. 154.

F6. 155-156. We seem to have internal rhyme between got and oc here. This is the only example cited in DIL under ? got, without any meaning given. This must be the word Got, 'stammering, lisping', with a short o. According to MacNeill, this word "is an epithet applied to a branch of the dynastic line descended from Mael Sechnaill son of Mael Ruanaid" (1913: 90). Both R and M have ocog : gotgod; B iv 2 has god : rod, where the latter word could be rot, 'daring', or rod, 'fierce'. Prof. Breatnach has suggested that perhaps oc is a corruption of oile--note that in F6. 185 Got has a short o and rhymes with ole in the next line. It is also possible that originally the poet just intended near-rhyme here, and the lengthmark in LL was added by the scribe to create perfect rhyme. Note that without this example, internal rhyme is present in 36 second couplets out of 51 (see p. 159).

F6. 157. MacNeill suggests that we read ráithe instead of LL ráite with a question-mark. The editors of LL suggest the same, based on R ráithi. I have accepted this suggestion.

F6. 159. MacNeill has OC[li|luain for LL MS oc Luain. The editors of LL suggest that we read oc Cluain. Both readings seem to make sense, depending on whether we interpret this line as referring to the actual expulsion of Fergal from the place, or to the fact that Congalach reigned there. In view of scribal practices in LL the solution suggested by its editors would seem to me the more likely one. I believe that the R reading, iar tóis chlaind is a corrupt form of the place-name. Although this reading will give us alliteration in the line, internal rhyme with ùair would be lost. Both M and 24 A 2 have oc Cluain here. See also the Note on F6. 103, p. 183.

MacNeill has diaraib for LL clíaraib. This must be a misprint: both the MS and the Facsimile have clíaraib, and MacNeill's translation shows that he means clíaraib here.

F6. 160. MacNeill has the following note on LL nínro n-ùair: "The reading seems corrupt." The second n in níntro must be a scribal slip. The masc. infixed pronoun in ní(n)ro n-ùair acht òenbláudain seems to refer to a fem. noun. As there are no examples of this feature cited in SNG (265-267: 10.6), maybe it would be better to follow R and read nocon fúair here
with the same meaning ('he did not get'). \( M \) supports the \( R \) reading as it has nocha fúair. (Note that both noco n- and nocha can stand for OIr nícon--SNG: 280: 11.7.)

F6. 166. MacNeill has the following note on bord ro Liamuin: "Not intelligible to me." \( DIL \) cites this expression under bord and translates it as 'beside (?)'. Note that this is the only example of bord + fri/re/ro + noun in \( DIL \). Cf. bord fria bord risin luing 'side by side with the ship' (\( CCath. \) 2055). \( R \) and \( M \) have borbb ra/borb re, 'fierce against Liamuin'. I believe that both versions make sense.

The editors of \( LL \) have the note "sic, ra \( R \)" on ro--see the Note on F6. 139, p. 185.


F6. 169. The editors of \( LL \) have the following note on Dondchaid: "sic". This must be a misprint, as we definitely need the disyllabic genitive of Dondchad here, which will rhyme with mborrfluid. \( R \) has the same rhyming pair here.

F6. 170. There is a misprint in \( LL \) here because MS mbladain appears as mbladain. This can mislead scholars into thinking that this is a definite example of the new, MIr gen. pl. form of bliadain.

F6. 172. Unlike in \( LL \), we do get alliteration here in \( R \); as we have two variant readings which are identical in meaning ('fear-inspiring') and almost identical in form (grithgair--\( LL \); grithgair--\( R \), it is possible that the \( R \) form is the original one. I have opted for the reading of \( R \) here, all the more as \( M \) agrees with \( R \). According to \( DIL \)'s remark found under grith, this word is often confused with crith in MIr.

F6. 173. \( LL \) and \( M \) have Murchertach, while \( R \) has [Murjedach. Both MacNeill (1913: 91) and Jaski (1994: 101) have Muirchertach, although the former notes that his inclusion in the list must be an error. However, \( LL \) 5971 (42b) does list Murchertach among the kings of Mide.
F6. 182. The editors of LL expand $s$: as Shechnaill here and in F6. 200 after gen. Mael. On the other hand, in F6. 133 and 137, where Sechnaill also follows gen. Mael/Mael, the editors expand the abbreviation stroke with a non-lenited $s$. R has Sechnaill or Sechnaill in all of these lines; and note that a following closely connected word is not always lenited after the gen. of Mael in these poems—see Vol. II, p. 47: 3.16 b—so I have decided to expand the abbreviation stroke with a non-lenited $s$. See also the Note on F5. 110, p. 138.

F6. 183. In the MS the line ends with mór, so one can not know whether this word is compounded with Mide or not. MacNeill prints this as two words, while the editors of LL as one word. Note that both forms are possible both from the metrical and the semantic point of view. There are two other compounds in this poem of which Mide is the second element: echMide (F6. 146) and magMide (F6. 197), both of which are fixed by the metre.

F6. 184. MacNeill suggests that we read 'sin Chroinsi for issin ChroInse. This is what R has; we need this form, and we also need to read ChroInse as a hiatus word to get the correct number of syllables along with rinn 7 airdrinn.


F6. 186. Note that both ra scar ra bethaid ('parted him from life') and ra scar râ bethaid ('parted him from his life') are correct. R has ria, and M re. According to DIL, the construction is scaraid X fri Y.

F6. 187. The LL reading will give us an extra syllable in this line. On the basis of LL 42 and AU, MacNeill suggests that we read Róin instead of LL Rêna; the editors of LL, based on R, propose Róen. Also note that MacNeill prints Réna as the Facsimile has a lengthmark over the e; and so does the MS, which is not indicated in LL. I believe that this is important as the e could stand for ëe in MIr (SNG: 233: 3-8; cf. also eìn|f|lar : fêinned in F1. 30); however, it would be difficult to explain the a in Réna.

Based on AU 1025 and 1027, MacNeill also suggests that we read ii bliadna for LL uii. m bliadna (1913: 85). As both R and M agree with LL here, I did not change this reading.
F6. 196. The alliteration with ro feith shows that issed must be divided as iss ed.

F6. 197. MacNeill prints mag and Mide as two separate words as this is the way they appear in the MS; however, he notes that the internal rhyme with anfine requires that this should be one word. Note also the other example of incorrect division of words by the scribe in the next line (F6. 198).

F6. 198. The MS of LL has nachorban fine, which is noted by the editors of LL. MacNeill prints nach orban fine, and suggests that we read nochor b'anfine. Note that anfine rhymes with magMide in the previous line.

F6. 200. An extra stanza follows here in R, which also appears in M. This must be an interpolation because of the date (1077) which appears in it; also, there is no f. f. here, which otherwise exists in LL between 200 and 201. See also the Introduction to this poem on pp. 154-156.

On Sechnaill, see Note on F6. 182, p. 188.

F6. 201. Concerning nom. dual fichet, see Note on F5. 78 on p. 137.

F6. 204. Note that the dünad in R is different from the dünad in LL.
Mide, the homeland of Conn’s race, 
the seat of the race of mightily fierce Niall, 
heart of many-coloured Banba, 
Mide, plain of the great battle-lines.

Many kings have reigned in Mide, 
both of the [true] stock and the strange, 
since the invasion by the sons of Míl of Spain 
took possession of Inis Fáil.

From noble Hérimón’s time 
to the time of Núadú, the Fair one of Fál¹, 
from Núadú’s time down 
to the noble time of Úgaine.

Everyone from Úgaine onwards 
to Echu Feidlech of Frému, 
from wonderful Eochu the champion² 
to valiant Conn Céchtathach.

From the time of Conn of a hundred battles³ 
to the descendants of Níall, the son of Echu; 
Níall’s descendants ever since have owned

¹ See Note on p. 179.
² lit. ‘the blast (of wind)’
³ co céit cath--this is not the actual sobriquet itself, that is why I translate it here.
that plain, the great plain of Mide. Conall, the first king of Niall’s race
who reigned over smooth-maned Mide; seventeen years for him, for the ruler
until sudden death took him off.

Twenty-seven [years] in festivities for Fiachu, the son of Niall, after him;
until he died—it is no fiction—on the plain at Carn Fiachaich.

Ardgal, the son of Conall of the plundering expeditions,
seven years over populous Mide;
a draught from death’s well he drank
in the battle of Détina at the hands of the Leinstermen.

1 mag mór Mide: or ‘the plain of great Mide’, if we take mór and Mide as one word. See Note on F6. 183, p. 188.

2 mongréid is explained in DIL as an expression used in describing a ‘level and grassy surface’ under the compounds of mong.

3 don dun (R) is cited in DIL under 2 donn.

4 coro chlóemchlae ní dalb dath: There are two possibilities here. We could take ní dalb dath
as a cheville, dath being the new, o-stem type gen. pl. of dath, u, ‘colour’. However, in this case these
words would not make too much sense. DIL mentions under dalb that ní dalb is a frequently used
cheville in poetry meaning ‘it is no fiction’. DIL also lists the phrase con-imchloí dath under dath III
‘complexion, hue’, and under con-imchloí, with the translation ‘dies’. I believe that dath here is either
the subject or object of coro chlóemchlae, and ní dalb is a cheville intruding between the predicate
and the object/subject (ní dalb occurs as a cheville also in F10. 131). In this case the literal translation
would be: ‘until he changed—it is no fiction–colour/complexion’ or ‘until [his] colour/complexion
changed’—i.e. he died. Note that DIL cites coro chlóemchlae (without dath) under con-imchloí with
the translation ‘till he died’ and ní dalb dath under dalb. MacNeill’s translation (‘till he expired—it
is no obscure tale (?)’) is similar to mine.

5 DIL has the following to say about maignech: “adj. of doubtful meaning; a deriv. of maighe” (= ‘big, great’). “Freq. epithet of horses”. Then it goes on to say: “Of places (<maigen?)” (= ‘spot, place’), and then cites this line with MacNeill’s translation, ‘fielded Meath’ (1913: 87), and a question-mark. Maybe it means ‘Mide of many places’ = ‘populous’ or ‘spacious’?
Maine, the son of Cerball of Clúain,  
fifteen years of victorious face?;
35  
until he fell among the doomed ones  
on the plain in the battle of Clóenloch.

Díarmaid, the son of marauding Cerball,  
twenty years and four;  
high overking of Mide of the balances;

40  
in Mag Lini he was burnt.

Four [years] of good Colmán Mór,  
the son of Díarmaid who was a good ruler;  
Pictish Dub Sloit, the son of Trían  
slew him by the point of a stout spear.

45  
Twenty-one years afterwards  
for Colmán Bec, his brother;  
the handsome ruler of the plundering expeditions fell  
at the hands of Áed, the noble son of Anmire.

Eight years and ten without disgrace

50  
Suibne, the son of Colmán stayed;  
Áed Sláine of the spears slew [him]

---

1 drechbúada: Based on evidence in DIL, it seems to be extremely rare to get drech compounded with another noun. R has drechbúana, ‘of constant face/appearance’ = peaceful?, which is cited in DIL under the compounds of drech. M has deagbúadha, ‘of a good victory’.

2 See Footnote on F6. 79, p. 194.

3 do rúadbera; or ‘bloody’?

4 ro feith: i.e. reigned. This line is cited in DIL from R under fethid II a) ‘waits; remains, endures (?)’. DIL also calls the attention to F2. 6, fialgian fethet; however, I think that there fethid has a different meaning (‘let them attend the illustrious man’).

5 Cf. F7. 1–Sil Áeda Sláine na sleg.
in the east at the bright-waved\(^1\) sea.

Twice three years for the protector\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)champion, for Colmán's son, for Fergus;

55 bane befell\(^2\) him at last\(^3\) in the sharp battle of Blattene.

Óengus, the son of Colmán of the hundreds grasped\(^4\) valorous\(^5\) Banba;

seven years for him in Tara yonder;

60 his death Domnal inflicted\(^6\).

Conall Guthbinne, Suibne's son, three times five years fittingly; until Diarmait, the son of Áed Sláne robbed him of his vigorous fame.

65 Sixteen years surely.

---

\(^1\) *DIL* cites *oecnt stale thundgel* under the compounds of *tomm* and gives the following translation: 'bright-skinned, bright-surfaced'.

\(^2\) *frith ilach dò* lit. 'a shout of lamentation was found for him'. I think that *DIL* is mistaken in citing this example under *ilach* a) "a cry of exultation, a shout of victory [...]. By transference *victory* ?, *triumph"?*. I have opted for the meaning given under c) ('a shout of lamentation') in my literal translation.

\(^3\) Note that in *DIL* this is the only example cited for *fo dered*.

\(^4\) According to *DIL*, *glacaid* is "of rare occurrence till late Mid. and early Mod. Ir." Note that this verb occurs four times in these texts: F6. 58 *LL*, 135; F10. 97; and F12. 65 *LL*.

\(^5\) Note that *bètach* can also mean 'wanton, shameless'.

\(^6\) This is how MacNeill translates *ro derlaig*, which, I think, is the perf. sg. 3 of *do-luigi*, 'forgives, remits'. However, no meaning of this verb seems to fit into this context. *Cf.* also F10. 86: *coros derluig do Chormac*--'until he remitted it? to Cormac'.

193
Máel Dóid, the son of powerful Suibne;  
his people laid' him in the east  
in the 'Hills of Máel Doáid'.

Díarmaid, the son of keen Airmedach³,  
three-six years, he was not feeble;  
the violent Bregian, curly-locked  
Fiannahta Fledach overthrew [him]⁴.

Twenty years—it was not long—  
for Murchad, the son of Díarmaid;  
he fell in the height afterwards  
at the hands of Conall Grant, the grandson of Cernach.

Díarmaid [and] Airmedach after him⁵  
Áed [and] Colggu, five exact years;  
the four kings of Mide of the balances⁶  
were slain at Bile Teined.

Domnall, the son of great Murchad,  
an exact forty-six years⁷;  
--God gave him a long reign--,

---

¹MacNeill seems to take serig as the gen. sg. of séirech, o/á, 'given to feasting' (one example in DII.). However, serig has to rhyme with demin, so it must have a short e.

²fo-rrácsat: lit. 'left'—or maybe: in the meaning 'leaves behind (at death)'?

³Díarmaid mae Airmedaig áith; or 'the keen son of Airmedach'

⁴The object does not seem to be marked in LL (ro thasair); note that R has rod tascair.

⁵iarna: or 'after that'

⁶MacNeill has the following note on Mide na mman: 'For weighing precious metals, I take it.' (1913: 88.) Cf. F6. 39.

⁷See Footnote on F6. 181, p. 200.
until Diarmait's grandson died.

85 Ñíall, the son of Diarmait, the red flame\(^1\)
ruler of [heroic]? Mide of the smooth slopes?\(^2\):
six years in joyous kingship
until he fell at the hands of Muiredach.

Muiredach, the swift son of Domnall,
90 two years for the fully\entirely noble ruler;
he was the king of expansion without guile,
until he fell at the hands of Donnchad.

Donnchad, the son of Domnall of the [noble] looks\(^3,\)
fruitful\(^4\) Tara was his;
95 thirty years for him—-we are certain—,
until Ireland's jarl\(^5\) died.

One year in manifest kingship
for Domnall, the son of swift Donnchad;
in the east, on the side of the cliff,
100 he fell at the hands of foreigners.

---

\(^1\) in daig derg: DIL: "metaph. of a hero, king, saint".

\(^2\) This is DIL's suggestion, which appears under the compounds of lomn with a question-mark.

\(^3\) mac Domnaill na ndrech is cited in DIL under 1 drech a) 'face, countenance', along with this (=MacNeill's) translation, accompanied by a question-mark. I wonder if it would not be better to translate this word here as 'person', so we would have 'of the people'—referring perhaps to Domnall's retinue? Cf. F2. 68 (acht drech—'except the person') and F7. 101 R (fichtib drech—'with scores of people').

\(^4\) tollnech = prosperous?

\(^5\) For the meaning of 'jarl' here, see Ó Corráin, 1987: 287-293.
Muiredach, the son of active Domnall,  
the champion of the fifty-fold struggle;  
three years over the fair race of Cobthach;  
untimely death darkened him.

105 Díarmait, the son of active Donnchad,  
a year in truly good rule;  
he perished at the forest  
in the west in the battle of Ruba Conaill.

Conchobor—fair was his excellence—  
over Ireland in high sovereignty;  
a natural death died the king of the Brug,  
Donnchad's good son who was often praised.

Ten years in sovereignty—that was not feeble—,  
for him, for very fair Máel Rúanaid;  
115 the son of dear Donnchad died,  
the king of expansion and increase.

Two years was the good son's reign  
after successful Máel Rúanaid;  
him, in his place of judgement with renown,

1 mace Domnaill daith: or 'the active son of Domnall'  
2 See Note on p. 183.  
3 See Note on p. 183.  
4 mace Donchada daith: or 'the active son of Donnchad'  
5 dúnach: lit. 'who was rich in praise poems'  
6 mace Donchada dil: or 'the dear son of Donnchad'  
7 in rath: lit. 'M. R. of the fortune\grace\virtue'
Máel Sechnaill, his brother slew 1.

Noble Máel Sechnaill from Slemain
after him for seventeen years;
 after victories with renown died
the very valiant son of Máel Rúanaid 2.

Lorcán, the son of Cathal of the territories
two years in sovereignty were found;
king over vast Mide of the corn-measures,
until Áed Findlíath blinded him.

Donnchad, the grandson of hardy Conchobar,
twice six years—a period in victory?—;
by Fland of the encounter without shame
fell the son of Eochocán.

Fland, the son of wonderful Máel Sechnaill 3,
seventeen years over Banba;
--what territory did he not strongly [hold in his] grip for a while?—
until Ireland's king died.

Máel Sechnaill's grandson without fear,
three years for Conchobar;
along with bright Níall Glündub
fell the sun of the Gaels.

Domnall, the son of Fland, got one year

---

1 I take derbráthat as referring to Máel Sechnaill, the subject of the sentence.
2 mac Máel Rúanaid co rogail: or 'the son of very valiant Máel Rúanaid'
3 mac Mel Sechnaill anra: or 'the wonderful son of M. S.'
between Cluain and pointed Líamuin;
Donnchad Dond, his brother¹
slew him, although it was a crime² of fury?.

145 Donnchad, without violence or crime,
met his death in Mide of horses;
the jarl³ of Crinna got—it was permitted—,
twenty-six bright years.

Renowned Óengus got, without disgrace⁴,
150 after his father one year;
thirty hundred was the number of his troops,
until the son of Donnchad died.

Donnchad, the son of Domnall of mystery⁶,
reigned for four single years;
155 the stammering?⁷ lord of vigour slew him,
young Fergal, the son of Óengus.

¹ See Note on F6. 144, p. 185.
² I take dérbhráthair as referring to Donnchad, the subject of the sentence.
³ ciárbo glond (etc.) is cited in DIL under meaning b) 'a deed of violence, a crime' of glond; but note that this word—and consequently the whole phrase—could in theory have positive connotations. MacNeill actually says that 'the poem seems to approve of his [= Domnall's] death at his brother's hands, as AU does, saying 'quod aptum erat'' (1913: 90).
⁴ See Footnote on F6. 96, p. 195.
⁵ Fuair Óengus airdairc cen aíl: or 'Óengus, renowned without disgrace, got'
⁶ Donnchad mac Domnall diamaí (LL) diamaí (R) is cited in DIL under 1 diamaí, i, l, 'mysterious', with the translation 'secretive(?). The LL form (gen. sg. of the substantivised adj.) qualifies Domnall, while the R form Donnchad.
⁷ See Note on p. 186.
Fergal got three months with good luck\(^1\)
until Congalach expelled him
at\(^2\) Cluain Iraird of companies?,
he got but one year.

Another single year for Áed,
for the very fair son of Máel Rúanaid;
he met death in his contest of battle
at the hands of Domnall, the son of Donnchad.

Domnall, three times one year,
the half-king\(^3\) beside? Liámuin;
a misfortune for the race of Cobthach\(^4\) of throngs
was the death of majestic\(^5\) Donnchad's son\(^6\).

Carlus, the son of Conn, the son of Donnchad,
a period of six years of expansion;
there the descendant of Fland of Fál fell,
where the Foreigners raised a fear-inspiring?\(^8\) shout.

---

1 **go rath:** or 'with grace, virtue, prosperity'

2 See Note on p. 186.

3 MacNeill has the following note on *lethri* in F2. 63: "By *lethrig*, 'half-kings,' Flann means those who ruled part of Ireland and did not acknowledge another as king of all Ireland, not those who were joint-kings of Ireland, for he has named the joint-kings, Domnall and Forggus, Baetán and Eochaid" (1913: 54). I wonder if the same applies to this example, too. Note that *AU* 952 has *ridomna* for *LL lethri* and *R, M lăechri*.

4 See Note on p. 187.

5 See Note on *F6. 103*, p. 183.

6 **drecchniadaig:** lit. 'of noble face'

7 **meic Donndchaid drecchniadaig:** or 'of the majestic son of Donnchad'

8 **grithgair:** lit. 'a quavering shout'; there are three examples cited for this word in *DIL* under the compounds of *1 grith*. See also Note on p. 187.
Muirchertach of authority—you have that—, four times four years;

he met overthrow¹ at fair Druim Críaig

at the hands of Domnall, the son of Congalach.

Five years for good Mide,

waste, without houses, without a good ruler;

Fergal plundered every family

at the end² of Domnall’s reign.

An exact forty-five years³,

the reign of Máel Sechnaill who was rich in steeds⁴;

the king of great Mide⁵ with sweetness,

he died a natural death in CróInis.

Máel Sechnaill Got, four years⁶,

an evil death parted him from (his) life;

seven years of Róen with throngs of bards⁷,

until the battle in Móin Milán.

¹ forlund: lit. ‘superiority in numbers’—or ‘oppression’?

² ra dered = after? MacNeill has the following note on this stanza: "LL 4 [= 42] says ‘Meath was a waste for five years through Fergal s.o. Oengus (deposed, 40 [=F6. 157-160]) after the death of Domnall Ua Néill’ (in 980)" (1913: 91).

³ I believe that DIL is mistaken in citing cóic bliadhna cethrachat cóir under cóir 5 Adv. with a question-mark. I think that this is the gen. sg. masc. form of the adj., qualifying cethrachat. Cf. also F6. 82.

⁴ Note that this is the only example cited in DIL under echmór (compounds of ech).

⁵ rí mórMide: or ‘the great king of Mide’? See Note on p. 188.

⁶ rubhín rib dáim: I have given DIL’s translation here, which appears under 2 ruibne, ‘a large number, multitude’. MacNeill has ‘with throngs of bands’ (1913: 91).
Domnall, his period\(^1\) was two years,
until he fell at the hands of Máel Challann;
he was king of Mide of the millshafts;
after him reigned Conchobor.

After dear Domnall of bright form
he reigned over Tara of territories\(^2\);
two years and four firm tens,
so long lasted Conchobor.

Conchobor of the good plain?\(^3\) of Mide,
the high prince was not a stranger;
at the hands of Murchad, the son of Fland,
Máel Sechnaill’s grandson fell.

Seven kings, forty mighty kings,
after Conall of Brega--it is not a small company--,
down to Conchobor of the bright deeds,
is the number that ruled Mide.

---

\(^1\) a band; i.e. reign

\(^2\) for Temraíg tírig; or ‘over wide-ruling Tara’?

\(^3\) magMide; or mag- = intensifying prefix? (‘of good, strong Mide’)
SÍL ĀEDA SLÁNE NA SLEG (F7)

INTRODUCTION

MSS: LL 185b61
    R 164b21

LL is clearly legible all through.
Most of the text in the Facsimile of R is clearly legible.

Previous edition and translation:
MacNeill, 1913: 92-99 (from LL).

Ascription on top of the folio just preceding this poem: "Fland Manistrech ęcinit". This appears in pinkish ink which is slightly different from the pink ink used elsewhere in the MS and it may actually be a later addition. (Note that this is not mentioned in LL).

On editorial principles, see Introduction to F6, pp. 155-156.
ANALYSIS OF THE METRE

Metre: debide scailte (fota) \(7^x 7^{x+1}\) or \(2 7^x 7^{x+1}\).

Stanza structure
The following is only valid if we take ll. 121-122 to be an incomplete stanza (see Notes), and not as part of a six-line stanza. In narrative verse one can get both four- and six-line stanzas alternating in the same poem (cf. the poem in LL 136 following); however, as this would be the only example of this phenomenon in the poems I have examined, I would be inclined to take these two lines as part of an incomplete four-line stanza.

\(7^17^27^3\): 1, 3, 6, 7, 9, 14, 15, 20, 23, 25 (10)
\(7^17^17^2\): 12, 17, 21 (see Note on F7. 83, p. 220; 28, 32, 34, 36, 37 (8)
\(7^27^17^2\): 2, 16, 27, 29 (4)
\(7^27^17^3\): 4, 5, 13, 18 (4)
\(7^37^17^3\): 22, 24, 33 (3)
\(7^17^37^3\): 11, 30 (2)
\(7^27^17^3\): 10, 19 (2)
\(7^17^27^3\): 8 (1)
\(7^17^27^3\): 35 (1)

Stanzas without rinn 7 airdrinn: \(7^17^17^3\): 26 (1)
Incomplete: \(7^17^2\): 31 (1)

My figures for rinn (number of couplets with \(7^x7^{x+1}\) per total number of couplets) are \(59/73=80\%\). Ó Cuív’s are \(57/68=84\%\). The difference in the total number of couplets arises from the fact that Ó Cuív took only 34 quatrains into consideration, although there are 35 complete stanzas and one incomplete one in LL. In addition to this, there is an extra stanza in R, which I have included in my text. There are 15 couplets which do not fulfil the \(7^x7^{x+1}\) requirement. Note that Ó Cuív subtracted the couplets which contain the rhymes discussed below as well as the case when one consonant corresponds to two (Cuilt : bláthbuic in F7. 25-26).

Stressed e + palatal consonant rhymes with unstressed i/ə + palatal consonant (Carney, 1964: xxxiii) in F7. 143-144 (sein : eolaig). Maybe we should read sain here, which is what
R has.


*Fidrad freccomail* is not present between stanzas 3+4 (ll. 12-13), 4+5 (ll. 16-17), 6+7 (ll. 24-25), 7+8 (ll. 28-29), 12+13 (ll. 48-49), 13+14 (ll. 52-53), 15+16 (ll. 60-61), 17+18 (ll. 68-69), 29+30 (ll. 116-117), 33+34 (ll. 130-131), 35+36 (ll. 138-139), 36+37 (ll. 142-143) (12).

*F. f.* is between f and f in 1+2 (ll. 4-5).

*F. f.* is present between an unstressed and a stressed syllable in 1+2 (ll. 4-5), 14+15 (ll. 56-57).

*F. f.* is present between g and e in 2+3 (ll. 8-9).

*F. f.* could be present between f and a vowel in 20+21 (ll. 80-81) -- provided that *i cath* is in the dat., and *Forcalaid* is lenited.

*F. f.* is present between the same two words in 9+10 (ll. 36-37).

Stanza 31 is incomplete, so one cannot say anything about *f. f.* here.

The figures for *f. f.* are **23/35=66%**.

*Alliteration* is not present in F6. 3, 6, 11, 16, 18, 20, 27, 28, 32, 36, 40, 42, 43, 44, 46, 48, 50, 51, 55, 58, 59, 60, 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, 76, 80, 81, 83, 88, 91, 93, 94, 102, 103, 108, 110, 112, 125, 128, 129, 130, 132, 133, 134, 136, 142, 143 (50).

Alliteration is not between the last two stressed words of line *d* in F7. 146. (1)

My figures for alliteration are **95/146=65%**, and Ó Cuív's **87/136=64%**. Again, the slight difference can be explained by the fact that he did not take all the stanzas into consideration.

Note that there is alliteration in *R* in F7. 59.

In order to get alliteration in F7. 78, *mac* must be unstressed (construction: X *mac* Y).

In this case, all the stressed words in the line will alliterate.

If we read *Dún Sinchi* in F7. 95 as the acc., then this will give us alliteration in the line.

Note that this is what *R* has.

We can only get alliteration in F7. 107 if both *mac* and *meic* are stressed.

In F7. 33, 117 and 118 the lenition of *F* is fixed by alliteration. In the first case, it is
marked only in *LL*, while in the other two cases in both MSS.

We can only get alliteration in F7. 124 if mac is stressed (construction: X mac Y).

We can only get alliteration in F7. 126 if Há is stressed.

**Internal rhyme** in the first couplet (4/37=11%--with the incomplete stanza--see Note on F7. 121-122, p. 222):

sil : ríg (F7. 1-2)  
iarla : mbláadna (F7. 131-132)  
Cernaig : Bregmaig (F7. 53-54)  
Dondchaíd : torchair (F7. 139-140)

**Internal rhyme** in the second couplet (7/36=19%):

Cairn : maidm (F7. 35-36)  
-rochair : scothair (F7. 51-52)  
aidid : Ailig (F7. 67-68)  
rath : cath (F7. 79-80)  
Ciannain : ciállmáir (F7. 99-100)  
mBuidén : culén (F7. 137-138)  
Rúaid? : crúaid (F7. 103-104) (only in R)

There is imperfect rhyme between Dollaid and rochair in F7. 39-40.

Propotion of rhyming words per stressed words in d (not counting the last word, which rhymes with the final of c): 7/73=10% (my figures); 4/68=6% (Ó Cuív’s figures). Again, the second number in my calculations is different as I took more couplets into consideration. Of course, one question is whether the incomplete stanza (ll. 121-122) constitutes the first or the second couplet. If we can believe the space left out in *LL*, then this is the first couplet in the stanza. Also, in R this couplet appears as the first one in the stanza, followed by ll. 123-124. (There ll. 125-126 are omitted). For a detailed discussion of this problem, see Note on p. 222.

As far as the number of rhyming words is concerned, one of these can be found in the stanza which appears only in R (ll. 103-104); also note that in F7. 99-100 a single consonant in one of the rhyming words corresponds to two consonants in the other rhyming word, so Ó Cuív probably did not take it into consideration.


1. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2):

C'C'--C'C'; C'L'--C'C'; C'C'--C'L'; L'L'--C'C'; C'L'--C'L'

Odba : ardomna (F7. 11-12) (e. r.)  
madma : findBanba (F7. 55-56) (e. r.)

Cairn : maidm (F7. 35-36) (i. r.)  
iarla : mbláadna (F7. 131-132) (i. r.)
Cnogba : comchalma (F7. 91-92) (e. r.)  Cernaig : Bregmaig (F7. 53-54) (i. r.)
mBrogda : cæmChnogba (F7. 137-138) (e. r.)

2. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L (rules 1 and 2): L"P'-C'L'
aird : bithgairg (F7. 33-34) (e. r.)  gargg : chlaidard (F7. 115-116) (e. r.)

3. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L + h (rules 1, 2, 3): C'hP-h-C'hP'
Chachta : Finnachta (F7. 35-36) (e. r.)

4. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C/L + h (rules 2 and 3): L'C'C' — C'C'
Dondchaid : torchair (F7. 139-140) (i. r.)

5. One consonant corresponds to two: a consonant from class 1 (C') or L (L') is added:
L'-L'C'; L"P'-P' ?
Ciannain : ciallmair (F7. 99-100) (i. r.)  Cuitl : bláthbuic (F7. 25-26) (e. r.)

Elision
a) Unstressed short vowel preceded by another vowel: twelve examples. In two cases
elision depends on whether we read 7 as is orocus (F7. 13 and 59). In ten instances, the
metre requires elision (F7. 18, 38, 55, 74, 75, 85, 97 R, 111, 113, 131 LL). In F7. 18 the
metre does not require elision in R if we read 7 as is. R has a different construction in
F7. 113 and F7. 131. (10/12=83%)

b) Unstressed short vowel + unstressed long vowel: seven examples. In six cases the
metre requires elision: F7. 14, 30, 54, 66, 90, 111. In F7. 26 R the metre requires elision
between bliadna and òs; and in LL this requirement depends on whether we read Boind
as a disyllable or not (see Notes). (6/7=86%)

c) Dropping of the initial vowel of an unstressed word (prep. + poss. pron./article): F7.
38 (after a vowel). There is no dropping in F7. 36 (at the beginning of the line).

d) The reduction of coro to cor and of niro to nir: F7. 44, 128 (not indicated in spelling
in either case--see Notes on pp. 128 and 223). Note that R has a different construction
in both F7. 44 and 128, where the metre does not require the dropping of the o.

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e) do\lde + V; do\lde + f: two examples. The metre requires elision in both cases (F7. 46, 50.

Dúnad

The first three words of the first line (síl Áeda Sláne) are repeated at the end. See Vol. II, p. 130: 5.4
Síl Úeda  Sláne na sleg
diar ásair mór ríg raele
innisfet ara mathius
a n-aíde a n-ardflathius.

5 Ba flaith Úed Sláne na slat
ré chóic mblíadan ceithrachat
co torchair in rí do rind
la Conall ngasta nGuthbind.

Conall Lòeg Breg ós Bòin[d] bricce
10 a ceithir don ríg roglíce
do-rochair i cath Odba
la Óengus n-óc n-ardomna.

Conall Cerna ocus Clettig
cóic bhládna ós cach bannlettir
15 lasin Conall nGuthbind ngle
do-rochair oc Loch Threithne.

Ailil Crundere cíarraig

---

1 nÚeda R
2 dó sásar LL
3 rogel R
4 a n-ardflaitheu R
5 ré cóc bhládan ceithrachat R
6 Guthbind R
7 n-ard n-imcholma R
8 Congal? AU 634
9 ic R
10 Treithne R
11 Craiptine R
cethri bliadna acht öenblíadain\(^1\)
lasin\(^2\) Conall ngérglice\(^3\) glan\(^4\)
20 do-rochair oc\(^5\) Æth Goàn.

Gabais Diarmait, Blaithmæc bá[i]n
a cóic fi[š]let ní furáil\(^6\)
dá ardrí\(^7\) Hërend uile\(^8\)
ros marb in teidm tondbuide\(^9\).

25 Conaing mac Congail Cuilt
trí bliadhna ös Boind\(^10\) bláthbuic\(^11\)
co torchair isin deabaid
la Diarmait mac Airmedaig\(^12\).

Sechnassach mac Blaithmeic braiss
30 sè bliadhna ös Bregmaig barrglais
Dub Dún ré Corprí\(^13\) co rath
leis do-rochair Sechnasach.

Sé bliadhna Chind Fælad\(^14\) aird

---

\(^1\) secht mbliadhna oclus öenblí[a]dain R
\(^2\) la LL
\(^3\) nglic LL
\(^4\) nglan R
\(^5\) hic R
\(^6\) nírb fu[ ]n? R
\(^7\) ardríg R
\(^8\) uili R
\(^9\) tennbuide R
\(^10\) See Note on p. 218.
\(^11\) cethri bliadhna ös Boin[d] bathbuic R
\(^12\) n-Airmedaich R
\(^13\) Cairpri R
\(^14\) Cind Fælad R
meic Blaithmeic būadaig bithgaig

do-rochaír rí Cairn Chachta\(^1\)
issin maidm la Finnachta.

Finnachta fichi blūadan
bāc i nHēriu\(^2\) 'ca\(^3\) ardfrārad
i nGrelleig Dollaid co ndath

do-rochaír la Congalach.

Congalach a cethair cluin
co n-ērbuilt i Taltenbruig\(^4\)
blūadain (i) flathius\(^5\) Nēill na ndath
coro marb in cáem Ìrgalach\(^6\).

45 Ìrgalach mac Conaing cain
ouch mblūadna d'éis\(^7\) meic Cernaig
do-rochaír\(^8\) Ìrgalach án
tess oc Inis Mac\(^9\) Nessán.

Dā blūadain ós Bōin[d] bladaig

d'Amalgaid mac Congalaíg
do-rochaír la Conall glè\(^10\)
tair oc\(^11\) Cill scothair\(^12\) Scīre.

\(^1\) Cachta R
\(^2\) i ndHēireo R
\(^3\) 'cō R
\(^4\) i Tailltenbruig R
\(^5\) flathius R
\(^6\) cono ro marb Ìrgalach R
\(^7\) a secht dar ēis R
\(^8\) co Torchair R
\(^9\) Macce R
\(^10\) nglè R; glētair glè LL; see Note on p. 219.
\(^11\) i R
Conall Grant húla Cernaig crúaid
sé bluadna ós Bregmaig bratrúaid¹
55 do-rochair² i lló in madma
la Fergal na³ findBanba.

Bliadain Fogartaig na feb⁴
có torchair i cath⁵ Delgthen
rí Fótla ocus rí Fabair⁶
la Cinãed mac Írgalaig⁷.

Cinãed cóic bliadna fá⁸ dó
ós Hérind ní himmargó
ro marb⁹ Flathbertach find Fáil
i cath Dromma caiss Corcáin.

65 Conaing Crach costid rí¹⁰ sain
deich mbluadna aile¹¹ ós Bregmaig
fúair aidid¹² la Æed¹³ cíar fell¹⁴

---
¹² scothmair R
¹ bratbúain R
² co torchair R
³ fial R
⁴ Fogartach na fled R
⁵ Cill R
⁶ ardri Fótla ocus Fabair R; first a is made on o in Fabair in LL
⁷ mac n-Írgalaich R
⁸ fa R
⁹ ro mmarb R
¹⁰ ris R
¹¹ aíl R
¹² a díth R
¹³ gloss: Allân
¹⁴ la hÆed cíarb Ífell R
i ndorus Ailig [F]rigrend\textsuperscript{15}.

Sé blíadna rún\textsuperscript{2} co rogail\textsuperscript{3}

\begin{align*}
70 \quad & \text{Inreachtach mac Dúngalaig} \\
& \text{i nDún\textsuperscript{4} Chromtha cétai} \text{g}al\textsuperscript{5} \\
\text{and do-rochair la Dúngal.}
\end{align*}

Dúngal Cnogba co cliaraib
a sé fa\textsuperscript{6} dó acht ōenblíadain
\begin{align*}
75 \quad & \text{i cath Emna Macha i-mmaig} \\
& \text{do-rochair mac Amalgaid}\textsuperscript{7}.
\end{align*}

\textit{Ocht mbliadna} rádit na raind
\begin{align*}
\text{do Chongalach mac Conaing} \\
\text{Dondchad co rath co rogail}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
80 \quad & \text{rod marb i cath Forcalaid.}
\end{align*}

Ocht mbliadna co cath Líac Find
dó do Diarmaid ba deglind
\begin{align*}
\text{i ndígail abbad}\textsuperscript{9} Tuilén} \\
\text{dod-rat Dondchad}\textsuperscript{10} i nderglén.
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
85 \quad & \text{Dá ndeich sé blíadna ar bladaib}
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{1} Frigrenn \textit{R} \\
\textsuperscript{2} ruirac \textit{LL} \\
\textsuperscript{3} ragail \textit{R} \\
\textsuperscript{4} [ ] Dún \textit{R} \\
\textsuperscript{5} ngal \textit{R} \\
\textsuperscript{6} fo \textit{R} \\
\textsuperscript{7} hAmalgaid \textit{R} \\
\textit{The following stanza is missing in \textit{R.}} \\
\textsuperscript{9} apad \textit{R} \\
\textsuperscript{10} do-rat Diarmaid \textit{R}
flaithius Flaind¹ meic Congalaig
oc Manistir móir molaim
do-rochuir hūa cáemChonaing².

Cernach hūa Congalaig caiss
sé bliadna ós Taltin³ tōebglais
do-rochair i Taig Cnogba
la Cínáed crūaid comchalma⁴.

Cínáed dar éisi⁵ Cernaig
a sé déc i tromThemraig
ié⁶ Dún Sinche rīa⁷ samain
rod marb⁸ hūa crūaid Congalaig.

Cummasch cóic bliadna⁹ i fos
flaith ós Bregmaig na mbendchros
i nDaim Līac Ciannāín canair
marb hūa cīallmāir¹⁰ Congalaig¹¹.

Conaing mac Flaind fichtib drech
bliadain dá deich ar cach leth
i Tochrai Rūaid? forin maig
at-bath hūa crūaid Congalaigh.

¹ do flaithius Flaind LL.
² úa cáemChonaing R
³ Tailltin R
⁴ cáem comcholma R
⁵ éisse R
⁶ oc R
⁷ Sinchi iar R
⁸ ro marb R
⁹ dá bliadain LL---see Note on p. 220.
¹⁰ cīalmar R
¹¹ The next stanza is omitted in LL.
Cináed cóic bliadna cía bé
có ár torsech Treóte
coro bádéd mac meic² Flaind
lasin flaith la Māel Sechnaill.

Secht mblíadna fichet sain sluind
ropá³ rí Fland mac Conaing
i cath Chilli⁴ Húa nDaigri a diach⁵
do-rochair la Áed Findlíath.

Fichi bliadna a cóic cen chrád⁶
mac Cellaig find Flannacán⁷
do-rochair la slúag Gall gargg⁸
i mmulluch Cerna chlaidard⁹.

Secht mblíadna Māel Finniáin¹⁰ áin
degmeic¹¹ luchair [F]lanacán
ic Inber na mBárc¹² co mblaid¹³
at-bath húa cōem Congalaich¹⁴.

---
¹ co hár R
² meic R
³ ropu R
⁴ Cillí? R
⁵ a ndiach R
⁶ fichi cóic bliadna cen chrád R
⁷ find Flannacán R
⁸ ngarg R
⁹ cladard R
¹⁰ Finneáin R
¹¹ dagmeic R
¹² oc Inbiur na mBárcc R
¹³ Last two words missing in LL.
¹⁴ cháem Congalach LL
Tri chőic bliadán ba blad¹ bil
dá² brathair do Māel Mithig³.

Cóic bliadna⁴ Lorcán cen lën⁵
rod marb⁶ Fland mac Māel Finné(i)n⁷
¹²⁵ ⁸secht mblíadna Flaind cosin cath
i torchair la Hū Echach.

Āed mac Māel Mithig mīadaig
nīrō chaith acht dí ōenblíadain⁹
do-rochair Āed in Braga¹⁰
¹³⁰ la Ōengus¹¹ mac nDondchada.

Congalach int ĭarla int abb¹²
ro chaith secht mblíadna fichet
la slúag Lagen ocus Gall
do-rochair oc Taig¹³ Giugrand.

¹³⁵ Glanfiche¹⁴ bliadán co mblaid
do Domnall mac Congalaig

¹ ba blad is missing in LL.
² dí R
³ Concerning the stanza division here, see Note on p. 222.
⁴ These two words are missing in LL.
⁵ Lorccáin ra láim R
⁶ cor marb R
⁷ Finneāin R
⁸ The next two lines are missing in R.
⁹ acht ōenblíadain R
¹⁰ co torchair Āed in Braga R
¹¹ la hŌengus R
¹² Congalach ĭarla cen ec R
¹³ i Tig R
¹⁴ glanfichi R
oc Taig Húa mBuidhín¹ mBrogda
do-cer culén cáem Chnogba.

Óenblíadain Donchaid na ndám
140 co torchair la claint Colmáin
dí bhliadain Murchertaig² maíll
có torchar la Mé³ Sechnaill.

Íarra lat ñarmothá sein⁴
a baírd Fintain a eòlaig
145 òr nach fail⁵ sunta có se
sáegul síl Æda Sláine. S.

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¹ oc Taich i mBuidhín R
² dà bliadain Muireadach R
³ Mæ[1] R
⁴ iarair lat ñomothá sain R
⁵ ùar nà fil R
NOTES

All references are to MacNeill, 1913: 92-99.

F7. 2. The reading of R (diar ásair--‘from whom ... sprang’, as opposed to LL dia sásar--‘by whom ... are sated’) makes a lot more sense here. The LL scribe must have mistaken the r for an s. (Although there is the slight possibility that the LL form is either the pres. subj. passive or the fut. passive of saigid--‘by whom ... were sought out’--on the confusion of the subj. and the fut., see SNG: 315: 12.120.) For other examples with this particular deponent ending in the preterite and perfect of ásaid, see DIL. Note that this line is cited in DIL both under sásaid (with MacNeill’s translation: ‘by whom many brilliant kings are sated’) and ásaid.

F7. 6. As R has cethrachat for LL x, I have extended this form accordingly. The editors of LL have cethorchat.

F7. 13. Based on AU 634, MacNeill suggests that we read Congal instead of LL Conall. R has Conall, too.

F7. 18. There is a substantial difference between the two MSS in the number of years attributed to Ailill (cethri bliadna acht ēnbliaidain in LL and secht mbliadna ocus ēnblia[al]dain in R). Both versions are possible metrically. This difference must have arisen from the fact that the four minims used for writing cethri could easily be confused with a u for ‘five’ plus two minims. The annals are of no help here.

F7. 19. There are two syllables missing here in LL. MacNeill, who had no access to R, suggests that we read la Conall nGuthbinn nglice nglan (1913: 92) for LL la Conall nglic nglan. R has lasin Conall ngērglice nglan (also cited by the editors of LL), which will give us the correct syllable count. Note that the mark of nasalisation before glan is not omitted here. (See also Vol. II, pp. 29-32: 2.30.)

F7. 21-22. Neither MacNeill, nor the editors of LL take note of the problem with the rhyme in bán : furáil. The last two letters are stained in LL, and as far as I can see, they could also stand for ll or n. R has nirb ful[j]n?. Maybe this word stands for urán--heed,
attention? Or should we read báin (nom. pl. masc.) qualifying Diarmait and Blaithmac?

F7. 26. LL iii. could be expanded both as trí and as teóra. In the latter case, there would be elision between bliadna and òs, and Boind would have to be monosyllabic. With trí, Boind could be both a monosyllable and a disyllable—if it is disyllabic, then elision would be necessary. Because of this ambiguous situation, I did not mark the o long. (On hiatus, see Vol. II, pp. 16-18: 2.2.)

F7. 28. MacNeill supplies an n before Airmedaig, and the editors of LL note that this is what R has. However, the n is not necessary if we take mac as a nom. sg. in app. Cf. F7. 60, which has la Cínäed mac Írgalaig.

F7. 38. LL has báic i nHériu 'ca ardriarad, and R báic i ndHèireo 'ca ardriarad. MacNeill has the following note on the LL line: "Read bóit i nHériu cá hardriarad or bóit in ind Hériu cá ardriarad, 'Ireland was obeying his high rule.' O’Reilly gives riaraídm, ‘I serve,’ but riarugadh, ‘regulating.’ In the absence of proof to the contrary I take either sense as admissible." (However, note that riarugud is the vn. of riaraigid, ‘serves; subdues’, and the verbal noun of riraid, ‘serves’ is riarad.) The editors of LL seem to take the first and n as the article in, as they print the LL reading as in Hériu. As in the poems I have examined I have found only one example of Ériu used with the definite article (lán ind Hériu—F5. 17), I believe that the dat. sg. is more likely here.

In DIL there are two meanings cited for riad, the vn. of riraid: ‘serving’ and ‘ministering to’. This line is cited under the first one. There is also a third meaning cited for the verb: ‘subdues’. Maybe the meaning of the verbal noun is connected to this third meaning here.

F7. 39. Although MacNeill has Grellach Dollaig in his translation (1913: 96), the forms cited from the earliest sources in Hogan seem to indicate Dollaid (1910: 450).

F7. 43. There is an extra syllable in this line in LL. Both the editors of LL (based on R) and MacNeill suggest that we omit the i, and I have accepted this suggestion.

F7. 44. MacNeill has the following note on this line: "One syll. in excess. Read cor marb? The i of this name [= Írgalach] [in stanzas] 11, 12 is probably correct, otherwise it would
have such variants as Ergalach, Airgalach, Urgalach, as in irdaire, &c." As far as the syllable-count is concerned, I have accepted MacNeill's suggestion (see SNG: 279: 11.3 and Vol. II, p. 127: 4.4 b); note that R has cono ro marb Írgalach, which will also give us the correct syllable count.

Also note that the name Írgalach does have variants in Air- and Ir- (Uhlich, 1993: 155-156). Uhlich cites rhyming examples both for short and long I. His explanation is that the form with Í is the later one, based on popular etymology (ir ‘anger, ill-feeling’).

F7. 51-52. The MS of LL has gletair gle here, where the second gle must be the result of dittography, as noted by the editors of LL, while the Facsimile has tair with an ar- compendium. MacNeill divides these two lines correctly in his notes (i.e. reads gle \ tair oe). There is no dittography in R here.

F7. 54. R ós Bregmaig bratbúain (‘over the plain of Brega of an enduring cover’?) seems to be a corruption of LL ós Bregmaig bratrúaid (‘over the ruddy-vestured plain of Brega’).

F7. 58. Both the editors of LL and MacNeill note that there is a gloss on i cath (Delgthen): vel i cill. MacNeill also adds the following remark: "Cenn Delgden, AU 621, 723; so Tig., with Delgen in the latter case. For the change from Cenn to Cell cp. Cenn Losnado Cell Osnado" (cf. F3. 21-22 Chind [...] Lasnado and F4. 9 Cell Osnaid). R has i Cill Deilgthe[n].

F7. 67. Note that the R reading, a dith, spoils the internal rhyme in this couplet (LL has aidid : Ailig).

F7. 68. Both the editors of LL and MacNeill suggest that we supply a lenited F before Rigrend. R has Frigrenn, and I have also supplied the lenited f. See also Vol. II, p. 6: 1.18.

F7. 69. There is an extra syllable in this line in LL. R has rún for LL ruirac, and the R reading is proposed as an emendation by the editors of LL. MacNeill, who had no access to R, believed that ruirac "may be a phonetic writing of ruirech ['king'], before co, and I have so translated. Perhaps we should read rith."
F7. 77-80. This stanza is missing in R.

F7. 77. Based on AU 778, MacNeill suggests that perhaps we should read ocht mbliadna déc rádit rainn here.

F7. 83. MacNeill has the following note on Tuilén:

"The metrical usage indicates that Tuilén is taken here as two distinct words, Tuil En or Tu Lén, for in debide and most other metres the second of two rhyming words must rhyme to all the syllables of the first--see the rhymes of this poem for examples. [...] The modern English form "Dulane" may also indicate two separate words, of which the first became unstressed." (1913: 94)

If we did not accept this solution, then this would be the only stanza without rinn 7 airdrinn in the second couplet in these poems (see SMF, Vol. II, p. 104); moreover, the rhyme would be faulty. Note that R agrees with LL here.

F7. 84. Diarmait in R must be a scribal error; this name occurs in F7. 82 too, and probably this is why the scribe wrote it down again instead of Dondchad. AU 786 corroborates the LL reading.

F7. 86. There is an extra syllable in this line in LL, which is not noted in the diplomatic edition. MacNeill suggests that we omit do from do flathius and read flathius. This suggestion is supported by the R reading, which does not have the do.

There seems to be a dot over the F of Flaind in the phrase do flathius Flaind in the MS of LL, although this does not appear in the diplomatic edition. This would give us alliteration in the LL reading, which is otherwise corrupt as noted above.

F7. 91. Note that the editors of LL print Taig with a lower-case initial. Cf. F7. 134 oc Taig Giugrand and 137 oc Taig Háa mBuidën mBrogda, where they use capitals. I presume that this is a part of the place-name, so I have capitalised the t.

F7. 97. There is an extra syllable here in LL. MacNeill solves the problem by reading Cummascach dá bláadna i fos with elision for Cummascach dá bládain i fos. However, I have not got a single certain example of the pl. form of the noun following dá in the
poems I have examined. (See Vol. II, p. 54: 5.8 a.) R has cóic bliadna, which gives us the correct syllable count. Concerning the annalistic evidence, MacNeill has the following to say on the preceding couplet, which discusses the reign of Cínáed (this evidence is significant when it comes to calculating the reign of Cummassach):

"Cínáed †834, s.o. Conaing, is called k. of Bregha by the Four Masters and Chron. Scotorum, but k. of Tethba by AU, which also records the death of Conaing, k. of Tethba, eleven years earlier, so that the other chronicles and Flann may be mistaken in including the Cínáed among the kings of Bregha." (1913: 98).

According to AU, Cummassach died in 839--so the 'five years' in R may actually represent the original text. Also, note that the only way to get alliteration in this line is to adopt the R reading.

F7. 100. MacNeill has the following note on this line: "The rhyme requires Ciannáin : ciál llamár, but this reading involves (1) the archaic -máir = móir (2) the transposition of the adjective which, if genitive, must belong to Congalaig. We could read Ciannán (gen.): ciállmár or substitute éc huí (gen.) for marb hiúa." However, I do not see any problem here: ciál llamár is simply a compound formed after long vowels in unstressed syllables had been shortened (see Thur. §43); the "archaic" form, máir, occurs in F5. 54 and 118, and it is fixed by rhyme in both cases; the preposed genitive does occur occasionally in these poems (see Vol. II, p. 97: 13.2); moreover, I have several examples where one consonant corresponds to two in rhyming words (see Vol. II, pp. 113-116: 2.2). R has Ciánain and ciál llamár respectively, so in order to get internal rhyme, one should read either Ciánain or ciál llamár.

F7. 101. This stanza is omitted in LL. After consulting the genealogical table of the kings of Cnogba, North Brega in Jaski (1994: 98), I have included this stanza in the main text, as the Conaing mentioned there is the 'missing' ruler between Cummaeschach and Cínáed. His death is mentioned in AU 849 (848). The scribe probably omitted this stanza as both this and the previous stanza end in the genitive of Congalach.

F7. 103. The meaning would require a place-name in this line. However, I could not find anything in Hogan which might be identified with *Tochrai Rúaid.
F7. 106. MacNeill notes that the metre requires that we read Treôte as a trisyllable.

F7. 113. There is a misprint in LL where bl- is expanded as bliadna, because one gets an extra syllable in this way. MacNeill is right in expanding it as bliadna, as the last vowel here can be elided providing us with the correct number of syllables. R has fichi cóic bliadna cen chrád here, which will also give us the correct syllable count.

F7. 114. The i in Flannacain (chrád) in R is a scribal error.

mac Cellaig find Flannacán: Alliteration makes the LL reading, find, more likely here than the R reading, find. In LL, find refers to mac or to Flannacán (‘Cellach’s fair son’ or ‘Cellach’s son, fair Flannacán’), while in R, find must refer to Cellaig (= ‘the son of fair Cellach, Flannacán’).

F7. 119-120. MacNeill divides these two lines as

Ic Inber na mBárc at-bath
hüa cháem Congalach.

and adds the following note: "Two syll. wanting, and the verse is otherwise corrupt, Congalach being nom. The state of the next two stanzas indicates, perhaps, that the exemplar was partly illegible to the scribe." (See Note on F7. 122 below.) However, the editors of LL, based on R, supply comblad (co mblaid R) after mBárc, and transfer at-bath to the next line. I have accepted this solution. R has at-bath hüa cőem Congalaich (co mblaid) in F7. 120. The whole line in F7. 120 LL is corrupt.

F7. 121. There are two syllables missing in this line in LL. Based on R, the editors of LL supply ba blad after bliadan.

F7. 122. Note that one line (i.e. space for one couplet) is left out in the MS of LL after this line. Space is also left out for the two missing words in F7. 123. (The space left out is also clearly visible in the Facsimile.) It looks as if the scribe was copying from a MS which was not legible in this place. (See also MacNeill’s note cited under F7. 119-120.)

The editors of LL only note that the first two words in F7. 123 were erased—however, I could see no trace of this. I believe that the presence of this space alters the division of couplets; I would consider ll. 121-122 to be an incomplete stanza, and I would put ll. 123-124 together with 125-126, just like MacNeill and unlike LL, where it is the latter two
lines which appear separately as an incomplete stanza. The editors of LL were probably influenced by the fact that ll. 121-124 appear as one stanza in R, and ll. 125-126 are omitted. See also the discussion under Stanza types, p. 203.

F7. 123. There are three syllables (not two, as MacNeill says) missing in this line in LL. Based on R, the editors of LL supply cóic bliadna, and I have accepted this emendation. See also the Note on F7. 122.

F7. 124. The editors of LL suggest that we read Finnén for Finnéin in order to get the rhyme with lén. Note that the last n in Finnéin is not visible in the MS. There is no problem with the rhyme in R, which is completely different from that in LL: ra lám : Finneáin.

F7. 125-126. The editors of LL note that these two lines are missing in R. For the division of stanzas, see the note on F7. 122.

F7. 128. There is an extra syllable in this line in LL. MacNeill suggests that we read nir chait for nír chait. For other examples when the o of ro is dropped after a conjunct particle, see Vol. II, p. 127: 4.4 b. R does not have dh, which will also give us the correct syllable count.

F7. 131. Based on R, the editors of LL suggest that we read cen ec for int abb in order to get the rhyme with fichet. However, this will give us an extra syllable, so one would also have to omit int before iarla (which is omitted in R). The rhyme between fichet and ec would be perfect, however, the problem with ec is that it is listed with a question-mark in DIL, and a meaning is given only from Peter O’Connell’s Irish-English Dictionary (for eág and eang), ‘jag, notch, dent’, giving us ‘Congalach, the jarl without dent’—i.e. without blemish?. The problem with abb is that I have only one other example of rhyme between stressed a followed by a non-palatal consonant (Carney, 1964: xxxiii)—see Vol. II, p. 118: 2.4 b. I have no satisfactory solution to this problem.

F7. 137. R oc Taich i mBuiden seems to be a corruption of LL oc Taig Húa mBuidén. Unlike the editors of LL, I have printed Húa with an upper-case initial, which is otherwise the normal practice followed in LL when printing place-names (e.g. Chilli Húa.
nDaigri in F7. 111).

The editors of LL also print mBrogda with a lower-case b. This is the only example cited in Hogan of Taig (not Tech) Úa mBuidén mBrogda (MacNeill was obviously not aware of this--see his Note in 1913: 99), which MacNeill translates as 'at the house of the landed Ui Buidén' (ibid). I am not sure if mBrogda is a part of the place-name or not; the nasalisation is quite puzzling here. Cf. F7. 91 i Taig Cnogba and 134 oc Taig Giugrand.

F7. 141. If MacNeill is right in identifying Murchertaech with the person of the same name who died in 995 according to AU, then the R reading (Muiredaich) is corrupt.

F7. 142. MacNeill supplies an a after the M in Mel. LL just remarks: "sic". However, I think that this is just the unstressed form of the name, so I see no reason for emending it. For other examples, see Vol. II, p. 47: 3.16 d. R has Mæll.
TRANSLATION
(based on MacNeill, 1913: 95-99)

The race of Áed Sláne of the spears,
from whom many very brilliant kings sprang\(^1\),
for their excellence I will relate
their (violent) death[s], their noble sovereignty.

5 Áed Sláne of the plunders was ruler
for a period of forty-five years,
till the king was slain with a spear
by skilful Conall Guthbinn.

Conall Lóeg of Brega?\(^2\) over sparkling Boyne,
10 four [years] for the very shrewd king;
(who)\(he\) fell in the battle of Odba
at the hands of young, very strong Óengus\(^3\).

Conall\(^4\) of Cerna and Clettech,
five years over every bright slope;
15 at the hands of the afore-mentioned famous Conall Guthbinn
he fell at Loch Treithne.

Ailill of Crundere\(^5\) of companies,
four years but one
at the hands of the afore-mentioned keenly shrewd, bright Conall

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\(^1\) See Note on p. 217.

\(^2\) or ‘Conall, the calf of Brega’--see MacNeill, 1913: 95.

\(^3\) lit. ‘by young Óengus of a great bole’--this line is cited in DIL under the figurative uses of omna. The second element of the compound could also be the gen. sg. of oμυν, u + o, m,
‘fear’.

\(^4\) See Note on p. 217.

\(^5\) MacNeill has the following note on this word: “Crundere in the text can hardly be other than a place-name, gen. masc. or neut. Tig. has Cruitire, if correctly given. AU, however, has Cruidire, changed by the translator to Cruitire, and explained in the note, which Stokes adopts in translating Tig., to mean ‘the Harper!’ (1913: 95)’. Jaski (1994: 97) has Cruidire.
he fell at Áth Goan.

Diarmaid and fair Blathmac reigned\(^1\)
for twenty-five years—it is not too much—;
the two high-kings of all Ireland,
the yellow-skinned plague killed them.

Conaing, the son of Congal of Colt,
three years over bloom-soft\(^2\) Boyne,
until he fell in the strife
at the hands of Diarmaid, the son of Airmidach.

Sechnassach, the son of powerful Blathmac,
six years over grassy\(^3\) Brega's plain;
Dub Dúin, the king of Coirpre with success\(^4\),
at his hands fell Sechnassach.

Six years were noble Cenn Faelad's,
the son of victorious ever-fierce\(^5\) Blathmac;
the king of Carn Cachta\(^6\) fell
in the rout at the hands of Finnachta.

Finnachta, [for] twenty years
he was in Ireland nobly serving her\(^7\);
in Grellach Dollaid of colour
he fell at the hands of Congalach.

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\(^1\) See Note on p. 217.
\(^2\) Or maybe the first element is bláith, 'smooth'.
\(^3\) lit. 'green-topped'
\(^4\) or: 'with grace|good luck|virtue'
\(^5\) or 'the victorious, ever-fierce son of Blathmac'
\(^6\) MacNeill, 1913: 96 has the following note on Carn Cachta: "Carn Cachta, not instanced by Onom. Goed. except in this passage, is perhaps a synonym for Duma na nGiall at Tara".
\(^7\) See Note on p. 218.
Congalach, four years—hear—,
until he died in the land of Tailtiu;
a year (in) the reign of Níall of the beautiful complexion
until fair Írgalach slew him.

45 Írgalach, the son of comely Conaing¹,
eight years after Cernach's son;
noble Írgalach fell
in the south at Inis Mac Nessán.

Two years over famous Boyne
for Amalgaid, the son of Congalach;
he fell at the hands of famous Conall
in the east at flowery² Cell Scéire.

Conall Grant, the grandson of hardy Cernach,
six years over the ruddy-vestured³ plain of Brega;
55 he fell on the day of the rout
at the hands of Fergal, [the king] of bright Banba.

A year of excellent Fogartach⁴,
until he fell in the battle of Delgthiu,
king of Fóitla and king of Fabar,
60 at the hands of Cináed, the son of Írgalach.

Cináed, twice five years
over Ireland, it is no great lie,

¹ or 'the comely son of Conaing'
² This line is cited in DIL under the compounds of 1 scoth with a question-mark, where it is taken to be compounded with 4 ar, 'cultivated land'. This example is accompanied by the following translation in DIL: 'of flowery fields(?). However, I believe that this is the gen. sg. of scoth + ar, the collective suffix.
³ This translation in DIL is taken from MacCarthy 156 § 5.
⁴ lit. 'Fogartach of excellencies'
fair Flaithbertach of Fál\(^1\) killed him
in the battle of densely-covered\(^2\) Druim Corcain.

65  Conaing Crach—listen to that—,
another ten years over the plain of Brega;
he died a violent death at the hands of Æed—although it was
treachery—\(^3\),
in front of Ailech Frigrenn.

Six years—a purpose with great valour—,

70  Inrechtach, the son of Dúngalach;
in Dún Cromtha\(^4\) with hundreds of valourous deeds?,
there he fell at the hands of Dúngal.

Dúngal of Cnogba of companies,
twice six [years] but one (year);

75  outside\(^5\) in the battle of Emain Macha
the son of Amalgaid fell.

Eight years—the verses tell—
for Congalach, the son of Conaing;
prosperous, greatly valorous Donnechad

80  slew him in the battle of Forcalad.

Eight years to the battle of Lía Find
for him, for Diarmaíd—it was a good period—;

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\(^1\) MacNeill has the following note here: "Flaithbertach Fáil means Flaithbertach who became king of Ireland, Inis Fáil, or of Temair Fáil." (1913: 97) See also Byrne, 1973: 283.

\(^2\) This example is cited in DIL under the following meaning of cas: "of terrain, mountains etc. of dense vegetation(?) ; somet. translated steep" (this is the way MacNeill translates it here).

\(^3\) In theory, the last four words could also mean 'by dark Æed of treacheries', but cf. R.

\(^4\) MacNeill has the following note here: "Dún Cromtha, cited in Onom. Goed. from this passage only, may, like Clóenraith of similar meaning, be used as a synonym for Temair". (1913: 97)

\(^5\) MacNeill has the following note here: "i mnaig means outside of Bregha" (1913: 97).
to avenge Tuilén’s abbot,
Donnchad brought him to red woe.

85  Twice ten and six years in triumphs,
the reign of Fland, the son of Congalach;
at great Manistir that I praise,
fell1 comely Conaing’s grandson.

Cernach, the grandson of curly-haired Congalach,
six years over green-sided Taítıu;
he fell in Tech Cnogba?2
at the hands of hardy, very brave Cináed.

Cináed, after Cernach,
sixteen [years] in stately Tara;
95  at Dún Sinche before samain
Congalach’s stern grandson slew him.

Cummascach two years here,
prince over the plain of Brega of the peaked crosses;
in Ciannán’s Dam Liáit it is sung—,
100  the grandson of sensible Congalach died4.

1 Conaing, the son of Fland with scores of people,
a year and twice ten over every direction;
in ? ? on the plain,

1 Based on the death-records of the annals, MacNeill comes to the conclusion that "here and elsewhere the poet seems to use do-rochair ‘fell’ in the sense merely of ‘died’". (1913: 97)

2 This is the only example cited in Hogan under Taig (not Tech) Cnogba. MacNeill translates it as ‘in Cnogba’s house’. Cf. F7. 134 ‘at Tech Giugrand’ and 137 ‘at Tech nHúa mBuidéin Brogda?’.

3 or ‘which is sung’--in DIL this example is cited under meaning b) of canaid: ‘speaks, tells, announces, utters’.

4 Note that Cummuscach seems to have been the son and not the grandson of Congalach (Jaski, 1994: 98).

5 See Note on p. 221.
Congalach's harsh grandson died.

105 Cináed, five years, however it may be,
until the grievous slaughter of Treóit,
until Fland's son's son was drowned
by the prince (by) Máel Sechnaill.

Twenty-seven years--declare that¹--,

110 Fland, the son of Conaing was king;
[he met] his fate in the battle of Cell Úa nDaigri,
he fell at the hands of Áed Findlíath.

Five and twenty years without anguish,
Cellach's fair son², Flannacán;

115 he fell at the hands of the army of the fierce Foreigners³
on the high-fenced top? of Cerna.

Seven years of splendid Máel Finniáin,
Flannacán's brilliant, good son;
at Inber na mBárc⁴ with fame

120 died the comely descendant of Congalach⁵.

Three times five years--it was good fame--

¹ This example is cited in DIL under sain, i, b) 'peculiar, special', with MacNeill's translation 'distinctly tell', accompanied by a question-mark. However, I take sain to be the substantivised demonstrative pronoun. For the various forms of sin in these poems, see Vol. II, p. 62: 8.9.

² Or 'Cellach's son, fair Flannacán'.

³ Or 'by the fierce army of the Foreigners'

⁴ MacNeill has the following note here: "Inber na mBárc, 'river-haven of the barks,' is perhaps a poetic name for the mouth of the Boyne" (1913: 98). Hogan, 1910: 459 lists this example under 1 Inber na mBárc, which he identifies with Bantry Bay. Note that there are two other entries with the same place-name.

⁵ According to Jaski (1994: 98), Máel Finniáin seems to have been Cellach's and not Congalach's grandson, and this is why I translate iá as 'descendant' here.
for his brother, for Máel Mithig.¹

Five years of Lorcán without woe,
Fland, the son of Máel Finniáin slew him;
seven years of Fland until the battle
where he fell at the hands of the Uí Echach.

Áed, the son of honourable Máel Mithig
ruled for only two single years;
Áed of the Bruig fell
at the hands of Óengus, the son of Donnchad.

Congalach, the jarl², the abbot,
reigned for twenty-seven years;
at the hands of the army of the Leinstermen and the Foreigners
he fell at Tech Giugrann³.

An exact twenty years⁴ with fame
for Domnall, the son of Congalach;
at Tech nHúa mBuidén Brogda⁵
fell the cub⁶ of comely Cnogba.

One year of Donnchad of the companies
until he fell at the hands of the race of Colmán;

¹ MacNeill has the following note here: "The missing verses probably told how he fell in the battle of Dublin" (1913: 98). On the division of the following lines, see Note on p. 222

² This example is cited in DIL under the meaning 'a ruler, lord' of iarla. MacNeill has the following note here: "'Earl' and 'abbot' are metaphors denoting one in authority" (1913: 99). For the meaning of iarla here, see Ó Corráin, 1987: 287-293.

³ Cf. F7. 91 'in Tech Cnogba?' (MacNeill: 'in Cnogba's house').

⁴ glanfiche is cited under the meaning 'exact' of glan, which is found in compounds.

⁵ See Note on p. 223.

⁶ According to DIL, cuilén can be used as a laudatory term for warriors.
two years of stately Muirchetach
until he fell at the hands of Máel Sechnaill.

Search away after\(^1\) that,
o bard Fintan\(^2\), learned man,

since the lifetime of Áed Sláne’s race
is no longer here.

\(^1\) This is the only example cited in *DIL* under ʿarmothā d) (i) prep. ‘besides, beyond’.

\(^2\) I believe that this is the Fintan about whom Knott says the following: "Fintan, son of Bóchra, whose antediluvian origin made him an indispensable witness in matters of prehistory, is quoted fairly often in LG and other pseudo-historical texts" (1957: 21). See also Meyer’s Introduction to the Facsimile of Rawlinson B502.
MSS (based on Macalister, 1938: vi-vii, and 1941: 224):

**LL** 11*18

*F* (Book of Fermoy and Stowe D iii 1)

*V* (Stowe D v 1, Stowe D iv 1, Stowe D i 3)

*Lc* (two texts: A and M)

*R* = Rawlinson B512

*BB* = Book of Ballymote

H. 1. 12 (TCD)

Other abbreviations used:

*R* = The Book of Ballymote, and the second text from *Lc* (*M*).

*K* = the modernised version of Micháel Ó Cléirigh

*O’C* = O’Curry’s transcript of *LL* (TCD)

In *LL* on folio 11*°* almost everything is very clearly legible. However, the right margin of folio 11*°* is in a bad state, and some words are illegible.

Previous editions and translations used for my edition:

Macalister, R.: 1941: 224-241 (edition and translation) (volume IV of *LG*, which contains Macalister’s edition of this poem, was reviewed by Binchy, 1952: 195-209)

Carey, J.: 1994: 252-256 (translation) (with the omission of ll. 77-80 = *LL* 1380-1384 and ll. 136-139 = *LL* 1439-1443)
ANALYSIS OF THE METRE

Metre: debide scailte (fota) ($7^x \ 7^{x+1}$ or $2^x \ 7^{x+1}$ or $2^x$).

Stanza structure

$7^1 \ 7^2$: 2, 8, 11, 13, 14, 19, 24, 25, 26, 27, 31, 33, 35 (14)
$7^1 \ 7^3$: 1, 3, 5, 10, 12, 32 (6)
$7^2 \ 7^3$: 9, 16, 17, 34, 37 (5)
$7^2 \ 7^5$: 4, 7, 20, 30 (4)
$7^3 \ 7^5$: 6, 18 (2)
$7^3 \ 7^7$: 22 (1)
$7^3 \ 7^9$: 23 (1)

Stanzas without rinn 7 airdrinn in the first couplet:

$7^1 \ 7^3$: 28 (1)
$7^2 \ 7^3$: 29 (1)
$7^3 \ 7^5$: 15, 36 (2) (See Note on ll. 59-62, p. 249)
$7^3 \ 7^7$: 38 (1)

The figures for rinn (number of couplets with $7^x 7^{x+1}$ per total number of couplets) are $49/76 = 64\%$.

End-rhyme

Note that in gal : Etargal (F8. 9-10) and maig : Bregmaig (F8. 107-108), the second element in the longer word is the same as the monosyllabic rhyming word. In glaine : tondglaine (F8. 143-144), the first word is the noun, and the second is the adjective.

On F8. 91-92 (denne : innèrege), see Note on p. 251.

There is imperfect rhyme between lat and Nám in F8. 61-62 and mac and Nám in F8. 129-130.

Stressed e + palatal consonant rhymes with unstressed i/a + palatal consonant: neim : Midir (F8. 63-64), sein : estid (F8. 151-152). Note that the quality of the consonant preceding the stressed and unstressed vowel is the same in both cases. See also Vol. II, p. 117-118: 2.4.

Stressed a + palatal consonant rhymes with unstressed i + palatal consonant: sain :
Balbênnig (F8. 27-28) (or read sin here?), thair : Ailig (F8. 49-50), chaire : cruittire (F8. 85-86).
Note that the quality of the consonant preceding the stressed and unstressed vowel is not the same.

_Fidrad freccomail_ is present between stanzas 17 and 18 (ll. 68-69), 22 and 23 (ll. 88-89), 26 and 27 (ll. 104-105) (3; plus see the special cases below).

_F. f._ is present between a stressed and an unstressed syllable in 3+4 (ll. 12-13), 4+5 (ll. 16-17), 10+11 (ll. 40-41), 14+15 (ll. 56-57), 21+22 (ll. 84-85), 32+33 (ll. 128-129), 33+34 (ll. 132-133). (7)

_F. f._ is present between an unstressed and a stressed syllable in 30+31 (ll. 120-121), 34+35 (ll. 136-137). (2)

_F. f._ is present between t and d in 3+4 (ll. 12-13), 25+26 (ll. 100-101), 32+33 (ll. 128-129). (3)

We might get / / in 36+37 (ll. 144-145) between an unstressed and a stressed syllable and between g and e if we treat the first word in l. 145, _Mac_, as an unstressed one.
The figures for _f. f._ are 16/37=43%.

Alliteration is not present in the following lines: 2, 8, 12, 23, 26, 46, 50, 70, 78, 86, 89, 92, 103, 104, 106, 109, 110, 112, 116, 125, 126, 127, 129, 132, 138, 148 (26).

Alliteration is not between the last two stressed words in line _d_ in F8. 16, 44, 76 and 128 (4).

I take _mac\meic_ and _úa_ to be unstressed in the construction _X mac\meic\úa Y_ (F8. 32, 62, 64, 88 and 100--note that in the last instance there has to be elision between _Dagda_ and _ú_). Concerning ll. 51-52, see the remark on p. 236 and the Note on p. 248.

In order to get alliteration, _mac_ must be stressed in F8. 22 (construction: _X + adj. + mac + Y_).

In the following cases, if we supply the lenition mark over the _f_ to mark historical lenition, then we get alliteration: F8. 29, 65, 141. (See also Vol. II, pp. 25-29: _2.29_.)

In F8. 113 one would expect _fùam_ to be lenited after a fem. name in the nom., _Fùamnach_, and in this case we would not get alliteration here. For other examples of the presence and absence of lenition after a fem. noun in the nom. sg., see Vol. II, p. 26: _2.29 b_. See also the Footnote on p. 261.
In F8. 143 if Mac is unstressed, then we get normal alliteration; if it is stressed, then we get paired/double alliteration (Hollo, 1990: 78). (See also Vol. II, p. 123: 3.2)

The figures for alliteration are 122/152=80%.

**Internal rhyme** in the first couplet (1/38=3%)
Aed : caem (F8. 89-90)

**Internal rhyme** in the second couplet (14/38=37%, with two internal rhymes in two couplets)
tuachle : Tuathe (F8. 3-4) baile : Maige (F8. 11-12)
Donand : nDomnand (F8. 15-16) Brian : cian (F8. 19-20)
saman : Balair (F8. 27-28) trota : rota (F8. 43-44)
cubaid : chumaid (F8. 55-56) et : bré, mnaí : druí (F8. 83-84)
tuind : Cuill (F8. 87-88) goí : mnaí, dlug : dul (F8. 91-92)
Banba : Dagda (F8. 99-100) mæeth : bæeth (F8. 107-108)
Cuillind : Uillind (F8. 119-120) [fot] : òc (F8. 151-152)

There is a slight possibility that in F8. 51-52 mac : mac are intended to make internal rhyme, and in this case both would have to be stressed. However, I believe that this is unlikely, as mac in the construction X mac Y is almost always unstressed in this poem (see the section on Alliteration). See also Vol. II, p. 121: 2.6.

In F8. 75-76 Mana and Loga may be intended as an internal rhyme, with the interchange of stressed o and a before a non-palatal consonant. For other similar examples, see Vol. II, p. 18: 2.4.

Proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in d (not counting the last word, which rhymes with the final of c): 16/76=21%.


1. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2):
   C'C'--C'C'; C'C'--C'L'
   Dagda : dondBanba (F8. 59-60) (e. r.) Dagda : comchalma (F8. 89-90) (e. r.)
   demne : innérge (F8. 91-92) (e. r.) (imp.--see Note on p. 251)
2. One consonant corresponds to two: a consonant from class 1 \((C')\) is added:
\[C^hC'' - C^h; \ C'' - C''C''\]

\(\text{túachle : Túathe (F8. 3-4) (i. r.)}\)

\(\text{Donand : nDomnand (F8. 15-16) (i. r.)}\)

**Elision**

a) Unstressed short vowel preceded by another vowel: thirteen examples. In eight cases, the metre requires elision (F8. 35, 37, 44, 73, 92, 103, 111, 142). In four cases, elision is required only if we expand 7 as \(\textit{o cus}\), and not as \(\textit{is}\) (F8. 20, 45, 133, 141). In F8. 75 we either have elision between \textit{marba} and \textit{oc}, or between \textit{Mana} and \textit{ös}. \((8/13=62\%)\)

b) Unstressed short vowel + unstressed long vowel: four examples. In two of these, the metre requires elision (F8. 100, 147). In one case (F8. 27) elision is necessary only if we expand 7 as \(\textit{o cus}\) and not as \(\textit{is}\) in the line. In F8. 75 we either have elision between \textit{marba} and \textit{oc}, or between \textit{Mana} and \textit{ös}. \((2/4=50\%)\)

c) Dropping of the initial vowel of an unstressed word (prep. + poss. pron.\article):  
I. After consonants: dropping in F8. 83, 107 (not indicated by the \(\textit{LL}\) scribe), 131.  
II. At the beginning of the line: F8. 55.  
There is no dropping in F8. 119 and in F8. 126.

d) The reduction of \textit{coro} to \textit{cor}: F8. 2 \(\textit{cor inniseor}\) (note that with the exception of \(F\), the other MSS have \textit{co n-}).

e) Dropping of the initial vowel of the conjunction \textit{is}:  
II. After a consonant: there is no dropping in F8. 129.

f) \textit{do|de} + \textit{V}; \textit{do|de} + \textit{f}: three examples. In two cases the metre requires elision (F8. 16 and 112). In one case, the metre does not require elision (F8. 18). \((2/3=67\%)\)
Dúnad

The poem begins and ends with the words ēstid, so this is a regular, saigid type of dúnad (Murphy, 1961: 44).
TEXT

Êstid a cōlchē eēn on
mad āil dūib cor inniseor
aíeda co tūachle thall
forcla Tūathe Dé Danand.

5 Edleō mac Alduī na n-all
cētfer de Thūaith Dé Danand
do-rochair i nHērin dōīg
do lāim Nerchoin ēa Simeōīn1.

Do-cēr2 Ernmas ard a gal

10 Fiáchra, Ėchtach, Etargal
tūirill Pīreō baile Breg
i cētchath Maige Tuired.

Do-rochāiř Eloth co n-āg
athair mórgarg Manannā(i)n

15 ocs Donand choimlān c[h]āin
la Dé nDonnand d'Fomôrchaib.

At-bath Cethen ocs Cū
do ūathbās i nAircheltrū
ro marbsat Cīan3 cīan ō thaig

20 Brīan, Iuchurba ocs Iuchair.

Marb de gāi grēne glaine
Corpre mór mac Etaine
at-bath Etan ōsind līnd

1 for Sēmiōīn; cf. LL 648, 789 and 871.
2 do-rochāiř LL.
3 Cēin LL

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de chumaid Chairpri chendfínd.

25 I Maig Tuired ba thrí ág
do-ceir Núadu Argaílám
ocus Macha íar samain sain
do láim Balair Balebëmnig.

Do-ker Ogma cenchor fand
30 la hInnech mac Dé Domand
do-ker¹ Casmáel, Bruinne bil
la hOctrilach mac nInnig.

Marba de thám thregtach trá
Dían Cécht is Gobnend goba
35 do-ker Luigne in sáer cō se
de saigilt rèin tentide.

Ro báided Creidne² in cērd cass
forin lochmuir lindamnas
oc tabairt méine óir [āin]
40 dochum Hērend a hEspāín.

At-bath Bress i Carn hú Néit
do cheilg Loga cēn lánbréic
ropo domna trota trá
ól rota i rricht ind lomma.

45 Bē Chuille ocus Díanand dil
marba na dí bantūathig
fseur co ndruidecht fo deóid
re demnaīb odraīb aēóir.

¹ do-rochair LL
² Créidne MS
Do-rochair forin tráig thair
50 i fertaib Ratha Ailig
Induí mór mac Delbæeth dil
la Gand mac Dána dorngil.

Marb Fea ba bùan a blad
i cind mis iarna marbad
55 'con ráith chétna cubaid lind
do chumaid Induí foltfind.

At-bath Boïnd cosin mbáig
ic topor meic Námát1 náir2
[marb Áine ingen Dagda]
60 [ar seirce Dara dondBanba].

[Do-cer Cairpre cuimnig lat]
[do láim Nechtain meic Námát]
do-er Nechtain cosin neim
la Siugmall úa sõerMidir.

65 Abcân mac Bic Felmais ùair
fili Loga co lánbúaid
do-er la hÕengus cen ail
i n-aír Midir mòrglonnaig.

Midir mac Induí aile
70 do-cer de láim Elemaire
do-rochair Elemar3 inn áig
de láim Òengusa imsláin.

Brian, Iuchurba is Iuchair and

---

1 Nectain LL
2 The next four lines are omitted in LL.
3 do-er Elemaire LL; see Note on p. 250.
trí dée Túathe Dé Danann

marba oc Mana ós Muir Mend
do láim Loga meic Ethlend.

Cermait mac in Dagda de
era geogain Lug Seicmainge
ba bara bróin forsin maig

i flaith Echach Ollathir.

Do-cer Cermait Milbél mas
la Lug mac Ethlend amnas
ic ét 'ma mnaí móir in mod
dhíaros brécc in druí dóisom.

Do láim Meic (Déin) C(h)écht c(h)en chaire
do-rocháir in cruítire
do-rocháir Lug ós tuind trá
la Mac Cuill mac Cermata.

For the next two stanzas see also Fl. 15-34.

a letter is erased after the final e

See Note on p. 251.

Crúaich LL.
imlúaithe LL.
Do-cer Crichinbél cláen camm prímháinte Túath Dé Danand
dond ór frith (for)sin Banba báeth

100 do láim in Dagda ú Delbáeth.

Ic tíachtain a hAlpain úair
do mac in Dagda dreachrúaid
i n-inbiur na Bóinne i foss
is and ro báided Óengos.

105 Óenmac Manannáin don méin
cétsere don ingin dobéil
do-cer in mac máeth (is)sin maig
la Bennán báeth a Bregmaig.

Néit mac Induí 's a dí mnaí

110 Badb ocus Nemáin1 cen goí
ro marbtha i nAiliuch cen ail
la Neptúir Derg d'Fomórchaib.

Fúamnach fúam ba ben Midir
Siugma(i)ll is Brí cen binib

115 i mBrí Léith ba láthar lán
ro losethea la Manannán.

Do-cer mac Alloid co n-ág
in mind maínech Manannán
isin chath i Cuillind chrúaid

120 do láim Uillind abrätruaid.

Do-rochair Uillend co n-úaill
la Mac Gréne co nglanbúaid
do-cer ben in Dagdai duind

1 Némaind LL.
de thám for leirg i lLíathdruid.

Marb in Dagda do gá chró
issin Bruig ní himmargó
diárod gon Cetñe in ben
i cath mór Maige Tuired.

Do-cer Delbáeth is a mac
la Cacher mac nár Námát
do-cer Cacher ’con Bóind bàith
do láim Fiachnna meic Delbáith.

Do-cer Fiachnna ocus Àí án
la hÉogan Inbir imslán

do-cer Éogan Inbir úair
la Eochaid Iúil ñarrannchrúaid.¹

Do-cer Eochaid Iúil ñar sain
la háed ocus la Labraid
do-cer [Labraid], Óengus, Àed
la Cermaít co cruth chomcháem.

Héiri ocus Fóitla co n-úail
Mac Grêne is Banba co mbúaid
Mac Cuill Mac Cécht co nglaine
i cath Temra tondglaine.

Mac Cécht la hÉrimón án
Mac Cuill la hÉber imslán
Héiri sund re Surge ñar sen
Mac Grêne la hAmargen.

Fóitla re hÉtan co n-úail

¹ ñar macrúaid LL
la Cacher Banba co mbúaid
finnaid [i fôt] is sīat sein
aideda na n-óc ēstid.¹

¹ There are four quatrains appended to this poem in V, and in the two versions in Lc (Macalister, 1941: 240).
NOTES

All references are to Macalister, 1941: 224-241.

Macalister’s edition of LG IV was reviewed by Binchy in Celtica 2 (195-209), 1952. His edition and translation differ from mine in a few significant points, and these are discussed in the Notes and in the Footnotes in the Translation section. The same is true concerning Carey’s edition. Some of the differences between this work and his arise from the difference in editorial principles (e.g. F8. 50, 55 and 86, where Carey uses other MS readings). Other differences are due to the different interpretations of the same text.

F8. 6. Following some of the other MSS, Macalister has do for LL de. De is the superior reading here.

F8. 8. Macalister and the editors of LL expand h-- as hui. I would prefer húa, as the initial consonant of Simeón, which comes immediately after this word, is not lenited (as one would expect after hui, the gen. sg. of an io-stem). This seems to indicate that we should read húa, which is a nom. sg. in apposition. (For examples of the presence and absence of lenition after the gen. sg. of io-stems, see Vol. II, p. 26: 2.29 d. Otherwise the lenition of s is marked consistently in this text: de saigit (F8. 36), imslán (F8. 72), imslán (F8. 134, 146). (Note that F has ui, while V, △ and BB have ūa.)

F8. 9. There is an extra syllable in this line in LL. F and △ have do-cher, while V and M have do-cer and do-chear respectively, which will give us the correct syllable count. The other MSS agree with LL, so they all have an extra syllable in the line.

F8. 10. The editors of LL treat Echtach as an adj., while Macalister and Carey take it to be a personal name. Note that in Macalister’s Introduction, in Núadú’s pedigree Echtach (spelt in this way) figures as his father (1941: 98); see also LL 1072, where Echtach is definitely a proper noun, and is capitalised by the editors.

F8. 11. Macalister takes Baile Breg to be a place-name (however, it is not listed in Hogan as such), while the editors of LL capitalise only Breg. Carey (1994: 252) has ‘of the region of Brega’. Prof. Breatnach has suggested that this might be 2 baile, ‘frenzy’.
F8. 13-14. Although the scribe writes *Manannáin*, the rhyme with *ág* shows that we have to read the alternative form, *Manannán*. *F* and *M* have *Manannan*, *V* *Manonnan*, and *BB* has *Manandan*.

F8. 15. The initial consonant of *cain* should be lenited, unless this is the substantivised adjective here. Concerning the non-marking of lenition, see Vol. II, pp. 25-27: 2.29.

F8. 19. The editors of *LL* have the following note on *Céin*: "sic: cian *BB". *F* and *R* have *Cían*, too, and I believe that this is the superior reading. See also Gray, 1982: 119.

F8. 27. *lár samain sain*: Carey's translation, "after that *samain*," is impossible as it ruins the end-rhyme; also, we would not get alliteration in the line. From the point of view of rhyme, it may be better to adopt the reading of *F*, *R* and *M*, which have *sin*, as I have only a very few examples where in *rinn 7 airdrinn* the quality of the consonant preceding the stressed and the unstressed vowel is not the same (see Vol. II, pp. 117-118: 2.4).

F8. 31. There is an extra syllable in this line. *F* and *V* have *torchair*, *BB* has *do thoit*, and *M* do *chear*. I suggest that we read *do-cer* here, just like in F8. 9.

Macalister and the editors of *LL* treat *bruinne* as a common noun. However, see Carey, 1994: 253, and Gray, 1982: 136, where *Bruidne* is mentioned as one of the satirists of the Túatha Dé Danann. See also *LL 1111*, where this word is capitalised. In Gray this name is found under the entry on *Ochtríallach*, and the editor is not quite right in saying that "LVI [ = our poem in Macalister’s edition] §8 names him as Casmáel’s slayer, and §331 mentions that he kills two Túatha Dé Danann satirists, Bruidne and Casmáel [...]" (1982: 136), as our poem explicitly says that these two people were killed by *Ochtríallach*.

F8. 32. Gray (1982: 136) prints *Ochtríallach*, the corresponding form of which in this poem is *Octrílach*. Carey has pointed out to me that the spelling with -uil- instead of -iall- in this name seems to be unique to *LL* vs. the other MSS. I wonder if the vowel is meant to be long here.

F8. 35. Carey believes that there are no other instances of *Luigne* spelt with a -ge- even in *LL* itself (i.e. in the other parts of *LG* in *LL*). For the various spellings of this name
see Gray, 1982: 125-126. Carey has suggested to me that this example might represent a scribal slip, influenced by the name of the population group, Dál Luigne/Luigni (Hogan, 1910: 333).

F8. 37. Créidne for Creidne is a scribal error. See Lehmacber, 1923: 177, where this word rhymes with Eithne; and for etymology, see O’Rahilly, 1942b: 159-160. Note that Gray (1982: 120) has Crédne.

F8. 39. There is one syllable missing in this line in LL. On the basis of the other MSS Macalister supplies āin. The editors of LL suggest the same, and I have accepted this emendation.

F8. 41. The editors of LL have the following note on hū: “sic”. However, in MIr this is an acceptable form of the gen. sg. (for other examples, see SNG: 246: 5.9). Based on some of the other MSS, Macalister has ui. See also the Note on F8. 100, p. 253.

F8. 48. Read acóir as a disyllable.

F8. 52. Macalister treats dāna as an adj., while the editors of LL and Carey take it to be the gen. of a proper noun. I think that we have the following possibilities here: a) Dāna is a masc. proper noun in the gen., and dorngil is a gen. sg. masc. qualifying adj., ‘at the hands of Gand, the son of white-fisted Dān(a)’; or b) dāna is an adj.—either nom. sg. in apposition, or dat. sg. in apposition (for examples of dat. for acc. after la in this poem, see Vol. II, p. 64: 9.4). In case b) dorngil is either a proper noun in the gen., or the gen. sg. of the substantivised adj. used attributively; it can not be a masc. dat. sg. adj. because of the rhyme with dil. The translation would be ‘by Gand, the fearless son of Dorngel’ or ‘at the hands of Gand, a bold, white-fisted youth’ (this agrees with Macalister’s translation). However, I do not know who Dān(a)? or Dorngel were. In my translation I have opted for a).

F8. 53. We should read Feā as a disyllable in order to get the correct number of syllables.

F8. 57. We should read Boīnd as a disyllable in order to get the correct number of syllables.
F8. 57, 63. Macalister has the following note on the preposition co in these two lines: "A causative sense appears to be imported into the preposition co" (1941: 319). I think that in both cases the prep. is co (n-) meaning 'with', with acc. used for dat. in F8. 57. For other examples of the confusion of cases, see Vol. II, pp. 64-68: 9.4 and 9.5.

F8. 58. All the other MSS have Nāmat for LL Nectain (with the exception of △, which has Nūadat). Note that the next two couplets are omitted in LL; it is very likely that the LL scribe omitted these four lines by skipping from meic Nāmat náir in l. 58 to Nechtain meic Nāmat in l. 62; this would also explain the substitution of Nectain for Nāmat, since the former word also appears in F8. 62 and 63.

F8. 59-62. According to the editors of LL, there are two couplets omitted here (all the other MSS have these). They are supplied in the diplomatic edition of LL in a normalised form from Lc (abbreviated as M by Macalister), and BB:

```
marb Áine ingen in Dagda
60 ar seirc do-rat don Banba.
Do-cer Cairpre cuimnig lat
do láim Nechtain meic Nāmat.
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However, there are three problems with these two couplets in the form in which it is presented. First, this would be the only stanza without rinn 7 airdrinn in the second couplet--which is a requirement in this metre. Second, the fact that Áine died either because of the love she gave to Banba or because of the love her father gave to Banba (i.e. because of jealousy) does not seem to make too much sense here. I am greatly indebted to John Carey for calling to my attention the version found in V and △, ar seirc Dara dondBanba, which gives good sense, and also solves the problem with the metre. Finally, there is an extra syllable in l. 59 if we read ingen in Dagda (which is what BB, M and R have, and this is what the editors of LL follow). This problem can be solved by omitting in (as in V, △ and F). I have inserted these couplets into the text, although they will not be analysed in the Linguistic Analysis. Macalister also includes these couplets in his edition.

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F8. 70-71. LL is the only MS with the reading do-ker Elemaire inn áig in F8. 71. All the other MSS have do-rochair Elemar. The previous line has gen. Elemaire. O’Rahilly (EIHM) has both nominative forms (i.e. Elemar and Elemaire). There are two gen. forms in Tochmarc Étaine (Bergin-Best, 1938: 142): Elemaire and Elemaire. Although the syllable-count is correct in LL even with Elemaire, still, I have decided to emend this line as all the other MSS agree on the above-mentioned reading; the fact that the gen. form Elemaire appears in the previous line (F8. 70) could have led to a scribal slip in F8. 71 LL.

Macalister has innáig--this will not give us rinn 7 airdrinn in this couplet, and the metre does require that there should be rinn 7 airdrinn in the second couplet (Murphy, 1961: 29). Based on some of the other MSS, Binchy (1952: 199) reads i n-áig ‘in combat’--however, this is not possible, as áig is the gen. sg. of áig, which can be declined both as an o- and a u-stem, but not as an a-stem. I believe that we should read inn áig, ‘of the battle’ here.

F8. 75. The editors of LL capitalise Muir Mend, while Macalister does not in the line marba oc Mana ós Muir Mend. The last entry in DIL under 1 menn is "Muir Meann the Irish Sea, Ériu ii 76 (apparently a mod. name, not given in Hog. Onom.)." This line is cited in DIL earlier on under 1 menn with the translation ‘the clear sea’. However, as the Isle of Man actually is in the Irish sea, I presume it would be justifiable to take this phrase as a proper name. Carey, 1994: 254 translates this as ‘the Irish Sea’.

Note also that this line is cited in DIL under Mana with a question-mark; however, I believe that from the point of view of meaning, ‘Man’ does fit in here.

F8. 77-80. The editors of LL note the following: "This quatrain is written along the upper margin: om. rell." Macalister has the following to say on this: "This quatrain ins. in the upper margin of 1, with a mark, badly rubbed and difficult to discern, indicating its place in the text: not found in the other MSS. nor in K." Carey does not believe that this quatrain is an integral part of the poem, and has pointed out to me that it is actually redundant here, as it describes the same event (Lug’s killing of Cermait) which is dealt with in the following stanza (ll. 81-84). However, since one of my editorial principles is to analyse all of the LL text (except when certain dates connected to certain rulers definitely prove that some stanzas were not actually written by Fland), I have decided to include this stanza in the main text.
F8. 78. Macalister’s *sciamainge* for *LL* *sciamainge* must be a transcription error or a misprint; he does not give any translation. *Lug Scimaige* in Hamel, 1933: 41.8 makes it likely that this might be a place-name; my other suggestion would be to take this as *seith* plus the attributive gen. sg. of *mairge*, i.e., f., “sad and miserable Lug?”. Cf. also *Inber cichmaine* in Hogan, 1910: 457. Note that the editors of *LL* do not capitalise this word.

F8. 79. The gloss on *maig* (i.e., for Brug *Meic ind Òc*) is in stain, and the Facsimile has *doc*. This is also noted by the editors of *LL*.

F8. 85. There is an extra syllable in this line in *LL*. Macalister omits *Dein* from *Meic Dein Chécht* as *LL* is the only MS with this version. However, in this case the *m* of *meic* ought to be capitalised, which was not done in *LL* either. The scribe probably confused *Mac Cécht* and *Dian Cécht* here.

*LL* has *chen* for the preposition *cen*, which Macalister, based on the other MSS, emends to *cen*. The scribe probably made a mistake here because this word stands between two others which begin in *ch*. Although in *MIr* there is a tendency to lenite prepositions, this does not apply to *cen* (*SNG*: 326: 13.5).

F8. 86. *F* and *R* have *Én cruitericruitire* (‘Én the harper’) respectively here for *LL* in *cruittire*, and maybe this is what we should read here. This is what Carey has (1994: 255). *Cf.* *LL* 1186-1187 *Én mac Biceoin* etc. and Gray, 1982: 123 (“Én [...] poet and historian”).

F8. 90. The Facsimile has *Coirrhend* here, although the first *r* is expunged in the MS. This is also noted by the editors of *LL*.

F8. 91-92. There is a problem with the rhyme here: *demne : innérge*, to which I can give no satisfactory solution. The second word could be a variant of *innérge*, ‘elopement’ with short *e* (cf. the note on *álacht* and *alacht* in Vol. I., p. 280)—however, I could not find rhyming examples of either *innérge* or *innerge* in *DIL*. All the MSS agree on this word, although the spelling is sometimes different from that of *LL* (*indeirge—F, inerghi—V, indeirghe—BB, indergi—M*). There is a possibility that this is *5 in-* (intensive prefix)? and *derge*, ‘redness, flushing’, figuratively ‘intensity, fervour’ (one example cited for this meaning in *DIL*)—‘to go on (i.e. into) great intensity/fervour?’ (For examples of *5 in-* + noun in *DIL*, see *innaire, innlaige, in(n)tinne*, etc.) One could also take *inneirge* to be
a corruption of immirge `wandering, migrating' (`to go wandering'), or of imderge, iā, f, `redness, blush' (one example in DIL) (`to become red')--however, the MSS all agree on the spelling with nn/nd/n.

I would be inclined to say that if either of the rhyming words is corrupt here, then that must be demne, as innērge is the word which actually carries the meaning from the narrative point of view. This seems to be supported by the fact that as far as demne is concerned, the MSS show more variation than in the case of innērge: V and A have denme, while M has deni. Dr. Carey has suggested to me that demne might stand for metathesized déimne, gen. sg. of MiIr dénim < OIr dénam. In this case the phrase could be translated as `it was grounds for a deed'. However, in the only example of dénam in these poems, dat. sg. ‘ca dénam (F1. 7), the n is not palatal. Or maybe the m-stroke was confused with the stroke indicating vowel length, and we should follow M and read déni--in this case the translation would be `it was a vehement desire' (lit. `a desire of vehemence'. However, I do not have an unambiguous solution to this problem. Note that this line is cited in DIL under déimne with the translation `it was a cogent reason' and a question-mark, and this is what I have given here.

F8. 94. Only LL and R have imluaith : Crúaich here, while V, A F and R3 have imluath : Crúach. As imluaith in this text seems to be the only attested example of the nom. sg. masc. form of this adjective in DIL (cited under luath), I believe that the palatal consonant might be a scribal slip here, due to an attempt to create rhyme with Crúaich. Note that both Crúach (acc.) and Crúaich (dat.) could be accepted here. On á-stems with a non-palatal final consonant in the acc. and the confusion of cases, see Vol. II, pp. 36-38: 3.6 a.

F8. 97. On the basis of some of the other MSS, Macalister has Cradinbel for LL Crichinbéil. DIL lists this name as Cridenbéil. Maybe Crichinbéil was the original form, and then due to the confusion of c and t in MSS it became Crithinbéil, and the form Cridenbéil represents an attempted etymology (cride and béil, CórAnmann §240). (Or the confusion of c and t could also have happened the other way round--for the misreading of c as t in medieval MSS, see Pődör, 1995/96: 176.) Note that LL 1111 and 1238 have Crichinbél.

F8. 98. The MS of LL has tuathe with the e expunged, and this is also noted by the
editors of LL. The e needs to be expunged if we want to get the correct number of syllables. Note, however, that there is no nasalisation after this word--this could be due to the confusion of the gen. sg. and pl. forms by the scribe, or to the phenomenon of the occasional omission of the mark of nasalisation between two consonants (see Vol. II, pp. 29-31: 2.30).

F8. 99. There is an extra syllable in this line in LL. We should read (for)sin (note that LL is the only MS with forsin), and this is also the solution suggested by the editors of LL.

On the basis of some of the other MSS, Macalister has Banna for LL Banba, which I think is perhaps a more likely version from the point of view of meaning (‘from the gold which was found in reckless Banba’ as opposed to ‘[...] which was found in the reckless Bann’).

Note that the final consonant is palatal in báeth (qualifying either Banba or Banna, both fem.), and also in Delbáeth in the following line. The rhyme báith : Delbáith is found in ll. 131-132 of our text. (See also Vol. II, p. 8: 1.25).

F8. 100. Macalister has uí for LL ú. I think that both forms are correct; note that Breatnach cites this form as an example of the gen. sg. of úa (SNG: 246: 5.9.); however, this could also be the nom. sg. in apposition to a gen.--I have some examples of a nom. sg. noun being in apposition to another noun in the acc. sg. (e.g. la Diarmait mac Airmedait--F7. 28 LL; la Cináed mac Írgalaig--F7. 60 LL). Cf. F8. 41 i Carn hú Néit where hú is gen. sg.

F8. 106. I do not agree with Macalister in his choice of dibéil (V) for his text. The other MSS have dobéil/dibéil, which will give us the expected rhyme with mén. Only one MS has a word ending in a non-palatal consonant in F8. 105 (don bend : ālaimd M). Macalister translates don ingin dibéil as ‘of the aged woman’, based on O’Clery’s Glossary; then based on the same Glossary, he later corrects it to ‘dumb, mute’ (1941: 320)--dibóil in DIL. dobéoil (do-, negative prefix, + bél, ‘bad-mouthed’) is given in DIL under the prefix. Whichever word is meant here, it seems to be used as a negative epithet. I have opted for dobéil here.

F8. 107. There is an extra syllable in this line in LL. Macalister has sin for LL issin.
which will give us the correct syllable count.

F8. 108. Macalister translates a as if it was i. This is possible in theory; however, none of the other MSS seem to have a, and I have no certain example of this spelling for i in the poems I have examined.

F8. 110. The lengthmark over the e in Némaínd is a scribal error in LL.

F8. 114. The editors of LL have the following note on Siugmaill: "siúr add. over Siug". On the basis of the other MSS Macalister has Sigmall. What the editors of LL take as a subscript i might only be a stain, so maybe we should read Siugmall (cf. F8. 64 la Siugmall).

F8. 117. LL Alloid: The evidence for this name in the LG MSS is very confusing. According to Carey, LL almost always has Eloith, gen. Eloith; in the other MSS there is variation between Ell(d)oth All(d)oth in the nom. and between Ell(d)oit(h) and All(d)oit(h) in the gen. Breathnach, 1980: 30 has Allóit; + cf. O’Brien, 1962: 507: nom. Aldóit--provided of course that this is the same name. Unfortunately, there is no evidence here for the length of the vowel. However, the fact that this name is consistently spelt with -o- and -oi- and never with a seems to indicate a long vowel.

F8. 120. The editors of LL capitalise abratrúaid. I could not find this word as a sobriquet in Cóir Anmann, so I have decided to treat it as a common adj. This is the way Carey treats it, too, in his translation.

F8. 136. Based on some of the other MSS, Macalister has la Heochaid n-iúil, n-iarann-chrúaidh for LL ìar macrúaid. Macalister divides up the LL reading as ìar mac Ruaid, which spoils the rínn 7 airedrinn otherwise present in all second couplets. In theory this form could be emended to macruad (a compound of macc plus the substantivised adj., rúad, ‘the youthful, formidable one’). However, in this case, in order to keep the rhyme, one would also need to emend úair in the previous line to úar, taking it as nom. sg. qualifying Eógan (‘cruel’). The easiest thing would probably be to adopt the reading ìarannchrúaid from some of the other MSS. This reading also has the advantage of giving us f. f. with the next stanza.
F8. 139. There are two syllables missing in this line in LL. Based on the other MSS, both the editors of LL and Macalister suggest that we supply Labraid after do-cer, and I have accepted this suggestion.

F8. 140. The editors of LL have the following note on chomchāem: "rubbed, but traceable". Macalister notes: "This word defaced, L", and on the basis of the other MSS reads com-cāem, which is acc. I found LL illegible in this place.

F8. 147-148. Note that LL is the only MS with sen : hAmargen; the others all have a palatal consonant in both cases. For the various forms of sin in these poems, see Vol. II, pp. 62-63: 8.9, 8.10.

F8. 151. There are two syllables missing here in LL. The editors have the following note here: "supply (?) i fót: cia baile i fot is iat sin Lc1, D.I.3, H.I.12: cia baile itait foram ndil Lc2, D.III.1". I have followed LL's suggestion, and have inserted i fót after finnaid, which will make internal rhyme with óc. The advantage of keeping finnaid, which, however, appears only in LL, is that the alliteration is not lost (although this might be present between sīat and sein—see below). Macalister has the Lc1 (=△), etc. version.

Note that issiat can be divided either as is sīat or iss iat. The editors of LL opted for the first solution and I have followed them. In this way we can get alliteration; although this might have originally been present already between finnaid and fót.

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TRANSLATION
(based on Macalister, 1941: 224-239 and Carey, 1994: 252-256)

Listen, o wise men without blemish,
if it please you, so that I may relate
the deaths, with sagacity yonder,
of the best people of the Túatha Dé Danand.

5 Edleó, the son of Alduí\(^1\) of the cliffs,
[was] the first man of the Túatha Dé Danand
who fell in virgin Ireland
at the hands of Nerchon, the descendant of Sémión.

Ernmass, high was her valour,

10 Fiachra, Échtaích, Etargal\(^2\),
Tuirill Picreo, the frenzy of Brega?\(^3\),
fell in the first battle of Mag Tuired.

Elloth fell with valour
the very fierce father of Manannán;

15 and perfect, fair Donand
at the hands of Dé Domnand of the Fomorians.

Cethen and Cú died
of horror in Airceltra;
Brían, Iuchurba and Iuchair

20 killed Cían far from his home.
Great Cairpre, the son of Etan
died from a stroke of the pure sun;

---

\(^1\) Gray, 1982: 118 has nom. Al(l)d(j)a(e). However, LL 1070 has Aldói and 1187 Alduí, which would indicate a diphthong. Carey, 1994: 252 has Alluí.

\(^2\) In DIL this word is cited as a common noun (this is the only example given) with the variant reading eadarglan from BB, without any explanation given. However, both Macalister and Carey (1994: 252) take this to be a proper noun.

\(^3\) See Note on p. 246.
Etan died above the lake
of sorrow for fair-headed Cairpre.

25 In Mag Tuired, it was through battle
that Núadu Argatláam fell
and Macha—that was after samain\(^1\)—
at the hands of Balar Balebémnech.

Ogma fell, although he was not feeble,
at the hands of Innech, the son of Dé Domann;
Casmáel and good Bruidne\(^2\) fell
at the hands of Ochtráallach the son of Innech.

Then of penetrating\(^3\) plague died
Dían Cécht and Gobnend the smith;
35 Luichne\(^4\) the craftsman died up to this time
from a strong, fiery arrow.

Creidne the skilled\(^5\) artisan was drowned
in the sea with angry pools\(^6\)
[while] bringing splendid gold-ore
to Ireland from Spain.

Bress died in Carn uí Néit
because of Lug's trickery, without full falsehood,

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\(^1\) See Note on p. 247.
\(^2\) See Note on p. 247.
\(^3\) Note that apart from this example, there is only one more cited in DIL. For tregtach, DIL gives 'painful; wounded' as its meaning, probably based on Macalister's translation. Binchy (1952: 206) criticises Macalister and gives 'penetrating' as his translation. However, I think that in this context both translations are in fact similar in meaning.
\(^4\) See Note on p. 247.
\(^5\) This line is cited with this translation in DIL under cas b), which normally means 'curly'.
\(^6\) i.e. in the stormy sea
drinking bog-water disguised as milk\(^1\) was a cause for quarrel indeed.

45 Bē Chuille and beloved Dīanand, the two witches, died finally one evening by druidry, from brown aerial demons.

On the shore in the east
50 in the mounds of Rāth Ailig fell great Indui, son of pleasant Delbāeth at the hands of Gand, the son of white-fisted Dán(a)?\(^2\).

Féa--lasting was her fame--died a month after he had been slain 55 at the same fort--we deem it fitting--of grief for white-haired Indui.

Bóind died in\(^3\) the fight\(^4\) at the well of the son of noble Nāmae; [Āine, the Dagdae’s daughter died] 60 [for love of Dara\(\bar{\text{i}}\)air of brown Ireland.]

[Caípre fell, remember] [at the hands of Nechtan, the son of Nāmae;] Nechtan was killed by poison by Siugmall, the grandson of noble Midir.

65 Abcán, the son of cruel Bec Felmais, the poet of Lug with full excellence,

---

\(^1\) This line is cited in DIL under richt with the following translation: "in mistake for milk".

\(^2\) See Note on p. 248.

\(^3\) lit. `with’

\(^4\) Carey, 1994: 254 has `from her arrogance[?]’.
fell at the hand of Óengus without disgrace for satirising\(^1\) very valiant Midir\(^2\).

Midir, the son of the other Indui

fell at the hands of Elcmar;
Elcmar of the battle fell
at the hands of perfect Óengus.

Brian, Iuchurba and Iuchar there
the three gods of the Túatha Dé Danand

fell at the hands of Elcmar;
Elcmar of the battle fell
at the hands of perfect Óengus.

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Brian, Iuchurba and Iuchar there
the three gods of the Túatha Dé Danand

fell at the hands of Elcmar;
Elcmar of the battle fell
at the hands of perfect Óengus.

Midir, the son of the other Indui

fell at the hands of Elcmar;
Elcmar of the battle fell
at the hands of perfect Óengus.

Brian, Iuchurba and Iuchar there
the three gods of the Túatha Dé Danand

fell at the hands of Elcmar;
Elcmar of the battle fell
at the hands of perfect Óengus.

Midir, the son of the other Indui

fell at the hands of Elcmar;
Elcmar of the battle fell
at the hands of perfect Óengus.

Brian, Iuchurba and Iuchar there
the three gods of the Túatha Dé Danand

fell at the hands of Elcmar;
Elcmar of the battle fell
at the hands of perfect Óengus.

Midir, the son of the other Indui

fell at the hands of Elcmar;
Elcmar of the battle fell
at the hands of perfect Óengus.

Brian, Iuchurba and Iuchar there
the three gods of the Túatha Dé Danand

fell at the hands of Elcmar;
Elcmar of the battle fell
at the hands of perfect Óengus.

Brian, Iuchurba and Iuchar there
the three gods of the Túatha Dé Danand

fell at the hands of Elcmar;
Elcmar of the battle fell
at the hands of perfect Óengus.

Brian, Iuchurba and Iuchar there
the three gods of the Túatha Dé Danand

fell at the hands of Elcmar;
Elcmar of the battle fell
at the hands of perfect Óengus.

Brian, Iuchurba and Iuchar there
the three gods of the Túatha Dé Danand

fell at the hands of Elcmar;
Elcmar of the battle fell
at the hands of perfect Óengus.

Brian, Iuchurba and Iuchar there
the three gods of the Túatha Dé Danand

fell at the hands of Elcmar;
Elcmar of the battle fell
at the hands of perfect Óengus.

Brian, Iuchurba and Iuchar there
the three gods of the Túatha Dé Danand

fell at the hands of Elcmar;
Elcmar of the battle fell
at the hands of perfect Óengus.

Brian, Iuchurba and Iuchar there
the three gods of the Túatha Dé Danand

fell at the hands of Elcmar;
Elcmar of the battle fell
at the hands of perfect Óengus.

Brian, Iuchurba and Iuchar there
the three gods of the Túatha Dé Danand

fell at the hands of Elcmar;
Elcmar of the battle fell
at the hands of perfect Óengus.

Brian, Iuchurba and Iuchar there
the three gods of the Túatha Dé Danand

fell at the hands of Elcmar;
Elcmar of the battle fell
at the hands of perfect Óengus.
at the hands of Mac Cuill, the son of Cermaí.

1 Áed, the son of the Dagdaí fell
90 at the hands of fair, very brave Corrcend
without falsehood, it was a cogent reason\(^2\)
after he had eloped with his wife.

Corrcend from Cruach,
the rough, very swift warrior, died
95 from the stone which he erected on the strand
over the grave of very noble Áed.

Crooked and perverse Crichínbél,
the chief satirist of the Túatha Dé Danand, died
from the gold which was found in reckless Banba\(^3\)
at the hands of the Dagdaí, the grandson of Delbáeth.

As the son of the red-faced Dagdaí
was coming from cold Scotland
at the mouth of the Boyne, over here,
it is there that Óengus was drowned.

105 The only son of Manannán from the bay
the first love of the harsh?\(^4\) girl
the tender youth fell in the plain
at the hands of foolish Bennán from the plain of Breg.

Néit the son of Induí and his two wives,
110 Badb and Nemain, without falsehood,
were killed in Ailech without disgrace

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\(^1\) For the next two stanzas, see also Fl. 15-34 on pp. 23-24.
\(^2\) See Note on p. 251.
\(^3\) See Note on p. 253.
\(^4\) dobéil—lit. 'foul-mouthed'. See Note on p. 253.
by Neptúir Derg of the Fomorians.

White?¹ Fúamnach who was Midir’s wife,
Siugmall and Brí without faults,
in Brí Léith—it was full vigour—they were burnt by Manannán.

The son of Allot?² fell with valour
the precious diadem, Manannán
in the battle in stern Cuillen
at the hands of Uílenn of the red eyebrows.

Uílenn fell with pride
at the hands of Mac Gréne with pure virtue;
the wife of the brown-haired Dagdae died
of plague on the slope³ in Líadhruim.

The Dagdae died from a bloody spear
in the Bruig, it is no great lie,
when the woman Cetnen⁴ wounded him
in the great battle of Mag Tuired.

Delbáeth and his son fell
at the hands of Cacher, the noble son of Námae;
Cacher fell beside the reckless Boyne

¹ fuam—Macalister has the following note on this word: "I do not understand fuam: O’Clery’s glossary gives us Fiumam i.gile, "whiteness," which may possibly be relevant." (1941: 320). V and Â have báeth, "foolish", which would alliterate with ben. One would expect fuam to be lenited after a fem. name, and in this case there would be no alliteration in the line. On the marking of lenition, see Vol. II, pp. 25-27: 2.29.

² See Note on p. 254.

³ Note that in theory, this could also mean 'battle-field'. In many cases the wounded, who had been left on the battle-field after a battle, would have contracted plague and died. However, it is not certain at all whether the text is actually referring to a battle or not.

⁴ The LG MSS display great diversity in the orthography of this word. Carey has suggested to me that the origin of this name may be the reanalysis of Lug mac Eithlenn/Eithnenn as Cethlenn, Cethnenn, etc.
at the hands of Fiachnae, the son of Delbáeth.

Fiachnae and splendid Ai fell
at the hands of perfect Eógan Inbir;

135 Eógan of the cold Rivermouth\(^1\) fell
at the hands of [iron-hard] Eochaid Iúil.

Eochaid Iúil fell after that
at the hands of Áed and Labraid;
[Labraid], Óengus, Áed fell

140 at the hands of Cermaid of very fair appearance.

Ériu and Fótla with pride,
Mac Gréne and Banba with virtue,
Mac Cuill, Mac Cécht with purity
[fell] in the battle of Tara of pure soil.

145 Mac Cécht at the hands of splendid Érimón
Mac Cuill at the hands of perfect Éber
Ériu here at the hands of Surge after that
Mac Gréne at the hands of Amargen.

Fótla at the hands of Etan with pride

150 at the hands of Cacher, Banba with virtue;
find out [where they sleep], those are
the deaths of the warriors, listen!

\(^1\) = Eógan Inbir úair
TOÍSIG NA LLONGSE DAR LER (F9)

INTRODUCTION

MSS (based on Macalister, 1956: 104):

LL 16*9
F (Book of Fermoy and Stowe D iii 1)
V (Stowe D iv 1)
Lc (two texts: ∆ and M)
D (Stowe D iv 3)
E (E iii 5 no. 2 in TCD)
R (Rawlinson B512--first quatrain only)
C (C iv 3) (not used by Macalister; used by the editors of LL)

Most of the MS of LL is clearly legible.

Previous edition and translation used in this thesis:

In his introduction to this section in LG, Macalister gives a list of the names of the leaders of the invasion as enumerated in the prose text. Then he goes on to say the following concerning our poem:

"The list in the poem quoted reduces the sons of Bregon by omitting Íth (already dead), by diminishing Blad and Bile to metrical chevilles, and inserting in their stead Míl and Lugaid; increases the sons of Míl by duplicating Éber; and increases the champions by duplicating Suirge and inserting Én, Ún, and Palap (the last probably an adaptation of the Classical Pelops). Evidently the later copyists were perplexed by the inclusion of the dead Íth, Ún, Én, and Míl, and of the yet unborn Írial." (1956: 6-7).

Concerning Macalister’s remark on Blad and Míl, note that I have taken Blad in l. 5 to be a proper name, and mìlid in l.6 to be a common noun. (See Notes on p. 272.)
The poem could be divided into two sections: the first five stanzas simply enumerate the forty leaders (dechenbor trucha toisech—F9. 20), while the rest of the poem recounts their death—although the order of appearance of the names is different in the two sections. The end of the first section is marked by a dünad. It is interesting to note that the names of the forty leaders enumerated in the first section do not exactly correspond to the names mentioned in the second part of the poem. Colptha (F9. 9) does not appear again; and on the other hand, two new names are introduced: Bile and Díl (three if we also count Búan, Bile's wife), thus bringing the number of people whose death is mentioned to forty-one. Note also that we get Fergna (strá) in F9. 50, while in F9. 14 the form is Fergen (sen).

The prose text in LL which can be found immediately before this poem ends with the sentence Is do haidedaib na toisechsa anuas ro chan in senchaid so sis with the gloss Fland Manistrech on senchaid. However, in her book Irish Classical poetry (1957), Knott talks of this poem as one by Eochu úa Flaind, and in a footnote says: "A glossator here [i.e. in LL] ascribes the poem to Flann Manistrech, but cf. 6^9, 10^40, 22^30." (p. 16, Note 10.) The lines she refers to in LL have "Mé int Úa Flaind [...] \ raind fri rigu do-roígo", "Eochaid [...] \ delbas deochair a degrand", and "Eochaid húa Flaind [...] \ ro fuaig in senchass sáerchert" respectively. In these three lines, which are from three different poems, the poet (Eochaid úa Flaind) explicitly says that the poems were written by him. However, this is not the case in our poem, where the last but one couplet says: A Christ ós clannaib cuimnig \ mac meic Flaind a láchLuignib \ ‘O Christ, above races, remember \ the son of Fland’s son from heroic Luigne’. In my opinion, these lines seem to constitute a prayer, and do not explicitly say anything about authorship; as well as that, there is also a difficulty with the allusion to Luigne (presumably Lune, County Meath), with which Eochaid Úa Flaind does not seem to have been connected.

However, Fland Manistrech can not be referring to himself either, as his own paternal grandfather was named Óengus. Maybe Fland (if he is the poet here) alludes to a patron-—maybe to the high-king Máel Sechnaill mac Domnaill (†1022), whom he refers to as óa firard Flaind in LL 15974 (Rig Themra tóebaige iar tain), ‘the truly exalted descendant of Fland’. The problem with this identification is that Máel Sechnaill was Fland Sinna’s great-grandson, not his grandson; and the subkingdom of Luigne was not situated in his immediate territory. Maybe mac meic is used here as a loose equivalent of úa, and maybe Luigne is used as a metaphor for the Midlands or perhaps Ireland itself.
I am aware of the fact that the arguments outlined above are not very convincing, and I do not believe that based on these, the question of authorship could be decided in the favour of either poet. An interesting thing, however, is that this poem shares a cheville with F8: *cenchor fand* (F8. 29), *cencor fand* (F9. 23). I know of no other example of this phrase, so this might indicate a common authorship of the two poems; and *LL* ascribes F8 to Fland. See also Conclusion, Vol. II, p. 189: 5.6.

(For much of this argument I am indebted to John Carey.)

Note that many of the personal names in this poem are inventions from place-names or from names for rivers\lakes. I have been able to identify the following ones, although note that some of these identifications are doubtful (the page reference is to Hogan, 1910):

- Búas (p. 132)
- Búagne (Búagnech?) (p. 132)
- Brego (Brega) (p. 123)
- Colptha (Inber Colpa) (p. 457)
- Cúailnge (p. 312)
- Cúalu (p. 313)
- Éber (p. 392)
- Ébliu (p. 392)
- Fúat (Sliab Fúait) (p. 608)
- Gosten (Goiste?) (p. 447)
- Ítha (Mag nítha) (p. 522)
- Laigne (p. 474)
- Luigne (p. 507)
- Murthemne (p. 551)
- Orba (p. 561)
- Sobairche (Dún Sobairche) (p. 389)
**ANALYSIS OF THE METRE**

**Metre:** debide scalte (fota) \(7^c7^{c+1}\) or \(2^c7^{c+1}\) or \(7^c\).

**Stanza structure**

- \(7^c7^27^3\): 1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 10, 16 (7)
- \(7^c7^27^2\): 5, 6, 7, 13, 14 (5)
- \(7^c7^37^3\): 3 (1)
- \(7^c7^37^0\): 15 (1)
- \(7^c7^37^1\): 17 (1)
- \(7^c7^17^1\): 18 (1)

Stanzas without *rinn* 7 *airdrinn* in the first couplet:

- \(7^c7^277\): 11 (1)
- \(7^c7^27^2\): 12 (1)

The figures for *rinn* (number of couplets with \(7^c7^{c+1}\) per total number of couplets) are \(24/36 = 67\%\).

**Fidrad freccomail** is present between the following stanzas: 1+2 (ll. 4-5), 2+3 (ll. 8-9), 7+8 (ll. 28-29), 10+11 (ll. 40-41), 13+14 (ll. 52-53), 15+16 (ll. 60-61) (6 plus the special cases below).

*F. f.* is present between a stressed and an unstressed syllable in 6+7 (ll. 24-25), 9+10 (ll. 36-37), 11+12 (ll. 44-45). (3)

In 16+17 (ll. 64-65), **Palap** might provide a link.

The figures for *f. f.* are \(10/17 = 59\%\).

**Alliteration** is not present in F9. 30, 36, 40, 42, 44, 54, 55, 64, 68. (9)

Alliteration is not between the last two stressed words in line *d* in F9. 52. (1)

In l. 65 the only way to get alliteration would be to read *fúair* with a lenited *f*. According to **SN** 287:11.35, there is a strong tendency in **MIr** in relative clauses to lenite the first consonant of a verb where the stress falls on the first syllable, especially in verbs where the deu. and the prot. have the same form. I have one certain example of this feature in these texts: *is é thall a mbarr* (F12. 59), pret. sg. 3 of *do-alla*. The relative is possible here too, so it would be possible to read *fúair*. 266
In ll. 18 and 34 the only way to get alliteration is to treat macmeic in the construction X macmeic Y as stressed words. Otherwise I take macmeic to be unstressed in this construction (e.g. F9. 48, 57, 63 and 64--otherwise we would not get alliteration in F9. 48 and 63). See also the section on Internal Rhyme below.

In l. 23 we would get alliteration even if the historical lenition in the case of both Ðuat and fand was marked. See also Vol. II, pp. 25-27: 2.29.

In l. 56 we would not get alliteration if Surge was lenited after ocus, as would be expected in OIr. See also Vol. II, p. 73: 10.1.

The figures for alliteration are 62/72=86%.

**Internal rhyme** in the first couplet (1/18=6%)

file : Bile (F9. 29-30)

**Internal rhyme** in the second couplet (6/18=33%)

mbreis : lir (F9. 7-8)  
átham : Nár (F9. 27-28)  
bind : ding (F9. 59-60)  
Itha : tricha (F9. 19-20)  
buidne : Mumne (F9. 51-52)  
blat : abb (F9. 71-72)

There is imperfect internal rhyme between Ðuat and Ðuath (F9. 23-24).
I think it very unlikely that marb is meant to rhyme with marb in F9. 31-32, and mac with mac in F9. 63-64; note that stressed mac would ruin the alliteration in F9. 63.

Proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in d (not counting the last word, which rhymes with the final of c): 6/35=17%.


1. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2): C'C'--C'C'
   cuimneg : læechluignib (F9. 69-70) (e. r.)  
buidne : Mumne (F9. 51-52) (i. r.)

2. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain S + C/L + ^ (rules 3, 4 and 6):
   L'S^h--L'S^h
   comse : lœechlongse (F9. 67-68) (e. r.)
3. Two consonants correspond to three
The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2): C°C°-C°C°

Laigne : anble (F9. 45-46) (e. r.)

Elision

a) Unstressed short vowel preceded by another vowel: eleven examples. In six cases, the metre requires elision (F9. 13--Surge ar (=íar--see Vol. II, p. 71: 9.15, and SNG: 328: 13.16); F9. 21, 51, 52, 72). In F9. 12, 23, 28 and 56 elision is needed only if one expands 7 as ocus and not as is. (6/11=55%)

b) Dropping of the initial vowel of an unstressed word (prep. + poss. pron., article):

II. After vowels: dropping: F9. 22.
III. At the beginning of a line: F9. 38, 53 and 54.


c) Dropping of the final vowel of an unstressed word (prep. + poss. pron.): F9. 3.

d) Dropping of the initial vowel of the conjunction is:

I. After consonants: dropping: F9. 4 (anmand ‘s a--note that in M, F, V, ∆ and E there is no ‘s).
II. After vowels: dropping: not indicated in spelling: F9. 33, 45.

e) Dropping of the initial vowel of the copula is:
There is no dropping in is tú (F9. 72).

Dúnad

This poem begins with the word toísig and ends with the word tôesech. This is a saigid type of dúnad (see Vol. II, p. 129: 5.2). Note that there is also a dúnad at the end of the 5th stanza (F9. 20-- tôesech).
Toisig na llongse dar ler
dia tâncatar meic Mileid
bit mebra limsa rim' lá
a n-anmand 's a n-aídeda.

Ébleò, Fúat, Brego, Blad bil
Lugaid, Murthemne milyn
Buas, Bres, Búagne na mbríg mór
Dond, Ír, Éber, Hérimón.

Amairgen, Colptha cenhraíd
Éber, Hérech, Herennán
Cúalnge, Cúalu, Nár amne
Mumne, Luigne ocus Laigne.

Fulmán, Má[r]tán, Surge ar sen
Áer, Orba, Ferón, Fergen
Én, Ún, Etan, Gosten gle
Sétga, Surge, Sobairche.

Palap mac Hérimóin ain
ocus Cacher mac Mantáin¹
do dígail Ítha na n-ech
dechenbor trícha tóesech. T.

At-bath Brego i mBregaib bind
marb Murthemni 'con mór línd
Cúalnge ocus Fúat cencor fand
ro marbsat Túath Dé Danand.

Do-rochair Cúalu ní chél

¹ LL Mátáin
la Crimthand scorach Scéathbél
do thám Blad i mBladma bind
Nár *ocus Ébleó i nÉblind.

Amairgen file na fer
30 marb i cath Bile Thened
marb Ír i Scelíc na Scál
marb 'conn Inbiur Erennán.

Dond is Bile is Búan a ben
Díl is Érech *mac Míled
35 Búas, Br(a)es, Búagne cosin mblaid
ro báiti¹ ocna Dumachaib.

Do-rochair Sobairche seng
'na dúin re Echaid Echcend
Mántán is Cacher na cned
40 do-rochair la hAmairgen.

Aided Fulmán co feraib
la Hérimón ic Slemain
do-rochair Lugaid na land
i cath la Firu Domnand.

45 Do-rochair Luigne is Laigne
la maccaib Ébír anble
do-rochair in cethrur cóir
la Íriél *mac Hérimóin.

Cethri meic Ébír tall trá
50 Áer, Orba, Ferón, Fergna
ràníc tarsna buidne a blad
at-bath Mumne i mMaig Crúachan.

¹ ro báided *LL
'Sin chath for Ten[n]us na treb
'sin maig i torchair Éber

doorchraitair\(^1\) [im]malle\(^2\)
Gosten, Sêtga ocus Surge.

Ún mac Ucce ard a rath
Én is Etan ildathach
Hërímôn bind na blaide

ros ding i cath Comraire.

Do-cer Suirge mac Duib daith
la Íriél i nArd Inmaith
Éber mac Ír fer inn őir
la Palap mac Hërímôn.

Palap úallach fúair rinni
i cath gubach Gêsilli
á sain co cummair comse
bás tóesech na lóechlongse. T.

A Christ òs clannaib cuimnig

mac meic Flaind a lóechLuigníb
a Rí na mblat is na mbreth
is tú int abb is tú in tóesech. T.

---

\(^1\) torchratar LL

\(^2\) See Note on p. 273.
NOTES

All references are to Macalister, 1956: 104-111.

Macalister's edition and translation differ from mine in a few significant points, and these are discussed in the Notes.

F9. 5. 40 names have to appear in the first 20 lines of the poem (see pp. 263-264), but Macalister has only 39. This arises from the fact that Macalister takes Blad as a common noun in l. 5. The editors of LL take Blad as a proper noun, and I have followed them.

F9. 6. Based on some of the other MSS, Macalister has on muirlind for LL milid. Milid would give us perfect rhyme, unlike muirlind. Macalister gives milid as a proper noun in his variant readings; in this way he could get the required 40 names as he takes Blad to be a common noun (see note above). However, in his edited text, he has only 39. I have taken milid as a common noun, and Blad as a proper one. (See also Macalister's remark cited on p. 263 and my comment.)

F9. 13. The editors of LL emend Matán to Ma[n]tán, as that is the form of the name which appears in the other MSS and in F9. 39.

F9. 18. See the Note on F9. 13; the only difference is that here we have the gen. of Mantán. The lengthmark over the first a must be a scribal error.

F9. 23. Macalister divides cencor as cen cor, thus subscribing to the view also found in DIL that this conjunction consists of the prep. cen + co. This interpretation is reflected in Macalister's translation, too, where he has 'without their being weak'. However, I take cenco to be the MIr form of ceni (see Vol. II, p. 73: 10.2), and so I have translated it as 'although [...] not'.

F9. 30. The e in Bile is barely legible in the LL MS, and so the Facsimile has bil. This is also noted by the editors of LL.

F9. 31. Macalister capitalises Scál, while the editors of LL do not. I have followed
Macalister, as Hogan also has Scelec na Scál (1910: 592; under Scelec).

F9. 36. There is an extra syllable in this line in LL, and this is the MS Macalister follows in his edition. The easiest way of emending this line would be to follow five of the other MSS (F, M, Δ, E and V), which have either ro báitea or ro báíti (perf. pass. pl. of báidiad)--this makes elision between báíti and oca possible, and in this way one can get rid of the extra syllable. Note that only D agrees with LL. (In theory, one could also omit ro in LL and D; however, the problem with this solution is that in SNG: 306: 12.70 all the examples of the past perfect passive without ro are from strong verbs.)

F9. 48. There is a misprint in the diplomatic edition of LL where Hérimón is printed for MS Hérimóin.

F9. 53. Macalister capitalises the t of tenus, while the editors of LL do not. This line is listed in DIL under Ítenus together with another example. The editors have the following remark concerning this word: "Cf. teannas `austerity,' O'R. (1 tend). But perh. n. loc." There is another example of this word in Macalister, 1956: 160 §476, where it is definitely a place-name (for Tennus). Cf. also Hogan, 1910: 632: tendas, tendchill, tendmag--I actually wonder whether the noun in this poem is not identical with the first name mentioned in Hogan, with the neutralised `strong' n between two vowels spelt with a single n. Hogan has "cath Geisille on the Tenus". If this is a place-name, then it is not clear to me what the significance of `the Tennus of the tribes' is.

F9. 55. There are two syllables missing in this line in LL. The editors of LL have the following suggestion: we should supply and from C and, on the basis of Lc, emend torchratar to do-rochratar. Note that LL is the only MS with torchratar; as well as that, I have only one other example in these poems of the prot. form of a verb used for the deut. where the stressed part of the deut. form does not begin in a vowel or an f, but in a consonant other than f--see Vol. II, p. 78-79: 12.5. Macalister, who follows the other MSS and has do-rochratar, supplies the other missing syllable from V and Δ by reading immalle for LL malle. So I believe that we should either read do-rochratar and 'malle or do-rochratar immalle.

which he translates as `the lofty, the good'. The evidence of the metre seems to indicate
that this is the place-name, as with two exceptions, we always get rinn 7 airdrinn in the
first couplet, too. M has i maig ardmaith and E Findmac for Inmaith, which spoils the
rhyme. The other MSS have Indmaith.

F9. 69. The MS of LL has ósna with the na expunged. This is also noted by the editors
of LL. ósna gives an extra syllable in the line, which is what Macalister has in his edition.
According to the editors, the n-stroke in clannaib is omitted in the Facsimile. The fact
that Macalister has ós na and clan[n]aib seems to indicate that he was working from the
Facsimile.

F9. 71. Macalister has blath for LL blat which he translates as `adornments'. (I presume
he means bláth here.) This word would spoil the rhyme with abb; I believe that this must
be a transcription error or a misprint. Note that F and M have brat (`plunder; captivity'),
while the other MSS agree with LL.
The leaders of the naval expedition\(^1\) from across the sea when the sons of Míl came
I will remember during my lifetime\(^2\)
their names and their violent deaths.

5  Éblu, Fúat, Brego, fortunate Blad,
Lugaid, Murthemne--soldiers\(^3\),
Búas, Bres, Búagne of the great virtues,
Dond, Ír, Éber, Érimón.

Amaírgen, Colptha without anguish
10  Éber, Érech, Erennán,
Cúailnge, Cuál, Nár likewise,
Mumne, Luigne, and Laigne.

Fulmán, Mantán, Surge after that,
Áer, Orba, Ferón, Fergen,
15  Én, Ún, Etan, bright Gosten,
Sétga, Surge, Sobairche.

Palap, the son of splendid Érimón,
and Cacher, the son of Mantán,
to avenge Íth of the steeds
20  ten and thirty leaders.

Brego died in sweet Bregia,
Murthemne died at the great pool\(^4\),

\(^1\) or 'invasion'
\(^2\) i.e. as long as I live
\(^3\) Note that in MÍr milid could be either nom. sg. or pl.
\(^4\) = the sea ?
Cúailnge and Fúat, although he was not feeble,  
the Túatha Dé Danann killed them.

25 Cúalu fell, I will not hide it,  
at the hands of Crimthand Scíathbél, abounding in horses;  
Blad, of plague in sweet Bladma,  
Nár and Ébliu in Ébliu.

Amairgen, the poet of the men  
died in the battle of Bile Tened;  
Ír died in Scelec of the Phantoms,  
Erennán died at the rivermouth.

Dond and Bile, and Búan his wife,  
Díl and Érech, the son of Míl,  
35 Búas, Bres, Búaigne with renown  
were drowned at the Dumacha.

Slender Sobairche fell  
in his fort at the hands of Echaid Echcend;  
Mantán and Cacher of the wounds  
fell at the hands of Amairgen.

The death of Fulmán with men  
at the hands of Éirimón in Slemain;  
Lugaid of the swords fell  
in battle at the hands of the Fir Domnann.

45 Luigne and Laigne fell  
at the hands of the sons of wicked Éber;  
the four just ones fell  
at the hands of Íriel the son of Érimón.

The four sons of Éber yonder then,
Áer, Orba, Ferón, Fergna;
his\(^1\) fame spread over the companies
Mumne died on the plain of Crúachu\(^2\).

In the battle on the Tennus\(^3\) of the tribes,
on the plain where Éber fell,
55 [there] Gosten, Sétga and Surge
fell together.

Ún, the son of Ucce, high is his bounty,
Ún and many-coloured? Etan,
[it was] sweet Érimón of (the) fame
who crushed them in the battle of Comaire\(^4\).

Suirge, the son of swift\(^5\) Dub fell
at the hands Íriél in Ard Inmaith;
Éber the son of Ír, the man of (the) gold\(^6\),
at the hands of Palap, the son of Érimón.

65 Proud Palap (who) found (spear-)points
in the sad\(^7\) battle of Gésell?,
hence briefly and fittingly
the death of the leaders of the naval invasion\(^8\) by warriors.

O Christ, above races, remember

\(^{1}\) = Mumne's?
\(^{2}\) = Mag Crúachan
\(^{3}\) See Note on p. 273.

\(^{4}\) Hogan, 1910: 287 does not provide enough evidence to establish with certainty what the
original nom. sg. of this word was.

\(^{5}\) The adj. could also refer to mac.

\(^{6}\) DIL: Éber inn oír LL 127⁷ 10 ('E. of the [sweet] voice', MacCarthy 156 § 6).

\(^{7}\) cath gubach; gubach is not listed in DIL. I take it to be an adjectival formation from
\(gubat[e]\), io, m, 'mourning, sighing, lamenting'. Macalister translates it as 'sad', and I have
followed this.

\(^{8}\) or 'expedition'
the son of Fland’s son from heroic Luigne;
o King of strength(s) and of judgements
you are the abbot, you are the leader.
MSS:

*LL* 131°37

*Le*

B iv 2

C iv 3

D iii 3

D iv 3

24 P 25

23 K 32

H. 1. 12 (TCD)

The MS of *LL* is very clearly legible.

Previous edition:

*LL* 15640-15780 (diplomatic only)

O’Rahilly has quite a few references to this poem in his *Early Irish History and Mythology* (1946): see pp. 209, 213, 218, and 228-229.
ANALYSIS OF THE METRE

Metre: debide scailte (fota) (7\textsuperscript{7} 7\textsuperscript{7+1} or 2 7\textsuperscript{7} 7\textsuperscript{7+1} or 2).

Stanza structure
7\textsuperscript{7}7\textsuperscript{7}7\textsuperscript{7}: 3, 6, 7, 9, 11, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 33, 34, 35 (16).
7\textsuperscript{7}7\textsuperscript{7}7\textsuperscript{7}: 1, 4, 8, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 20, 24 (10).
7\textsuperscript{7}7\textsuperscript{7}7\textsuperscript{7}: 10, 15, 29, 31 (4).
7\textsuperscript{7}7\textsuperscript{7}7\textsuperscript{7}: 2, 19 (2).
7\textsuperscript{7}7\textsuperscript{7}7\textsuperscript{7}: 17 (1).
7\textsuperscript{7}7\textsuperscript{7}7\textsuperscript{7}: 32 (1).

Stanzas without rinn 7 airdrinn in the first couplet:
7\textsuperscript{7}7\textsuperscript{7}7\textsuperscript{7}: 5 (1).

My figures for rinn (number of couplets with 7\textsuperscript{7}7\textsuperscript{7+1} per total number of couplets) are 46/70=66%. Ó Cuív’s are 44/70=63%, as he subtracted the couplets with the rhymes tart : Chormac (ll. 85-86) and mbalc : Cormac (ll. 91-92).

End-rhyme: The spelling does not highlight the end-rhyme in F10. 95-96: trait : brágit.

Fidrad freccomail is not present in 4+5 (ll. 16-17), 5+6 (ll. 20-21), 6+7 (ll. 24-25), 13+14 (ll. 52-53), and in 14+15 (ll. 56-57) (5 examples).
F. f. is present between an unstressed and a stressed syllable in 3+4 (ll. 12-13). (1)
F. f. is present between a stressed and an unstressed syllable in 8+9 (ll. 32-33), 15+16 (ll. 60-61), 18+19 (ll. 72-73), 19+20 (ll. 76-77), 24+25 (ll. 96-97), 25+26 (ll. 100-101), 27+28 (ll. 108-109), 29+30 (ll. 116-117), and 33+34 (ll. 132-133). (9)
F. f. is present between t and d in 3+4 (ll. 12-13). (1)
In 1+2 (ll. 4-5) Echach Feidlig and Eocho Feidlech, while in 16+17 (ll. 64-65) Túathail might provide a link. (2)
F. f. is present between the final vowel of the last word in stanza 2 (l. 8) and the first vowel of the first word in stanza 3 (l. 9) (Carney, 1981: 254-255). (1)
The figures for f. f. are 29/34=85%.

Alliteration is not present F10. 2, 8, 20, 22, 25, 28, 30, 32, 36, 48, 52, 58, 62, 63, 64, 76,
Alliteration is not between the last two stressed words in line \(d\) in F10. 4, 12, 104, and 132 (4). Note that in F10. 76 I took meic to be unstressed (construction: \(X\) meic \(Y\)); even if it was stressed, the alliteration would not be between the last two stressed words of the stanza.

In F10. 62 we can only get alliteration if we do not lenite selbaig after ro. On lenition after the particles do-, ni, no and ro, see Vol. II, pp. 60-61: 8.4.

In F10. 124 we can only get alliteration if we treat mae as a stressed word.

Ó Cuív's figures for alliteration are \(107/140 = 76\%\), and mine agree with his.

**Internal rhyme**

In the first couplet: we get at least one internal rhyme in all of the first couplets with the exception of stanza 5 (ll. 17-18). Note also that this is the only couplet without rinn 7 airdinn in this poem.

Many couplets have not one, but two pairs of rhyming words; I have separated these from the ones which have only one pair.

Couplets with one internal rhyme (24/35 = 69%):

- tesband : -fessam (F10. 1-2)
- éraim : Frémaind (F10. 9-10)
- mborrthorud : Conchobor (F10. 29-30)
- Coraind : Moraind (F10. 37-38)
- Finn[folod] : immomon (F10. 49-50)
- Temraig : selbaig (F10. 61-62)
- Cathair : tathaír (F10. 69-70)
- Temraig : derluig (F10. 85-86)
- Gunnat : cum[m]at (F10. 97-98)
- flaith : caith (F10. 105-106)
- diglach : irach (F10. 117-118)
- nGaeidel : faengel (F10. 129-130)

- Feidlech : theidmnech (F10. 5-6)
- ndfäid : Íäir (F10. 13-14)
- certblai : echtraí (F10. 33-34)
- Gædel : òenfer (F10. 45-46)
- triathach : Fiachach (F10. 53-54)
- Teotmaer : Techtaid (F10. 65-66)
- oll : Cond (F10. 73-74)
- Dëtach : sëtach (F10. 89-90)
- comramach : forbarach (F10. 101-102)
- chiánbla : bliadhna (F10. 113-114)
- rígad : mínglan (F10. 125-126)
- Noigiallach : söerfiallach (F10. 133-134)

In F10. 105-106 Fothud seems to rhyme with Fothud.

Couplets with two pairs of words making internal rhyme (10/35 = 29%):

- Mór : slóg, cert : slecht (F10. 21-22)
A consonant from group x (C^b) rhymes with a consonant from group l (C^c) (Murphy, 1961: 33): Fechtnach : ercad (F10. 41-42).

In the second couplet: Note that there are many stanzas where all the stressed words are fixed by the metre in line d.

Couplets with one internal rhyme (19/35=54%):

Tem raig : debaid (F10. 7-8) slúag : múad (F10. 15-16)
chobraind : fogbaim (F10. 19-20) būadchiong : Rūadchind (F10. 27-28)
loncho[i]r : torchair (F10. 31-32)
cōelbalc (Le cēlbalc) : -ērba(i)lt (F10. 35-36) (See Note on p. 294)
chomthaig : torchair (F10. 47-48)
rogarb : romarb (F10. 63-64) mbáig : Máil (F10. 75-76)
temel : Nemed (F10. 79-80) brinda : Chrinya (F10. 91-92)
triuin : ng(e)cúil (F10. 95-96) cing : grind (F10. 103-104)
Chommair : -rorraich (F10. 111-112) ceólach : treórach (F10. 119-120)
bretho : Eocho (F10. 123-124) firad : scrißad (F10. 127-128)
bethu : Eocho (F10. 135-136) trénseng : Hērend (F10. 139-140)

In F10. 111-112 cath seems to rhyme with cath.

Note that the spelling does not highlight the rhyme in F10. 123-124 and 135-136. See also Vol. II, p. 19: 2.5.

-rorraich (F10. 112) is an alternative spelling for -rorraig, so we have regular rhyme here. Maybe we should read gliattráig (<gliad + tráig) in F10. 95-96 instead of glét[h]ráig : iachenáim (P^bC^c--C^bP^bC^c), as this would give us another perfect rhyme.

Couplets with two pairs of words making internal rhyme (14/35=40%):

thaidbsin : hamsir, ndrechach : Echach (F10. 3-4)
A consonant from group $x$ ($C^b$) rhymes with a consonant from group $l$ ($C^r$) (Murphy, 1961: 33): thuaith : chrúaid (FIO. 67-68).

Note that the spelling does not highlight the rhyme in maiti : Cailte (FIO. 107-108).

There is one couplet in which three pairs of words make internal rhyme:

bét : éc, brath’ : -bath, bró[i]n : cóir (FIO. 43-44)

There is only one stanza where there seems to be no internal rhyme (stanza 10, ll. 39-40). However, internal rhyme is probably meant between Cattchend and fortend, with the interchange of stressed o and a before a non-palatal consonant. (For other similar examples, see Vol. II, p. 18: 2.4).

In the most elaborate stanzas, there is internal rhyme in both couplets and alliteration in all of the lines (stanzas 4, 11, 14, 17, 18, 21, 23, 30, and 34). In 3, 26 and 33 the only ‘problem’ is that the alliteration is not between the last two stressed words in line $d$.

Proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in $d$ (not counting the last word, which rhymes with the final of $e$): $51/71=72\%$ (according to my calculations); $47/76=62\%$ (according to Ó Cuív). The difference in the second number is due to the fact that I took mac/meic in the construction $X$ mac/meic $Y$ to be unstressed (this occurs in five cases:

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1 unless this is bráth.
F10. 52, 76, 80, 124 and 136, although see my remark on l. 124 under Alliteration, p. 281). The difference in the second number can be explained by the fact that Ó Cuív probably did not take into consideration some of the emendations below or/and did not accept some of the rhymes listed below: loncho[i]r : torchair in l. 31, bró[i]n : cōir in l. 43 and gáeth[glan] : lāechrad in l. 71 (the editors of LL do suggest the last two emendations); cōelbalc : ērba(i)It in ll. 35-36, bretho : Eocho in ll. 123-124, and bethu : Eocho in ll. 135-136.


1. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L + b (rules 1, 2, 3):
   C^Pb..C^Pb; L^Pl..C^Pl; C^Pb..C^Pb

   llecht : Necht (F10. 17-18) (c. r.)
   Art : cacht (F10. 81-82) (i. r.)
   slecht : dlecht (F10. 81-82) (i. r.)
   cōelbalc : -ērba(i)lt (F10. 35-36) (final pos.) (i. r.)

2. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L (rules 1 and 2): C^P^e..C^P^e

   nDerg : chrúadchard (F10. 25-26) (c. r.)

3. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C/L + b (rules 2 and 3):
   L^Cg..C^Cg; C^Cg..C^Cg

   mborrthorud : Conchobor (F10. 29-30) (i. r.)
   chomthaig : torchair (F10. 47-48) (i. r.)
   loncho[i]r : torchair (F10. 31-32) (i. r.)
   būadching : Ruadchind (F10. 27-28) (i. r.)

4. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2):
   C^C^g..C^C^g; C^C^g..L^C^g; C^L^g..C^C^g

   Temraig : selbaig (F10. 61-62) (i. r.)
   comramach : forbarach (F10. 101-102) (i. r.)
   Cōelbad : cāenmag (F10. 121-122) (i. r.)
   rogarb : romarb (F10. 63-64) (i. r.)
   cōelbalc : -ērba(i)lt (F10. 35-36) (i. r.) (medial position)
   Temraig : derluig (F10. 85-86) (i. r.)
   Cormac : fordarc (F10. 93-94) (medial position) (i. r.)

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5. One consonant corresponds to two consonants: a consonant from class 1 (C') or L (L') is added.

\[ C^{ph-}P; S^{b}C'^{-}-S^{b}; C'C'^{-}-C'; P^{b-}C^{ph}; L^{b}P^{ph-}P^{b} \]

mbál: Cormac (F10. 91-92) (e. r.)
tesbáid: fessam (F10. 1-2) (i. r.)
diglach: treach (F10. 117-118) (i. r.)
Temraig: deád (F10. 7-8) (i. r.)
nGáedel: fáengel (F10. 129-130) (i. r.)
tart: Chormac (F10. 85-86) (e. r.)
Cormac: fordarc (F10. 93-94) (i. r.) (final position)
maiti: Cailte (F10. 107-108) (i. r.)

6. One consonant corresponds to three consonants: the added consonants are from class 1 (C): C''-C''C''C''
glaíb: chlaimain (F10. 77-78) (i. r.)
rigad: mínglan (F10. 125-126) (i. r.)
Fiacha: triathbla (F10. 109-110) (i. r.)

7. Two or three consonants correspond to three or four consonants:
a) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2):

\[ C'C'^{-}-C'L'C C'C'^{-}-C'C' \]

Feidlech: theidmnech (F10. 5-6) (i. r.)
chúanbla: bliadna (F10. 113-114) (i. r.)

b) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L + ^b (rules 1, 2, 3):

\[ C^{b}P^{b'-}C^{b'}C^{b'}-C^{b}P^{b'}C^{b'}; C^{b}P^{b'-}C^{b'}P^{b}C^{b'}; C^{b}P^{b'-}C^{b'}C^{b'}-C^{b}P^{b} \]

Tec[h]tmair: Rechtaid (F10. 65-66) (i. r.)
certblai: echtrai (F10. 33-34) (i. r.)
Sraptene: tailchreibe (F10. 109-110) (i. r.)
Fechtnach: ercad (F10. 41-42) (i. r.)

c) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain S + C/L + ^b (rules 3, 4 and 6):

\[ C'C'^{-}-L'S^{b} \]

thaidbín: hamsir (F10. 3-4) (i. r.)

d) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C/L + ^b (rules 2 and 3): C^{b}C'^{-}-C^{b}C'
gáeth[glan]: láechrad (F10. 71-72) (i. r.)

Elision

a) Unstressed short vowel preceded by another vowel: eight examples. In two cases, elision is required by the metre (F10. 107, 109). In four cases, elision is not required by

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1 On the pronunciation of Sraptene see O’Rahilly, 1942b: 185 note 2.
the metre (F10. 71, 90, 103, 108). In F10. 123 (bretho a blaid) we either have elision here, or between chluí a bretho earlier in the line; or read cor(o) chluí. (2/8=25%)

b) Unstressed short vowel + unstressed long vowel: one example. The metre requires elision here (F10. 114). (1/1=100%)

c) Dropping of the initial vowel of an unstressed word (prep. + poss. pron./article):
I. At the beginning of a line: dropping: F10. 13 (not indicated by the scribe).
II. After consonants: F10. 67 (x2), 83, 87, 96, 128 (not indicated by the scribe in F10. 128).

d) The reduction of coro to cor: there is no reduction in F10. 100. On coro chluí (F10. 123), see a).

Dúnad

The poem begins with the word rig (nom. pl.) and ends with the word ōenrí (nom. sg.). See Vol. II, p. 130: 5.5.
Rígh Theimi dlaí tesbhad tnu
ad-fessam a n-aidedu
do thaidbsin a ndrechach ndil
có hamsir Echach Feidlig.

5 Ecoho Feidléch finn fine
nírbh theidmnach tim-réide
tathaim i Temraigh cen tnu
iár ndebaid fría mórmaccu.

Eochaíd Airem éraim ndaith
10 ort i Frémaind in fir[f]laith
ba tigban[n] dá thír râ
la Sigmall Side Nenta.

(I)na ndfáid ba rí cía rìl
mac hù Íár Eterscél
15 la Núadait Necht na slúag sen
do-cer i mMaig múad Maisten.

At-berat Lágin na lècht
robo rí céd Núadú Necht
a aided cen chobraind cain
20 ní fogbaim i scribhennaib.

Conaire Mór mad cert cin
slechta cona slóg i mBrudín
iar tirfeirg toglaig in tríúin
la dibirg n-omnaig nIncúil.

25 Mac Trí Find Lugaid Riab nDerg

1 for maccu
ba cubaid cíal[l] a chrúadcherd
ro marbsat in mbúadching bil
na trí Rúadchind do Laignib.

Lánrí co mborrhorud búan
30 in Conchobor Abratrúad
iar Lugdaig loncho[j]r na lland
nóco torchaír la Crimthand.

Co torach[t] ar certblai cain¹
Étair dia echtrai ingnaid
35 Crimthand cóellbale cloád chath
nocho n-érba(i)l mace Lugdach.

Lánrí Corpre Coraind cain²
athair Moraind mòrbrethaig
at-bath in Cattchend cen chath
40 su ba fortend Feradach.

Feradach Find Fechtnach Fáil
ercad cech n-ing co n-ilgráin
ba bét cen brath bró[i]n ná baind
éic at-bath mac cóir Cremthaind.

45 Cend Gáedel Fiatach Find Fáil
int òenfer cen imbarbáig
níro chomthaig ris nach cair
nóco torchair la Fíachaig.

Fíacha Finn[f]olod for nech
50 nírb immomon étúalngech

¹ cain LL
² an e is erased after cain
cīarbo rí co rrēimim1 rath
rod mbi Êlim mac Conrach.

La Tūathal trīathach ūar tain
la mac Fīachach Finn[f]olaid
fer ad-fédim ūad cech claind
do-cer Êlim i nAchaill.

Tūathal Techt cen tām co tlí
ro slecht i nDál Araidi
lasin ngein co ngrád glēir glē
la Mál mac réil Rochride.

Ro gab Mál Temraig na tor
ro selbaig dar sārugod
ūair rabo rogarb ūar tain
conid romarb mac Tūathail.

Mac Tūathail Techt[ha]irmair na treb
Feidilmūd Rechtaid rogel
ro thathaim 'na thúaithe 'coa thaig
athair Cuind chrūaid Chēchathaic.

Ba cend Cathair crōda cain
cen tathaír for Temarmaig
robo rí in gáethglan2 glē
coro mbi lāechrad Lūagne.

La Tūaith Amrais oll athach
do-cer in Cond Cēchathach
la Tipraiti co mbáig bí
la hōa Mál meic Rochridi.

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1 rrēim im LL
2 gáeth LL; gáethglan Lc
Ro gab gláil[l]blaid cech druing de a chliamain Cuind Conaire co torchair cén temel timm
tiár la Nemed mac Srobcind.

Slecht la Mac Con cén chacht cned cén[i] re glecht Art Óenfer a díth ro dámhair 'sin chath dia mbíth do lágain Lugdach.

85 Lugaid i Temraig cén tart coros derluig¹ do Chormac ra chroch cén bréic 'coa thír thès in goth néit tarlaic Ferches.

Fergus Dub Dêtach na ndrend ba ri in sétach snêd[s]eng co torchair cén brinda mbale i cath Chrinna la Cormac.

Do-cher Cormac húa Cuind chais fordarc cech druing dronamnais robbó gléth[h]ráig truíun cén trait dia ng(c)fuil íachenáim 'na brágit.

Ba Eochaid Gunnat ro glacc in cum[m]at ro thecht Cormac Úair ro crád ro cán fí car cath coro gáb de láim Lugdach.

La Corpcre comramach éían flathius forbarach fírían caín cing for orba a ré

¹ terlaic LL
i tóeb grind Gabra Aichle.

105 Án flaith Fothud Cairpdech crech
corod caith Fothud Airgdech
maíti int Airgdech a dhíth de
la Caille i crích Cruithne.

Ced Fiacha Sraptene im-rá

110 tríathbla tailthreibe Temra
is cath Duib Chommair cía thois
fod-orrach ní cath Chnámrois.

Colla Úais üas chíanbla chain
cethri bliadna ó Airgailaib

115 den bruig ba bét cíaro bá
luid éc iarna innarba.

Ós Dabull díglach na ndrend
la Cóiced n-írach nHérend
do-cer in ceolach cét crech

120 Muridach tríorach Tírech.

Tríallais Còelbad mac Cruind chain
cäenmag bá Cuind Cétchathaig
coro chluí a bretho⁰ a blaid
int Eocho mac Muredaig.

125 Marb iarna rígad dont slóg
Eocho minglan Mugmedôn
ro firad cid cruth aile
ro scríbad (is)sin Scálbaile.

Síacht cert nGáedel cosin ngail

⁰ brétho LL
Cremthand *mac fáengel Fidaig*
do neim ní dalb drongg[s]eng dūr
rod marb Mongfend a derbsúr.

Do Níall Noíghallach anair
tucad sōerfíallach sobraig
de Muir Ict ní bethu bá
ro mbí Eocho *mac Éenna*.

Oc Elpa trí airc n-áig
rod n-erca saiget geláin
Nath Í trénseng cosín tí
 célrbo é Hérend òenrí. R.
NOTES

F10. 10. Note the omission of the lenited \( f \) in fir[m]laith by the scribe. Cf. F10. 49 Finn[m]olod and F10. 54 Finn[m]olaíad.

F10. 13-14. We should read \( \laid \) as a disyllable if we want to get the correct number of syllables in F10. 14. With one exception we get internal rhyme in the first couplet of every stanza (see pp. 282-283), and the only possibility for internal rhyme in this couplet would be between ndiaid and \( \laid \). This means that ndiaid must be disyllabic, and the \( i \) in (i)na has to be dropped in order to get the correct number of syllables. I have two more examples of diaid/deoid in these poems (F8. 47 and F12. 8), and in both cases they are monosyllabic. However, there are several words in my texts which appear both with and without hiatus (for a detailed discussion of these, see Vol. II, pp. 16-18: 2.2). The initial consonant of ina is dropped several times: \( \laid \) appears in F1. 66, F5. 8, 29, F6. 119, F9. 38, F10. 67, 96, F12. 62, and F6. 163 LL. Also note that Le and B iv 2 agree with the LL reading here.

F10. 14. mac hu is the corrupted form of macu.


F10. 23. Note the omission of the mark of lenition over the \( f \) in tiffeirg.

F10. 31. DIL suggests (with a question-mark) that we read lonchoir or -chair in order to get internal rhyme with torchair. O’Brien, 1958: 102, seems to take this word as an o[a] adj., a compound of 1 lon, ‘blackbird, and 5 car, ‘loving’; ‘lover of blackbirds’ (cf. ollchar, lit. ‘of the lovers of greatness’ in F5. 81 and salmchar, ‘psalm-loving ones’ in F5. 82). However, I think that this could also be a compound of 1 lon and the gen. sg. of cor, ‘tune, melody’, and ‘of the blackbird-like song’ would probably make more sense than lonchar, ‘lover of blackbirds’. The emendation itself (i.e. the insertion of \( j \)) is verified by the metre, as this is the only way to get internal rhyme, which is present in all the second couplets with one exception (see p. 283). Note that it would not be possible to read coir, the gen. sg.? of cor, ‘chorus, music’ (which seems to be an a-stem in Féilire 44.227), as
there would be a problem with the rhyme. *Lc* has *lanneair*, and *B iv 2* *lonchór* (with *torchair* in the following line in both cases).

F10. 33. One should read *cain* as *cain* in order to get the rhyme with *ingnaid*.

F10. 35. In order to get the correct number of syllables, we should read *cloâd* as a disyllable.

F10. 36. All of the second couplets have internal rhyme with one exception. Here *LL* has *cōēlbālc* : *-ērbailt*, while *Lc cēlbālce* : *-ērbalt*, and *B iv 2 cōēlbālce* and *-ērbalt*. According to *SNG* (233: 3.8), in *MIr* there is evidence for the change of the diphthong *āe/ai/ōe/oi* to a long vowel. I believe that the rhyme here actually illustrates that the diphthong in *cōēlbālce* is meant to be pronounced as a long vowel, although it is not indicated in spelling in all the MSS. I have another rhyming example illustrating the same change in these poems: in F1. 29-30 (*ēin[fler* : *fēinned*). If we emend *-ērbailt* to *-ērba(i)lt*, then we can get rhyme with *cōēlbālce*cēlbālce in this couplet. Another possibility would be to read *ba[i]le*; *DIL* says under *bale* that the form *baile*, an i-stem adjective, also appears later, side by side with *bale*. In fact, the form with *i* (nom. sg.) figures in *Mesca Ulad* 642 (*LL* 35037) (although it may have been influenced by *tailc* in the same line). Also note that I have a total of six examples of *-ērbailt*- *-ērbalt* in these poems (see Vol. II, p. 88: 12 29). Apart from the example discussed here, this word occurs in rhyming position only in one other case; and here, too, it would have to be emended in *LL* (F6. 136 *LL* : *-ērba(i)lt* : *thrēnglāc*-*R* has *-ērbalt*).

F10. 43. Read *brath* with a short *a* in order to get the rhyme with *-bath*. The rhyme requires that we read *bró[i]n* (*sōir*) instead of *brón* here. The editors of *LL* suggest this emendation, based on *B iv 2* and *Lc*. Although we already have two pairs of words making internal rhyme in this couplet, there are many stanzas in this poem where all the stressed words are fixed by the metre in the last line; and as well as that, the gen. sg. of *brón* (‘without the betrayal of sorrow’) seems to make more sense here than the nom. sg. or the gen. pl.

F10. 47. The editors of *LL* are mistaken in not dividing *risnach* as *ris nach*: I believe that this is the preposition *fri* and the pronominal adj. *nach*. See also *SNG*: 326: 13.2 and 328:
F10. 49. The editors of *LL* have the following note on *Finnolod*: "= Findfolaidh". However, the palatal ending would spoil the internal rhyme with *immomon*. I think that this is the nom. sg. form here, and we have the gen. sg. in F10. 54 (*Finn*[f]olaid : tain). *B iv 2* agrees with *LL*, while *Lc* has *Finn*[f]alaigh : *imomain*. For the non-marking of lenition, cf. F10. 10 *fif*[f]laith* and F10. 54 *Finn*[f]olaid.

F10. 51. In *LL* the scribe divides the word *ríaíim* (:Éllim) incorrectly as *ríaí im*. This is also noted by the editors of *LL*.


F10. 71. There is one syllable missing in this line. Based on *Lc*, the editors of *LL* suggest that we read *gáethglaín* instead of *gáeth*. This emendation is verified by the internal rhyme with *làchcrad* in F10. 72.

F10. 82. There is one syllable missing in this line (*LL* has *cen re dlecht Art Óenfer*). I can see three possibilities here: a) if *re* is the word which appears under 1 ré in *DIL*, then maybe we should read it as a disyllable ("without a rightful period"); b) *Lc* has *cían ro dlecht* here, which still leaves us with one syllable lacking ("he deserved it for a long time?"); and c) Prof. Breatnach has suggested that we might read *cen*[i] *re* (= *ro* *dlecht* (= *dligid*) in *LL* ("although he did not deserve it?"). Note that *dlecht* (= *slecht*) is fixed by rhyme.

F10. 85-86. We seem to have imperfect rhyme between *Temraig* and *terlaic*. *B iv 2* has the same reading as *LL*, while four other MSS, *Lc, D iii 3, C iv 3* and *23 K 32* have *derlaic* or *derlaicc* (the past tense of *derlaicid*, "allows, grants"). This would make sense ("until he granted it to Cormac"), but it would not give us perfect rhyme. *D iv 3* has *derluig* here, the pret./perf. of *do-luigi*, "forgives, remits". This would give us perfect rhyme with *Temraig*, unlike the other readings; also note that in F6. 59-60 the rhyme *Temraig : derlaic* does occur. The *LL* and *B iv 2* readings must have been influenced by *tarlaic*, the perf. of *do-léci*, which appears two lines later.
F10. 89. Dubdétach, as the sobriquet of Fergus, would normally be written in one word (cf. AU 4201 Duibhedach. 4203 Duibhdedaigh, where the lenition of the initial consonant of détaich shows that these two words were actually treated as a compound; Cóir Anmann §260 has Dubdhétach). However, here it has to be read as two words, otherwise we would not get internal rhyme with setach. (With one exception, all first couplets in this poem contain at least one internal rhyme, and here this would be the only way to get internal rhyme.)

F10. 90. Note the omission of the lenited s in sned[s]eng by the scribe.

F10. 96. Concerning the spelling in dia ng(c)juiil, see Vol. II, p. 3, 1.4.

F10. 112. On the lenition of the initial consonant in Chnámrois, see Vol. II, p. 28: 2.29 II b.

F10. 118. As Cóiced Éireann normally refers to Ulster, and as the evidence in AU indicates that this is the case here, too (see AU 4386, where it is stated that Muiredach Tírech was killed by Caelbad son of Crund, king of Ulaid), unlike the editors of LL, I have capitalised Cóiced.

F10. 123. The editors of LL have the following note on brétho: "sic: brethu Lc". However, this must be a misprint, as Lc has bethu. It is difficult to say whether there is really a lengthmark over the e in LL, or whether there is just a slit on the MS page.

F10. 127. The lengthmark is over the f in ro firad, and maybe this is why there is no dot over the f; but in l. 132 in derbsiúr both the lengthmark and the dot are placed over the s. Concerning lenition after the particles do, ní and ro, see Vol. II, pp. 60-61: 8.4.

F10. 128. There is one extra syllable in this line. Read (is)sin. Scáibaile is a reference to Baile in Scáil.

F10. 131. The form of the adj. under which diúr is listed in DIL is diúir. Note that here the non-palatal final consonant is fixed by rhyme (diúr : derbsiúr). I take diúr to be the gen. pl. form.
TRANSLATION

The kings of Tara, who are exempt from envy \(^1\), we will relate their violent deaths to show their dear, fair ones \(^2\) as far back as \(^3\) the time of Echu Feidlech.

5 Echu Feidlech, the fair one of the race, was not evil and faint-hearted he died in Tara without envy after fighting against his great sons.

Echuid Airem, a swift course, the true prince was killed in Frému --it was the final deed of his glorious kingship-- at the hands of Sigmall of Síd Nenta \(^4\).

After them, whatever I may declare, Eterscéil Maccu Íair became king, it was at the hands of Núadu Necht of the long-standing hosts that he fell on the noble plain of Maistiu.

The Leinstermen of the graves say (it): even Núadu Necht, he became king his death without a fine portion \(^5\) I do not find in [the] writings.

Conaire Mór, whose claim is nobly sprung \(^6\)

---

\(^1\) dia tesband tu–lit. 'from whom envy is lacking'
\(^2\) i.e. probably their retinue. Cf. in dian dreckach, 'the swift, fair-faced one' in F5. 9.
\(^3\) co--'until' would not make sense here, as Fland starts the list of kings with Echu.
\(^6\) mad cert cin--I have given Knott’s translation here (1932: 272-274).
was slain with his army in Bruiden,  
--after the destructive, dry wrath of the strong man--  
at the hands of Incéol's fearful band of marauders¹.

25 The son of the Trí Find, Lugaid of the Red Stripes  
the intention of his harsh feats was fitting²;  
the three Red-heads from the Leinstermen  
killed the good, victorious champion.

A full king with a constant, great increase
30 [was] Conchobar Abhratruad,  
after melodious³ Lugaid of the trophies,  
until he fell at the hands of Crimthand.

And he reached the fair, proper? plain  
of Étar as a result of? his wonderful journey (adventure)  
35 slender and strong Crimthand who used to be victorious in battle,  
the son of Lugaid did not die⁴.

The full king, fine Corpre⁵ of Corann,  
the father of Morann of the great judgements,  
the 'Cathead' died without battle  
40 before Feradach became very strong.

¹ This line is cited in DIL under meaning b) ('band of marauders') of diberg with a question-mark.

² ba cubaid cial[|] a chriúadcherd--this seems to make more sense than 'his harsh feat was a fitting cause', which would be the other possibility here.

³ lit. 'of the blackbird-like song'; see Note on p. 293.

⁴ noco n-érba(i)lt mac Lugdach--in the light of what comes next and looking at the last line of any stanza in general, which in many cases states somebody's death, this line does not seem to make too much sense here. Maybe the h in noko is a scribal error, and we should read nóco, 'until the son of Lugaid died'? I have not been able to trace the event referred to either in AU or in T.

⁵ This seems to be a personal name here and in AU 4040, but cf. Hogan, 1910: 291: "cath Corainn i ttorchair ri Cinéil Cairpre Bb 49a, Fia 88".
Fair, blessed Feradach of Fál
who used to fill every danger with many horrors,
the natural death which the just son of Crimthand died
was a calamity without the betrayal of sorrow or of a deed.

The head of the Gaels, fair Fíatach of Fál
the only man without strife?,
--he did not associate [himself] with any crime--
until he fell at the hands of Fiachu.

Fiachu Finnfolod, over anyone
he was no overwhelming, great fear,
although he was king with a course of good luck
Éllim, the son of Conrí slew him.

It was at the hands of noble Túathal afterwards,
at the hands of the son of Fiachu Finnfolod
--the man whom I mention? in the presence of every race--
that Éllim fell in Achall.

Túathal Techt without disease, with protection,
was slain in Dál nAraide
at the hands of the person with excellent, evident rank
at the hands of Mál, the bright son of Rochride.

Mál took possession of Tara of the champions
which he possessed against the [general] wishes,
because he became very harsh afterwards,

1 ercaid—this line is cited in DIL under 1 ercaid, although the editors do not seem to be sure whether the verbal form belongs to this verb.

2 i.e. without any betrayal—so that there was no treachery in connection with his death?

3 miro chomthaig—note that there is only one example cited for the verb comthaigid (Magauran 252) in DIL. Cf. the noun commaid.

4 I presume that Fland here plays on the original meaning of Mál, ‘prince’.
until the son of Túathal killed him.

65 The son of Túathal Techtmar of the holdings\tribes, very bright Feidilmid Rechtaid; he died at home in his tūath, the father of stern Conn Cétchathach.

Fierce, fair Cathaír was chief
70 without reproach on the plain of Tara; the clear, pure wise one was king until the warriors of Lúaigne slew him.

It was at the hands of the Túath Amrais, a great blast, that Conn Cétchathach fell
75 at the hands of Tipraite with a lively contest, at the hands of the grandson of Mál, the son of Rochride.

The in-law of Conn, Conaire got the submissive fame\(^1\) of every band on account of it, until he fell without soft darkness
80 in the West at the hands of Nemed, the son of Srobcenn.

By Mac Con, without the hardship of wounds, was slain, although he did not deserve it\(^2\), Art Óenfer\(^2\); he submitted to his destruction in the battle when he was slain by the spear of Lugaid.

85 Lugaid in Tara without dryness\thirst until he remitted it\(^3\) to Cormac;

\(^1\) gial[l]blaidd = hostage triumph?
\(^2\) See Note on p. 295.
\(^3\) i.e. Tara; for the verb (coros derluig), see Note on p. 295.
the combat-spear\(^4\) which Ferches threw

 crucified (pierced?) him\(^2\) without deception in his land in the South.

Fergus Dubdétach\(^1\) of the combats,

the swift-slender, rich one was king
until he fell, without firm falsehood,
in the battle of Crinna at the hands of Cormac.

Cormac, the grandson of curly-haired Conn fell,
the illustrious one of every thoroughly rough crowd;
it was the obvious death of a strong man without fight
when a salmon-bone got stuck in his throat.

It was Echaid Gunnat who seized
all that Cormac possessed\(^4\)
since he persecuted and reviled [people] before battle?\(^5\)
until he went\(^6\) at the hands of Lugaid.

By victorious, long-lived Cairpre
a prosperous, righteous rule
a fine warrior over the heritage of his reign?
on the pleasant side of Gabar Aichle.

\(^1\) *DIL* has one example of *goth nēt under nēt* from *TBC*\(^2\) 1915, and explains it as "some kind of spear" in brackets.

\(^2\) i.e. Lugaid

\(^3\) See Note on p. 296.

\(^4\) *in cum[m] at ro thecht Cormac*—this is *DIL*'s translation, which appears under *cummat*.

\(^5\) *úair ro crád ro cáin rí a cath*—the meaning of this line is not clear to me. I have taken *ro crád* and *ro cáin*, both of which are fixed by rhyme, to be the perf. sg. 3 of *crádaid*, 'reviles', and *cáinid*, 'torments, persecutes' respectively. However, the fact that the initial consonant is not lenited in either *crád* or *cáin* might indicate that *ro* is the preposition *fri* here (see Vol. II, p. 60: \(^8.4\) and p. 70: \(^9.12\)). In this case, does *úair* stand for *fúair*?—'he got, by means of torment and tribute'—the problem is that this solution would not make much sense either.

\(^6\) i.e. he died
105 A splendid ruler, Fothud Cairpdech of plunders, until Fothud Airgdech exhausted him; Airgdech, his death was boasted of on account of it? by Cailte in the territory of the Picts.

As regards Fiacha Sraptene who travelled about the lordly plain of the strong stock of Tara, it is the battle of Dub Commair, whatever you may swear, which overpowered him, not the battle of Cnámros.

Colla Úais, over the fair, distant plain from Airgíalla for four years; although [the fact that] he died was a deed of violence, he died after his banishment from the land.

[It was] over veneful Daball of the encounters, at the hands of [the] wrathful Ulstermen, [that the] melodious one of hundreds of expeditions fell: powerful Muiredach Tírech.

Cóelbad, the son of good Cruind traversed the fair plain which belonged to Conn Cétchathach, until Echu, the son of Muireadhach overthrew his judgements, his fame.

125 After his installation as king, at the hands of the army died gentle-bright Echu Mugmedón; it was fulfilled, although it was another form

1 Cf. F3, 88 (ro maíded--'it was vaunted').

2 im-rá--lit. 'travels'

3 This was originally a personal name (O'Rahilly, 1946: 499-500).

4 i.e. after he had been banished

5 or 'of Cruind?' The editors of AU have Cruind as the nom. in 4386 and 4393. O'Brien, 1962: 571 has nom. Cruind.
which was written in Baile in Scáil.

The right of Gaels with valour sought

130 Cremthand, the level-white\(^1\) son of Fidach;

[it was] by poison—it is not the lie of trifling crowds which are small in numbers?—,

that Mongfend, his sister killed him.

To Níall Noígíallach from the East

a powerful, noble band of warriors was given;

135 [it was] from the Sea of Wight, it was not a life of benefit?,

that Echu, the son of Énnae killed him.

It was in the Alps through his plan of fight

that a flash of lightning pierced him\(^2\),

140 although he was the single king of Ireland.

---

\(^1\) fængel appears with this translation from \textit{BB} 272\(^3\)30 in \textit{DIL} under the compounds of fáen.

\(^2\) rod n-erca saiget geláin—cf. \textit{DIL} under saiget: "torchair do saighit gealain ag sleibh Ealpa" \textit{FM} i 128.3.

303
A prose tale connected to this poem can be found in LU 52^12; this tale was edited and translated by Windisch (1884: 194-196; 200-205) and O'Grady (1892: I: 82-84; II: 88-91).

The poem itself was edited from LU 53^1 and LL 145^b20 by Windisch (1884: 196-200; 205-221), who also provides a translation in German. O'Grady edited the poem without translating it (1892: I: 84).

The poem comes just after the prose text in LU, and is preceded by "ro chan in senchaid inso .i. Fland Manistrech", while in LL the poem is preceded by the ascription "Fland cecinit".
ANALYSIS OF THE METRE

Metre: deibid scailte (fota) \(7^n \, 7^{n+1} \, \text{or} \, 2 \, 7^n \, 7^{n+1} \, \text{or} \, 2\)

Stanza structure

\[7^1 7^2 7^2: 3, 4, 13, 15 (4).\]
\[7^2 7^2 7^2: 2, 7, 11 (3).\]
\[7^1 7^2 7^2: 6, 9 (2).\]
\[7^1 7^1 7^2: 5, 14 (2).\]
\[7^1 7^2 7^2: 1, 8 (2).\]
\[7^1 7^1 7^2: 10, 12 (2).\]

My figures for \(rinn\) (number of couplets with \(7^n 7^{n+1}\) per total number of couplets) are \(22/30 = 73\%\), and Ó Cuív's \(19/30 = 63\%\), as he subtracted some of the couplets which contain the rhymes below.

End-rhyme

A consonant from group \(x\) \((C^x)\) rhymes with a consonant from group \(l\) \((C^l)\) (Murphy, 1961: 33): suth : illéud \((F11. 7-8)\), mbrath : senchad \((F11. 57-58)\).

Stressed e - I - palatal consonant rhymes with unstressed i/a + palatal consonant:

feill : Cerbaill \((F11. 3-4)\).

There is imperfect rhyme between gliici and ambriti in F11. 19-20.

\(Fidrad freccomail\) is not present in the following cases: between stanzas 2+3 \((ll. 8-9)\) (unless the link is between illéud and the second stressed element in stanza 3, -lluid), 8+9 \((ll. 32-33), 11+12 \((ll. 44-45)\), and 14+15 \((ll. 56-57)\) (4 examples).

\(F. \, f.\) is present between a stressed and an unstressed syllable in 3+4 \((ll. 12-13)\).

\(F. \, f.\) is present between an unstressed and a stressed syllable in 5+6 \((ll. 20-21)\).

In 12+13 \((ll. 48-49)\) Mugaine and Mugain might provide a link.

The figures for \(f. \, f.\) are 10/14 = 71%.

Alliteration is not present in F11. 4, 7, 8, 20, 23, 35, 39, 44, 54, 58, 60 \((11 \text{ cases})\).

Alliteration is not between the last two stressed words in line \(d\) in F11. 16 \((1)\).

In F11. 3 the only way to get alliteration is to lenite the initial consonant in fialgarta, the direct object of ro chren. (For other examples of the initial consonant of the direct object
being lenited, see Vol. II, p. 28: 2.29 II i).

According to Ó Cuív, the figures for alliteration are \(47/60=78\%\). Mine are \(48/60=80\%\); the difference arises from my treatment of F11. 3.

**Internal rhyme**

**In the first couplet** (\(11/15=73\%\), with two internal rhymes in F11. 29-30):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word pair</th>
<th>F11 lines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rosacht : fossalt</td>
<td>5-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dochum : dochond</td>
<td>13-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hálacht : slánaíl</td>
<td>25-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hálacht : ánalt</td>
<td>37-38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mugain : chubaid</td>
<td>49-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dubaig : Mugain, grúad : múad</td>
<td>29-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gial[1]tach : Fiatach</td>
<td>9-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bernach : chennach</td>
<td>21-22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>síreclaig : firenaid</td>
<td>33-34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Findbarr : ndindmall</td>
<td>45-46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bétblaíd : cétfaid</td>
<td>57-58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the initial vowel in hálacht in F11. 25 and 37, see Note at the end of this section, p. 307.

On bétblaíd : cétfaid (F11. 57-58), see the remark on p. 308 below.

**Internal rhyme in the second couplet**

All the couplets have internal rhyme. In many couplets all the stressed word in \(d\) are fixed by rhyme.

Couplets with one internal rhyme (\(8/15=53\%\)):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word pair</th>
<th>F11 lines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tharmaltad : tarmartad</td>
<td>7-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do-rorodál : for(r)án</td>
<td>23-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taraill : álaind</td>
<td>35-36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brí : dí</td>
<td>43-44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mBregmaige : ndegduine</td>
<td>11-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fethim : cethir</td>
<td>31-32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>álgan : làmnad</td>
<td>39-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hollaltaíb : Chonnachtaíb</td>
<td>59-60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In F11. 39-40 and 43-44 there is imperfect rhyme between maccán and bratán.

Couplets with two pairs of words making internal rhyme (\(7/15=47\%\)):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word pair</th>
<th>F11 lines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chren : ben, fialgarta : Diarmata</td>
<td>3-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>band : and, bacalt : attacht</td>
<td>15-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloí : báí, gell : trell</td>
<td>19-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>úan : dúal, deilm : deilb</td>
<td>27-28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) dochum must be stressed here.
blatdál : bratán, brón : mór (F11. 47-48)
róen : nÃéd, rúamach : slúagach (F11. 51-52)
glana : clanna, glórdá : móra (F11. 55-56)

Proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in d (not counting the last word, which
rhymes with the final of c): 22/28 = 79%. My figures agree with those of Ó Cuív. On bacalt
: attacht (F11. 15-16), do-rrodáil : for(r)áin (F11. 23-24), and glana : clanna (F11. 55-56), see Notes on pp. 314, 315 and 317.

In his metrical analysis Windisch (1884: 237) has hálacht (F11. 25, 37) rhyming with
slánaí (F11. 26) and ánalt (F11. 38). According to DIL, the initial vowel of alacht is
short (they cite one rhyming example with a short vowel). According to the Léxico
Étymologique, which prints this word with a long á (1959: 58), the etymology of this word
is uncertain. In F11. 38 one could read ánalt with a short a, taking the first element to
be the intensive prefix, so we could get rhyme with alacht here (with a short a). However,
as internal rhyme is present in most first couplets, and the only way to get this in F11.
25-26 would be to read hálacht with a long a, it is altogether very tempting to do this
here as well as in F11. 37—in this case, we would of course need to have ánalt.

Analysis of rhyming consonant clusters (using Ó Cuív’s classification—1966: 94-103; 1987:
109; also see SMF, Vol. II, pp. 111-112: 2):

1. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L + (rules 1, 2, 3):
 L^Ph--L^Ph; C^bPh--L^Ph; L^Ph--C^bPh
 ceirt : c[h]ompéirt (F11. 31-32) (c. r.)
 hálacht : slánaí (F11. 25-26) (i. r.)
 bacalt : attacht (F11. 15-16) (i. r.)
 tharmaltad : tarmad (F11. 7-8) (second cluster) (i. r.) ?

2. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L (rules 1 and 2): P^C^v--P^C^v
 síreclaig : firecnaid (F11. 33-34) (i. r.)

3. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2):
 L^C^v--L^C^v; C^C^v--C^C^v; C^C^v--L^L^v; C^L^v--C^C^v
 Fíndbarr : ndindmall (F11. 45-46) (i. r.)
 fialgarta : Diarmata (F11. 3-4) (i. r.)
mBregmaige : ndegduine (F11. 11-12) (i. r.) deilm : deilb (F11. 27-28) (i. r.)
tharmaltad : tarmartad (F11. 7-8) (first cluster) (i. r.)

4. One consonant corresponds to two: a consonant from class I (C') or L (L') is added:
   C''C''--C''; L''P''--P''
glórdá : mórá (F11. 55-56) (i. r.) gialltach : Fiatach (F11. 9-10) (i. r.)

5. Two consonants correspond to three
   a) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2):
      L'C'C'--C'C'; C'C'C'--C'C'
      fondglán : ndegfognad (F11. 41-42) (e. r.)  áglán : làmnad (F11. 39-40) (i. r.)
   b) doíde + V; doíde + ö: one example (F11. 41). The metre does not require elision.

Dúnad

The poem begins and ends with the word Mugain. So this is a regular, saigíd-type of
dúnad (Murphy, 1961: 44). Stanzas 12 (l. 48) and 14 (l. 56) end in the word Mugaine. I
believe that in F11. 48 the dúnad indicates the end of the section which describes the
misfortunes of Mugain. Concerning the dúnad in F11. 56, see Note on p. 317.
Mugain ingen Chonchraid\(^1\) chain meic Duách dín\(^2\) desMumain ro chren fialgarta\(^3\) cen feill\(^4\) ben Diarmata meic Cerbaill.

5 Cachtsus rosacht in\(^5\) réigain ba fossalt\(^6\) co fírdígail ùair ní tharmaltad\(^7\) a suth co tarmartad a llecud.

And do-lluid ba giall\([\text{ill}]\)tach\(^8\) gnìa uá féig Fiatach\(^6\) Finnìa i n-ìath mBregmaige\(^1\) co mblait còar\(^1\) ndegduine co Diarmait\(^1\).

Do-lluid dochum in réig rúaid cen dochund\(^1\) is cen dímbúaid

15 nàbad band bacalt a blad\(^1\)

---

\(^{1}\) Chonchraid \(LU\)
\(^{2}\) don \(LU\)
\(^{3}\) last four letters erased in \(LU\)
\(^{4}\) faill \(LU\)
\(^{5}\) ind \(LU\)
\(^{6}\) bá fósalt \(LU\)
\(^{7}\) nà tarmaltad \(LU\)
\(^{8}\) gialltach \(LU\)
\(^{9}\) in Fiatch \(LU\)
\(^{10}\) i n-ìath Bregmaige \(LU\)
\(^{11}\) coár \(LU\)
\(^{12}\) Diarmait \(LU\)
\(^{13}\) dochund \(LU\)
\(^{14}\) nàbad and bá cathalt blad \(LU\)
and rod n-attacht¹ in rígan.

Rádsis ris² ránic a less
ní no ícæd a hancess³
dí a chlo⁴ bad gell co nglicce⁵
20 ar baí trell i n-ambrit⁶.

Rodas⁷ bennach Finnía féig
combad chennach díà comréir⁸
assa chúch do-rrodáil⁹ dig
don mnaí for(r)áin étrachtgil¹⁰.

25 Íarom ba hálacht Mugain
slánalt roda sámsubaig¹¹
co mbert úan ropo¹² deilm dí
nárbo dúal do deilb duni.

De ro dubaig dar grúad nglan
30 Mugain múad¹³ in mòrrígan
ferr léa¹⁴ a fethim cen chlaind ceirt¹⁵

¹ adacht LU
² ráidis fris LU
³ ícæd a ances LU
⁴ chloí LU
⁵ co nglicce LU
⁶ amrite LU
⁷ ros LL
⁸ coemréir LU
⁹ fo-rrodáil LU
¹⁰ for(r)áin étrochtgil LU
¹¹ rodá sámsubaig LU
¹² nárbo LU
¹³ maith LU
¹⁴ lé LU

310
andás¹ cethir do c[h]ompeirt².

Ná síreclaig de ar Díá
ar in firenайд Finníá
35 tāraill³ cossecrad do brond
int úan álaind étrachtol⁴.

Íarom ba⁵ hālacht in ben
ropo ānalt (n-)airmiten⁶
e⁷ maccan ro lāmnad de
40 bratán álglan⁸ airgdide.

Audbrais do Finnía(n) fondglan⁹
arin¹⁰ Díá dia ndegfognad¹¹
a bratán úas¹² brí cía pé
is maccan dí dia čise.

45 Do-gníth la Findbarr fúaim nglán
cum tach ndindmall ñdegfethal¹³

¹⁵ cen c[h]laid cirt LU
¹ indá LU
² do chompeirt LU
³ tāraill LU
⁴ étrochtoll LU
⁵ bá LU
⁶ máralt airmite LU
⁷ hé LU
⁸ álgl[lan] LU
⁹ edprais do Finnía fond glan LU
¹⁰ in omitted in LL.
¹¹ dia féfognad LU
¹² òs LU
¹³ dindmall daigfethal LU
ba bláidí cen brón cia bee do bratán mór Mugaine.

Co mbért Mugain mó ceech claind do mac cóir chubaid Céirbaill íarum ós róen rúamach ré in nÁed sáer slúagach Sláine.

Segait for nert Fótha fia feib do-drair[n]gert Finnia glana glórdia in gním ñgaile clanna móra Mugaine. M.

Is si seo cen bétblaid mbrath cétfaid araile senchad cona hollaltaib cen ail ba de Chonnachtab Mugain. M.

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1 bláidí LU
2 ce pé LU
3 compert LU
4 cach LU
5 Céirbaill LU
6 íarom LU
7 Sláine LU
8 do-rairngert LL
9 in glonda LL
10 nglé LU
11 ( )s í LU--the 1 is lost in a marginal rent.
12 ollaltaib LU
13 bá do LU
There are quite a few significant differences between my translation and Windisch's. The most important of these are discussed in the Notes on Fall 3 and Fall 15-16; and in the Footnotes in the Translation section on Fall 5, 7, 53 and 57.

Note that the mark of lenition over \( f \) and \( s \) is always omitted in \( LU \): a) after preps.: \textit{cen faill} (Fall 3), \textit{do Finnia} (Fall 41); b) in the second element of a compound: \textit{rodá sámsubaid} (Fall 26), \textit{fëgfognad} (Fall 42), \textit{daigfethal} (Fall 46); c) after a noun in the dat.: \textit{don mnaí for(r)äin étrochtgil} (Fall 24) (in theory, this could be acc. for dat., and the lack of nasalisation might be due to the fact that for(r)äin ends in a nasal; however, in this case we would not get alliteration in the line). \textit{do Finnia fóndglan} (Fall 41) could be either acc. or dat. with the mark of lenition omitted over the \( f \) of fóndglan. We would get alliteration in either case.

The mark of lenition over \( c \) is omitted once in \( LU \): \textit{cen c[h]laind} (Fall 31). In \( LL \) this happens once, too: \textit{do c[h]ompeirt} (Fall 32). Here in the MS the \( m \)-stroke stretches over the \( c \) as well as the \( o \), so probably this is why the \textit{spiritus asper} was omitted--or it may also be hidden.

\textbf{Fall 2.} Duách has to be read as a disyllable in order to get the correct number of syllables in the line.

\textbf{Fall 3.} After much deliberation, Windisch interprets \textit{fialgarta} as a gen. sg. dependent on \textit{cen faill}. However, he remarks that in this way \textit{ro chren} does not have an object. He considers the possibility of \textit{gart} being the acc. pl. form; however, he dismisses this by saying "allein gart scheint im Plural nicht gewöhnlich zu sein" (1884: 207). Besides his translation which appears in the main text ("ohne Vernachlässigung sittsamer Ehre"), in his discussion he proposes another one, too: "ohne Vernachlässigung ehrbarer Gestlichkeit". However, I see no problem with taking \textit{fialgarta} as the acc. pl. of \textit{fialgart}, u? ("she\{who dispensed noble generosity\}).

As far as \textit{faill} and \textit{feill} are concerned, both readings would be possible here, both from the metrical and the semantic point of view ("without neglect‘ or ‘without deceit"). However, \textit{LU faill} might be better, because in this case in the rhyming pair the quality
of the consonant preceding the stressed and the unstressed vowel (Cerbaill) will be the same. See also SMF, Vol. II, pp. 117-118: 2.4. (Note that Windisch excludes LL feill on the grounds that feill is an o-stem--1884: 206--however, according to DIL, this can also be an à-stem).

F11. 4. Windisch notes that the prose text has the form Cerbeóil, gen. of Cerbél, which is probably the older form of the name (LU 4217).

F11. 6. The lengthmark over the o in LU fósalt (rosacht) must be a scribal error.

F11. 8. Note that Windisch takes tarmartad as an imperf. ind. form (1884: 210). However, I believe that this is the pret. or perf. passive sg. prot. form of *do-armairt, 'intended, attempted', which can only be found in the pret. (perf.?) according to DIL.

F11. 10. There is one syllable missing in this line in LL. In LU Fiatach, which I take to be the gen. of Fiatu, is preceded by the definite article in, which would give us the correct number of syllables. However, one would expect gen. sg. masc. ind Fiatach here--but note that the mark of lenition over the f is always omitted in LU (see the second Note on this poem, p. 313), and in MIr in could stand for OIr ind (see SNG: 259: 7.7 and Vol. II, p. 56: 6.4; I also have several examples of the article used with a personal name). However, with ind Fiatach we would not get alliteration in the line. So probably the easiest thing to do would be to accept Windisch's suggestion that we follow the LL reading, and read úa as a disyllable (on hiatus, see Vol. II, pp. 16-18: 2.2).

F11. 11. The word íath is stained in LU, and so the Facsimile has rath, which is also noted in the diplomatic edition. As Windisch worked from the Facsimile, he has rath in his text.

F11. 15-16. Windisch believes that the LL reading (bacalt) is superior to LU cathalt, as there should be internal rhyme somewhere in the line, which is here provided by bacalt: attacht (provided of course, that <e> = /k/ here). LU cathalt would definitely give us imperfect rhyme here. (We already have internal rhyme in this couplet between band and and; however, in many second couplets all the stressed words are fixed by rhyme in line d.) bacalt seems to be a compound of alt; there are several compounds of this word in
this poem: slánalt (F11. 26), ánalt (F11. 38 LL) (= måralt--F11. 38 LU), and ollalt (F11. 59). bac could either stand for bace, o, n + m 'angle, bend, corner', later also 'hindrance', or for 2 boe, o, m 'a he-goat'. Or the word could also be boe with /g/, o, ā 'soft, gentle, tender'; in this case we would not get perfect rhyme. Windisch gives no translation here; and my tentative suggestion would be that this compound might contain bace and alt in the gen. pl. In this case the translation would be 'so that her fame might not be a period of states of hindrance?'--i.e. so that Mugain would not be remembered by her failure to bear children.

Windisch also thinks that LL band is a superior reading to LU and, as another and follows soon in the next line, which could have confused the scribe. With the LL reading in F11. 15 we get perfect internal rhyme between band and and.

F11. 21. There is one syllable missing in this line in LL. We should adopt the LU reading here, and read rodas for LL ros.

F11. 23. Windisch was not aware of the fact that both fo-dáli and do-dáli existed in OIr, and takes do-rrodáil as do + ro + fo-dáil.

Windisch also remarks that the dat. sg. cúích is an unusual form. However, it is perfectly understandable from the MIr point of view, as it is the reduction of the OIr dat. sg. cuúch.

F11. 24. LL has forráín and LU forráin, in both cases rhyming with (-roodáil). DIL cites the example from LU under forán (for + án), oíá, 'very fine, splendid', although it is not certain if it belongs here, and suggests that this might be forrán, 'violent aggression'. However, the meaning of the latter word does not fit in here; and we would not get perfect rhyme here either with -roodáil (cf. forráí[i]n : Allāín in F2. 25-26). I believe that the double r must be a scribal slip, and we should read forán in both MSS.

F11. 25. On the initial vowel in hálacht here and in F11. 37, see p. 307.

F11. 27. I think that nárbo in LU is a ditography--another nárbo follows in F11. 28 (see also Windisch, 1884: 198).

F11. 28. In the MS of LL the -e in duni is corrected to -i by a subscript letter, and the
Facsimile has dunie; this is also noted in the diplomatic edition of LL. This correction might represent an attempt by the scribe to highlight the end-rhyme with dí (for vowel length in this word, see note on F11. 44 below).

F11. 30. LL seems to have the superior reading here, as múad rhymes with grúad, while LU maith does not. Note that in this way this will be the only first couplet with two pairs of words making internal rhyme.

F11. 35. Windisch notes that LU tāraill is superior to LL tārraid, as it will give us perfect internal rhyme with ālaind in F11. 36. DIL notes that the quantity of the vowel in the pret./perf. of do-aidlēa (tāraill) is uncertain; however, the long ā is fixed by rhyme here.

F11. 38. Windisch considers the LL reading (ānalt) to be the superior one to LU máralt because of the alliteration with airmiten. On the first element of ānalt, see the remark on p. 307.

F11. 42. There is one syllable missing here in LL. LU has arin Díā (cf. F11. 33 ar Díā). We could either accept the LU version or read Díā as a disyllable (see also Vol. II, pp. 16-18: 2.2). There is a misprint in the diplomatic edition of LU, where arin is printed as ar in.

There is an m-stroke added over degfognad (imperf. ind. sg. 3 of fo-gní) by a retracer in LL, and the Facsimile has degfognand. This is also noted by the editors of the diplomatic edition. Windisch has degfognand, as he worked from the Facsimile. This incorrect form is cited in DIL both under deg-fognain and fo-gní (as ind. sg. 3). This reading will not give us perfect end-rhyme with fondglan.

Alliteration shows that LL degfognad is the correct reading here as opposed to LU fégfognad.

F11. 44. Note that the long i in dí is fixed by internal rhyme (chrí).

F11. 46. Windisch seems to take the nasalisation after cumtach in LL as a historical one caused by a neuter noun. I think that this is just the acc. used with the passive. (See also Vol. II, p. 34: 3.1.)
F11. 49. *LU* compert Mugain is corrupt here, as one would expect the gen. *Mugaine* after nom. sg. compert; however, this would give us an extra syllable, so *LL* combert Mugain is the superior reading.

F11. 52. Windisch suggests that the best thing would be to read sóer for sáer in order to get perfect rhyme with róen. However, even by late OIr the diphthongs áe and óe had already fallen together (Thur. §66).

F11. 54. There is one syllable missing here in *LL*, so the *LU* reading (doda- vs. *LL* do-) should be adopted.

F11. 55. There is an extra syllable here in *LL*. Omit in.
Both glana (*LU*) and glonda (*LL*) (xelanna) could be possible here. glana could be the nom. pl. of the subst. adj. glad or of glandae. In both cases it would mean 'the pure ones'. The *LL* reading could either be the á-stem nom. pl. of glond, meaning 'exploits' or 'champions', or it could stand for the nom. pl. of substantivised glandae, with the interchange of stressed o and a before a non-palatal consonant. For examples of rhyme between stressed o and a before a non-palatal consonant, see Vol. II, p. 18: 2.4.

F11. 56. Note that there is a dúnad here in both MS versions, and the first letter of Mugain, M, is repeated after the last word in *LL*. Windisch (1884: 219) suggests that perhaps this was where the original poem ended, and the next stanza might be a later addition, containing another tradition concerning Mugain's pedigree. This might be supported by the fact that fidrad freccomail is not present between the last two stanzas--although note that *f.f.* is absent in four cases in this poem (see p. 305), so this criterion can not be fully trusted.
TRANSLATION
(based on Windisch, 1884: 205-221)

Mugain, the daughter of fair Conchrad
the son of Dáuï from South Munster
she who dispensed noble generosity without deceit
the wife of Diarmait, the son of Cerball.

5 Barrenness\(^2\) subjugated her, the queen,
it was a lasting state with real punishment
since no offspring from her had been enjoyed\(^3\)
so that she was on the point of being discarded (by her husband)\(^4\).

Then there came, he was an obedient\(^5\) servant\(^6\)
the keen descendant of Fiátu, Finnia\(^7\)
into the land of Bregmág with strength
to our good man, to Diarmait.

He came towards the mighty king
without harm and without disgrace
15 so that her fame might not be a period of states of hindrance?\(^8\)
there the queen entreated him.

\(^1\) For this meaning of crenáid, see O’Brien, 1958: 101.

\(^2\) Windisch seems to think that rosacht refers to Diarmait’s wavering in his attraction towards Mugain (of LU 4235-36) (1884: 209). For rosacht DIL gives ‘delay, hesitation, wavering’; however, it also cites the following example from Cōr Anmann 251: “rosacht chlainne ‘barrenness, sterility (?)’. I believe that ‘barrenness’ would fit in here better.

\(^3\) ùair ni tharnialtad a suth— This is DIL’s translation, found under do-meil, where it is followed by a question-mark. I take tharnialtad to be the perf. pass. sg. prot. form of the verb (see Vol. II, p. 164, 12.36). Windisch gives no translation here.

\(^4\) co tarmartad a llécud— This is DIL’s translation, found under do-armait.

\(^5\) Note that this is the only example cited in DIL for gialltach.

\(^6\) i.e. of God

\(^7\) Note that this person is also referred to as Findbarr in l. 45; and he is called Findén in the prose text (LU 4243, 4245, 4249, 4260).

\(^8\) See Note on p. 314.
She told him that she needed (it)\(^1\) something that would cure her great debility; when he overcame [it]\(^2\), it would be a pledge with cleverness\(^3\) for she was (had been) for a period in barrenness.

Keen Finnía blessed her so that there would be a recompense as a result of her submission\(^4\); from his cup he poured out a drink for the very noble, bright-shining woman.

20 Afterwards Mugain became pregnant a state of well-being which soothed and rejoiced her\(^5\) and she bore a lamb, which was a shock to her\(^6\), which was not natural for a human figure.

On account of this, noble Mugain, the great queen grew dark over her clear face\(^7\) she would have preferred to wait\(^8\) without ordinary children\(^6\) than to conceive a four-legged animal.

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\(^1\) rānic a less--lit. 'she reached its need'.

\(^2\) LU 'dia chloí'--for (or as a result of) his cry?--this does not seem to make sense here. DIL cites this example from LU under clóe under the heading "ascription doubtful". They also make allusion to the LL reading (dia doí) here; however, that probably belongs to clóid, 'overthrows, vanquishes', and that is how I have interpreted this phrase.

\(^3\) i.e. a proof of his wisdom

\(^4\) i.e. because she entreated Finnía. The LU reading, [...] dia cóemréir ("so that there would be a compact as a result of their/ her dear wish"), seems to make less sense here.

\(^5\) This is DIL's translation which appears under both sám and subaigidir, followed by a question-mark. I believe that this translation does fit into the context.

\(^6\) I have given a figurative meaning to deilm, 'report, tidings, rumour'. Another possibility could be 'it was the rumour concerning her'.

\(^7\) i.e. she cried (Windisch). This describes a state of mind completely opposite to that expressed by sámsubairg in the previous stanza.

\(^8\) ferr léa a fethim--lit. 'her waiting was better in her opinion'

\(^9\) This is DIL's translation, which appears under cert.
"For the sake of God, do not continue to fear it?"

said the truly wise man, Finnia;

35 "the beautiful, shining-great lamb

came as the consecration of your womb".

Thereafter the woman became pregnant
it was a glorious state of honour;
this was the male child which was born as a result of that
40 a silvern salmon from a pure brood.

She offered to bright-soled Finnia
--for the sake of God whom he served well--
her noble salmon, whichever it may be,
and a son for her after it.

45 By Findbarr was made—a clear sound?

a shrine of good halidoms, as massive as a fort
it was an assembly of strength? without sorrow, whatever it may be,
for Mugain's great salmon.

And Mugain bore—greater than any other offspring—
50 for the just, right son of Cerball

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1 This is DIL's translation, which appears under eclaigid with a question-mark because of de.

2 Note that do-aidleab as a verb of movement, can take a direct object. The LL version, tairraid cossecrad do brond, which will not give perfect rhyme, is 'the lamb secured the consecration of your womb'.

3 This example is cited in DIL under the meaning 'fry, a young fish' of bratan. However, I think that 'salmon' would fit in better with the symbolism of the poem. O'Grady translates this word as 'salmon' in the prose text.

4 lit. 'her salmon over a hill' = i.e. transcending/surpassing a certain height (nobility?). Cf. bri na mbreg 'the princess among princesses', Gwynn, 1924: 326.3. Note that this line is cited in DIL among the figurative uses of bri with a question-mark.

5 i.e. she was to have a son after the salmon

6 This line is cited in DIL under the meanings 'proper, right' of cubaid.
afterwards over the glorious? path of time
noble Áed Slánc who was rich in troops.

They strive for power over worthy3 Fótla
as Finnía had prophesied it;
the glorious, pure ones4 with regard to [the performance of] a valorous
deed;
the great descendants of Mugain.

This is without the misfortunate fame of treachery5?
the opinion of certain `historians':
that with her great adventures6 without disgrace
60 Mugain was from Connacht7.

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1 This example is cited in DIL under rúamach, "adj. of uncertain meaning". I take this as coming form 2 rúam, `fame, glory?'.

2 This example is cited in DIL under meaning b) of róen, `way, path' (`used loosely of surfaces, spaces and in other derived senses').

3 DIL cites this example under 1 fia (cf. 6 fiad and 1 fiada?), without any meaning given; Windisch takes this as fíu, `worthy'. Kelly (1973: 28, note 11b) reckons that this is an adj, cognate with fíu `worthy', fó `good', and feb `excellence', and translates it as `good', which is how it is translated by Carney, 1964: 74, l. 867, too. It is disyllabic in the poem edited by Carney, but monosyllabic in that edited by Kelly and here. Note that Windisch translates this line as `because of strength, they strive for the worthy Fótla'.

4 See Note on p. 317.

5 Windisch: `without the glory of foolishness of deceit(deception')?

6 or `states'? Maybe this refers to slánalt, etc.

7 i.e. not from Munster, as indicated in stanza 1. See also Note on p. 317.
INN EÓL DÚIB IN SENCHAS SEN (F12)

INTRODUCTION

MSS:

LL 150*48
R 163*30
23 E 26
24 A 2
H. 4. 1-3 (TCD)

The MS of LL is clearly legible.
Most of the Facsimile of R is clear.

Previous edition: the poem was edited from R with variant readings from 23 E 26 by Ó Donnchadha in An Leabhar Muimhneach (1940: 408-411), without any translation.

In the Introduction to the Facsimile edition of R B502 (1909: xiii-xiv), K. Meyer has the following comment on this poem:

"An anonymous poem of twenty-two stanzas enumerating the Christian kings of Cashel from Oengus mac Fraoch (i.e. Nadfróich) down to Cormac (mac Carthaig), whose father Tadg died in 1124. The beginning is:

'Do you know the ancient history,
the name of each king that ruled Cashel?'

There is an imperfect and very corrupt copy of this poem in LL. p. 150a, where it is ascribed to Flann, i.e. Flann Mainistrech, not, as Atkinson thoughtlessly suggests, to Flann mac Lonánin."

It is interesting to note that in R this poem is immediately followed by Mide magen and Sil nÃeda Sláine.

The poem in R has more stanzas than the poem in LL. The last stanza in LL
mentions Dondchad, the son of Brían Bórama, who died in 1064; while in R the poem ends with the reign of Cormac, who died in 1138. Even down to the reign of Dondchad there is a difference in the number of stanzas contained in the two MSS. There are two stanzas in R which are omitted in LL, and there is one in LL which is omitted in R. As connecting alliteration is not always present between stanzas, one cannot use this criterion for establishing whether these stanzas were originally an integral part of the poem or not. However, the two extra stanzas in R seem to be the logical, chronological continuation of the previous ones (see Byrne, 1973: 278-279), thus I have included them in the main body of the edited text. The LL stanza omitted in R is the last one in the afore-mentioned MS. As in R six extra stanzas were added to the poem bringing the kings up to the reign of Cormac (†1138), it is understandable that the last stanza in LL had to be completely rewritten (see my note on ll. 3-4). I believe that the last stanza in LL is the original one, so I have included it in the main text.

Note that there is a misprint in the Introduction to LL, where this poem is cited as *Inn éol dúib in senchas sin* (1957: xi).

Ó Cuív (1968: 285) questioned Fland's authorship of this poem partly on the grounds that it is longer in R than in LL, and partly on the grounds that it has the lowest figures among the *debide* poems as far as the metrical analysis is concerned (see Vol. II, p. 103). Concerning authorship, see Conclusion, Vol. II, 189: 5.3.
ANALYSIS OF THE METRE

Metre: debide scailte (fota) \((7^x 7^{x+1} \text{ or } 2 \ 7^x 7^{x+1} \text{ or } 2)\).

Stanza structure

\[7^17^27^17^2: 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 11, 15 \ (7).\]
\[7^17^27^17^2: 2, 17 \ (2).\]
\[7^17^37^17^2: 8, 12 \ (2).\]
\[7^17^27^17^2: 10 \ (1).\]
\[7^27^17^7^1: 14 \ (1).\]
\[7^17^37^17^2: 16 \ (1).\]

Stanzas without \textit{rinn} 7 \textit{airdrinn} in the first couplet:

\[7^27^17^27^2: 6, 13 \ (2).\]
\[7^17^17^17^2: 9 \ (1).\]

My figures for \textit{rinn} (number of couplets with \(7^x 7^{x+1}\) per total number of couplets) are \(25/34=74\%\). Ó Cuív’s are \(18/30=60\%\). My figures will necessarily differ from his, as my text contains two stanzas which appear in \(R\) (and \(23 E 26\)), but not in \(LL\) (see the Notes on F12. 45-48 and F12. 53-56, pp. 335). Also, Ó Cuív subtracted the couplets which contain \textit{feib} : \textit{Eochaid} (F12. 9-10) and \textit{mbarr} : \textit{Hérend} (F12. 59-60) discussed below, as well as those containing the rhymes \textit{gart} : \textit{Cormac} (F12. 25-26, 37-38).

End-rhyme

The end-rhyme is not highlighted in spelling in F12. 7-8 (\textit{Gossa} : \textit{Óengusa}).

The end-rhyme is deliberately highlighted in spelling in F12. 11-12 (-\textit{closs} : \textit{Fergos}) (see also Vol. II, p. 5: \textbf{1.15}).

Stressed e + palatal consonant rhymes with unstressed i/a + palatal consonant: \textit{feib} : \textit{Eochaid} (F12. 9-10).

Stressed a + non-palatal consonant rhymes with unstressed e + non-palatal consonant: \textit{mbarr} : \textit{Hérend} (F12. 59-60).

Stressed a + palatal consonant rhymes with unstressed i + palatal consonant: \textit{gail} : \textit{Chasil} (F12. 15-16).

(For a discussion of these rhymes, see Vol. II, pp. 117-118: \textbf{2.4}).
**Fidrad freccomail** is present in 1+2 (ll. 4-5), 2+3 (ll. 8-9), 4+5 (ll. 16-17), 5+6 (ll. 20-21), 7+8 (ll. 28-29), 8+9 (ll. 32-33), 9+10 (ll. 36-37) (7 cases).

F. f. is present between a stressed and an unstressed syllable in 15+16 (ll. 60-61).

The figures for f. f. are \( \frac{8}{16} = 50\% \).

**Alliteration** is not present in the following lines: F12. 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 32, 38, 40, 43, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 54, 59, 63, 64 (26).

Alliteration is not between the last two stressed words of line d in F12. 60. (1)

Note that the only way to get alliteration in F12. 33 is to ignore the otherwise historical lenition in Faelad; or to lenite the initial f in find, which would not be historical here. On historical and non-historical lenition, see Vol. II, pp. 25-29: 2.29.

I take *mac* to be unstressed in the construction X mac Y (F12. 36, 52, 64, 68).

According to Ó Cuív, the figures for alliteration are \( \frac{35}{60} = 59\% \). Again, my figures will necessarily differ from his because of the two extra stanzas in R and 23 E 26. My figures are \( \frac{41}{68} = 60\% \) (37/60=62% for LL). The difference between my figures and those of Ó Cuív for LL can be explained by the different treatment of F12. 33 and 36 (see the remarks above). Concerning *mac* in the construction X mac Y, see also the section on Internal Rhyme.

**Internal rhyme**

As this poem is basically an enumeration of the names of kings, the poet did not have too much scope for playing with language. In the first couplet, Amalgaid seems to rhyme with nAmalgaid in F12. 13-14, and there is imperfect rhyme between glaccas and catlas in F12. 65-66.

Second couplet (4/17=24%):

- **gondchar** : Dondchad (F12. 3-4 LL)
- **indled** : Fingen (F12. 15-16)
- **écair** : Gécain (F12. 39-40)
- **comthach** : Dondchad (F12. 67-68)

There seems to be rhyme between Coirpre and Corpriu in F12. 15-16. However, as the figures for rhyme in this poem are so low, I do not think that this is intended here. (See also Vol. II, p. 121: 2.6.)

A consonant from group x (\( C^b \)) rhymes with a consonant from group l (\( C^r \)) (Murphy,
Proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in \textit{d} (not counting the last word, which rhymes with the final of \textit{c}): \( \frac{4}{29} = 14\% \) (according to my calculations); \( \frac{4}{28} = 14\% \) (according to Ó Cuív). Note that I took \textit{mac} to be unstressed in the construction \textit{X mac Y} in F12. 36, 52, 64, 68, and probably this is why the number of stressed words counted for \textit{LL} by Ó Cuív and by me is not the same (concerning \textit{mac} in this construction, see also the section on Alliteration).


1. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain \( P + C/L \) (rules 1 and 2):
   \( C'P'^*-L'P'^* \)
   
   \textit{garg} : \textit{imard} (F12. 13-14)

2. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain \( C \) or \( L \) (rule 2):
   \( C'^*-C'^*; L'^*-C'^* \)
   
   \textit{calma} : \textit{Mathgama} (F12. 53-54) \hfill \textit{indled} : \textit{Fingen} (F12. 15-16)

3. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain \( C/L + h \) (rules 2 and 3):
   \( L'^*C'^*-L'^*C'^* \)
   
   \textit{glondehar} : \textit{Dondchad} (F12. 3-4 LL) \hfill \textit{comthach} : \textit{Dondchad} (F12. 67-68)

4. One consonant corresponds to two consonants
   
The added consonant belongs to class \( L \) (\( L' \)): \( L'P^h*-P^h \)
   
   \textit{gart} : \textit{Cormac} (F12. 25-26, 37-38)

**Elision**

a) Unstressed short vowel preceded by another vowel: three examples. In all of these cases elision is required by the metre (F12. 25, 37--soilsisoiisli a gart--note that \( R \) does not have the \( a \)--see Note on p. 334; F12. 35). (3/3=100\%)

b) Unstressed short vowel + unstressed long vowel: six examples. In five cases elision is required by the metre (F12. 9, 15, 22, 34, 35). In one case the metre does not require elision (F12. 18). (5/6=83\%)
c) Unstressed long vowel + unstressed long vowel: one example. The metre requires elision here (F12. 27). (1/1 = 100%)

d) Dropping of the initial vowel of an unstressed word
I. After consonants: there is no dropping in F12. 32.
II. After vowels: there is dropping in F12. 62.

e) do\lde + V; do\lde + \l;
The vowel of the preposition is elided: F12. 47, 67.

**Dúnad**
The poem begins with the word inn (unstressed) and ends with the word Bóruimi, so only the first and last sound of the poem are identical. See Vol. II, p. 129: 5.3.
Inn eóil dúib in senchas sen
ainm ccech₁ ríg ro gab Chaselo₂
ó chreitim glondchar in gnúim³
có Dondchad mac in ardríg⁴.

5 Óengus mac Fraích⁵ fodlad⁶ brait
is é ro chreit⁷ do Pátric⁸
Feidilmid⁹ i mMaig¹⁰ Gossa¹¹
ro gab¹² i ndíaid Óengusa¹³.

Eochu iar Feidilmid¹⁴ co feib
10 ocus Crimthand iar nEochaíd
Fergus iar Crimthand ro-closs
occus Garbán¹⁵ iar Fergos.

Amalgaíd iar nGarbán¹⁶ garg

---

¹ cach R
² Caissel R
³ ón chreitim nár t[h]aisich tair R--spiritus asper over the t?
⁴ co Cormac Caissil chētaich R
⁵ mac Nad Fraích LL;Fraeoch ? R
⁶ fodla R
⁷ ro creit R
⁸ do Phátraic R
⁹ Feideilmid R
¹⁰ immed R
¹¹ missing in LL
¹² ro ngab R
¹³ Óengosa R
¹⁴ Feideilmid R
¹⁵ Garbán R
¹⁶ nGarbán R; n is added above the g in LL.
Aed iar nAmalgaíd imard¹
15 Coirpre² iar nAed no indled gail
Fingen³ iar Corpriu Chasil⁴.

Cathal iar Fingin fúaim⁵ nglan
ocus Fáilbe iar Cathal
Cúan iar Fáilbe co Fáil
20 ocus Móenach⁶ iar Cúan.

Cú cen Máthair iar Móenach
Colgu⁷ iar sein⁸ Dondhad caíbach⁹
Finguine¹⁰ süaire¹¹ a baile
Etarscél iar Finguine.

25 Cormac iar sin soilsi a gart¹²
ocus Cathal iar Cormac¹³

Artrí¹⁴ iar Cathal¹⁵ cáem a chli¹⁶

¹ imardd R
² Cairpre R
³ Fingin R
⁴ iar Cail[r]pre Caissil R
⁵ fúam R
⁶ Moinach R
⁷ Colgeo R
⁸ sin R
⁹ crechach LL
¹⁰ Finguine R
¹¹ ba süaire LL
¹² soilsi gart R
¹³ Cormace R
¹⁴ Artrí R
¹⁵ Cathul R
¹⁶ cáem chli R

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is Ólchobor¹ iar nArtri².

Ólchobor³ iar sin súaire (in) mod

Álgenān iar nÓlchobor
Máel Fathartaig⁴ folld a gráig
Cend Faelad ina degaid.

Dúnchad iar Cind Faelad find
Dub Lachtna iar sin súaire in mind

Finguine iar sin suíslí⁵ a grád⁶
 cu⁷ Cormac mac Culennán.

Cormac iar sin soillsí a⁸ gart
is Flaithbertach⁹ iar Cormac¹⁰
ciarb écér¹¹ a ains immach

Cend Gécāín¹² iar Flaithbertach¹³.

Lorcán¹⁴ iar Cind Gécāín glan
ro gab murigecht Muman

---

¹ Ólchobur R
² nArtrī R
³ Ólchobur R
⁴ Fathardaig R
⁵ soillsí R
⁶ superscript i over the a?
⁷ co R
⁸ a omitted in R
⁹ Feidlimid LL
¹⁰ Cormace R
¹¹ ciarb écér R (written together)
¹² Gécāín R (Gécāín?)
¹³ Cormac LL
¹⁴ Lorcán R
maith in fer ros gab íar sin
Cellacháin cendfind Casil.

45 1Máel Fathardaig fadlad cáin
ro gab dar éis Cellacháin
d'éis Máel Fathardaig na ndremm
dhian ro gab Dub Dá Bairenn.

Do-chóid2 Fer Gráid mac Clérig3
i rríge4 Casil chémnig5
ocular ros gab6 ar écin
Mathgamain mac Cendétig7.

8Máel Múad mac Brain ba calma
ro gab dar éis Mathgamna
co toracht Brían Bernuis báin
ro gab Casssel in chétaig.

Ro innsaig Brían Banba mbind
ar ríge Chasíl chendfind9
ocular is é10 thall a mbarr
60 do chóic cóicedaib Hérend.

---
1 This stanza is omitted in LL.
2 do-chúaid R
3 in cléirech R
4 i rrígi R
5 céimnech R
6 ro gab R
7 Ceinnéitig R
8 This stanza is omitted in LL.
9 a ríge Caissil cennfind R
10 hé R
Íar tesbaid Bríain cosin mblad¹
baí Mumu ’na mórchosnam²
coro rigad and íar sain³
Dúngal mac Māel Fot[h]artaig⁴.

65 ⁵Ros gab gilla glaccas slúag
catlas i Casiul chlethrūad
rop comthach d’Hērind uili⁶
Dondchad mac Bríain Bórui mi.  IN.

---
¹ cosin blaid R
² bae Mumu 'na mórchosair R
³ coro rigsat tall íar tain R
⁴ Fathardáig R
⁵ Six stanzas follow here in R (and in 23 E 26)—see Ó Donnchadh, 1940: 411. The 5th one seems to have been modelled on ll. 65-68 in my text (from LL):

Ro ngab gilla glaccas graig
catlas i Cäsiul chabsa[d]
rop cenn for hÉrind huile
Cornac Caisil cúbuidi.

⁶ uili is added above the line.
NOTES

All references are to Ó Donnchadh (1940: 408-411). There are some misprints in his edition (based on R), and these are listed below:

F12. 1: Read senchas for senchad; F12. 4: read Caissil for Caisil; F12. 9: read Feideilmid for Feidilmid; F12. 14: read inardd for inardd; F12. 33: read Faelad for Faelad; F12. 42: read muirigecht for muirigecht; F12. 47: read Fathardaig for Fathardaigh; F12. 50: read cēimnech for cēimneach; F12. 55: read Bernuis for bernuis (see Hogan, 1910: 112); F12. 60: read göicedaib for göcedaib.

F12. 3-4. These two lines are substantially different in LL and R: LL has ē chreitim glondchar in gnim\ co Dondchad mac in ardrig; while R reads ēn chreitim nār t[h]aissich tair\ co Cormac Caissil chetaich. The reason for this is that the LL version enumerates the kings of Cashel only to Dondchad mac Bríain Bórama, who died in 1064 (AU), thus outliving Flann by 8 years. The six extra stanzas in R, enumerating the kings of Cashel down to Cormac, whose father Tadg died in 1124, were added on by somebody else, who had to change not only the last line of the first stanza, but the third line too, in order to get end-rhyme and internal rhyme in the couplet. 23 E 26 agrees with R. Note that ll. 81-83 in R (the last but one stanza in Ó Donnchadh’s edition) seem to be a reworking of the last stanza in LL.

F12. 5. There is an extra syllable in this line in LL. I believe that we should follow R and omit Nād from the name Òengus mac Nād Fraich. Note that 23 E 26 agrees with LL here, and Byrne, 1973: 293 also refers to this king in the same way. However, I can see no other way of emending this line.

The R version fodla brait ("of the distribution of a goad"?), does not seem to make any sense. The word cannot be the gen. sg. of bratt, cloak, as the final [t] would not rhyme with the [gl] of Páirc. The omission of the second d in fodla is probably a scribal error. LL has fodlad, which makes sense (imper. ind. sg. 3 of fo-dáli, "distributes").

F12. 7. There are two syllables missing here in LL. Based on R, the editors of LL suggest that we supply Gossa after i mMaig, and I have accepted this suggestion. See also Hogan, 1910: 521.
F12. 10. Here the scribe in both MSS must have mixed up Echu and Echuid (this seems more likely than the confusion of final lenited, palatal d and g-SNG: 234: 3.18 --, of which I have only 2 certain examples in this text--see Vol. II, p. 22: 2.14). Note that in R ocus is almost always abbreviated as et.

F12. 12. Garbán (LL) is the correct name here and in the next line (Byrne, 1973: 293).

F12. 16. Note that the short i in Fingen is fixed by rhyme. (Byrne, 1973: 293 has Fingen).

F12. 19-20. In order to get the correct number of syllables, we should read Cúân as a disyllable in both cases.

F12. 21-22. The end-rhyme Mœnach : crëibach as opposed to LL Mœnach : crechach shows that it is R which has the correct reading here. 23 E 26 agrees with R.

F12. 23. There is an extra syllable in this line in LL. Based on R, the editors suggest that we omit ba. This solution is also supported by the reading of 23 E 26.

F12. 25. R omits a. This does not change the syllable count, but the meaning of the phrase will be somewhat different ('generosity is brightest/brighter' instead of 'brightest is his generosity'). 23 E 26 agrees with R here. The same thing occurs in F12. 37.

F12. 27. On elision in this line, see p. 326: c.

The omission of the a in R from cäem a chli is definitely a scribal error, as the lenition in chli shows. 23 E 26 agrees with LL here.

F12. 29. There is an extra syllable in this line in both LL and R. Omit in? 23 E 26 gives no help here, as its reading agrees with that of the other two MSS.

F12. 37. See the Note on F12. 25 above.

F12. 38. Based on R, the editors of LL suggest that we read Flaithbertach for Feidlimid. 23 E 26 agrees with R. See also the Note on F12. 40 below.
F12. 40. There is one syllable missing in this line in LL. Read Flaithbertach (R and 23 E 26) instead of Cormac. Cormac is the last word in F12. 38, so probably this is why the LL scribe made the mistake of writing it down again. The end-rhyme only works with Flaithbertach (immach). See also the Note on F12. 38 above.

F12. 45-48. This quatrain is omitted in LL. 23 E 26 agrees with R here.

F12. 49-50. As far as end-rhyme is concerned, 23 E 26 agrees with LL here, and they both have mae Clérig (chëmnig). Note that the king list in Byrne, 1973: 292 supports the reading of these two MSS; R has in cléirech (ceimnech).

F12. 53-56. This quatrain is omitted in LL. 23 E 26 agrees with R here.

F12. 58. R and 23 E 26 have a for LL ar. This is either a scribal slip, or the preposition a (‘out of, from’), and then this couplet would mean ‘Brian approached sweet Banba / from the kingship of bright-headed Cashel’. It is very unlikely that a stands for i here (at least in R), as I have no other example of a used for i in these texts, neither from LL, nor from R. Note that LL ar could stand either for iar or for for. I have one example of ar used for iar (F9. 13), and four of ar used for for (see Vol. II, p. 68: 9.7, and 71: 9.15).

F12. 65-68. This quatrain is omitted in R; however, ll. 81-84 in R seem to be a reworking of this stanza. See also the Footnotes on p. 338.

F12. 68. The LL scribe has the following gloss on Bóruimi: iar barrbuidi, ‘yellow-haired’.
TRANSLATION

Do you know the old, ancient history
the name of every king who ruled Cashel
from the coming of the faith—valiant is the deed—,
to Dondchad, the son of the high-king.

5 Óengus, the son of Fróech, who used to distribute spoil[s]
it is he who gave allegiance to Patrick;
it was Feidlimid in Mag Gossa
who took possession [of it] after Óengus.

Echu after Feidlimid with excellence,
10 and Crimthand after Echuid¹;
Fergus after Crimthand—it was heard—,
and Garbán after Fergus.

Amalgaid after fierce Garbán,
Áed after very noble Amalgaid;
15 Cairpre after Áed who used to exercise valour,
Fingin after Cairpre of Cashel.

Cathal after Fingen—a clear sound—,
and Fáilbe after Cathal;
Cúán after Fáilbe, as far as Fál?²,
20 and Móenach after Cúán.

¹ See Note on p. 334.
² DIL cites this line under 5 fál. It says that the expression co Fál ‘as far as Fál’ was used in connection with Irish kings to imply that they were high-kings of Ireland. They have the following explanation on our example: "after Failbe, k. of Munster, reigned Cuan, who was also high-king". However, Cúán is not listed among the high-kings of Ireland in Byrne, 1973: 275-276. I believe that there are several possibilities here: the poet is either mistaken or wants to exaggerate; or this could also be 1 fál, ‘fence, hedge, enclosure’ (‘protection’ in a metaphorical sense?) or 4 fál, ‘science, learning’ (although this word is a badly attested one). If we accept DIL’s translation, then the preposition is co, ‘to, as far as’, and in the other cases co, ‘with’ (‘with protection’; ‘with learning’—although this last one is quite unlikely in my opinion).
Cú cen Máthair after Móenach,
Colgu after that, tress-haired? Dondchad;
Finguine—pleasant was his dwelling-place--,
Etarscéil after Finguine.

25 Cormac after that--brightest is his generosity--,
and Cathal after Cormac;
Artrí after Cathal--dear was his authority?--,
and Ólchobor after Artrí.

Ólchobor after that--a pleasant way?--,

30 Áilgenán after Ólchobor;
Máel Fathartaig who used to distribute horses,
Cend Fáelad after him.

Dúnchad after fair Cenn Fáelad,
Dub Lachtnae after that--pleasant is the crown--;

35 Finguine after that--brightest is his rank--,
to Cormac, the son of Cuilennán.

Cormac after that--brightest is his generosity--,
and Flaithbertach after Cormac;
although his name was utterly improper

40 Cend Gécáin after Flaithbertach.

It was Lorcan after bright Cenn Gécáin
who took into possession the lordship of Munster;
good is the man who got it after that:
fair-headed Cellachán of Cashel.

45 It was Máel Fathardaig, who used to distribute tribute,
who took possession [of it] after Cellachán;
after Máel Fathardaig of the companies
Dub Dá Bairenn took it swiftly.
Fer Gráid, the son of Cléirech went
into the kingship of noble Cashel;
and Mathgamain, the son of Cendétig
seized it by force.

It was Máel Múad, the son of Bran who was valiant,
who took possession [of it] after Mathgamain;
until Brian from bright Bernas appeared
who took Cashel of the great contention\(^1\).

Brian attacked sweet Banba
after (gaining) the kingship of bright-headed Cashel\(^2\);
and it is he who took away their supremacy\(^3\)
of the five provinces of Ireland.

After the death of Brian with fame
Munster was the object of great contention;
until there, after that was made king
Dúngal, the son of Máel Fothartaig.

A youth who controls?\(^4\) an army took it
who sleeps\(^5\) in Cashel of mighty warriors;
may he be a friend to the whole of Ireland:
Donchad, the son of Brían Bóruimi.

\(^1\) For cét: as an intensive prefix, see O’Rahilly, 1977: 191-193.
\(^2\) See Note on p. 335.
\(^3\) oclus is é thall a mbarr--this line is cited in DIL from R under 1 barric h) 'supremacy, preeminence' with the translation 'deprived of their supremacy'.
\(^4\) ros gab gilla glaccas slúag--this line is cited in DIL under glacaid, 'seizes'; gilla glaccas groig is cited from one of the additional stanzas of this poem in R, and is accompanied with the following translation: "who handles? (controls?)". DIL also notes that this verb is "of rare occurrence till late Mid. and early Mod. Ir." However, apart from this example, I have ro glacc in F6. 58 LL and F10. 97; and náro thrénglacc in F6. 135.
\(^5\) catlas--the R version, catlas i Caisiul chabsa[dl], from one of the additional stanzas, is cited in DIL under con-tuili, 'sleeps', with a question-mark. I believe that con-tuili makes good sense here.