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Seven Bardic poems to the Meic Dhiarmada of Magh Luirg

Mícheál Hoyne

PhD thesis

2014

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DEDICATION

For Nano and Wilson

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For any remaining errors or omissions, I alone am responsible.

SUMMARY

This thesis consists of editions of seven previously unedited Bardic poems to members of the Mac Diarmada (Mac Dermot) family of Magh Luirg (Moylurg), Co. Roscommon.

'Bardic poetry' refers to the syllabic verse, written in a literary dialect, primarily by professional praise poets for aristocratic patrons, which flourished in Gaelic Ireland and Scotland between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries. As a contemporary historical document, a Bardic praise-poem is an invaluable historical source for scholars of Gaelic Ireland. Using our understanding of strict Classical Irish metre and language, it is possible to detect and rectify textual corruption with a much greater degree of certainty than with prose texts, where the language was less standardised and where metre is of no assistance.

In the Introduction, a brief account of the Mac Diarmada family is provided, along with a list of all extant poems addressed to them. The editorial method is explained.

As part of the introduction to each edition, the MS witnesses are described, a detailed account of the poet and patron is provided, and the argument, date of composition and metre are discussed. For each poem, a diplomatic edition of one MS is provided. If there are multiple MS copies, variant readings are supplied. A critical edition is given parallel to the diplomatic text. An English translation accompanies each quatrain or stanza. Notes discuss difficult words, phrases and other editorial matters.

Poem 1 (*Roinn leithe ar cóigeadh Connacht*) was composed by Aingleach Ó Domhnalláin for Aodh Mac Diarmada (†1393). It is an important source for traditions concerning various divisions of the province of Connacht, in particular that between Maol Ruanaidh and Conchobhar, sons of Tadhg, king of Connacht, and ancestors of the Meic Dhiarmada and Í Chonchobhair respectively. It is argued that this poem was composed on the occasion of a peace agreement in 1377 between Aodh Mac Diarmada and Ruaidhrí Ó Conchobhair, king of Connacht. A later poem, *Dá mhac rugadh do rígh Connacht*, composed for Tomaltach Mac Diarmada (†1458), is also discussed in depth.

Poem 2 (*Foraois na gcliar clann Mhaoil Ruanaidh*) is a difficult piece, a mixture of poetry and prose (*crosántacht*) rich in literary allusions. It was composed c. 1421 by Duibhgeann Ó Duibhgeannáin for Tomaltach an Einigh (†1458). This poem is a valuable

historical source for otherwise undocumented attacks by its honorand on the English colony and a witness to a complex network of alliances between Gaelic lords across provincial boundaries in the fifteenth century.

Poem 3 (*Grian shamhraidh teisd Tomaltaigh*) is a composition in a looser form of Bardic verse known as *brúilingeacht*, addressed to the same patron as Poem 2. It is attributed to Seithfín Mór. The source MS, the so-called Seithfín Duanaire, a collection of poems in *brúilingeacht*, is discussed. It is argued that the poem was composed between 1421 and 1435.

Poem 4 (*Sguiream feasd do chrannchur Chathail*) is another composition from the Seithfín Duanaire. It was composed by Páidín Ó Maoil Chonaire in praise of Cathal Mac Diarmada (†1530). The internal evidence of the poem is our sole source for the honorand's career. It appears to make reference to the Battle of An Bealach Buidhe in 1497.

Poem 5 (*Síol féile fuil Dhiarmada*) was composed by Brian Dorcha Ó hUiginn for Brian Mac Diarmada (†1592), the patron of the Annals of Loch Cé, some time between 1568 and 1585. In Brian's reign, the Elizabethan regime made serious inroads into Magh Luirg. Brian's relationship with the local English government and the history of the Elizabethan conquest of Roscommon are discussed in depth.

Poem 6 (*Ní gnáth liaigh gan luach saothair*) is addressed to Conchobhar (†1603?) who participated in the Nine Years' War, campaigning in Connacht and Munster with Ó Domhnaill. The poem is the work of the distinguished poet, Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa, and has an interesting apologue concerning Cú Chulainn and Cathbhaidh. It is suggested that the poem was composed c. 1595.

Poem 7 (*Álainn claochlódh na Cairrge*) celebrates the restoration of the island-house of Brian Óg (†1636), the son of Brian (patron of Poem 5), probably upon his return to his native Roscommon after his education as a ward of King James in Trinity College (c. 1605). Though the poem is without ascription in the MS, it is argued that it was composed by Gofraidh (mac Briain) Mac an Bhaird. The evidence of social and political change in early seventeenth-century Gaelic society provided by the Bardic poems addressed to this honorand is analysed and the effect which such change had upon Bardic panegyric is investigated.

CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Poem 1 Introduction	10
Text and translation	24
Notes	49
Poem 2 Introduction	82
Text and translation	100
Notes	138
Poem 3 Introduction	192
Text and translation	201
Notes	219
Poem 4 Introduction	240
Text and translation	251
Notes	267
Poem 5 Introduction	283
Text and translation	301
Notes	321
Poem 6 Introduction	348
Text and translation	360
Notes	383
Poem 7 Introduction	417
Text and translation	432

Notes 451

Genealogical trees 474

Indexes 476

Abbreviations 492

References 497

INTRODUCTION

THE MEIC DHIARMADA

The Meic Dhiarmada (anglicised 'Mac Dermots') were the lords of the kingdom of Magh Luirg (Moylurg), an area approximating to the barony of Boyle, in the north of Co. Roscommon. The family's traditional caput was their island castle, the Rock of Loch Cé. They descended from the same family as the Í Chonchobhair, the kings of Connacht (see Poem 1), their neighbours to the south and, around Sligo, to the north.[1] In the later Middle Ages, north Connacht was a political and cultural hub, and the Meic Dhiarmada were influential in the political life of the region, both as king-makers in the almost interminable conflicts between rival Í Chonchobhair and as a formidable military presence in their own right (*NHI* ii, 35, 175-6; Nicholls 2003, 169, 175-6). A map of the contemporary political situation is reproduced on the next page.

Hand-in-hand with these activities (and perhaps all the more so because they were an aristocratic family of the second grade and likely to seek any means of bolstering their status), the Meic Dhiarmada were important patrons of the arts.

BARDIC POEMS TO THE MEIC DHIARMADA

The extant corpus of Bardic poetry addressed to members of the Mac Diarmada family is undoubtedly a tiny fraction of what must once have existed in MS. In total, twenty poems addressed to members of the family survive.

Fourteenth Century

The earliest extant Mac Diarmada poem, Poem 1, addressed to Aodh (†1393), is edited here for the first time.

Fifteenth Century

Five poems to Tomaltach an Einigh Mac Diarmada have already been published.

Lámh aonfhir fhóirfeas i nÉirinn (*Scottish Verse* 6) (see Poem 2 ¶5.4.4)

[1] The Meic Dhonnchaidh (Mac Donaghs) , themselves no insignificant force in local politics, were an off-shoot of the Meic Dhiarmada.

Dá urradh i n-iath Éireann (*Scottish Verse* 7) (see Poem 2 ¶5.4.4)

Dá mhac rugadh do rígh Connacht (*AiD* 31) (see Poem 1 ¶4.1)

Tosach féile fairsinge (*DiD* 120) (see Poem 2 ¶2.2)

Uasal an t-ainm ollamh ríogh (*AiD* 32) (see Poem 2 ¶2.2)

With the two edited as part of this thesis (Poems 2 and 3), the poetry to Tomaltach is 35% of the corpus of poems addressed to Meic Dhiarmada.



From Cunningham and Gillespie 2003, p. 37

The patronage of *Mairg do-ní uabhar thar m'éis* (*AiD* 33) is a doubtful case. The poem, attributed to the fifteenth-century poet Tadhg Ó hUiginn, is addressed to Tadhg, son of Cormac, described as *mac Meic Diarmoda* 'son of Mac Diarmada', but no such figure has been identified. I agree with the suggestion made on the Bardic Poetry Database (bardic.celt.dias.ie) that we should read *mac meic Diarmoda* 'son of the son of Diarmaid' and that the honorand is in fact Tadhg Mac Cárthaigh (†1448).

Poem 4, composed c. 1497 for Cathal Mac Diarmada (†1530), is therefore the only fifteenth-century Mac Diarmada poem not addressed to Tomaltach. It is edited here for the first time.

Late-sixteenth / early-seventeenth century

The sole extant Bardic poem to Brian (†1592), patron of the Annals of Loch Cé, is also edited here for the first time.

Four late sixteenth- / early seventeenth-century poems to Conchobhar Mac Diarmada have been edited elsewhere:

> *Fód codarsna críoch Bhanbha* (*DiD* 92) (see Poem 6 ¶5.2.1)
>
> *Neimhchionntach mise, a mheic Thaidhg* (*AiD* 34) (see Poem 6 ¶5.2.2)
>
> *An tú ar gcéadaithne, a Charrag?* (*DiD* 68) (see Poem 6 ¶5.2.3, Poem 7 ¶4)
>
> *Mithidh sin, a mhaca Míleadh* (*ABM* 338; Ó Macháin 1988 Poem 8) (see Poem 6 ¶5.3)

With Poem 6, the corpus of poems to Conchobhar makes up 25% of the extant poems addressed to Meic Dhiarmada.

Two poems addressed to Brian Óg Mac Diarmada (†1636), son of Brian (†1592), have already been edited:

> *A fhir thagras an chaint bhaoth* (*Iomarbhágh* 27) by Art Ó Caoimh, a response to Brian Óg Mac Diarmada's contribution to *Iomarbhágh na bhFileadh* (*Iomarbhágh* 26) (see Poem 7 ¶3.4, 9)
>
> *Do leónadh Éire i nÁth Luain* (*FFC*, 283-93) (see Poem 7 ¶3.7, 9)

As well as Poem 7, I have recently discovered (and am in the process of editing) two poems addressed to Brian Óg in Bibliothèque Nationale Paris MS 25,889:

Táinig ar cuairt i gceann Bhriain

Méin a chéile ag cloinn Diarmada

The poems addressed to Brian Óg make up 25% of the corpus of poems addressed to Meic Dhiarmada.

EDITIORIAL POLICY

Order of Poems

I have ordered the poems chronologically. In the case of Poems 2 (composed c. 1421) and 3 (composed 1421-35), it is not possible to be certain which was composed first. I have elected to place Poem 3 after Poem 2, so that the two poems from TCD 1363 (H.4.22) (Poems 3 and 4) follow one after the other.

Transcription

A diplomatic text for each poem is supplied. Where multiple MS witnesses of a poem survive, the diplomatic text of a single MS is given in full with variant readings from the other MSS. The choice of MS is justified in the introduction to the poems in question. In giving variant readings, I have not included common orthographical variants (e.g. *éu* / *éa*, *cc-* / *gc-*), common variants of unstressed short words (e.g. *i* / *a* 'in', *as* / *is*, *mar* / *mur*), the variants *meic* / *mic*, an accent-mark (where there is no doubt as to whether the vowel should be accented) or the rendering of unstressed vowels. I have not included readings that differ only with regard to the *punctum* / *spiritus asper* except (i) where these differences occur in initial position in cases where there may be some doubt as to the appropriate initial mutation and (ii) where the main-text (i.e. the text whose diplomatic transcription is given in full parallel to the critical edition) has incorrect lenition / nasalisation.

I have expanded all MS contractions and compendia in italics but the lenition-mark is transcribed as 'h'. Where *r* is ligatured to the *ar*-compendium, this is expanded as *arr*. Where a suspension stroke is dotted, the lenition of the final consonant of the expansion is also italicised.

Tall open *e* is transcribed simply as 'e'.

I have normalised the position of the accent-mark.

The *er*-compendium is expanded as *-ear* or *-(e)ir* as appropriate.

When a superscript vowel is used to indicate *r* + the superscript vowel, only the omitted *r* is given in italics (e.g. MS t^{e} is expanded t*r*e, c^{a} is expanded c*r*a etc.).

I have retained scribal punctuation, though, regardless of the usage of the scribe, each metrical line is given a separate line. The division of words is editorial.

The numbering of the quatrains is editorial.

Text which is difficult to read or unclear in the MS is placed in angular brackets < >.

Any further comments on the MS text are given in footnotes to the transcription or in the notes to the edition.

Critical Edition

Punctuation and capitalisation are editorial.

Editorial insertions are between square brackets.

Length-marks have been removed from diphthongs. *Ae* is normalised to *ao.*

Eu is normalised to *éa.*

Where prepositions have a short-vowel historically (e.g. *le, fa, re*) but are marked long in the MSS, these length-marks are not retained in the critical edition. Similarly, accent-marks are removed when these prepositions are combined with the article, the nasalising relative particle or possessive adjectives (e.g. *fán* (*fa* + *an*), *lé* (*le* + rel. particle), *ré* (*re* + possessive *a*)). Unhistorical length-marks (e.g. *dhlígh* for *dhligh*) are not retained in the critical edition. Historical length-marks are inserted where omitted (e.g. *trean* is emended to *tréan*).

Glide vowels are introduced silently where needed (e.g. *tech* > *teach*).

In the critical editions, I have normalised the spelling of unstressed short vowels in closed syllables in non-compounded words (*o*(*i*) and *u*(*i*) > *a*(*i*)) (e.g. *Connachtuigh* is emended to *Connachtaigh*), except in rhyming words, where these spellings may be examples of 'eye-rhyme'. Some of these spellings may not be of much signifance (e.g. Poem 3.23cd *fhogn***u***s* : *corrbr***u***dh*) but it is interesting that many of the examples of 'eye-rhyme' occur between a

stressed and unstressed vowel with middle quantity (e.g. Poem 7.30cd *gC**uinn*** : *gCriomhth**uinn***) and 'eye-rhyme' may have played a role in emphasising the agreement in length of the rhyming vowels. Final *-i* is normalised to *-e* (but see Poem 7 where MS *-si* marks a *dúnadh* with *sí-*).

I normalise *-achd* to *-acht* and *st, sc* and *sp* to *sd*, *sg*, *sb* respectively.

I have normalised *cc-* to *gc-* and *tt-* to *dt-*.

Initial *ts-* is normalised to *tsh-*.

Final *-nd* and *-ld* are normalised to *-nn* and *-ll.*

The use of *dh* and *gh* is regularised (e.g. *do mhionaidh* > *do mhionaigh*, *seaghmur* > *seadhmhar*).

Medial and final *b*, *d* and *g* are always so spelt (i.e. Early Irish spellings, such as *topar* for *tobar*, are not retained).

Two-element names of the type *Maol Ruanaidh* or *Ó Maoil Chonaire* are often treated as compound words in MSS (e.g. *Maolruanaidh*, *Ó Maolchonaire*) and, as such, the first element of the compound often appears as an indeclinable noun. In my critical editions, I give *Maolruanaidh* as *Maol Ruanaidh*, *Ó Maolchonaire* to *Ó Maoil Chonaire* etc.

The frequently-occurring personal names *Conchobhar* and *Maol Ruanaidh* are normalised in the critical edition and translation throughout.

The prepositions *ag*, *gan*, *go* and *i* and the article *an* are always so spelt in my critical editions.

In my critical editions, the 2 sing. possessive adj. before a vowel is always *t'* or *th'* (not *h'*) and the 2 pl. is *bhur.*

The present tense of the copula, relative or non-relative, is always normalised to *is*. (Similarly, the conjunction *is* is always spelt *is* or *'s*.)

Regarding **initial mutations**:

> **(i)** I have not lenited the initial of a noun or adj. governing a masc. noun in the dat. sing. whose nom. and dat. sing. are identical (e.g. Poem 5.8c *cead suain ag síol*

***s**aoirFhiachaidh*, not *ag síol **sh**aoirFhiachaidh*) unless such lenition is indicated in the MS or required for alliteration.

(ii) I have not supplied lenition after relative copula *is* and *bhus* where it is not marked in the MS unless metrically necessary (*SNG* IV, §3.2(g); *TD* i, c-ci).

(iii) As regards the (non-)lenition of an initial consonant after a homorganic consonant (e.g. *síol **Dh**iarmada*, *ag buai**n** **d**eargtha*), I have followed the MS and have not inserted or removed lenition editorially in such circumstances. Though the teaching of some of the Grammatical Tracts (*IGT* i, §§50-2; *SNG* IV, §3.1(d)) indicates that lenition expected by grammar on an initial consonant should be represented irrespective of whether or not it is preceded by a homorganic consonant, the usage of MSS varies. I am reluctant to emend the text in these cases, either to supply lenition where the scribe had good phonological reason to omit it, or to remove it against the teaching of the Grammatical Tracts. Instead, attention is drawn to these orthographical inconsistencies in the notes (see, for example, Poem 1.4d note).

(iv) Similarly, in the case of compound words, where the teaching of the Grammatical Tracts suggests that the consonant cluster at a juncture of two elements in a compound word should be written as pronounced (*IGT* i, §§3, 26-7), I have again followed the scribe, noting the constituent elements of the compound and how it rhymes when these are unclear (see, for example, Poem 1.17c).

Other editorial changes are discussed in the notes to the individual poems.

I am fully aware that the level of standardisation undertaken in the critical edition has no authority in the Grammatical Tracts or autograph copies of Bardic poems (see Ó Macháin 1991), and indeed, that my policy with regard to consonant elision does not accord with the teaching of some of the Grammatical Tracts. In giving a standardised text of these poems, based upon my interpretation of the MS texts, incorporating any changes deemed necessary for sense, grammar and metre, I hope to make the poems edited in this thesis available in a more accessible format. The disadvantages of this methodology are offset by supplying a diplomatic text with which the critical edition can be compared as well as textual notes that justify my interference with the MS text.

Translation

The translation is not literal and, owing to the flexibility of Classical Modern Irish syntax, the order of the lines within a quatrain in the original text is not always followed in the translation. Some relative phrases are translated as non-relative phrases because literal translations of the relative phrase in Irish cannot always be rendered into natural English. I have also taken liberties with the original text in order to clarify the subject and object: for example, Poem 1.11 literally translates 'Mac Diarmada of the fort of Tara, the man with a face beautiful in many ways, will insist that the proud scion of Umhall possess Maol Ruanaidh's share of the division', but as 'the proud scion of Umhall' is Mac Diarmada himself, I have translated the quatrain as 'Mac Diarmada of the fort of Tara, the man with a face beautiful in many ways, the generous proud scion of Umhall, will …' Where I feel my translation has, of necessity, strayed too far from the original or where I have been unable to succinctly convey the sense of a line or quatrain, the translation is discussed in the notes.

Notes

Translations of all material published without translation are my own. Where a text has been published with translation, I utilise that translation unless otherwise stated. Where I have translated a passage myself, the reference follows the Irish text. Where the translation is that of another scholar, the reference follows the translation. Comments in square brackets are my own. A bracketed question-mark indicates that a translation is uncertain.

In quotations, non-italic square-brackets indicate my own interpolation. Italic square-brackets are those used in the edition of the text cited.

I supply the first line when citing poems published in periodicals or rare books to facilate scholars who may wish to consult these poems.

A colon is used to indicate that two words rhyme. Unless otherwise stated, they rhyme perfectly (e.g. *fear* : *bean*).

When discussing alliteration, ° is used to indicate that a word alliterates with another word (e.g. °*fear* °*fial*).

Bold font is sometimes used to highlight the point under discussion.

§ refers to a quatrain or stanza, while ¶ refers to a paragraph in the introduction to one of the poems. References to lines, quatrains or notes that do not specify a poem number should be understood to refer to the relevant line, quatrain or note in the poem in which the reference is

found. 'Note' is used to refer to the textual notes for each poem: 'see note 24a' should be understood as referring to the textual note about line 24a of the poem under discussion. 'n.' is used to refer to footnotes.

Poem 1 ROINN LEITHE AR CÓIGEADH CONNACHT

MSS

1.0 This poem is preserved in four MSS, only one of which preserves the complete text.

1.1 UCD Add. Irish MS 14 (henceforth A) is a mid-seventeenth-century MS, more commonly known as The Great Book of Genealogies, the work of the historian Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh. He cites §§4-7 of the present poem on p. 57 of the MS in a discussion of the Fir Bholg.

1.2 RIA 23 M 23 (henceforth M) was written between 1718 and 1731 by Aodh Ó Maoil Mhuaidh of Crosna, Co. Roscommon and contains a number of items concerning the Meic Dhiarmada.[2] §§1-15, 17-49 of the present poem are found on pp. 29-32 of the MS.

1.3 NLI G 132 (henceforth G) was written by Tadhg Ó Neachtain. The MS contains scribal notes dating from 1726 to 1749, though most of the MS would seem to have been written around 1726 (*NLI Cat.* iv, 56). §§1-48b of the present poem are found on pp. 83-7 of the MS. For the present edition, NLI Positive 9766 was consulted.

1.4 RIA 3 C 9 (henceforth C) is a composite nineteenth-century MS of material transcribed by the Ó Longáin family. Owing to a watermark, it is certain that the independent grouping in which our poem is found was written in or after 1872 (*RIA Cat.*, 800).[3] Folia 52-5 of the MS contain §§1-49.

1.5 MC generally agree very closely[4] but C is not a copy of M.[5] G is also independent of M and has many readings that are significantly different from MC's text.[6] Given the brevity of

---

[2] The MS contains genealogical material relevant to the Meic Dhiarmada (pp. 20-1), a song on the death of Aodh Mac Diarmada (†1707) (p. 24), the prose-text 'The Rights of Mac Diarmada' (pp. 32-5) followed by an extract from *Triallam timcheall na Fódla* dealing with the Meic Dhiarmada (p. 35) (for more on this extract, see below), a song on the death of Brian Óg Mac Diarmada (†1636) (p. 37), a Bardic poem to Conchobhar Mac Diarmada (†1603) (p. 77) and a list of Mac Diarmada chiefs (p. 80).

[3] As well as the poem edited here, C (like M) contains a citation from *Triallam timcheall na Fódla* relevant to the Meic Dhiarmada as well as an early eighteenth-century Bardic poem on the death of Lúcás Mac Dubhghaill (†1701) (*ABM* 251).

[4] See, in particular, 28c, 29d, 33d, 37c and 46a.

[5] The most significant of the differences between MC is the omission of §16 in M. For some other examples of differences between MC, see 27b, 29a and 42b. C's text is riddled with obvious misspellings and there are

the fragment of the poem in A, I cannot ascertain the relationship of that MS to the other MS witnesses.[7]

1.6 M is the base-text for this edition on account of its conventional orthography. The text of §§16, omitted in M, is taken from G. As was mentioned above, C, though the longest of the witnesses, has several *lacunae* and the text is often of very poor quality, while the orthography of G diverges from Early Modern Irish (EModIr) usage. A is too brief a fragment of the poem to use as a base-text.

1.7 A diplomatic edition of M has been published in *ABM* 400.

several short *lacunae* indicating that C's exemplar was difficult to read (see, for example, 10c, 12c, 20b, 24, 31, 34 and 39) but C has a superior reading to both M and G in 20a. It should also be noted that C's extract from *Triallam timcheall na Fódla* (p. 55b) is independent of M (pp. 35-6). C has a heading (*Ag so sios na tuatha do gheill*ead[h] *do mac diarm*a*da an tan tangadu*r *na gaill* [*re* is deleted] *le righ laighen go héirín anno domini .1171. Amhail dhearbh*us *an duain do rinid o daghuccan. ⁊ odhón triallam timceall na* [*fog* is deleted] *fodhla. cairfiom ann*s *na tri rainn*si *dhi*, 'Here follow the kingdoms ceded to Mac Diarmada at the time of the coming of the foreigners through the agency of the king of Leinster to Ireland AD 1171 as confirmed by the poem which Ó Dubhagáin composed, i.e. *Triallam timcheall na Fódla*. I set down here (?) these three quatrains of it') which M lacks. M's extract, beginning immediately after 'The Rights of Mac Diarmada' is headed as if it were a continuation of that piece: *Ag so mu*r *adeir ó dughagáin ansa dúain d*a*rbh tosach tríall*a*m timcheall na Fódhla*, 'This is what Ó Dubhagáin says in the poem which begins *Triallam timcheall na Fódla*'. C cites ll 619-630 of the poem as numbered in Carney 1943. M cites the same lines but adds some text, presented as two verses, though the first 'verse' is in fact a short piece of prose: *Ite tuar*us[*tal*?] *m*e*ic diarmad*[a]. *ó rígh con*n*acht deis a rightha .i. deich neich x sgéith et x mbruit da fhalaigh óir, da fhith*[*ch*]*oill ⁊c*-, 'This is (?) the *tuarastal* (see note 24 below) of Mac Diarmada from the king of Connacht after his inauguration [or 'after inaugurating him']: ten horses, ten shields and ten cloaks, two golden rings, two chess-sets, etc.' This in turn is followed by another verse from *Triallam timcheall na Fódla* concerning the scribe's family, the Í Mhaoil Mhuaidh, which corresponds to Carney 1943, ll 54-6. Though MC differ significantly in the portion of text which they have in common (once again C has mis-spellings not found in M but C also has *sīos* in l. 624 which M omits), they both have the defective reading *do chleacht* for *do ghlac goil* in other MSS in l. 629.

[6] See in particular 24c, 25b, 26a, 37c, 39b, 43b, 46a and 47cd. But note that G sometimes agrees with C against M (e.g. 18b, 29a); see also 12d where their texts show some similarities. Both have §16. The orthography of G frequently diverges from EModIr convention: unhistorical accent-marks abound (e.g. 9b *rioghbhrúighneach*, 12a *oíghre*, 25d *d'*áir*drígh*, 27a *dhlíghid*, 38a *fiorúisge*) which rarely occur in the other MSS (e.g. M 39a *fiodhbhadh*); an unhistorical epenthetic vowel is found at 45c; while *-a(i)dh*, *-a(i)gh* and *-ach* are often written *-a* (e.g. 6c, 7d, 9c, 23c) while *-dh* and *-gh* are sometimes added to vowels in final position (e.g. 32a, 34c, 35a).

[7] Note that A differs slightly from MCG in 4cd, 5d and 7c and agrees with MC against G in 4a, 5b and 6b.

2 The poem is ascribed to Aingleach Ó Domhnalláin in A (*dán aingligh uí domhnalláin*), M (*ainglioch o domnallain*) and C (*ainglioch o domhnalláin*). The same ascription, albeit in the anglicised form 'Ainglioch O'Donellan', was added in pencil to G in a late hand, followed by 'A.D. 1395'; the source of the ascription in G is probably Edward O'Reilly's 1820 catalogue of Irish writers.[8] O'Reilly mentions the poem here edited s.a. 1395, commenting:

> 'At this time also flourished Ainglioch O'Donellan, poet to the Mac Dermotts, of Moyluirg. He was author of a poem in praise of Moyluirg and of Aodh, or Hugh, M'Dermott, chief of his tribe. This poem consists of one hundred and ninety-two verses,[9] beginning "Roin*n* leithe air Coigeadh Chon*n*acht", "The province of Conaght is divided."' (O'Reilly 1820, cx-cxi).

O'Reilly's source for the poem was almost certainly M, one of his own MSS (*RIA Cat.*, 942), which contains a version of our poem 192 ll in length,[10] but I have not traced any source for his floruit of Ó Domhnalláin. I know of no other composition by the poet.[11]

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[8] There are four other Bardic poems in G to which ascriptions and dates in pencil have been added in a later hand: three are attributed to Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa (pp. 67, 72, 77), the date 1630 being given twice and the date 1620 once; the fourth is attributed to Tadhg mac Dáire with the date 1600 (p. 89). A fifth poem, *Lámh dhearg Éireann Uíbh Eathach*, is glossed only 'AD. 1602' (p. 60). The three compositions by Ó hEóghusa are all mentioned by O'Reilly under the year 1630 (the date 1620 was written in error by G's glossator) (O'Reilly 1820, clxxxiii-v); O'Reilly mentions the poem attributed to Tadhg mac Dáire s.a. 1600 (ibid., p. cli); while the poem glossed with the date 1602 is mentioned under that date in O'Reilly's catalogue as a composition sometimes attributed to Maoilín Óg Mac Bruaideadha, though O'Reilly rejects the ascription (ibid., clxvi).

[9] O'Reilly uses the term 'verse' in the sense 'metrical line', a usage not followed in this thesis.

[10] O'Reilly does not indicate where the poem in question might be found (O'Reilly 1820, §cxlvix). At the end of the next section (on the poems of 'Owen *an torthoir* M'Craith') he writes 'copies of all the above poems are in possession of John M'Namara, Esq. and the Assistant Secretary [= O'Reilly himself]'. This reference may have been meant to include Ó Domhnalláin's poem as well.

[11] Only five other Bardic poems by poets bearing the surname Ó Domhnalláin are catalogued in Katharine Simms' Bardic Poetry Database: a fragmentary quatrain by Tadhg Ó Domhnalláin in the fourteenth-century Book of Magauran (*Magauran* 33); two late sixteenth-century compositions by Brian mac Eóghain, one probably addressed to a Burke and the other to a widow of a Burke (*TD* 22a; *ABM* 298); and two compositions from the same period by Iollann Ó Domhnalláin to the Ulster chiefs, Toirdhealbhach *Luineach* Ó Néill (*ABM* 449) and Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir (*DMU* 24). The Ó Domhnalláin family of hereditary poets were particularly prominent in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. In 1342, Flann Ó Domhnalláin, Ó Conchobhair's chief-poet (*ollamh dána*) (*AC* §1342.20), chief *ollamh* of Connacht according to *AU* (*AU* ii, 474-5), died. In 1375, Maol Sheachlainn Ó Domhnalláin died; *AU* describes him as chief *ollamh* (*ardollam*) of the northern half

PATRON

3 The poem was composed for Aodh (§§12, 30, 40, 45), the son of Conchobhar (§§29, 37, 45, 49), who held the title of Mac Diarmada (§§11, 32, 47, 49), king of Magh Luirg (§28). The honorand was either the Aodh (henceforth $Aodh_1$) who was king of Magh Luirg from 1368 to 1393 or the Aodh (henceforth $Aodh_2$) who reigned from 1458 to 1465. As mentioned above, O'Reilly 1820 gives Ó Domhnalláin's floruit as 1395, which would suggest that the Aodh of this poem was $Aodh_1$, but without knowing how O'Reilly arrived at the date 1395, the floruit cannot be accepted at face value. It is necessary to take a closer look at the argument of the poem to shed light on the identity of the honorand.

ARGUMENT

4.0 Ó Domhnalláin states that Connacht has been divided in two (§1), noting that it had previously been divided in three by the Fir Bholg (§§2-7) and in two by the sons of Tadhg, king of Connacht (§§8-27). It is stated that Aodh Mac Diarmada will seek the territory and prerogatives due to him as the descendant of Maol Ruanaidh (§§11-12, 28-9), though the poet observes that Mac Diarmada's prodigal liberality means that this division is somewhat restrictive (§30). Because of his many sterling qualities (bravery, martial skill, piety and patronage of the church, generosity especially towards poets, hospitality, gentleness, fame, the law and order established in his reign, the hostages he holds, the troops he can call upon, the women of his household), the poet argues that he could claim much more territory (§§31-5). His residence on the Rock of Loch Cé is praised in §§36-45 and is said to surpass Ráith

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of Ireland (*AU* ii, 554-5) while *AFM* states that he was *ollamh dána* to Síol Muireadhaigh (Í Chonchobhair and Meic Dhiarmada) and that he was the chief learned man of Ireland in poetry (*ard shaoí Erionn beós isin ealadhain cédna*). Flann Óg, holding the title *ollamh dána* of Síol Muireadhaigh, died in 1404 (*AC* §1404.24) and in the same year *AFM* notes the death of Tuathal Ó Domhnalláin, potential *ollamh dána* to Síol Muireadhaigh (*adbhar ollamhan Shil Muireadhaigh i n-dán*) (*AFM* iv, 782-3). Not until 1561, the death of Maol Sheachlainn mac Tuathail, *ollamh dána* of most of Connacht and noted guest-house keeper (*ollam urmhóir Connacht re dán, ocus fer thoighe aoidhed do gréss*) is another Ó Domhnalláin given so lofty a title in the annals (*ALC* ii, 378-9). At his death in 1582, *ALC* describes Brian mac Eoghain Mhaoil (author of the Burke compositions mentioned above) as Ireland's pre-eminent expert in poetry and the best scholar of his age (*sói Erenn re dán ocus re foghluim dfer aosa féin*) (*ALC* ii, 450-51). A branch of the Ó Domhnalláin family was based in the Loughrea area of Co. Galway (*AC* §1385.16; *ALC* ii, 276-77; *AFM* v, 1402-3). A Seaán Ó Domhnalláin, resident at Cill Scíre (= Kilskeer, Co. Meath?), appears in the EModIr tale *Ceithearnach Uí Dhomhnaill* (O'Grady 1892, 288-9). For some further information about other Í Dhomhnalláin, see O'Donovan 1843, 40, 169-43 and Williams 1986, 28-9, 35-6, 41-2.

Chruachan. The poem concludes (§§46-9) with a string of kennings, connected by the metonymic use of Mac Diarmada's hand and the metrical ornament of *breacadh.*[12]

4.1.0 The account of the division of Connacht between the sons of Tadhg mac Cathail (not *an Eich Gil* as stated by McKenna in *AiD* 31 (see Mac Dermot 1996, 35)), a tenth-century king of Connacht, in the present poem is the most explicit known to me. It is adverted to in the text known as 'The Rights of Mac Diarmada' (Ní Shéaghdha 1963) and in a Bardic poem (*Dá mhac rugadh do rígh Connacht*) to Tomaltach Mac Diarmada (†1458) (*AiD* 31).[13]

Dá mhac rugadh do rígh Connacht

4.1.1 Katharine Simms has argued that 'The Rights of Mac Diarmada', a prose- and a verse-text which sets out the prerogatives of the king of Magh Luirg, was probably alluded to by Tuathal Ó hUiginn in a poem for Tomaltach Mac Diarmada (†1458) (*AiD* 31, Simms 1980, 144-5).[14] The story of Maol Ruanaidh and Conchobhar, the sons of Tadhg, is told in a similar fashion though with far less detail than in the present poem. The two princes preferred to make peace with one another rather than do battle over the kingship of Connacht. The privileges conceded to Maol Ruanaidh were considerable, and they have only grown since; in return, he conceded the kingship of Connacht to Conchobhar. The decision to make peace earned them the affection of their peers. Tomaltach Mac Diarmada is urged to continue this bargain between the Meic Dhiarmada and the Í Chonchobhair in his own time.

4.1.2 As for what occasioned Ó hUiginn's poem, its editor Lambert McKenna suggested it was an inauguration ode. If so, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it is a highly unsatisfactory composition: it spends no time establishing Tomaltach Mac Diarmada's

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[12] This quick succession of kennings in §§46-8 employed to praise the honorand's just rule, his bravery, martial skill and generosity, is an example of a literary technique occasionally found in Bardic eulogies, especially towards the end of the poems. It is discussed in Chapter 2 of P.A. Breatnach 1997. The stream of kennings in the present poem conforms to the pattern described by Breatnach 1997, 87ff in that it comes toward the end of the poem and concludes with the poem's final quatrain (§49) in which concrete genealogical details are given.

[13] Both of these texts will be discussed in more detail below. The text on Rights states that there are written authorities which record that Maol Ruanaidh accepted the concessions (*comhtha*) inherited by Mac Diarmada in exchange for giving up the kingship of Connacht (Ní Shéaghdha 1963, ll. 32-6; note the variant reading of M). Tuathal Ó hUiginn recounts the story briefly in §§1-9 of his poem (*AiD* 31). The story of the two thrones recounted in the present poem is not mentioned by Ó hUiginn or in the text on Rights.

[14] The poet makes reference to written-sources (*a ndligheann tú mar a-tá i litribh*) for Mac Diarmada's rights (*AiD* 31.10).

qualifications for kingship or the benefits that can be expected in his reign; attention is not drawn to any prophecy or natural feature to legitimise his election to the kingship.

4.1.3 Turning to the argument of the poem, it is significant that the only rights of Mac Diarmada's that are specified in the poem are that no king or local chieftain can be appointed without Mac Diarmada's consent and that no half-king (that is, king of half of Connacht) can be appointed in opposition to the king of Connacht selected by him (*AiD* 31.17-18). Of the many prerogatives mentioned in 'The Rights of Mac Diarmada' – some quite lucrative – why are these the only rights explicitly mentioned in Tuathal Ó hUiginn's poem?

4.1.4 The apologue concerning Maol Ruanaidh and Conchobhar would be quite apposite on the occasion of a peace-agreement between Ó Conchobhair and Mac Diarmada: the poem lays great emphasis on their fraternal bond, their preference for peace, the credit they received for avoiding war, and the mutually advantageous relationship that resulted from it. In this context, the great emphasis on the right to inaugurate the king of Connacht and the lack of emphasis on other prerogatives point toward the fierce struggle among the various Ó Conchobhair factions in the fifteenth century, struggles in which Mac Diarmada was an important player. This poem may have been composed in 1435 where the annals record an agreement in which Ó Conchobhair Donn and Mac Diarmada made peace after what the annals describe as a great war. This would explain the reference to the appointment of a half-king in the poem. The mention of the election of the chieftains of smaller kingdoms (*AiD* 31.17) probably reflects the contest for dominance in the smaller kingdoms around Magh Luirg, especially the territory of the Meic Dhonnchaidh who played a part on both sides of the war of 1435 (see Poem 2 ¶3.3.2).

Occasion of Composition

4.2.0 In the case of the present poem, I would also argue that an extensive treatment of the division of Connacht between the two sons of Tadhg, Conchobhar (progenitor of the Í Chonchobhair) and Maol Ruanaidh (progenitor of the Meic Dhiarmada), in a Bardic poem would be most apposite on the occasion of a peace-treaty between their descendants.

4.2.1 $Aodh_2$ spent his short reign struggling against opposition from a rival branch of his family. This internecine struggle was a microcosm of the war between the Ó Conchobhair Donn and Ó Conchobhair Ruadh factions, with both factions receiving support from the other's enemies (*AC* §§1461.39, 1462.10-11). The annals, however, do not record any peace-

agreement between Mac Diarmada and the Ó Conchobhair-backers of his rivals. In 1461, $Aodh_2$ participated in the inauguration of Feidhlimidh Fionn Ó Conchobhair Ruadh in opposition to Tadhg Ó Conchobhair Ruadh and Ó Conchobhair Donn (*AC* §§1461.23-4, 1462.2; *AFM* iv, 1014-15). This might very well have been an occasion for a poem re-affirming the proper relationship between Mac Diarmada and Ó Conchobhair, but the hostility between the analogous sons of Tadhg (see §19, in particular) has no parallel in the relationship of Mac Diarmada and Feidhlimidh Fionn. Furthermore, while a poem on the division of Connacht would be quite apposite in the context of the wars of the Uí Chonchobhair Ruadha and Dhonna in the fifteenth century, a division of the entire province among members of a single faction could have no basis in fact at this time: in Tuathal Ó hUiginn's poem to Aodh's predecessor Tomaltach, there is no mention of a division of territory, emphasis instead being placed upon the right to inaugurate Ó Conchobhair (*AiD* 31.17-18). Post-1384, the true division of Connacht was between the Ruadh and Donn factions and any revival of a Mac Diarmada claim to half the territory of the province would have been ridiculous. Ó hUiginn contents himself with vague references to the extravagant prerogatives of Mac Diarmada (*AiD* 31.20) – had they had any contemporary political import, he would hardly have held his peace. Indeed, the only territorial claim made by Ó hUiginn on Mac Diarmada's behalf concerns Norman colonies in Mayo (and I know of no evidence besides Ó hUiginn's poem that Tomaltach Mac Diarmada ever attempted to make good this claim). It is clear that by the fifteenth century, Mac Diarmada's single best hope of maintaining his position was his influence in the internal succession struggles of the Ó Conchobhair factions and pressing this claim took precedence over ancient territorial rights.

4.2.2 Turning to $Aodh_1$, an occasion when the present poem might have been composed is readily identifiable.[15] In 1377, a major war between Ruaidhrí Ó Conchobhair, king of Connacht (†1384), and Aodh broke out. The two sides made peace (though not before Magh Luirg was devastated) and Mac Diarmada was given significant payments (*comhad[h]a móra*) in exchange for making peace and in recompense for the damage done to his kingdom (*AC* §1377.8; *Clonmacn.*, 305; *AU* ii, 558-9; *AC* §1377.8; *AFM* iv, 668-71). The apologue of the sons of Tadhg in the present poem would be an apposite analogue for a peace negotiated

[15] It should be noted that a *lacuna* in *ALC* means that that rich source for the affairs of the Meic Dhiarmada will not be referred to in this discussion. In addition, a *lacuna* in *AC* for the years 1378-83 unfortunately means that no extensive Connacht-based chronicle covers those years of Aodh's reign.

after a major war between Ó Conchobhair and Mac Diarmada in which the latter received large concessions (*comhadha* / *comhtha*) for accepting the peace agreement.[16]

4.2.3 In summary, I suggest that the present poem was written for Aodh Mac Diarmada (†1397) in or shortly after 1377.

Aodh Mac Diarmada (†1397)

4.3.1 Aodh first appears in the annals in the reign of his predecessor Fearghal, attacking the minor Leitrim kingdom of Muintear Eólais with the loss of several of the invading party (*AC* §1365.5; *AFM* iii, 628-9).[17] In 1367, he was important enough to be singled out by an invading force led by Tadhg mac Ruaidhrí Í Chonchobhair supported by the chiefs of Teallach Dúnchadha (= barony of Tullyhunco, Co. Cavan) and Muintear Eólais. Though they burnt Aodh's stronghold (*longphort*), Aodh and Fearghal were able to catch up with the invaders and give battle to them. The pursuers were ultimately driven back themselves. Aodh and Fearghal held up the rear of the retreating force, though Aodh had been injured in the battle (*AC* §1367.5; *AU* ii, 528-9; *AFM* iii, 636-7). When Fearghal died in 1368, Aodh succeeded him (*AC* §1368.4; *Clonmacn.*, 304; *AU* ii, 532-3; *AFM* iii, 640-1).

4.3.3 The capture of Tadhg mac Maghnusa Í Chonchobhair Shligigh that year and his murder in 1371 occasioned a war in which the Mac William Burkes, Meic Dhiarmada and Í Chonchobhair were involved (*AC* §§1368.15, 1371.5; *Clonmacn.*, 304; *AU* ii, 536-7, 546-7;

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[16] Another possible incident which might have occasioned the present poem should be mentioned. In 1385, a peace-agreement was reached between Ó Conchobhair Ruadh and Ó Conchobhair Donn. (In the course of the conflict that year, a battle took place at Baile Í Dhomhnalláin, presumably the lands of the Ó Domhnalláin poets, but the circumstances are unclear (*AC* §1385.16)). They divided Síol Muireadhaigh (= the Í Chonchobhair, the Meic Dhiarmada and their offshoots) between them. Mac Diarmada is not specifically mentioned but his son was released as part of the agreement (*AC* §1385.17; *Clonmacn.*, 311-12; *AFM* iv, 700-1). I do not think, however, that this event gave rise to the present poem. As discussed above, a territorial division of Connacht, however exaggerated, could hardly be imagined by the poet if the province had been divided between Ó Conchobhair Ruadh (backed by Mac Diarmada) and Ó Conchobhair Donn – the division of the province in halves (*roinn leithe*) could only have relevance when a single legitimate Ó Conchobhair held the title, i.e. before 1384, if Mac Diarmada was to have a share.

[17] According to Mac Dermot 1996, 87, 89, his mother was 'Dervorgil Mac Gowan', a surname which suggests connections with Co. Cavan.

AFM iii, 642-5, 652-3).[18] 1377 saw Ruaidhrí Ó Conchobhair at war with Mac Diarmada in Magh Luirg, though after Magh Luirg was burnt they made peace (see above). Nothing is heard of Aodh for another seven years, perhaps suggesting that the peace agreement held.

4.3.4 Ruaidhrí Ó Conchobhair died in 1384 and his death occasioned the split of the Í Chonchobhair into the Ruadh and Donn factions. Aodh sided with the Ó Conchobhair Ruadh faction in the wars of succession which ensued (*AC* §§1384.1-2; *Clonmacn.*, 309-10). All of the conflicts in which Aodh participated after this split can only properly be understood in light of the two great networks of alliances that divided Connacht, the Mac William Burke-Ó Conchobhair Ruadh faction on the one hand and the Clanricard-Ó Conchobhair Donn faction on the other. In this larger conflict, the struggle of the Meic Dhiarmada against their smaller neighbours, the Meic Dhonnchaidh of Sligo (aided by their Ó Ruairc allies)[19], the Méig Raghnaill of Muintear Eólais,[20] and the struggle for dominance of the Ó Ceallaigh territory of Í Mhaine (south Co. Roscommon and east Co. Galway) played their part (*AC* §§1385.2, 6, 7, 10; 1388.2, 6; *Clonmacn.*, 310-12; *Misc. Ir. Annals* Fragment III §§1392.11-14; *AU* ii, 562-3; *AU* iii, 14-15, 20-1; *AFM* iv, 698-9, 710-13).

4.3.3 Aodh died in 1393.[21] *AC* praises him as 'a man full of every good quality' (*fer lan do cech uli maith*) (*AC* §1393.2).[22] Fragment III of the *Misc. Ir. Annals* (§1393.2) calls him 'a

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[18] This conflict may have come to an end in 1375, when the annals record that Toirdhealbhach Ruadh Ó Conchobhair (*a quo* Í Chonchobhair Ruadha, an ally of Aodh) gave the castle of Roscommon in exchange for the stronghold of Ballintober and other concessions (*go gcomhthaibh eile*) (*AC* §1375.3; *AU* ii, 552-3; *AFM* iv, 662-3). Two years later, Ruaidhrí Ó Conchobhair was at war with Mac William Burke and Ó Ceallaigh for control of Roscommon (*AC* §1377.9; *Clonmacn.*, 305-6; *AU* ii, 558-61). Note that in 10d of the present poem, the territory of the Meic Dhiarmada is sketched in such a way as to include the stronghold of Ballintober.

[19] In 1389, Mac Diarmada made peace with the Meic Dhonnchaidh (*AC* §§1389.5, 7; *Clonmacn.*, 313; *AFM* iv, 714-17). According to Mac Dermot 1996, 89, his wife was 'Finola Mac Donogh'.

[20] As well as interfering militarily in the affairs of Muintear Eólais, Mac Diarmada married his daughter Dubh Chabhlaigh to a Mág Raghnaill (*AU* iii, 6-7; *AFM* iv, 682-3).

[21] His son Cathal drowned later the same year.

[22] *Clonmacn.*, 315 describes him as 'Hugh m'Connor m'Dermott Prince of Moylurg, a man compleant with all good parts befitting a nobleman'.

vigorous, courtly, unforbearing man' (*fear neartmar nosmhur neammaiffeach*) and claims that he died of 'a lingering unknown disease' (*galar fada anaichni*) on the Rock.[23]

'The Rights of Mac Diarmada'

4.4.0 Having proposed an identification of the honorand and probable date of composition, it may be worthwhile examining the relationship of this poem to a previously mentioned tract which bears heavily on the relationship of Mac Diarmada and Ó Conchobhair, particularly as the present poem mentions many of the prerogatives listed in 'The Rights of Mac Diarmada' (see the notes to §§11-29).

4.4.1 The prose tract, found together with a poem attributed to the twelfth-century Aodh Ollbharr Ó Carrthaigh in some MSS, cannot have received its present form before the mid-fourteenth century (Simms 1987, 29-30). Its MS context is of little help in determining its date of composition.[24] Simms observes that Mac Diarmada's right to inaugurate Ó Conchobhair is only mentioned in the prose (or rather in a quatrain cited in the prose), suggesting the prose reflected a modern development. In addition, the statement that Mac Diarmada is entitled to the standards taken in battle is tacked on rather clumsily at the end of the prose text (and omitted in M). Similarly, NLI G 18 has five additional quatrains of the poem, metrically more intricate than the rest, which may be a later addition.[25] One of these additional quatrains claims immunity for the Mac Diarmada from the obligation to billet Ó

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[23] A cause of death is not mentioned in the other annals but, as Fragment III was a contemporary chronicle concerned with Connacht-affairs compiled in the Lough Ree area of Co. Longford (*Misc. Ir. Annals*, xiv-xviii), its testimony is probably reliable.

[24] A copy of the verse-portion of 'The Rights' is found in RIA A iv 3, just after Poem 5. The MS also contains Bardic poems to Tomaltach (†1458) and Conchobhar (†1603) Mac Diarmada. There is a copy of the poem in Maynooth B 8, which was not consulted by Ní Shéaghdha. This MS also contains Poem 7. See Poem 7 ¶1, especially ¶1.3 and n., for remarks on that MS's version of the text on Rights. There is another copy of prose and verse in M. NLI G 18, a MS compiled by an Ó Cruadhlaoich, includes the text on Rights under the heading *An Leabhar Muimhneach* as the Í Chruadhlaoich, historically an off-shoot of the Meic Dhiarmada, were a Munster-based family in his time. Their eponymous ancestor is mentioned in the text on Rights. NLI G 18 also has a copy of Poem 6.

[25] Ní Shéaghdha observes that NLI G 18 has 22 qq of the poem on Rights (*A-tá sonn sochar na ríogh*) against A IV 3's 17 qq (Maynooth B 8 also has only 17qq), but appears not to have noticed that the additional 5 qq of NLI G 18 (§§4-8 of Ní Shéagdha's edition) are in strict *dán díreach* (though alliteration is lacking in 5a *sluagheadh troda, freagradh ríogh* where it could perhaps be restored by editorial emendation) as opposed to looser verse of the other 17qq.

Conchobhair's mercenaries. The verse-text may have been just as amenable to change in response to later developments or aspirations as the prose.

4.4.2 With the exception of §24 (see note), the rights claimed in the present poem are also claimed in the text on Rights as it now stands, while the claim of immunity from billeting (§26) could be based on the expanded version of the poem on Mac Diarmada's rights found in NLI G 18.[26] As well as discreet prerogatives, further parallels between 'The Rights', the present poem and the career of Aodh Mac Diarmada can be identified.

4.4.3 'The Rights' asserts Mac Diarmada's claim to extensive territory in west Connacht. The present poem and the annals allow us to reconstruct Aodh Mac Diarmada's interest in this region.

- In §11 the honorand is styled the scion of Umhall (= baronies of Burrishoole and Murrisk, Co. Mayo, territory of the Í Mháille and Í Fhlaithbheartaigh).
- Tír Amhalghaidh (= barony of Tirawley, Co. Mayo) was burnt by Mac Diarmada's enemy Domhnall mac Muircheartaigh Í Chonchobhair Shligigh in 1385 and in 1386 Domhnall mac Muircheartaigh and the Meic Dhonnchaidh did battle with the Barrets of Tír Amhalghaidh (*AC* §1385.13; *AFM* iv, 696-7, 700-1, 704-5): it was evidently a bone of contention.
- In 1385 and 1386, the Ó Dubhda territory of Tír Fhiachrach (= barony of Tireragh, Co. Sligo) was attacked by Mac Diarmada's ally Mac William Burke (*AC* §§1385.12, 1386.6; *Clonmacn.*, 310-12; *AFM* iv, 700-1); on the second occasion, the annals state he was supported by his Connacht allies.[27]
- Mac William and Clanricard did battle in Gaileanga (= barony of Gallen, Co. Mayo) in 1380 and the following year Mac Diarmada's Mac Donnchaidh enemies were also doing battle in the area (*AFM* iv, 674-7, 682-3).
- No direct conflict between Mac Diarmada and the Costellos of Co. Mayo is recorded but Mac Diarmada appears to have enjoyed the loyalty of the Í Eaghra (*AC* §1385.2; *AFM* iv, 698-9) and probably supported the Í Eaghra in their war against the Costellos (*AC* §1365.4).

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[26] If this is the case, it is interesting that the text on Rights in M is probably not a copy of the source used by Ó Domhnalláin.

[27] For the Í Dhubhda's struggle against the Normans in the late fourteenth-century, see also *AFM* iii, 654-5, iv, 678-9.

- In 1382, Conchobhar Óg, Mac Diarmada's son, attacked Clann Mhuiris, the territory of the Prendergasts in Co. Mayo and managed to reach their stronghold despite being expected (*AFM* iv, 686-9). The Meic Dhiarmada probably also supported Mac William Burke in earlier conflicts against the Clann Mhuiris (*AC* §1366.12).
- In 1386, the Meic Dhonnchaidh were raiding in Ceara (= barony of Carra, Co. Mayo) and it is therefore probable that the Meic Dhiarmada sought to exercise influence over the area as well (*AFM* iv, 702-3).[28]

The above territories are all (in whole or part) north of a line stretching westward from the boundary described in §10 of the present poem. Though the full extent of the territory claimed in 'The Rights' is not fully known, owing to the failure to identify some of the place-names used to demarcate it, it would appear that most of Connacht west of Magh Luirg was claimed for the Meic Dhiarmada, except that of their Mac William Burke allies.

4.4.4 While Mac Diarmada claimed lands in west Connacht directly, 'The Rights' also asserts other privileges which Mac Diarmada enjoyed from Ballyshannon in Co. Sligo to Limerick, including victuals from Corcumruadh in Co. Clare. Connacht is extended as far south as Limerick in §7 of the present poem – in other words, Co. Clare is counted as part of Connacht. Once again these details may reflect the political landscape in which Aodh Mac Diarmada operated.[29] Sligo to the north was dominated by Mac Diarmada's enemies the Í Chonchobhair Shligigh, while the disputed border-region of Connacht / Munster to the south was the homeland of his Ó Briain enemies. In between, the Mac William Burke and

[28] Outside of Mayo, 'The Rights' gives Mac Diarmada three townlands in the territory of the Í Cheallaigh and also gives him right to beeves, wethers, pigs, horses and irons from Sliabh Badhna in east Roscommon, possibly indicating a claim to nearby Muintear Eólais.

[29] The poet, of course, may simply have been paraphrasing his (unidentified) source for the Fomorian division of Connacht in extending the province as far south as Limerick, but could just as well have omitted or emended details no longer relevant to his contemporary political landscape. Connacht's claim to northern Munster is explained at the end of the tale *Aidid Crimthaind Meic Fhidaig* (Stokes 1903, 174-89, §§19-20). This tale is, so far as I know, found only in two late fourteenth- / early fifteenth-century Connacht MSS – the Book of Ballymote and the Yellow Book of Lecan. For the ambiguous position of Thomond in the later period, see *MD* i, p. 80 and *ALC* ii, 460-3.

Clanricard Burke factions held sway, and Aodh Mac Diarmada was firmly in the former's camp. [30]

4.4.5 Further insight into the political and territorial aspirations of the Meic Dhiarmada when 'The Rights' received its present form can be gleaned from the roll-call of historical figures who supposedly granted these lands and privileges to the Meic Dhiarmada. Meic Dhiarmada's historian-propagandist appears to have employed the very ancestors of his patrons' enemies and rivals to legitimise their patrons' claims. Ruaidhrí Ó Conchobhair and his son Toirdhealbhach, twelfth-century kings of Connacht and ancestors of all three major branches of the Í Chonchobhair (*NHI* ix, 158-9), Aodh *a quo* the Í Dhubhda, Fearghal Ó Ruairc (identified by Ní Shéaghdha as the king of Connacht who died in 983; see *NHI* ix, 162-3), the twelfth-century Tadhg Ó Ceallaigh (O'Donovan 1843, 43-6; *NHI* ix, 161), the thirteenth-century Aodh Ó Flaithbheartaigh (an ancestor of the later Ó Flaithbheartaigh chiefs?), and the ancestors of the Mac Diarmada off-shoots, the Meic Dhiarmada Ruadha, Í Chruadhlaoich and Meic Dhonnchaidh are mentioned – all of the major dynasties of Roscommon and north-west Connacht (as well as the pro-Mac Donnchaidh Í Ruairc of Leitrim), except only Mac Diarmada's allies the Mac William Burkes.

4.4.6 In conclusion, 'The Rights', as it is exists today, would have been a good expression of the political geography of Connacht and the aspirations of the Meic Dhiarmada during the reign of Aodh Mac Diarmada in the late fourteenth century. Claims to tribute from Muintear Eólais or to land in the territory of the Í Cheallaigh, to superiority over the Meic Dhiarmada off-shoots or to immunity from Ó Conchobhair exactions would have been priorities for any Mac Diarmada throughout the later middle ages, but the effort to legitimate a claim to such extensive lands in west Connacht can best be understood in the context of the later

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[30]In 1366, Aodh's ally Mac William Burke invaded the territory of the Clanricard Burkes who, in turn, were supported by forces from Munster (*AU*, ii 526-7; *AFM* iii, 634-7). In 1386, Mac Diarmada's ally Ó Conchobhair Ruadh 'with such of the Connachtmen as he could muster' (*ɔ a fuair do Connachtaib lais*) went to the assistance of Mac William Burke against Domhnall mac Muircheartaigh and his Mac Donnchaidh supporters, invading Tír Fhiachrach (= Tireragh, Co. Mayo). They turned south and invaded Clanricard only to be overtaken by Clanricard's forces which included his Ó Briain allies (*AC* §1386.6; *AFM* iv, 704-7). Though no specific mention is made of Mac Diarmada, these events are illustrative of the political geography of the period, a geography reflected in 'The Rights'. It is of interest that in the interpolated quatrain in NLI G 18's version of the poem on Rights, the Meic Dhiarmada are styled *fōir Cliach* 'the people of Cliu' (Ní Shéaghdha 1963, §4) – a placename normally associated with the Í Bhriain.

fourteenth- early fifteenth-century scramble for control of land in Connacht during the Gaelic Resurgence (see Nicholls 2003, 173-4). It is certainly possible that it was Aodh Mac Diarmada who commissioned a *seanchaidh* to compile or edit 'The Rights of Mac Diarmada' into its present form or something like it, though it must be borne in mind that the claim in §24 to yearly *tuarasdal* from the king of Connacht is not contained in 'The Rights'.

DATE

5 See ¶4.2.2-3 above.

METRE

6.0 The poem edited here is in *deibhidhe* and fulfils the requirements for *dán díreach.*

6.1 There is *breacadh taidhbhse* in 40cd and *breacadh* in §§9 and 48 to offset the metrical fault of *caoiche*. The *breacadh* in §38 (38c *mó* : 38c *dhó* : 38d *mó*), §§43 (43a *gáir* : 43b *láimh* : 43d *gáir*), 46 (46b *lámh* : 46c *clár* : 46d *lámh*), 47 (47abc *lámh*) and 49cd (49a *lámh* : 49c *lár* : 49d *lámh*) are, so far as I can tell, purely for ornamentation. See also note 25b. The last four quatrains of the poem all have *breacadh*, either purely ornamental or compensating for the metrical fault of *caoiche*, all involving the word *lámh* (see ¶4.0 above).

6.2 The metrical device of closure (*dúnadh*) in §49 indicates that we probably have the full extent of the original poem.

RIA 23 M 23	Critical Edition
1 Roinn leithe *ar* coig*eadh con*a*cht.*	1 Roinn leithe ar cóigeadh Connacht:
do rígh ni roin*n* fearanta*cht*	do rígh ní roinn fhearanndocht
leth choigeadh mhínghloin mead<h>bha.	leath chóigidh mhíonghloin Mheadhbha
lionmh*ar* fóidsean oireghdha	líonmhair fhóidshin oireaghdha.

1a G choigedh; G con*nacht*, C chon*n*acht; **1b** do rígh] G do roin*n*; GC feron*nacht*; **1c** C leith choigaidh; C meabha; **1d** G lionmhoir foidsin; C oireadha

1 Connacht is divided in two: a half of the fair, smooth, populous, ancient and renowned province of Meadhbh is an ample portion [of land] for a king.

2 Ar chuibhrion*n* seach a chéile.	2 Ar comhroinn seach a chéile
dfheron*n* cruachna chlaidhréidhe	d'fhearann Cruachna claidhréidhe
on roin*n* iongant*aigh* ni fhuil.	ón roinn iongantaigh ní fhuil
poin*n* dio*mh*urcaidh na desb*aidh*	poinn d'iomarcaidh ná d'easbhaidh.

2a C ccuimhroin*n*; **2b** C dfheron; **2c** G iongantach; **2d** G puing; G diom*ar*cadh; C diomarcaidh; C na] no; GC deasbhaidh

2 In [this] remarkable partition, no one share of the land of Cruachain of the smooth ramparts is a jot better or worse than the other.

3 Coig*eadh con*a*cht* na gcnoc seng.	3 Cóigeadh Connacht na gcnoc seang
ata seach tíorthuibh éiren*n*	a-tá seach thíribh Éireann
an tal*amh*soin ria*mh* roin*n*te.	an talamh-soin riamh roinnte,
fíadh anarsuidh adhbhaillte	fiadh anarsaidh adhbhaillte.

3a G con*nacht*, C chon*nacht*; G na con; **3b** G thíribh; C tioruibh eirin*n* **3c** G -soin] -sin; **3d** G anars*aid*[*h*] abhuin*n*te

3 More than all the lands of Ireland, that land, the province of Connacht of the pointed hills – an ancient, very warm land – has always been partitioned.

4 Ag fearuibh bolg na mbrugh slim.	4 Ag Fearaibh Bolg na mbrugh slim
do cérdroin*n*adh c*r*ioch oillill	do céadroinneadh críoch Oilill;
na tír thríanaidh *ar* tosach.	'na tír thrianaigh ar tosaigh
don mhín gh*r*ian*aigh* ghéugdhos*aigh*	don mhín ghrianaigh ghéagdhosaigh.

4a mbrugh] G mbrat; **4b** A cheudroinneadh, G cédroin*n*edh, C ceadroindadh (*beneath* C cead- *there is an unusual stroke resembling the bottom half of a circle*); A oilill; **4c** G tríanach; A tosaigh, G tosaidh, C thosach; **4d** G gríanach ghegdhosuidh, C ghrianach ghéagdhosaidh

4 The land of Oilill [Connacht] was first partitioned by the Fir Bholg of the smooth-surfaced mansions; the sunny, plain covered with blooming branches was divided into thirds initially.

5 Do choig*eadh* meadhbha m*eadh*ach.	5 Do chóigeadh Meadhbha meadhach
taibhges an trían oirt*ear*ach	taibhghis an trian oirthearach
tin*n*e m*a*c con*n*rach calma.	Tinne mac Connrach calma,
an tslat foghlach osgu*r*dha	an tshlat fhoghlach osgardha.

5a A chuigeadh; C choigadh; **5b** A taibhghis, C taibhgis; G oirthirech; **5c** A conrach; **5d** A fhaghlach, G fhoghluma

5 Brave Tinne, son of Conra, the mighty youth given to plundering, held sway over the eastern third of the mead-rich province of Meadhbh.

6 Leis ó ath lúain go luimn*ea*ch.	6 Leis ó Áth Luain go Luimneach
fidheag m*a*c féigh fion*n*b*r*uighn*ea*ch	Fidheag mac Féigh fionnbhruighneach;
níor caill*eadh* fán sáor serc*ach*.	níor cailleadh fan saor searcach
an taobh dainghean deisc*eartach*	an taobh daingean deisgeartach.

6a G atha lúan; **6b** G fidheach; A fionnbhruighneach, G fon*n*bhruin*n*ech, C fion*n*bhruighnuidh; **6c** G nior caille; **6d** A daingean desgeartach, C daighen*n*

6 From Athlone to Limerick belonged to Fidheag, son of Fiach, of the fair mansions; under the command of the beloved noble, no harm was done to the secure southern part [of Connacht].

7 Do áitigh eoch*aidh* dala.	7 Do áitigh Eochaidh Dala,
lamh *ar* n*ár* luigh nemhchara	lámh ar nár luigh neamhchara,
barr fiarchorach na ccíab ccruin*n*.	barr fiarchorach na gciabh gcruinn,
t*r*ian iart*ear*ach an <f>*ear*ui<n>*n*	trian iartharach an fhearainn.

7a C aitaigh, C dála; **7b** A luidh; **7c** G fiargorach; **7d** A iarthorach, G i*ar*tara

7 Eochaidh Dala, a hand who was never hard-pressed byan enemy, the man with a curly head of hair in perfect locks, settled in the western third of the land.

8 Roin*n*id *ar* dhó na degh*aidh*.	8 Roinnid ar dhó 'na dheaghaidh
coig*eadh* eachach airmleabh*air*	cóigeadh Eachach airmleabhair
da m*ac* ríghthaidhg uir aing*idh*.	dá mhac ríoThaidhg úir ainghidh
ón mbuill chriochair*d* chubh*air*ghil	ón Bhúill chríochaird chubhairghil.

8a roin*n*id] G *om.*[31]; G dhedhuigh; **8b** C cóigadh; G eachuid; **8c** G riothaidhg; G aingil; **8d** G gcriochár*d* gcubh*ar*ghil

8 After that, the two sons of royal, vigorous, mighty Tadhg from the white-foamed Boyle that flows in hill-country divided the province of Eachaidh of the pointed weapons in two.

[31] Space is left in the MS for the missing word.

9 Leath na tíre go tuillmhech.	9 Leath na tíre go tuillmheach
fu*air* maol rúan*aidh* righb*r*uighn*each*	fuair Maol Ruanaidh ríoghbhruighneach;
g*r*uaidh aoibl*each* fúa*ir* a mol*adh*.	gruaidh aoibhleach uair a moladh,
fú*air* a caoimhleth *con*chobh*ar*	fuair a caoimhleath Conchobhar.

9a G an tíre; **9b** C maoil; C righbhruighnach; **9c** gruaidh] C graidh; G mola; **9d** G caoimhleith; C *has* o *after* caoimhleth

9 Maol Ruanaidh of the royal mansions deservedly received half of the country; the glowing cheek that was praised, Conchobhar, received its [other] fair half.

10 Sela ríoghdha na ron*n*a.	10 Séala ríoghdha na ronna,
mairaidh a cladh comhron*n*a	mairidh a cladh comhronna
tré úir ghloin eachlúaidh an fhuin*n*.	tre úir ghloin eachluaith an fhuinn
o shenchuaich soir go sio<n>uin*n*	ó Sheanchuaich soir go Sionainn.

10a 10a G séala, C séle; **10b** G m*ar*aidh acluidh, C mairidh a gclodh; **10c** G echluaigh; 10c C tachluaid; **10d** o] C tre; G shenchruaidh

10 The boundary which marks [this] partition [still] survives [like] a royal seal [confirming] the division, running from Seanchuach eastwards to the Shannon through the fair soil of the land abounding in swift steeds.

11 Mac díarmada dhúin temhr*ach.*	11 Mac Diarmada dhúin Teamhrach
ni ghéubha a gnúis ildhealbhach	ní ghéabha a ghnúis ildhealbhach
gan cuid mhaoil rúan*aidh* don roin*n.*	gan chuid Mhaoil Ruanaidh don roinn
ac cráoibh bhuig uall*aigh* umhoill	ag craoibh bhuig uallaigh Umhaill.

11a G dúin, C duin; **11b** G gheabha, 11b C gheabha; G ghnúis; **11c** G maol; **11d** ac cráoibh] G o chraoibh, C ag craoibh

11 Mac Diarmada of the fort of Tara, the man with a face beautiful in many ways, the generous, proud scion of Umhall, will insist on possession of Maol Ruanaidh's share of the division.

12 Oighre fíre na flatha.	12 Oighre fíre na flatha,
tréigfidh *ar* thú*ar* ardratha	tréigfidhear (tuar ardratha)
far ghabh maol ruan*aidh* roimhe.	ar ghabh Maol Ruanaidh roimhe
aodh *ar* umhan iorghoile	d'Aodh ar uamhain iorghoile.

12b G tréigfigher tu*ar*, C treigfidh thuar; **12c** far] G *ar*; roimhe] C /roi*edh*th; **12d** G daodh duathmhuin*n* íorghaile, C ar aoi duamhan a iorghaile

12 What Maol Ruanaidh took before him will be yielded (an omen of great prosperity) to Aodh, true heir of the lord, for fear of battle.

13 Lu*cht* tos*aigh* gacha tresa.	13 Lucht tosaigh gacha treasa
clan*n* taidhg mhóir m*eic* muirghesa	clann Taidhg mhóir mheic Mhuirgheasa,
da mhac aonath*ar* dob fhearr.	dá mhac éanathar dob fhearr
d*ar* ghlac f<é>urach*adh* eirion*n*	dar ghlac fhéarachadh Éireann.

13a C gach; **13d** C *deletes* gabh *after* glac

13 The sons of great Tadhg, son of Muirgheas, [i.e. the progenitors of the Meic Dhiarmada and the Í Chonchobhair], were first into every battle, the two best sons of the one father who ever held sway over the grassy field of Ireland.

14 Lá éigin d*ár* éirigh tadhg.	14 Lá éigin dár éirigh Tadhg
teag*ar* chuige a chl<a>... ch<o*mh*>...	teagar chuige a chlann chomhard
do chertroin*n* an fhuin*n*. fh*eartaigh*.	do cheartroinn an fhuinn fheartaigh
da dheghcloin*n* t*r*ui<m> toirb...t*aigh*[32]	dá dheaghcloinn truim toirbheartaigh.

14a G eirghe; **14b** G chuigedh a chlan*n* comh*ar*d; C cuige a clan*n* chomhard; **14c** G fh*eartaigh*] e*cht*mh*ar*; C f*éar*d*aigh*; **14d** G dheghchlain*n* throim; G thoirbertuidh, C oirbheart*aigh*

14 One day when Tadhg arose, his sons – both equally distinguished – came to him in order to divide the land abounding in mounds properly between [themselves,] his noble, powerful, generous sons.

[32] At the end of the page in the MS, a line has been drawn in darker ink and a quatrain in *amhrán*-metre unconnected with the present poem written in the same darker ink beneath it: *A sholusben tsocuir do cuin*igh *do* céad*ghrádh búan / s gu*r *cosmail duit bh*eith *go donadh go heug la an lúain / folamh bheith is fogur don té f*ár *búail* ... This page of the MS is slightly longer than the surrounding pages and the rest of the stanza, having been folded upwards, is now illegible.

15 Do shuidh mu*r* tainig istech	15 Do shuidh mar táinig is-teach
conchabh*ar* croidhe soicleach	Conchobhar, croidhe soichleach –
doirbh tatháoir an mhóir mhenmn*aigh*.	doirbh tathaoir an mhóir mheanmnaigh –
i ccatháoir óir ildhelb*aigh*	i gcathaoir óir ildhealbhaigh.

15b C soichleath

15 As he entered, generous-hearted Conchobhar sat in a golden chair decorated with many images – it would be difficult to censure the spirited magnate.

16 [Suighes maol ruana rathmh*ar*.	16 Suidhis Maol Ruanaidh rathmhar,
leomhan dar lean sobharthan	leómhan dar lean sobharthan,
na stuaigh rochaoin *ar*dbhuig feil.	'na sduaigh rachaoin ardbhuig fhéil
a gcathaoír airgid an*n*séin]	i gcathaoir argaid ainnséin.

16 This stanza is omitted in M. I give the text of G with variants from C. **16a** C suidhios; maoil; **16b** C somharthain; **16c** C fhéil; **16d** C argaid, ain*n*séin

16 Bountiful Maol Ruanaidh, a lion that prosperity followed, sat then in a silver chair, a most handsome, generous and noble champion.

17 Mur ata a suidhughdha súd	17 "Mar a-tá a suidhiughadh súd,"
do chan tadhg ten*n* an bhrethúd	do chan Tadhg – teann an bhreath-úd –
bíodh gon gclоin*n* ghégdha glacgloin.	"bíodh 'gon chloinn ghéagdha ghlacgloin
an roin*n* c*edh*na *ar con*a*cht*oibh	an roinn chéadna ar Connachtaibh."

17a G m*ar*; G suighechan, C suidhughadh; **17b** tEn*n*] G truadh; **17c** G biaigh C bioth; G con*n* cloin*n*; C gheagdha; G glacghloin*n*, C ghlacghloin; **17d** G cédna; G chon*nacht*aibh, C chon*nacht*a

17 "In the same way as they are seated [now]," said Tadhg – that judgement was firm – "let Connacht be divided between [my] lithe-limbed, pale-handed sons."

18 O maol rúan*aidh* réim cur*adh.*	18 "Ó Mhaol Ruanaidh (réim curadh)
bíodh ceann*n*us ag conchobh*ar*	bíodh ceannas ag Conchobhar –
as gnath an tairgiod fán ór.	is gnáth an t-airgead fan ór;
na tairgeadh cach a claochlódh	ná tairgead cách a claochlódh."

18a G mhaol ruana, C maoil ruanaid; **18b** G biaigh, C biaidh; **18c** C fon; **18d** G thaisgedh; C claoclo

18 "Let Maol Ruanaidh cede superiority to Conchobhar – a hero's course. Let no one attempt to alter [this judgement]; silver is always inferior to gold."

19 Eirgis le fiuch*adh* feirge.	19 Éirghis le fiuchadh feirge
griosadh a grúaidh mhíndeirge	grís a ghruadha míndeirge;
liontar maol rúan*aidh* do re*acht*.	líontar Maol Ruanaidh do reacht -
fa a gcúal*aidh* do fao*mh* imthea*cht*	fa a gcualaidh do fhaomh imtheacht.

19a G eirghes re; C fiach*ad*[*h*]; **19b** G grís a gruadha mindeirghe, C ghruaidh; **19c** G lionadh maol ruanadh, C maoil;**19d** G gcúala

19 Maol Ruanaidh's smooth, red cheek blushed with boiling rage; he was filled with anger - because of what he heard, he was ready to leave.

20 Da ndeac*aidh* maol rúan*aidh* gan reir.	20 "Dá ndeach Maol Ruanaidh gan réir
uaibh *ar* cach ba cleas aigmhéil	uaibh," ar cách, "budh cleas aigmhéil;
bíaidh na tuin*n* foghla uile.	biaidh 'na tuinn fhaghla uile
banbha chuin*n* is *con*uire	Banbha Chuinn is Chonaire."

20a G ndeachuidh maol ruana, C ndeac maoil; **20b** G chách; G bu cúis, C bac clthas; G aighmhéil; **20c** G biaigh, G faghla; **20d** G chon*air*e, C hanba cuin*n* is conchobhar;

20 "If Maol Ruanaidh goes from you without satisfaction, it will be a terrible deed," said everyone, "Conn and Conaire's Ireland will be consumed by plundering."

21 Biodh aige *ar* tadhg n*ar* tub*adh.*	21 "Bíodh aige," ar Tadhg nar tubhadh,
leth con*nacht* ó *con*chobh*ar*	"leath Connacht ó Chonchobhar;
do chomhaidh ni iarrfa as.	do chonnradh ní iarrfa as
a*cht* congna*mh* cliachdha as cen*n*ais	acht congnamh cliachdha is ceannas."

21a C bioth; G thadhg; C tab*adh*; **21c** G do chon*n*radh íarrfadh as; **21d** cliachdha] C chathdha, GC cen*n*as

21 "Let Conchobhar cede half of Connacht to him [Maol Ruanaidh]," said Tadhg with whom no fault was ever found. "In exchange, [Conchobhar] will ask only for help in battle and to hold the sovereignty."

22 Íoc a milf*idhtear* amuigh.	22 "Íoc a millfidhear a-muigh
fa mhuintir mhir maol ruan*aidh*	fa mhuintir mir Maoil Ruanaidh
bent*ar* do rígh le raghadh.	beantar don rígh le raghad
a ttír nertmu*r* nemhcharad	i dtír neartmhar neamhcharad."

22a G millfuidher, C millfidhir; **22b** fa] G o, C fá; G mhuin*n*tir; C mir, maoil; **22c** G bentha*ir* don rígh le a

22 "Let compensation for those of the spirited company of Maol Ruanaidh that are struck down on campaign be paid by the king with whom they will invade a powerful, hostile country."

23 Tugad dhó sochrach an sídh.	23 Tugadh dhó (sochrach an síodh)
bheith sáor ar slúag*adh* airdrígh	bheith saor ar sluaghadh airdríogh
a núair foghmhuir is earr*aigh*.	i n-uair fhoghmhair is earraigh
da g*r*uaidh dhon*n*ghlain drithlean*n*uigh	dá ghruaidh dhonnghlain drithleannaigh.

23a C tugadh; G do, C dho; G shochrach; **23b** G shluaighedh; **23c** G erra; **23d** G ghruaidh don*n*ghlan drithlean*n*adh

23 The [man with a] fair, ruddy, bright cheek was given immunity from the obligation of going on a high-king's hosting in autumn or spring – what a profitable peace!

24 Túarasdal ga trom rath.	24 Tuarasdal (gá troime rath)
gach bl*iadh*na da bharr gegach	gach bliadhna dá bharr géagach,
da thro*m*mhaicne do geall.	dá thrommhaicne (do thuair geall)
fú*ar* is com*air*ce choitchean*n*	fuair is comairce choitcheann.

24a C *reads* Tan uair foghn *and is blank to the end of the line. An* X *is drawn in pencil in the left margin, perhaps indicating the scribe intended to revisit this line*; 24a G truime; **24b** G bliadhuin; **24c** G da, C dha; G tromaicme do thú*ar* geall, C do fuair geall; **24d** G fu*air*; G coimirce, C coimairci

24 He [Maol Ruanaidh], the [man with the] curly hair, secured *tuarasdal* every year for himself (what *rath* could be costlier!) and *comairce* in all things for his powerful descendants (it promised eminence).

25 Gan rígh do chur ar charn fraoich
choidhche a*cht* dheóin deghlaoich
le siol duacha ni beag an bhreth.
do ched a ttúath sa dtaoisach

25 Gan rígh do chur ar Charn Fraoich
choidhche acht do dheóin an deaghlaoich –
le síol Duach ní beag an bhreath –
do chead a dtuath 's a dtaoiseach.

25a G fraoch; **25b** C caoiche; dheóin deghlaoich] G do ched an deghlaoch, C do dheoin an deighlaoich; **25c** G do shíol duach ní beg an bregh, duacha] C daacha; **25d** do] G le; G ttáoisech

25 Henceforth, no king [could be] inaugurated on Carn Fraoich without the consent of the noble champion [i.e. Maol Ruanaidh], of the *tuath*s and chiefs of the descendants of Duach – the judgement was not considered insignificant by the descendants of Duach.

26 Geub*aidh* misi ol maol run*aidh*.
sin *ar* eagla anuabh*ar*
gan buan*n*a tárr*aidh* na thír.
gan canaidh uadha dairdrígh

26 "Géabhaidh mise," ol Maol Ruanaidh,
"sin ar eagla anuabhair";
gan bhuanna tárraidh 'na thír,
gan chánaidh uadha d'airdrígh.

26a C geabhaidh; geub*aidh* misi ol] G aontuighes an*n*; G maol ruanadh, C maoil ruanaidh; **26b** G an uathbh*air*, C anuabh*air*; **26c** G buan*n*adh tarra an tír

26 "I will accept that, rather than be excessively proud," said Maol Ruanaidh. He obtained [the lordship] of his country without [being obliged to billet] mercenary soldiers, without paying tribute to a high-king.

27 Ni dlighid cíos da chéile.	27 Ní dhlighid cíos dá chéile,
siol da churadh coirrshléibhe	síol dá churadh Coirrshléibhe;
sáoirrígh don deghchloin*n* ni dhligh	saoirrí don deaghchloinn ní dhligh
aonní a*cht* certroin*n* cuig*idh*	aoinní acht ceartroinn chúigidh.

27b churadh] C charaid chorrshléibhe; **27c** C saoirrí; **27d** G aoinní, C aoinní; G cóigidh, C cuigaidh

27 The descendants of the two champions of the Curlews do not owe each other tribute; the only thing [the] noble king [Ó Conchobhair] owes the high-born family [the Meic Dhiarmada] is a proper division of the province.

28 Rig muighe luirg la*mh* fort__*h*	28 Rí Muighe Luirg, lámh fhortail,
coiseónaidh se con*nacht*uibh	coiseónaidh re Connachtaibh
cuid sengmhadh ríoghdha rúanaidh	cuid sheangMhaoil ríodha Ruanaidh
dealbhshaoir mhiolla m*ar*csluag*aigh*[33]	dealbhshaoir mhíolla mharcshluaghaigh.

28a C rí mhuighe; G fortail, C fhort__*h*; **28b** G coiseonadh, C coiséinaidh; se] G le; **28c** G sengmhaoil; G rúana; **28d** G dealshaoir; G m*ar*cshluaghach

28 The king of Magh Luirg [Aodh Mac Diarmada], [the] mighty hand, will fight the people of Connacht for the portion allotted to slender, royal, noble-bodied, amiable Maol Ruanaidh attended by cavalry.

[33] The *l* has been inserted with a caret.

29 Mac conchabh*air* na gclog sen.	29 Mac Conchobhair na gcolg sean
geub*aidh ar* ghabh a shin*n*sior	géabhaidh ar ghabh a shinnsear,
glac shaor gan uamhan *ar* airg.	glac shaor gan uamhain ar airg,
mu*r* mhaol ruanaid*h* m*a*c m<io>*r*taidhg	mar Mhaol Ruanaidh, mac mórThaidhg.

29a G gcolg, C gcolg; **29b** G geabhar, C geabhaidh; G sinser, C shin*n*sir; **29c** G uathmhuin*n* *far*; **29d** C maoil; G mhórThaidhg, C m<io>*r*thaidhg

29 The son of Conchobhar of the ancient swords, the noble hand who does not fear the battle-strait, will take what his ancestor held, in the manner of Maol Ruanaidh, the son of mighty Tadhg.

30 Dfhior a chaithmhe is comhang lin*n*.	30 D'fhior a chaithmhe is cumhang linn
leth aoncoig*idh* i néirin*n*	leath aonchóigidh i nÉirinn
dearon*n* fon*n*mu*r* sáor sochrach.	d'fhearann fonnmhar saor sochrach
aodh na gcorrbhrugh gcomh*ar*tach	Aodh na gcorrbhrugh gcomharthach.

30a C chaithfe; is] G *om.*; G cumhang; **30b** G chóigedh, C choigaidh déirin*n* (*corrected in the right-hand margin to* i néirin*n*); **30c** G d'fheron*n*; G sochruidh; **30d** G gcumorthuidh, C gcomh*ar*thach

30 The delightful, noble land of half one province of Ireland, from which many dues accrue, seems to me restrictive for a man of his hospitality – Aodh of the pointed decorated castles.

31 Ar laochdha*cht* a ló catha.	31 Ar laochdhacht i ló chatha,
ar mhóradh m*ei*c an ardfhlatha	ar mhóradh mac n-ardfhlatha,
ni b*udh* ainbhreth don fhial fhion*n*.	ní budh ainbhreath don fhial fhionn
trían no airdleth na heirion*n*	trian nó airdleath na hÉireann.

31a G laochdach, C laet*r*eas; C láe; G chatha; **31b** G mordac*ht* mic ardfhlatha, C mac; **31c** b*udh*] GC bú, fhial] G fhuil, C fidn*n*; **31d** airdleth] C ardfhlaith ~~ir~~ héirin*n*

31 It would not be excessive for the generous blond man to hold a third of Ireland or a full half on account of [his] heroism in battle [and his] supporting of the sons of a great lord.

32 Ar chrúas mbéimion*n* *ar* bhuga.	32 Ar chruas mbéimeann, ar bhuga,
ar maordha*cht* m*ei*c díar*r*mada	ar maordhacht Meic Dhiarmada,
ar chaithmhidhe is *ar* c*r*uaidhe.	ar chaithmhighe is ar cridhe,
ar aithnidhe s *ar* áilghine.	ar aithnidhe, ar áilghine.

32a C cruas; G béidhmen*n*, C mbeimon*n*; G bhugadh; **32b** C maoordha*cht*; **32c** G chaithmighe; G cridhe, C chruaidhe; **32d** G aithnighe

32 On account of the force of Mac Diarmada's blows, of his generosity, of his dignified bearing, of his liberality and courage, of his fame and gentleness.

33 Ar lionmu*r*e fa fhleadhaibh.	33 Ar líonmhaire fa fhleadhaibh,
ar a bheith miochair muin*n*treabhmhail	ar bheith miochair muinntreamhail,
ar bheith buil*idh* réidh rioghdha.	ar bheith builidh réidh ríodha
le cléir nduil*igh*i ndoidhiola	le cléir nduiligh ndoidhíola.

33a G líonmhuire*cht*; C fleathaibh; **33b** G bhedh; G muin*n*tremhuil, 33b C muin*n*treabhamhail; **33c** G bedh buile; C reaidh; G riogha, C ~~rioga~~ rioga; **33d** le] G re, nduile ndoidhíoladh

33 On account of the great number at [his] feasts, of [his] being kind and hospitable, of [his] being mild, pleasant and princely with troublesome poets who cannot be satisfied.

34 Ar chongna*mh*[34] cadhuis fil*eadh*.	34 Ar chongbháil cádhais fhileadh,
ar cach do cosg daindligh*eadh*	ar cách do chosg d'aindligheadh,
ar chill[35] do chur na teighle.	ar chill do chur 'na téigle,
ar sgu*r* feill is foiréigne	ar sgur fill is foiréigne.

34a ar] C cer; G chongmháil; C cadhuir filidh; **34b** G chach, C cách; cosg] C choig; G aindlighe, C daindhligh*idh*; **34c** G cheill; na] C *om.*; G thóighleadh; **34d** C sgiur; G fill, G foiréignedh

34 On account of the way he maintains poets according to the honour due to them, curbs all from wrongdoing, ensures tranquility for the church, [and] prevents treachery and violence.

[34] The *punctum* indicating the lenition of *c*-, and several others, are in darker ink than that used to write the rest of the verse. Several characters in M's text seem to have been touched up in later ink.

[35] This word was added in the margin.

35 Ar gialluib[36] in*n*si healga.	35 Ar giallaibh innse hEalga,
ar bhan*n*trachthuibh[37] béild*ear*ga	ar bhanntrachtaibh béildearga,
ar cháoir n*ar*mhaith ttruim tteghlach.	ar chaoir n-armáith dtruim dteaghlaigh
na ghlanrath cuirr ceithiorn*aigh*	'na ghlanráith chuirr cheithearnaigh.

35a G in*n*sigh alga; **35b** G ban*n*tra*cht*aibh, C bhan*n*trachtuibh; G bhraitdherga; **35c** G tteagluidh, C t*r*uim; **35d** G isa ghlanraith gcuirr gcedh*arr*nuidh, C cuir

35 On account of the hostages of Ireland [that he holds], on account of [the] red-lipped womenfolk [and] the great household-retinue bearing sharp blades in his beautiful, pointed, kern-thronged rath.

36 Ni fol*air* da bhfuil in*n*ti.	36 Ní foláir dá bhfuil innte,
gidh mór an mhuir aoibhin*n*ti	gidh mór an múr aoibhinnte,
saidhbhre na cairrge cuirre.	saidhbhre na Cairrge cuirre
airde daingni dioghuin*n*i	airde daingne díoghainne.

36a G ful*air*; **36b** G gi mhór as mér aoibhin*n*te; **36c** C saibhre; **36d** C dainge

36 Though the beautiful and warm fort is great, the wealth of the pointed, fortified, firm Rock is hardly sufficient for all who are within.

[36] The first three letters of this word were somewhat obscured when re-inked.

[37] This lenition is indicated by a darker *punctum*, probably added later.

37 Níor dealbeadh dún a samhail	37 Níor dealbhadh dún a samhail,
cath*air* mhór m*ei*c *con*chobh*air*	cathair mhór mheic Conchobhair,
ráith comhnuidhe goirmchorr ghlan.	ráith chaomhnúidhe ghormchorr ghlan,
conchlan*n* caomhdhúine c*r*uach*an*	conchlann caomhdhúine Cruachan.

37a dealbeadh] G cumad, C dhealbhadh; **37b** C conchobar; **37c** G aolmhúire gormchorr; **37d** C caomhdhúin cruachan[38]

37 The likes of this fort was never fashioned, the great citadel of the son of Conchobhar, the beautiful, excellent, dark, pointed, marvellous rath, the rival of the beautiful fort of Cruachain.

38 Coithchin*n*e carraic na ríogh.	38 Coitchinne Carrag na Ríogh,
fearr a[39] hionadh eisíodh	fearr a hionadh ar eisíodh,
mo fa dhó tairm an tighe.	mó fa dhó toirm an tighe,
s as mó moirn na muin*n*tire	's is mó moirn na muinntire.

38a G coitchin*n*e, C coitchin*n*e; G ch*arr*ag, C canraicc na fiogh; **38b** C feair; eisíodh] G *ar* eissiodh, C eisiodhe; **38c** G th*air*m a thighe, C goire mó a dhó dairim an tighe; **38d** G muirn*n* a mhuin*n*tire, C muin*n*dirt

38 The Rock of Kings [the Rock of Loch Cé] is more populous [than Cruachain]; it is better situated in time of war; the commotion in the house is twice as great and the merriment of [its] people is greater.

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[38] The MS reads *craachan* but *u* has been written over the first *a*. Cf. 25c C *daacha* for *Duacha* , 40d C (*c*)*caain* for *cuain*, and 44b *baain* for *buain*.

[39] This was inserted later in darker ink.

39 Goire fíoruisge is fíodhb*aidh.*	39 Goire fíoruisge is fiodhbhaidh
do dhúnchaithreach dhúiniobhr*aidh*e	don dúnchathraigh dhoinniobhraigh;
goire cúan eaigneadh impi.	goire cuan éigneadh impe
don tslúagh dhédgheal doimhillte	don tshluagh dhéidgheal doimhillte.

39a goire] C goirt *corrected to* goire; C fioruige; G fiodhbhadh; **39b** G don dúnchathruidh doin*n*íobhruidh, C dhuin caithreach [*blank space*] dhrighe; **39c** G éigne, C ertned; impi] *om. in* C ; **39d** don tslúagh] *om. in* C; C det geal dhoimhillte

39 Freshwater and trees are found closer to the citadel of brown yews; salmon-filled waters around [the Rock] are found closer to the bright-toothed invincible host [than to Cruachain].

40 Goirid lá *ar* l*ár* an tighe.	40 Goirid lá ar lár an tighe
teach na cairrge cuipghile	teach na Cairrge cuipghile
diomad slúaigh f*ar* ndaoidhni an*n*.	d'iomad sluagh far nAoidh-ne ann,
dáoibhne a cúan daoibhne a habhan*n*	d'aoibhne a cuan, d'aoibhne a habhann.

40a *ar* l*ár*] G ag lu*cht*; **40b** G tegh na c*air*ge; **40c** G sluagh; G naoidhne, C ndaoibhne; **40d** cúan] C ccaain; daoibhne] C daibhni

40 A day passes quickly inside the house on the white-waved Rock because of the size of the hosts gathered around my Aodh there, because of the beauty of its harbours, because of the beauty of its river.

41 Fán loch mu*r* leigid sirthi.

la ciúin is cúis g*air*dighthi

bró eath*ar* is barc mbennach.

fan t*racht* leathan laoidengach

41 Fan loch mar leigid sirthe

lá ciúin is cúis ghairdighthe

bró eathar is bárc mbeannach

fan trácht leathan laoidheangach.

41a C leaigid; **41b** C ghairdighthi; **41c** C bárc; **41d** fan tra*cht*] G a ttra*cht*; C laoidheg*ach* laoidheng*ach*

41 It is a cause of joy on a tranquil day how raiding-parties set off a fleet of boats and pointed ships around the expansive galley-thronged shore by the lake.

42 As cuid da ceol*aibh* maithi.

oirfidach a hénlaithi

feada a[40] doghrán ndonghlan ndubh.

s co*m*radh orla*mh* a healt*adh*

42 Is cuid dá ceolaibh maithe

oirfideadh a héanlaithe,

feada a dobhrán ndonnghlan ndubh

's comhrádh orlamh a healtan.

42b G oirfide; G *writes* 42c feda *at the end of this line*; C *adds* gnáth *after* a héanlaithe; **42c** G dobhrán ndon*n*ghlan; C ndabh; **42d** GC healtan

42 The singing of its birds, the whistling of its beautiful, brown and black otters and the ready chatter of its bird-flocks are some of the musical sounds [heard about the Rock].

[40] The scribe originally wrote *na* but crossed out the *n*. The space between this and the next word is somewhat larger than usual.

43 Gair m*a*cradh aig bhreith báire.	43 Gáir mhacradh ag breith bháire
ar a trachtuibh taobháille	ar a tráchtaibh taobháille,
cluig shionghlana lai*mh* re loch.	cluig bhionnghlana láimh re loch,
gáir iomrama na n*ar*th*ar*ach[41]	gáir iomramha na n-arthrach.

43a G g*áir* mhacruidh ag breith b*áir*e, C mhacradh ag breith bhaire; **43b** G thrá*cht*adh tiormaille; **43c** G bion*n*glana, C cuilg síonghlana; re] GC le; **43d** G iomrámhadh, C iomramh; G n*ar*troch

43 The cry of groups of youths playing hurling on its beautiful beaches, beautiful melodious bells beside the lake, the sound of the rowing of ships.

44 Fir uallach ós fitciol*laibh* déd.	44 Fir uallcha ós fhithcheallaibh déad,
basa boga ag búain caointéd	basa boga ag buain caointéad,
ráth ballghlas na ngeibhion*n* ngel.	ráth ballghlas na ngéibheann ngeal –
paras éirion*n* an aittriobh	Pardhas Éireann an aittreabh.

44a G ulchadh, C uallcha; G fithchealla; **44b** C baain; G caointhéd ; **43d** G p*arr*thas; aittriobh] G áirther

44 Mighty men over ivory *fithcheall*-sets, soft hands plucking smooth strings, the grey-limbed rath of the bright fetters – the house is Ireland's Paradise!

[41] Under this word and slighty to the right but above the catchword *fir*, the scribe has written *ceart*.

45 Créd a*cht* síodhbhrugh a samhail.	45 Créad acht síodhbhrugh a samhail,
ráith meadhr*ach* me*ic* *con*chobh*air*	ráith mheadhrach mheic Conchobhair?
síth aodha bhus ain*mh* don tigh.	Síoth Aodha bhus ainm don tigh,
caomh a hairm is a héudigh	caomha a hairm is a héididh.

45a a*cht*] C as; G síothbhrúgh; **45b** G ráth; C mheadhrach; G mhic, *om. in* C; G conchubh*ar*; **45c** G siodh; G ainim, C ain*m*; G tegh; **45d** G caomhna; hairm] C hairrdi; G héidegh

45 To what else can the joy-filled rath of the son of Conchobhar be compared, except a fairy mansion? The house will be called Aodh's fairy-mound, its weapons and armour are beautiful.

46 Cosg diongmhala chaich uile.	46 Cos chongbhála cháich uile,
lámh *ar* nac luigh sochuidhe	lámh ar nach luigh sochaidhe,
an ciollbhile[42] chl*áir* fódhla.	an caillbhile a clár Fódla,
lám ainbhíne dfurfhógra	lámh ainbhine d'fhurfhógra.

46a G cos congmhala cháigh ; **46b** nac] G n*ár* ; **46c** G coillbhile a gclár, C coillbhile a clár fódhla; **46d** G ainbhfine, C ainbhine; G dfurfogradh

46 A champion who protects everyone, a hand that is never hard-pressed by an army, the hazel-tree from the plain of Ireland, a hand that banishes outsiders.

[42] An *a* after this word has been deleted.

47 Lámh is gairbhe *ar* ghort troda.	47 Lámh is gairbhe ar ghort troda
la*mh* mhiolla me*i*c díarmada	lámh mhíolla Mheic Dhiarmada,
lá*mh* is bog um bhrat s um bhoin.	lámh is bog um bhrat 's um bhoin,
glac n*ár* ob dan na deab*aidh*	glac nár ob dán ná deabhaidh.

47b G míolla; **47c** G um hu*ar* s um ghroidh; **47d** dan na deab*aidh*] G ó ...[43] uaisleadh

47 The gentle hand of Mac Diarmada is the hand that is fiercest on the battle-field, a hand that freely gives away a cloak and a cow, a hand that never refused a poem or battle.

48 Lámh beodha n*ar* bhris luighe.	48 Lámh beódha nár bhris luighe,
gan rún fil na fion<*n*>ghuile	gan rún fill ná fionnghaile,
lámh is mór ag a niomghuin.	lámh is mór ag a mionghuin,
lámh n*ár* clodh a gcathiorghuil	lámh nár clódh i gcaithiorghail.

48b *G's text breaks off after this line, leaving blank space sufficient for a few more lines before the beginning of the next item in the MS*; 48b C fion*n*guile; **48c** C ag a nimguin; **48d** C chlódh

48 A vigorous hand, without any treasonous or murderous designs, that never broke an oath; a hand eager to be covered with wounds; a hand that was never overcome in battle.

[43] One or two characters I cannot make out.

49 Lamh m*ei*c concobh*air* caithmigh.	49 Lámh meic Conchobhair chaithmhigh,
m*a*c díarmada deghaithnidh	Mac Diarmada deaghaithnidh,
do shuidh *ar* l*ár* chreach a gcoill.	do shuidh ar lár chreach i gcoill,
la*mh* each is cruidh do comhruin*n*	lámh each is chruidh do chomhroinn.

ROIN*N* LEATH $_7$C$^{\cdot}$

49a C[44] conchobhar chaithmhigh; ***dúnadh*** C ROIN*N* LEATH $_7$C$^{\cdot}$] ROIN*N* LE/A/T/A. TT$^{\cdot}$ C$^{\cdot}$ C$_7$C$^{\cdot}$.

49 Famous Mac Diarmada sat down in the midst of booty in a wood; the hand of the son of generous Conchobhar was a hand distributing horses and cattle.

[44] The scribe of C normally leaves a line between the end of one quatrain and the beginning of the next and capitalises the first letter of each quatrain. In this case, however, he not left a space between §§48 and 49.

1b M's reading of *fearanta*cht is probably no more than a variant spelling of *fearannacht* (cf. *ferontas* for *fearannas* in BOCD (*DIL* s.v. *feranntas*)). I know of no other example of the noun *fearannacht* in Bardic poetry. It is not given in the Grammatical Tracts or *DIL.* Dinneen has *fearannacht* 'extent of territory'. If it is a noun, *fearannacht* would appear to be gen. pl. (see *IGT* ii, §§24-6). It is difficult to make out the meaning of the quatrain reading gen. pl. *fearannacht*: 'for a king, it is not a portion of lands (?)', i.e. it is not part of the lands of the king of Connacht (Ó Conchobhair)? It seems more likely that this is a compound word *fearann* 'land' + *docht* 'restrictive', i.e. it is a fitting portion [of land] for a king (Mac Diarmada, king of Magh Luirg). As the initial of *d-* of *docht* would assimilate to the final *-nn* of *fearann* and given the lack of a standardised spelling for unstressed vowels, it would be no surprise if *fearanndocht* came to be represented *fearannacht.*

1c I adopt the expected gen. sing. *chóigidh* for M *choigeadh* (see *IGT* ii, §11) in my critical edition.

I have lenited the initial of *Meadhbha*, qualifying gen. sing. masc. *chóigidh*, but see McKenna 1941-2, 53.

1d The text of G is superior here. The adjectives *líonmhar* and *fóidshean* must be in their gen. sing. masc. forms for perfect internal rhyme with 1c *mhíonghloin* and *chóigidh* respectively, but both M and C give their radical forms.

2a I read *comhroinn* for *cuibhreann* here. It seems likely that *cuibhreann* 'portion (normally of a meal)' and *comhroinn* 'portion, division' (both of which derive from *comh-* + *roinn*) became confused in the course of transmission. Note C's reading.

2b The *punctum* found over the initial of *claidhréidhe* in M may be an error. I take it that it belongs over the gen. of *Cruachain*, the initial of which can be lenited after dat. sing. *fhearann*. Similarly, see 43a where M reads *aig bhreith báire* for expected *ag breith bháire* (as in C)(but see note 2d below).

***d'easbhaidh*:** According to *IGT* ii §149, *easbaidh*is a forbidden variant of *easbhaidh.* Both G and C have lenited *-b-*. The absence of lenition in M is probably due to the suspension stroke after *b* in that MS.

3a For *na gcnoc seang*, G reads *na* [*g*]*con seang* 'of slender hounds'.

3b I have followed G in reading *thíribh* for M *tíorthuibh* (the initial consonant is lenited after the preposition *seach*); C's reading of *tioruibh* is somewhere between G and M. *Tíribh* is the expected dat. pl. form in Classical Irish (*IGT* ii, §§45 and 154). The nom. pl. form *tírthi* is condemned in *IGT* ii, §45.

3d I take *adhbhaillte* in M and C to represent a compound adj. *adhbhal* + *te* 'very hot' with a doubling of the *l* of *adhbhal* may simply be a feature of scribal orthography (cf. the common spelling *Ulltach*) or could be for eye-rhyme with *roi**nn**te*, emphasising that middle quantity of the rhyming unstressed vowels. Alternatively, *adhbhall* could represent *adhbhall* (historical *adhmhall*) 'slow' > 'stately, majestic' or perhaps 'expansive' (see *DIL* s.vv. *admhall* for further examples, including an application of the adj. to describe Ireland, and *mall* (c)) + *te* 'warm'). Note G *abhuinnte* 'river-warm'.

4-7 These four quatrains are quoted in Mac Fhir Bhisigh's Great Book of Genealogies.[45]

§§4-7 of the present poem have a particular importance because of their explicit reference to the origin story of the tripartite division of Connacht or to a particular reflex of

[45] Mac Fhir Bhisigh introduces the cited quatrains as follows: *Fir Bholg, iomorra, tar ar erigh do euttúalang <dhoibh> in aimsir Tuathail Teachtmhair agus na riogh reamraite ar cheana, do-ghebhmid a sleachtaibh éugsamhla gur gabhsad a cclanna ceannus mor 'na dhiaigh sin, go hairidhe i cConnachtaibh (ní airbhim an Cian do luaidheadh linn, óir as áil diu dhúinn iompódh orra súas seal ele) .i. go haimsir ... uair thra baoí do neart an ionbhaid sin fo rioghaibh Ereann aca gur rannsad Cuigeadh Ol nÉugmacht .i. Connachta, i ttri treanuibh, amhuil ader dán Aingligh Uí Domhnalláin, 'Roinn lethe ar Coi*geadh *Connacht'*, 'Despite all the intolerable oppression that assailed Fir Bholg in the time of Tuathal Teachtmhar and the other kings aforesaid, we find in different tracts that their progeny gained great superiority after that, especially in Connacht (I do not reckon the Cian mentioned by us, for we wish to turn to those above (?) at another time) until the time of ... for at that time the kings of Ireland had such power that they divided the Province of Ól nÉagmhacht, i.e. Connacht, into three thirds, as the poem of Aingleach Ó Domhnalláin says: 'A division in half of the Province of Connacht'' (*LMG* i, §58.2). The variants noted under the siglum A are from Ó Muraíle's transcript (*LMG* i, §§58.3-6).

that division.[46] The particulars of the division of Connacht among the Fir Bholg are not related in *Lebor Gabála* (*LGÉ* i, 160-3) and I do not know what source Ó Domhnalláin had for this story.

The tripartite division of the province is, however, adverted to in other sources and is connected with the Fir Bholg (Bhreathnach 2002, 29ff). The three figures mentioned in the present poem (Tinne, Fidheag and Eochaidh Dala) feature as feuding brothers in *Cath Bóinde* (O'Neill 1905): when Medb absconded from Conchobar mac Nessa, Tindi son of Conra was king of Connacht (see §5 below). Eochaid Dala (see §7; note the rhyme *Dala* : *neamhchara*) and Fidig mac Féig (see §6), however, are seeking the kingship for themselves. Fidig's attempt to oust his brother fails and he is slain 'over Shannon streams' (*tar srothaib Sinda*) (note the extent of Fidig's territory as described in §6). The slaying of Fidig offended Eochaid Feidlech, father of Medb, but Tindi nonetheless enjoyed her favour. Medb is later violated by Conchobar. At this point in *Cath Boinde*, it is noted that Tindi's brother Eochaid Dala was still alive, though reference is made to an alternative tradition in which he had already been slain by Tindi (ibid., 180-1). Tindi and Conchobar are now at war. When challenged to one-on-one combat, Conchobar nominates Tindi's own son as his champion and father and son fight, resulting in the former's death. After Tindi's death, Eochaid Dala takes up the fight against Conchobar on Medb's behalf, reigns supreme from the Shannon to the Boyne, and is made king of Connacht. A description of the tripartite division of the Fir Bholg is of particular interest: *Teacaid Domnandaich 7 Dail n-Druithni 7 Firchraibi dia roibi Eochaid Dala co Cruachain iar marbad Tinndi mic Conrach Cais, air cerbo* tri *h-aicmeda re scailed iadsen rob en aicme iar m-bunudas iad .i. clanna Genaind, mic Deala, mic Loich, 7 do Fearaib Bolg iat iar n-genelach; co rob i comairle do-ronsad: - rigi Condacht d'ainmneochad d'Eochaid Dala do deoin Meadba*, 'The Fir Domnand and the Dal n-Druithni and the Firchraibi, from whom sprang Eochaid Dala, came to Cruachan after the slaying of Tindi, the son of Conra Cas, for though they were three tribes through division they were one tribe by origin, namely the children of Genand, the son of Dil (?), the son of Loch, and they were Firbolg by race' (ibid., 180-3). Eochaid Dala is ultimately supplanted and killed by Ailill.

[46] The origin of the tripartite division of Connacht was a bone of contention among native scholars in the seventeenth century (Bhreathnach 2002, 29 n. 22) and it is quite possible that this story was not widely circulated, for whatever reason.

According to Céitinn, it was Eochaidh Feidhleach who divided Connacht in three (*óir do roinn sé Cúigeadh Connacht 'n-a trí míribh ar thriar .i. Fidheac mac Féig, Eochaidh Allad, Tinne mac Connrach*). Fidheac was given Fir na Craoibhe from Fidheac to Luimneach, Eochaidh Allad was given Iorrus Domhann from Galway to the river Duibh and the river Drobhaois, and Tinne was given Magh Sainbh and Seantuatha Taidhean from Fidheac to Teamhair Bhrogha Niadh (*FFÉ* ii, 184-9).

4a For *na mbrugh slim*, G has the less probable reading *na mbrat slim* 'of the smooth cloaks'.

4b The *r* in M *cérd-* is a scribal slip. Beneath *cead-* in C there is an unusual stroke resembling the bottom half of a circle. There may perhaps have been a mark beneath *céad-* in the exemplar(s) of MC.

I have adopted A's reading of historical *Oilill* (*IGT* ii, §111) in favour of **M *Oillill***.[47]

4c *ABM* incorrectly reads *ghríanaidh* for M *thríanaidh* (normalised to *thrianaigh*).

4cd All of the MSS, except A, show confusion regarding the endings of adjectives in radical *-ach* here. The simplest solution is to follow A, taking both *tír* and *mín* as fem. nouns and palatalising the adjectives in the dat. sing. accordingly. The problem of rhyming 4c *tosach* with 4d *géagdhosaigh* can then be resolved by reading the alternative dat. sing. form *tosaigh*. *Tosach* is listed as a masc. noun (dat. sing. *tosach*) in *IGT* ii §55 along with other old neuter *s*-stems. Though not explicitly permitted by *IGT*, *ar tosaigh* is given in *BST* 219.10-13 (with the observation that *ar tosaigh* should not be followed by the article, i.e. that it is purely adverbial) and 227.16 (with the observation that it can be rhymed with gen. sing. masc. *tosaigh*) and is commonly found in Bardic poetry (for examples, see *IGT* ii, ex. 427 and the *rinn* : *airdrinn* rhyme *air* : *tosaigh* in *TD* 18.15cd).

4d Note the lenition of the initial of *géagdhosaigh* after homorganic *-gh* and of *b-* after *-bh* in 11d, of *d-* after *-dh* in 23a and 23d (but cp. the non-lenition of *d-* where grammatically expected after *-n* in 23d) (but *d-* is not lenited where grammatically expected after *-l* in the same line) and of *m-* after *-mh* in 47b. Similarly, *b-* is lenited after *um* in 47c ((*IGT* i, §§50-2; *Duanaireacht*, §41; *SNG* IV, §3.1(d)). The Tracts indicate that lenition in these circumstances is to be written but not pronounced in Classical Irish. Nonetheless Damian McManus informs

[47] Cf. the spelling *tír n-oilliolla* in M, p.35.

me that lenition is never indicated on *b-* after *-m* in the citations in the Grammatical Tracts. See also note 27c and 39d.

5b I follow A and C in taking M *taibhges* as *taibhghis*, the expected Classical form of 3 sing. *s*-preterite of *taibhghidh* (see *SNG* IV, §7.16). M *taibhges* probably represents a late spelling of the 3 sing. *s*-preterite (Bergin 1930, xxii)[48] See also 16a where G has *suighes* and C *suidhios* for expected *suidhis* (this quatrain is omitted in M), and 19a where M and C have *ēirg*[*h*]*is* while G has *ēirghes* for expected *éirghis.*

G *oirthirech* would not make perfect *rinn* : *airdrinn* rhyme with 5a *meadhach.*

5d G *fhoghluma* does not rhyme with 5c *Connrach* and would leave 5d hypersyllabic. A *fhaghlach* also does not rhyme with 5c *Connrach.*

6a G *atha* (gen. sing. of *áth*, influenced by *ó thá*?) would leave the line a syllable too long.

6b I do not understand G *fonnbhuinneach*. M, C and A have *fionnbhruighneach*, which could be analysed as *fionn* 'blond' + *bruighneach* 'quarrelsome' (*DIL* s.vv *bruignech*, 2 *bruidnech*). If *bruighneach* is understood in the sense of 1 *bruidnech*, the compound could be rendered as 'of fair palaces'. See also 9b where *ríoghbhruighneach* could be a *dvandva*-compound meaning 'royal and warlike' or could be rendered 'of royal palaces'. The latter sense of the second element seems most likely in both cases. For another example of the adj. *bruighneach* (clearly in the latter sense), see *a ráith cheathardhruimneach Chuinn / leathan-bhruighneach bhláith bheandchruinn*, 'rath of Conn of the fourfold ridge, spaciously palatial, smooth, with round pinnacles' (§3cd *An tú a-rís, a ráith Teamhrach*?, Quiggin 1913; *IGT* i, §91).

6c The absence of *t*-mutation on *saor* suggests that the preposition, either *fa* (*um / ma / bha*) or *fa* (*fo*), governs the acc. here. The former normally governs the acc. in Classical Irish (see Poem 7 note 29d). *Fa* here could be taken as a by-form of *um* meaning 'on account of' (*DIL* s.v. 1 *imm* III). *Fa* (*fo*) governs the acc. after verbs of motion (*SNG* IV, §10.1) and may possibly govern the acc. when it means 'subject to' (see *Ga ttú ris acht bíd na Brianaigh / fa bhreith* ***n-****éigeas*(*ABM* 242.7ab), '... the O'Byrnes are submissive to poets', *Smacht °flatha*

[48] For two examples from the late-fourteenth century Book of Ballymote, see *beandachas* and *marbas* in Stokes 1903, 180-3, §11.

fán °***bh****Filib-si, / casg aga ar gach anduine* (*O'Reilly poems* 1.6ab), 'While Philip reigns, every churl is kept in check by him', and *Gé a-tá a thír fã thoil* ***n****deór*a*dh* (*O'Reilly poems* 12.20a),, 'Though his country is held at the pleasure of foreigners'), unless *fa* in such phrases is also to be interpreted as a variant of *um* or instances of contamination. *BST* 189.16-18 (*a-tú fa* no *ar neart* ***bh****fir .c.* and *Maith an réim nó an adhbhardhacht a-tá fan* ***bhf****ear .c.*, 'I am in the power of a man' and 'Good are governance and wealth in the rule of the man') supports my suggestion regarding *fa* 'subject to' governing the acc., though *BST* 189.22-6 (*A chion do réir a ríaghla. réim Íarla fa fhíor Érna*, 'His share depends on the ruling of him; the rule of the Earl beneath the Man of Éirne', *ler fhear d'fheadhuibh fa fhior Lúain. do-chúaidh a ccion d'fhearuibh eóil* (dat. *fhior* : *ccion*), 'with the amount [of nuts] that have showered down from the trees under [the rule of] the man of Lúan, the [local] guides have not been able to earn their pay' (the translation is that of McManus 2006, 106 ex. 149), and *do-bheir an taradh re lá is lacht. an talamh a-tá fa niort* [...] (dat. *niort* : *chiort*), 'the earth under his sway gives forth fruit and mile in his day') suggests that *fa* in this sense governs the dat. These examples are not described as correct or incorrect, however, and the series in which they occur (immediately after the lines concerning *fa* cited above) begins with *7 do-rinneadh an dánso a n-aghuidh an fhoirceaduil sin anúas* 'and this verse [or 'these verses'?] were composed contrary to the teaching articulated above'. Whatever the grammar, the acc. is required here as dat. *fan* [*t*]*s*[*h*]*aor searcach* (or *s*[*h*]*earcach*) would deprive the line of alliteration.

6d MS *dainghean* is a mistake for *daingean* (: *cailleadh*).

7a C *dála* would not make *rinn* : *airdrinn* rhyme with 7b *neamhchara.* A short vowel is required.

7c G *fiargorach* is a mistake for *fiarchorach* (: 7d *iartharach* (mis-spelt in all MSS except A)).

7cd Note the eye-rhyme in M between *gcr****uinn*** and *fear****uinn*** (middle quantity).[49]

[49] For other examples of eye-rhyme in M, see 10cd *fhuinn* : *Sionnuinn* (middle quantity), 11cd ***roinn*** : *Umhoill* (middle quantity), 17cd *glacgloin* : Conachtoibh, 20cd *uile* : Con***uire***, 31cd *fhionn* : *hEirionn* (middle quantity), 36cd ***cuirre*** : *dioghuinni* (middle quantity), 46ab *uile* : *sochuidhe*, 48ab *luighe* : *fion*<n>*ghuile* and 48cd *niomghuin* : *cathiorghuil.*

8b I presume Eachaidh is Eochaidh Feidlech, the father of Meadhbh, or possibly Eochaidh Muighmheadhón, ancestor of the Meic Dhiarmada. According to *IGT* ii §111, the gen. of *Eochaidh* (alternative form *Eachaidh*) is *Eochaidh* or *Eochadha*. Note that G has gen. *Eachaidh*. The gen. in *-ach* of *Eacha* is permitted by *IGT* i, §88, ii, §123. Damian McManus informs me that, historically, the personal names *Eochu* (gen. *Eachach*) and *Eochaidh* (gen. *Eochadha*) became confused in Classical Irish, at least as early as the fourteenth-century Book of Magauran (see *Magauran* 18.25).

G reads *aingil* (attributive gen. 'angelic') for ***ainghidh***. Though *DIL* (s.v. *andgaid*) gives only 'wicked, cruel, merciless' as translations of the adj. *ainghidh*(*e*), the adj. is used positively of celebrands in Bardic poetry: *Rinn bhaoghlach go mbriocht neimhe / dreagan uathmhar aingidhe, / gríobh dhroibhéil d'fheithimh Uladh, / beithir oiléin d'fhásughadh* (*DiD* 75.44)., 'He is a dread spear with magic power to wound, a fearful wicked [read 'fierce'?] dragon, a griffin of the wild, guarding Ulaidh, a bear which could waste the island'.

8d The nasalisation of the initial of *Búill* after *ó* + the article in the MSS and of the initials of the adjectives in G is probably a feature of scribal dialect, as *ó* governed the dat. in Classical Irish (see *BST* 193).

9a M and C both have fem. gen. sing. *na tíre* but the article *an* in G indicates the masc. variant (*IGT* ii, §45). The 3 sing. fem. possessive adj. in 9d would suggest MC's reading is superior here.

9c I take this line as referring to Conchobhar, presuming that each brother is the subject of half of the quatrain.

I have emended **MS *fuair*** to variant *uair* (*IGT* iii, §22) to provide alliteration with *aoibhleach.* Alternatively, read relative *fhuair.*

9cd Note that the metrical fault of *caoiche* in the rhyme 9c *fhuair* : 9d *fuair* is avoided by compensatory *breacadh* (9b *fuair* : 9c *fhuair* : 9d *fuair*) (*Duanaireacht*, §108).

9d The insertion of *ó* after *chaoimhleath* in C ('he received his proper half from Conchobhar') would leave the line hypersyllabic as well as spoiling the parallelism suggested in note 9c.

10ab *BST* 235.19 states that *roinn* : *comhroinn* is a legitimate *rinn* : *airdrinn* rhyme (i.e. does not incur the metrical fault of *caoiche reanna* (*Duanaireacht*, §108)), as *roinn* is not rhyming with itself (i.e. *comhroinn* is not to be analysed as the compound *comh-* + *roinn*) but with the second syllable of the vn. of *comhroinnidh* (*roinn agus comhroinn .c. do rinn ó tá comhruinn ann*).

10b *ABM* reads *mar(r)aidh* for G *mairaidh*.Either G *maraidh* or C *mairidh* are permitted forms of the verb (*IGT* iii, §28).

G *cluidh* probably represents the modern pronunciation of the vn. *cloidhe* 'digging; rampart' (Mod. Ir. *claí*) rather than a form of the masc. *o*-stem *cladh*.

The fem. possessive adj. ***a*** is interpreted as 3 pl. in C, hence the nasalisation of the initial of C *gclodh* (a variant of *cladh* (*IGT* ii, §69)). This probably arose because of confusion as to the case of 10a *ronna* which could be taken as the nom. pl. of *roinn*, though it is the gen. sing. (*IGT* ii, §42).

10d C reads *tre* for *ó* ('through Seanchuach eastwards to the Shannon'). Seanchuach (G *o She[a]nchruaidh* is probably an error) is probably Shankoagh, parish of Drumatemple, barony of Ballymoe, Co. Roscommon (*PDI* s.v. Shankoagh). (There is another Seanchuach, anglicised 'Shancough', in the barony of Tirerrill, Co. Sligo, and another in the parish of Killoran, the barony of Leyny, in the same county.) The dividing-line described here leaves Maol Ruanaidh with a great deal of what was, at the time of this poem's composition Ó Conchobhair territory. If the boundary (*cladh*) is a physical feature, I cannot identify it. However, the *cladh* may refer to a medieval road, the exact course of which has not been determined, which connected Ballintober (just to the north of Drumatemple) with the *Slighe Assail* (a highway centred on Cruachain) which runs east and intersects the Shannon (Doran 2004, 59, 73).

11 If G *ō chraoibh* is read in place of *ac craoibh* in 11d, the quatrain could be translated as 'Mac Diarmada of the fort of Tara will insist on receiving Maol Ruanaidh's share of the division from the generous, proud scion of Umhall [i.e. Ó Conchobhair]'. I think, however, that G is mistaken here. Umhall (= the Owles) consists of the baronies of Burrishoole and Murrisk, Co. Mayo, historically the territory of the Í Mháille. Given the nature of the territorial division made by Conchobhar and Maol Ruanaidh, it is unlikely that the poet would associate Ó Conchobhair with a place located north of the dividing line mentioned in the previous quatrain (i.e. in the territory of Maol Ruanaidh and, by extension, Mac Diarmada). Furthermore, the 'Rights of Mac Diarmada' (Ní Shéaghdha 1963), as discussed above, claims that Mac Diarmada's territory included lands in Burrishoole and that he was entitled to tribute from Murrisk.

11a The lenition of *Dhúin* in M is ungrammatical (and is not found in G or C) but could be analysed as an example of *sléagar* (Mac Cárthaigh 2012). Similarly, note the lenition of the initial of 28a *Mhuighe* in C and of 46a *cháich* in both M and G.

11b *Gaibhidh* has both *e* (see GC) and *é* (see M) as a root-vowel in the future indicative (*IGT* iii, §23; Greene 1978, 61).

I have followed G in interpreting ***a*** as the 3 sing. masc. possessive adj. Alternatively, perhaps *a* could be taken as 3 sing. fem. referring to the scion (*craobh*) of 11d.

11c MS *il**dh**ealbhach* could be normalised to more historical *il**d**ealbhach* (realised *illealbhach*).

12a*IGT* ii §91 notes that, while radical ***flaith*** is masc. (see also *IGT* i, §21), it has a fem. gen. sing. *na flatha*, as in the present line. The text of *IGT* ii §91 in RIA 24 P 8 glosses the gen. sing. fem form as *canamhain* and the masc. gen. sing. *an fhlatha* as *ceart*. *BST* 221.21-3 raises no objection to gen. sing. fem. *flatha*, stating only that it should not be qualified by an adj.

12b I have adopted G's reading of passive future indicative *tréigfidhear*, which in the other MSS is interpreted as 3 sing. future indicative *tréigfidh* and the preposition *ar*.

12c I follow G in reading *ar* 'all that' in place of *far* (*fa* 'on account of' + *ar* 'all that'), as in the other MSS.

12d I have emended M *u[a]mhan* to the variant *uamhain* (*IGT* ii, §§17, 150) for perfect rhyme with 12c *Ruanaidh.* This emendation is required again in 29c. See 26a for another example of M's omission of *a* in *ua.* G has the unhistorical spelling ***uathmhuinn*** for *uamhain* here and in 29c. (For a similar unhistorical spelling in G, see note 26b. Also note C *chaithfe* for *chaithmhe* in 30a. For the phonological basis of these unhistorical spellings of *-thbh-* and *-thmh-*, see *SNG* IV, §2.11(1).) G *d'uathmhuinn* in place of *ar uamhain* leaves the line a syllable short. C, on the other hand, is hypersyllabic here owing to the poss. adj. *a*, while *ar aoi d'uamhan* 'because of fear of...' differs significantly from the text of M and G. *Ar uamhain iorghaile* lit. 'for fear of battle' must mean something like 'rather than do, out of reluctance to do battle' here.

The preposition *do* is wanting in all MSS, except G..

13 Here begins the apologue of Tadhg Mór and his two sons, Maol Ruanaidh (ancestor of the Meic Dhiarmada) and Conchobhar (ancestor of the Í Chonchobhair).

13a C has *gach*, a variant of gen. *gacha* (*BST* 216.8), but *gacha* is required to make up the correct number of syllables.

13c I have emended MS *aon-* to the variant *éan-* (*IGT* i, §100) for perfect rhyme with 13d *féar-*.

13d I have lenited the initial of acc. sing. *féarachadh*; though optional for grammar, it is necessary to supply alliteration with *Éireann.*

14c G *e*cht*mha[i]r* would make perfect rhyme with 14d *thoirbheartaigh* but I cannot make sense of it. It may represent *éachtmhar* 'warlike' which, like C *f*é*ar*daigh (**féardach* is obscure to me and is most likely an error for *fheartaigh*), would not make perfect end-rhyme.

14d I take it that the prepositional phrase *dá dheaghcloinn* indicates the agent of the preceding verbal noun (14c *cheartroinn*), i.e. Conchobhar and Maol Ruanaidh, the sons of 14b.

C has *oirbheartaigh* for *toirbheartaigh* but this would not alliterate with *truim.*

15a The initial of relative *táinig* is not lenited after *mar* in the MS. Non-lenition is historically more correct as *tig* derives from the OIr. compound verb *do-icc* (see *SNG* IV, §§3.2(g) and 7.32). According to McKenna 1941-2, 65 lenition is 'less common, perhaps wrong' on relative *tig* and *táinig / tánaig.* But both lenition and non-lenition of the initial of relative *tig* and *táinig / tánaig* occur frequently in MS.[50]

16a *suidhis* (normalised from MS *suighes*)**:** See note 5b above.

16b For other instances of nom. *sobharthan* (< OIr. *sobarthu*) confirmed by perfect *rinn* : *airdrinn* rhyme, see *Mac Liag dá lean sobharthan*, 'Mac Liag whom fortune follows' (: *Murchadh*) (*DiD* 80.35b) and *brog léar snadhmadh sobharthan* (: *chorthar*) (*ABM* 162.65d)., 'a hall which guarantees prosperity'. C has pl. *somharthain* but this is impossible after a singular verb.

16c For alliteration, the initial of G *fēil*, which qualifies fem. dat. sing. *sduaigh*, must be lenited, as in C.

I have emended the intensifying prefix *ro-* to variant *ra-* (*IGT* i, §100) in **MS *rochaoin*** for perfect rhyme with 16d *gcathaoir.*

16d I have adopted C *argaid* in place of the variant *airgid* in G (*IGT* ii, §11) for perfect rhyme with 16c *ardbhuig.*

17a Both *mar a-tá* and *mar tá* are possible in Classical Irish (*SNG* IV, §7.26) but the former is required here for syllable-count.

M *suidhughdha* appears to be a mistake for *suidhiughadh* as in G. C has *suighechān* which normally means 'seat' but *DIL* cites examples of its use as a verbal noun in two late MSS (*DIL* s.v. *suidechán*). Only *suidheachadh* and variant *suidheaghadh* are given as verbal nouns in *IGT* iii (see §106) and I have not noted any example of verbal noun *suidheachán* in Bardic poetry.

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[50] For examples from the Grammatical Tracts, for instance, see *mar **th**ig mé minic **th**áinic* (*IGT* ii, ex. 1563) and *mar **th**ánuig go hEamhain é* (*BST* 241.6), but also *mór mbráighe **t**áinig dar ttigh* (*BST* 206.13-4) and *mairg **t**ánuic na gcenn a clí* (*IGT* ii, ex. 274). Similarly, with the verb *do-bheir*, note *mar **th**ug láimh fá chreich na Cásg* (*IGT* ii, ex. 1001) but *cuimhnigh an teagusg **t**ug mé* (*BST* 210.1-3/12a25-7).

17b G has *truadh* for *teann* ('that judgement was unfortunate'). I suspect G's reading is corrupt here: given the argument of the poem, it seems unlikely that the poet would have insulted the Í Chonchobhair in this fashion.

'gon and ***'conn*** in the MSS represent the preposition *ag* + article *an* with aphaeresis (*BST* 213.31-3). In Classical Irish, *ag* governs the dat. (see *IGT* i, §73 and *BST* 195.1-3, 213.31-3). The nasalisation of the initial of *cloinn* in MC after prep. *ag* + article is probably an indication of scribal dialect (it is very common in other MSS as well) rather than an example of the preposition governing the acc. in Classical Irish. Note that despite nasalisation after *'gan* in M and C, the initial of the adj. *ghéagdha* is lenited as would be expected after the dat. I have emended *gcloinn* to *chloinn* in the critical edition.

17c C *bīoth* is a variant of *bíodh* in M, the imperative 3 sing. of *a-tá* (*IGT* iii, §7). I believe the imperative makes better sense than the 3 sing. future indicative *biaidh* in G. See also 21a where C again has *bīoth* and G *bīodh*, and also 18b below where G and C have *biaidh* where M has *bíodh*.

'Lithe-limbed' is suggested as a translation of ***géagdha*** by *DIL* s.v. *gécda*. Dinneen s.v. *géagdha* has 'youthful'.

M *g[h]lacgloin* (M *ghlacghloinn*, C *ghlacghloin*) is to be realised as *ghlacloin* (see *IGT* i, §25).

17d I have emended MS *c[h]ē[a]**dh**na* to historical *céa**d**na* (: *ghéagdha*). See Poem 7.6a note.

18d I have emended 3 sing. imperative MS *tairgeadh* to 3 pl. *tairgead* for perfect rhyme with 18c *airgead.* As *cách* can function as a collective noun, it can be the subject of a singular or plural verb (see *SNG* IV, §7.30, *BST* 220.13-15). G reads *tairgead* as *taisgeadh*, the 3 sing. imperative of *taisgidh* 'keeps, stores up', but this does not rhyme with 18c *airgead* or make good sense.

19b In M and C, fem. gen. sing. *míndeirge* qualifies gen. sing. *gruaidh*. *Gruaidh* as a gen. sing. is not given in *IGT* (see ii, §§14, 39, 44 and 45). A gen. sing. fem. noun is required to account for *míndeirge* (: 19a *feirge*) (unless *-deirge* is an abstract noun) but an emendation

for grammar to gen. sing. fem. *gruadha* or *gruaidhe* would leave the line hypersyllabic as the text stands in M and C. I have therefore adopted G's reading of this line in the critical edition (reading the ordinary noun *grí(o)s* (see *IGT* ii, §§14, 38-9) for verbal noun *gríosadh* and gen. sing. fem. *gruadha* (see *IGT* ii, §39) for *gruaidh*) which meets all grammatical and metrical requirements, though G *-deirghe* is obviously a mistake for *-deirge* (: 19a *feirge*).

19c G reads *lionadh* (passive past with unhistorical omission of verbal particle *do*? or mis-expanded suspension-stroke after *līon-*?) for *líontar.*

19d G *gcúala* represents the conjunct of *do-chuala*, 3 sing. past tense of *ad-chluin(eann)* but variant *do-chualaidh* (as in M and C) is required for perfect rhyme with 19c *Ruanaidh* (see *IGT* iii, §3).

20a MG are hypersyllabic. The correct syllable-count can be supplied by reading *deach*, the 3 sing. present subjunctive of *téid* (*IGT* iii, §8), for *deachaidh*, as in C.

20b The initial of *cách* in G is lenited after the defective verb *ar*, perhaps owing to confusion between *ar* 'says' and *ar* the preposition. See also 21a.

I assume *ba* in M and *bu* in G represent ***budh***, the future indicative of the copula (*SNG* IV, §7.27). G has *cúis aighbhéil* for ***cleas aigbhéil*** in M and C. For an example of the phrase *cleas aigmhéil*, see *Feallais maicne a mháthar féin / ar Mac Con – ba cleas aigbhéil*, 'His mother's folk betrayed Mac Con – dreadful sin!' (*Magauran* 24.15ab). The phrase *cúis aigmhéil* occurs in *O'Reilly poems* 34.31ab: *Nach ccluin tú do Philip féin / fā choisde re cúis aigmhéil*, 'Have you not heard that your own Philip is to be tried by jury on a monstrous charge' (see *O'Reilly poems*, p. 260). *Cúis aigmhéil* in the present poem might be translated 'a terrible dispute' (*DIL* s.v. 1 *cúis* (b)). As for the adj., *DIL* s.v. *aidbéil* suggests that *aighbhéil* (Mod. Ir. *áibhéil*) arose out of a conflation of *adhbhal* 'huge' and *aigbhéil* 'terrible'. Though the spelling in *aigh-* is occasionally found in MSS, I know of no example where aspirated *-gh-* can be confirmed by rhyme. On the other hand, I know of only one example (*aigmhéile* : *Braidshléibhe* (*DiD* 95.13cd)) where the form *aigbhéil* can be confirmed by rhyme as *aig(h)bhéil* most often occurs as the *airdrinn*-element in *rinn* : *airdrinn* rhyme. See *TD* ii, p. 328.

20c *Foghla* in M and C does not make perfect rhyme with 20d *Banbha.* I have adopted the variant *faghla* in G in the critical edition (*IGT* ii, §37). The lenition of the initial of *fhaghla* after dat. sing. fem. *tuinn* is necessary for alliteration with *uile.* (See also *i n-uair fhoghmhair* in 23c). I know of three other instances of the phrase *éantonn fhaghla*, translated by Knott as 'wave of depredation' and by Carney (*O'Reilly poems*, p. 287) as 'expanse of plundering': *Crích an triúir na héntuinn fhaghla. ó réltuinn iúil Bhanbha Bríain* (*IGT* ii, ex. 1730), 'The country of the three men was consumed by plundering because of the guiding star of Ireland', *Móide is iongantach don fhior / an riocht 'nar chuir an Cúigiodh / bheith don Bhanbha ghéagthruim ghloin / 'na héantuinn fhaghla acht Ultoigh*, 'All the more wonderful is it for the man to have brought the Fifth into such a state, seeing that, save Ulster alone the whole of bright and fertile Banbha is one wave of depredation' (*TD* 7.28 and note), and *A-tá an tír nār chleacht cogtha, / rūn deabhtha ná díogholta, / trē ghrībh n-écht-truim Banbha Breagh / 'na hēntuinn fhaghla is airgn*eadh (*O'Reilly poems* 11.13), 'This land that was not accustomed to wars, to the desire for battle or revenge, has been consumed by plundering-expeditions, because of [the death of] the mighty griffin of Ireland'. [51]

20d Conn and Conaire, two of the exemplary kings of Early Irish literature (McManus 2006, 89), are sometimes mentioned together in Bardic poetry (e.g. *ABM* 193.6 and 441.52). This pairing is no doubt at least partially for purposes of alliteration. In place of Conaire, C has *Conchobhar* though this does not make end-rhyme and is hypersyllabic.

21c Dat. sing. *chomhaidh* does not make perfect rhyme with 21d *congnamh*, though *do chomhaidh* 'as a payment made to avoid battle' makes good sense. I have adopted G's reading of *connradh.* (Note the same rhyme *congnamh* : *connradh* in *Dán Dé* 10.17cd.) Though *connradh* is a very common spelling, *IGT* ii, §49 gives only *cundradh* and no reference to *connradh.* I have not succeeded in indentifying a rhyming example of the noun in *-o-* where an emendation to *-u-* is not possible. However, given the widespread use of *connradh* and the parallel of variants such as *congnamh / cungnamh* (*IGT* ii, §47), I am reluctant to emend *connradh* to *cunnradh* (reading 21d *congnamh* as *cungnamh* for rhyme). Cf. Poem 2.47bd *connraidh* : *congmhaidh* where *cunnraidh* : *cungmhaidh* is also possible. The agreement between Maol Ruanaidh and Conchobhar is described as a *cunnradh* in *AiD* 31.12, 19 and 26.

[51] Note that in all four instances of the phrase *éantonn fhaghla, fhaghla* rhymes with *Banbha.*

G omits the negative verbal particle before ***iarrfa*** (: *cliachdha*), leaving the line a syllable short. G *íarrfadh* may represent the 3 sing. secondary future or a misspelling of the 3 sing. future indicative (as in M and C).

21d C has *cathdha* (which would be realised *cata*) for *cliachdha.* I know of no other example of this word (*cath* + adjectival suffix *-dha*?) and it does not rhyme with 21c *iarrfa.*

Gen. sing. *ceannais* in M does not make *rinn* : *airdrinn* rhyme with 21c *as.* GC ***ceannas*** is adopted in the critical edition.

22a Either *millfidhear* (G) or *millfidhir* (C) are possible forms of the passive future indicative of *millidh* in *-f-* (*SNG* IV, §7.6); M *mil*[*l*]*fidhtear* shows confusion between the future and present indicative passive verb (*-fidhear* and *-thear* are conflated). It is unclear whether *millidh* 'destroys, ruins; injures, kills' means 'injures' or 'kills' here. This ambiguity is probably deliberate as the compensation scheme envisaged here corresponds to the following sections of the Rights of Mac Diarmada: *Is dā shochar fós an mhéid gonntar dā ndaoinibh nō dā n-eachaibh ar siobhal sluaghadh a n-éiric sin uile dō re tteacht as nō re mbás* [after *a n-éiric sin uile*, M reads *do Mhac Díarmada mā bás nō beatha dhāibh*], 'In addition, it is his right to get compensation for the amount of their people or their horses wounded in an hosting expedition, whether they survive or die', and *An mhéid gontar dā eachuibh / nō dā dhaoinibh ar chreachuibh, / a n-éiric dleaghar 'na láimh / re tteacht as nō re tteasdáil*, 'For the amount of his horses or his people wounded on raids he is entitled to receive compensation, whether they survive or die' (Ní Shéaghdha 1963, ll. 50-3, §15).

22b G has *ō* ('all those injured of the spirited company of Maol Ruanaidh...') for MC *fa*. The lenition of the initial of *mhir* in M suggests *fa* governs the dat. ('all those injured ... under [the command of?] the spirited company of Maol Ruanaidh ...') (see note 6c for this sense of *fo* (*fa*), governing either dat. or acc.), while the non-lenition of *mhir* in C could indicate that *fa* (= *um*) governs the acc. ('all those injured ... around [i.e. as part of?] the company of ...'), as nasalisation would be expected after a noun in the acc. sing. where the acc. sing. is not identical to the nom. sing. (Ó Riain 2008, 40 note 3a). The latter interpretation is more likely and the lenition of *mhir* is taken to be an error.

22c Though G *beanth*air is grammatically possible (*SNG* IV, §7.3), the passive ending *-ar* (as in M and C) is required for perfect rhyme with 22d *neartmhar.* However, *tír* can be both

masc. and fem. in Classical Irish (*IGT* ii, §45) and *beantair* would rhyme with *neartmhair*, the dat. sing. fem. form of the adj.

I have followed G in reading *don rígh* 'by the king', rather than indefinite *do rígh*, for sense.

I have emended MS 3 sing. conditional *raghadh* to 3 pl. future indicative *raghad* for perfect rhyme with 22d *neamhcharad*.

23 This corresponds to the claim made in Ní Shéaghdha 1963, §8: *Gan dul ar sluaghadh foghmhair / le rígh dā bhfoil ar talmhain, / gan dul ar sluagheadh earraigh, / deacuir cur re a gcoingheallaibh*, 'They are not obliged to go on a hosting in Autumn with any king at all, nor on an hosting in Spring, difficult to compete with their conditions'. The prose (ll.73-4) is a little more specific: *sé seachtmhuine sluaghuidh is gan a n-iarraidh a n-earrach nā 'bhfhoghmhar*, 'six weeks of hosting but not to be demanded in Spring or Autumn'.

23a The lenition of *sochrach* in G suggests that G *dho* was taken to be a simple preposition but alliteration requires non-lenited *s-* (*Duanaireacht*, §69). The sense also makes clear that the 3 sing. masc. prepositional pronoun *dó* (*do*) is meant here.

The prepositional pronoun *dó* and the prepositional phrase *dá ghruaidh* in 23d are co-referential. The occurence of the preposition and the prepositional pronoun one immediately after the other in this circumstance is forbidden in the Tracts, but does not seem to be forbidden when the two are in separate couplets, as they are in the present quatrain (McManus 2005a, 163-5). Cf. Poem 7.13.

23b G has *shluaigheadh*, a variant of *sluaghadh* (*IGT* ii, §11), here. Non-lenition of *sl-* is required here for alliteration with *saor*.

23d The finals of the adjectives are not palatalised in G, though palatalisation after dat. sing. fem. *gruaidh* is required for perfect rhyme.

24 As *tuarasdal*, *rath* and *comairce* are terms with significance in Gaelic law that cannot be succinctly rendered into English, I have left them without translation above.

The claim to a yearly ***tuarasdal*** 'a ceremonial payment to seal a vassal's submission' or 'wages of mercenaries' (see *DIL* s.v. *túarastal* II; Simms 1987, 109-10, 101-4, 113, 117-19)

is not made in the Rights of Mac Diarmada. The *tuarasdal* described in the latter text (*Agus fós trían gach tuarusd*ail (M *ratha*) *dā bhfuighbhe rīgh Connacht ō rīgh Ēirionn do thabhairt do M*hac *Diarmada*, 'And, in addition, Mac Diarmada must get a third of the stipend which the king of Connacht receives from the king of Ireland', *Tuarusdal airdrīogh Con[n]acht / ō rīgh Teamhrach ar ttorracht / dlighidh rígh na Cairge a thrian / is a luach leasa ar aonrian*, 'When the stipend of the chief-king of Connaught is obtained from the king of Tara, the king of Carrick is entitled to a third of it and his welfare price together' (ll. 63-4, §17)) does not appear to be an annual payment. M's citation from *Triallam timcheall na Fódla* discussed above (see ¶1 above) indicates that Mac Diarmada received *tuarasdal* from the king of Connacht upon the latter's inauguration. Once again, however, this does not appear to be an annual payment. *Tuarasdal* from the high-king to provincial kings and from the provincial king to *tuatha* is a central motif of the Book of Rights. For the details concerning the *tuarasdal* from the king of Cruachain, see Dillon 1962, 54-61.

The *tuarasdal* which Maol Ruanaidh received is described as a great ***rath*** in our poem. *Rath* could be translated simply as 'boon' or 'fortune' but, in the version of the text on Rights in M, *rath* takes the place of (presumably synonymous) *tuarastal* and therefore *rath* probably has its legal meaning here (see Simms 1987, 96, 100-1).

For the claim to ***comairce***, generically meaning 'protection' but here probably referring to the protection afforded to someone accused of a crime or who is the subject of legal action (see Kelly 2009, 141 note 124, and Simms 1987, 105-7, 112) in the text on Rights, see *Comirce bl*iadh*na aige ar gach cion ⁊ gan gēill nā braighde uadha d'aoinneach acht do chionn gēille nō braighde d'fhaghā*il *'na n-aghuidh*, 'He has protection for a year against every accusation [brought against him] and he does not give pledges or hostages to anyone except in exchange for pledges or hostages' (Ní Shéaghdha 1963, ll. 69-71). The *comairce* in our poem is described as *coitcheann* 'universal, all-inclusive'.

24a This line lacks a syllable in M. G *troime* in place of M *trom* supplies the correct syllable-count.

24b The temporal adverbial phrase 'every year' in G is *gach bliadhain* with nom. / dat. *bliadhain* (*IGT* ii, §10) while MC has *gach bliadhna*, a survival of the Old Irish (OIr) gen. of time (*GOI*, §250.4).

24c 24d M *fúar* is a mistake for *fuair* as in G. 24c lacks a syllable in M. The insertion of C *fuair* would give the syllable-count but not alliteration. The insertion of G *thúar* would give both syllable-count and alliteration but must be emended to *thuair* for perfect rhyme with 24d *fuair.*

I interpret *trommhaicne* (realised as *tromaicne*) as *trom* + *maicne* 'powerful descendants'. G has *tromaicme* (*trom* + *aicme*) 'powerful family'.

24d G *coimirce* is an accepted variant of *comairce* (*IGT*, ii §3) but does not make perfect rhyme with 24c *thrommhaicne.*

25 This claim corresponds to ll. 36-42 of the text on Rights: *Ōir ní dlighthear rīgh do dhēanamh ar Chonachtaibh acht an rígh do-dhēana Mac Diarmada .i. rīgh na Cairrge, amhuil is-beart an file .i. Mac an Duais* (M *Fhuathaidh*): *An tan do rīoghthar rígh Conacht / ar Charn Fraoich, fa ríoga an dáil, / ní leamhann rígh teacht 'na thimcheall / re neart go ttí finncheann Fāil*, 'For no king is entitled to be inaugurated king of Connaught except the king who is inaugurated by Mac Diarmada, king of Carrick, as the poet, Mac an Duais, said: When the king of Connaught is inaugurated on Carnfree – it was a royal assembly – no king dare approach him [or 'it', i.e. Carnfree?] until the fair-headed one of Fál come with power'.

25b The text in M lacks two syllables. This can be supplied by the preposition *do* and the article *an* in C. G's text differs from M and C here and also supplies the required number of syllables as well as alliteration between *choidhche* and *chead.* (The finals of gen. sing. of both 25a *Fraoch* and 25b *laoch* are both palatal, not neutral as in G, but G's text can be emended without difficulty in this regard.) The meaning is also the same in both MC and G despite their textual differences. G's reading of *do chead*, however, would appear to be influenced by 25c, though in defence of G's reading it could be said that it would create *breacadh* between 25b *chead* : 25c *beag* : 25c *cead.*

25c This line is hypersyllabic in MC. Gen. sing. *Duach* can be read for *Duacha* (C *Daacha*) for syllable-count and for rhyme with 25d *dtuath.* Duach, an early medieval king of Connacht (Mac Dermot 1996, 35; Byrne 2001, 245), was a common ancestor of the Meic Dhiarmada and Í Chonchobhair.

I do not understand **G *bregh***. It is almost certainly an error for *breath* (: 25d *taoiseach*).

25d *Do chead* (MC) is better attested than *le cead* (G) (*DIL* s.v. 1 *cet* III (d)).

A ***tuath*** is a petty kingdom. I am unsure which chieftains and petty kingdoms are meant in this quatrain.

26ab Maol Ruanaidh's humility is also stressed in *AiD* 31.6: *Inmhe nachar aoibhne an flaitheas / gé fhuair d'Éirinn an fheoir mhín, / nír aomh acht ar eagla an uabhair / freagra Maol-ruanaidh do rígh*, 'Though Maolruanaidh acquired as his property a part of smooth-grassed Éire as delightful as Heaven, 'twas merely to avoid the sin of excessive pride that he consented to give the answer he gave to the king (Ó Concobhair [*sic*])'.

26a Once again G's text differs significantly from M and C. G's text has the correct syllable-count and fulfils the requirements of end-rhyme. However, alliteration is required between the second-last stressed word (*Maol*) in the line and the stressed word before (*ann*) or after it (*Ruanaidh*), and G appears not to fulfil this requirement. But see Poem 2.1a and note where *Maol Ruanaidh* seems to function as a single word for the purposes of alliteration; if *Maol Ruanaidh* can indeed function in this way, *ann* can be taken as the second-last stressed word of the line, alliterating with *aontuighes*. Though the meaning of G seems fairly clear ('Maol Ruanaidh agreed to that'), I am unaware of any example of the phrase *aontaighidh i.*

26b In G, *anuabhair* (: 26a *Ruanaidh*) has become *an uathbhair* with *an-* taken as the article and a non-historical spelling of gen. sing. *uabhar*. See note 12d above.

26cd This corresponds to ll. 43-5 of the text on Rights and the interpolated §4 found only in NLI G 18: *ōir atā baile aige inn gach tuaith a cConachtaibh aige agus is le rīgh na Cairrge ó Eas Rua[i]dh go Luimneach gan cáin uatha do rīgh Conacht*, 'for he has a village in every *tuath* in Connaught, and the king of Carrick has from Assaroe to Luimneach (the lower Shannon) without paying tribute to the king of Connaught' and *Gan chána gan chíos do rígh / ō fhōir Cliach na ccneas seangmhín; / a ttuatha bhíos gan bhuanna / cíos uatha ní fhorchuala*, 'There are no tributes, no tax [due] to a king from the people of Cliu [apparently, the Meic Dhiarmada] of the slender-smooth skins; soldiers are not billeted on their territories, I have not heard of a tribute from them'. For the billeting of an overlord's mercenaries on a subject's territory, see Simms 1987, 131, 135-6, 139, and for the *cáin*, here a payment made to an overlord by the new sub-king acknowledging his suzerainty, see Simms 1987, 92, 130, 132, 135-6.

27a For *cíos* 'tribute', see Simms 1987, 130, 132-3, 144-5. For the immunity of the Meic Dhiarmada from paying tribute to Ó Conchobhair, see note 26cd above.

27b The initials of adjectives and nouns qualifying the gen. pl. dual tend to be nasalised in Classical Irish (*SNG* IV, §8.3; see also Armstrong 1985, 63-4). For the non-nasalisation of *Coirrshléibhe* here, see *TD* i, cv and cf. *Ar gcor dá fhear* ***Ea****mhna a n-úir*, 'having buried the two men of Eamhain' (*IGT* ii, ex. 2133). C's reading of *charaid* 'friends, kinsmen' (followed by ***Ch****oirrshléibhe*) for *churadh* is ungrammatical; gen. pl. *carad* (lenited after *dá*) would be required (*IGT* ii, §6).

27c MC *-rígh* is a common hyper-correction for *-rí* (: 27d *-ní*) (see *SNG* V, §3.2). Similarly, in 28a GM have *rígh* for *rí.*

Deaghchloinn is realised as *deacloinn* (: *ceartroinn*) (see *Duanaireacht*, §36).

28a I take MC *fort__h* as a mistake for *fortail* (G).

28b C *coiséinaidh* could represent the alternative form in *-éa-* of the future indicative of *cosnaidh* (see *SNG* IV, §7.6).

As *Connachtaibh* is dat. / acc. pl., MC ***sē*** is an error for a preposition. The pronoun *sé* would prevent alliteration between *coiseónaidh* and *Connachtaibh.* Though G's reading is satisfactory grammatically, it is likely that *le* has replaced *re* in G. The two are frequently confused in MSS and *re* 'against' would be expected here for sense (see *DIL* s.v. *con-sní* for examples of the phrase *cosnaidh re*). Furthermore, *re* is more likely to have been mis-transcribed as *se* than *le.*

28c MC *seangmhadh* does not rhyme with 28d *dealbhshaoir* and does not make good sense. I have followed G and read *seangMhaoil.*

I read *ríodha* in place of MS *ríoghdha* for perfect rhyme with 28d *mhíolla.* The same emendation is required for end-rhyme in 33c. Cf. *A ttigh fhíona fuair a fromhadh. gruaidh* ***ríoghdha*** *re tomhadh túis* (*IGT* iii, ex. 595), 'In a banqueting hall, it was tested; the first strike [was] directed at a royal cheek (?)' where *ríoghdha* must be read as *ríodha* for perfect rhyme with *fhíona.* Adjectives in *-dha* / *-tha* are formed by adding the suffix to the nom. sing.

or gen. pl. of the noun in Classical Irish (*SNG* IV, §5.1), and both *ríodha* and *ríoghdha* are consistent with this teaching. For another example of *ríodha*, see *ní fiú a gcogadh snadhmadh síodha, / damhradh* ***ríodha*** *rachalma* (*ríodha* : *síodha*), 'such is their warfare, these most valorous, royal hosts, that it is not worth a treaty of peace' (*TD* 16.3cd and note).

28d G has radical *marcs[h]luaghach* for expected *mharcshluaghaigh* (: 28c *Ruanaidh*).

29a *ABM* mistakenly reads *na gcolg* for M *na gclog*. The epithet *na gclog* 'of the bells' is (unsurprisingly) applied uniquely to ecclesiastics and ecclesiastical sites (e.g. *a mhic Arphluinn na gclog mbinn*, 'O son of Calpurnius of the melodious bells' (*MD* 37.3d)). The present example is almost certainly an error for *na gcolg* (cf. *O Ceall*ach*ain na gcolg sean* (*ABM* 151.22a), 'Ó Ceallacháin of the ancientswords') as in GC. I have adopted the latter reading in my critical edition and translation.

29b The future indicative M *géabhaidh* (C has variant *geabhaidh*) is to be preferred to the passive *geabhar* in G; the latter does not make sense here, where 29a *mac Conchobhair* is the subject of that verb and 29b *ar ghabh*.

The **doubled-*n*** in M *shinnsior* and C *shinnsir* [*sic*] (: 29a *sean*) (cf. *seinnsear* and *sinnser* in *IGT* ii §11 and the historical spelling *sinser* in G) probably emphasises middle quantity (*SNG* III, §3.17, IV, §2.2). Similarly, 5c *Connrach* (A *Conrach*), 35a *innsi* (gen. sing. of *inis*), 38d *muinntire*, 43d G *parrthas* and 48b *fion*<n>*ghuile*.

29c G *far* is an error for *a* 'all that' + verbal particle *ro*; neither *gaibhidh fo* or *gaibhidh um* make good sense here (see *DIL* s.v. *gaibid* V (d), (g)).

29d In G the final word of this line is *mhórThaidhg*. The first element of this compound appears as *m* with superscript *io* in M and C (*miorThaidhg*?). It seems likely that a *punctum* or accent mark in their exemplar(s) ($m^{\cdot r}$ [*mhor*] or $m^{\acute{o}}$ [*mór*]) was mistaken for *i*. I am unsure why the initial of *mhór-* is lenited in G; the lenition may be in error or perhaps *mac mhórThaidhg* in G was misunderstood as *meic mhórThaidhg* governing gen. sing. *Ruanaidh*.

30a MS *comhang* clearly means 'narrow, restrictive' here but I have no example of rhyming *comhang* in this sense; I have followed G and adopted *cumhang* in the critical edition. For other examples of the notion that a celebrand's generosity is too burdensome for the land alloted to him, see *Lucht a chaithmhe nír chubhaidh / ar cíos chúigidh Chonchobhair; / freagra a fhéile ar-aon madh áil / Éire ag Aodh ní budh fhoráil. / Ní fhreagair ríghe dá méad / eineach inghine Mairgréag; / an innisse na dtrí dtonn / sí dá cridheise is cumhong*, 'Men to spend it were never in proportion to the amount of the cess of Conchobhar's Province; if Aodh is to satisfy his generous spirit he must have all Éire. No kingdom, how rich soever, can cope with the generosity of Mairgréag's daughter; this Isle of the Three Waves is too narrow for her heart' (*AiD* 18.24-5), (from a poem which describes a similar agreement between a distant ancestor and his brother to that described in the present poem) *Niorbh f[h]ulair d'fhior a chroidhe / Eire inis Laoghuire / ní bú creidte d*ar *chan sin*n / *da rabh ar eite d'Éirin*n. / *An treas cuid do chlar Banbha / a-tá a cc*ert *Mheig Mhathgha*mhna / *do bhíadh a chroidhe os a chion*n / *da ttrían oile na hÉirion*n. / *Da measdaoi m*éd *a chroidhe / re flaithios fhoid Iugoine / feadh troighe ní théid Banbha / t*ar *chroidhe Mheig Mhathghamhna* (*ABM* 214.5-7), 'For a man of his generosity, Ireland would not be enough; if it could get by with [only] a portion of Ireland, what I say would be ridiculous. A third of Ireland is Mág Mathghamhna's right; his generosity would exceed the other two thirds. If the extent of his generosity was measured against the kingdom of Ireland, island of Laoghaire, [it would be found that] Ireland is not one foot greater than Mág Mathghamhna's generosity', and *Do thoil don chléir ag comholl / béim ar do bhloidh ní bhenann; / ní fhéd sí t'fhéile d'fhulong / cumhang dí Éiri d'fherand*, 'Your willingness to submit to the poets causes your fame to be untarnished; it cannot sustain your generosity, Ireland is too small a country for it' (*DMU* 1.20). Cf. the obit of Tomaltach an Einigh Mac Diarmada in *AC* §1458.2: *nibad ro d'fir a caithme 7 a cridi coic*ed *Con*nacht *uili*, 'and the whole province of Connacht were not too much for one of his bounty and great heart'.

30cd G reads *sochruidh* 'seemly; beautiful' for 30c *sochrach*, rhyming with 30d *gcum*[*h*]*orthuidh*. The latter is either a variant of *comharthach* otherwise unknown to me or an inflected form of *comharthach* that is ungrammatical here. I take *comharthach* when used to describe a castle or hall to mean 'covered with carved figures etc.' Cf. *go saoirsgiathr*aig*h n-oirdheirc n-iolchomhart*haig*h* (*CMT*$_2$, l. 495), 'with a noble magnificent decorated shield-strap'.

31-5 Note the inconsistent (non-)lenition after *ar* in these lines. Lenition or non-lenition after the preposition *ar* is possible when *ar* takes the acc. (*BST* 188.22-31; 190.5-6, 11-12; 192.3). The teaching of *BST* 189.5 allows for the non-lenition of the initial of nouns with an acc. sing. different from the nom. sing. after *ar* but, on the other hand, non-lenition in such circumstances is forbidden by *IGT* ii §21. *IGT* i §73 indicates lenition after *ar* governing the dat. (*ar fhior sin*) (see also dat. (?) *ar fheart* in *BST* 196.11) but *BST* 188.22-31 has an example of non-lenition in the same case (*ar fior*).

31b The text in MC is hypersyllabic. G omits the article *an*, making the elision of *ar* unnecessary, and reads *mōrd*[*h*]*a*cht 'magnanimity' for *móradh* (influenced by 32b *maordhacht*?).. The *plene*-reading *mac* in C (M *m_c*, G *mic*), suggests the translation 'of the **sons** of the great king'. I follow G in omitting the article for syllable-count. It is possible that the article may have been erroneously introduced into MC, through a misinterpretation of the nasalisation of *ardfhlatha* after gen. pl. *mac.* I take *móradh* to mean 'support, cultivation' and interpret this as a reference to fosterage or to the political support Mac Diarmada gives to allied magnates (*mac ardfhlatha* could also be a synonym for *mac ríogh*, for which, see Poem 5.5cd and note).

32a The initial of *béimeann* is nasalised in M and C and unaffected in G; nasalisation is optional after acc. sing. nouns where nom. sing. = acc. sing. (Ó Riain 2008, 40 note 3a) and therefore both nasalisation and non-nasalisation are grammatical here after *chruas*.

32c MC ***cruaidhe*** does not rhyme with 32d *áilgh**ine***. I have therefore followed G and emended to *cridhe.*

32d This line is hypersyllabic in the MSS. I omit the conjunction *'s* to give the correct syllable-count.

I take *aithnidhe* to be the abstract noun from *aithnidh* 'known'.

33a Either MC *līonm*[*h*]*u*[*i*]*re* or G *líonmhuirecht* could be read here without doing damage to the sense of the line or the metre.

33b I have emended M *muinntreabhmhail* (cp. C *muinntreabhamhail*) to *muinntreamhail* (as in G) for sense and *rinn* : *airdrinn* rhyme with 33a *fhleadhaibh.*

33b This line is hypersyllabic in all the MSS; the omission of the possessive adj. *a* gives the correct syllable-count.

33c For the laudatory adj. *builidh* (translated above as 'mild'), see *DIL* s.v. *builid.*

33d M and C *duil*i*ghi* is not grammatical, does not rhyme with 33c *builidh*, and leaves the line hypersyllabic. I have emended it to *duiligh.*

34a G has *chongbháil* (literally 'maintaining the honour of poets') for MC *chongnamh* ('succouring / assisting the honour of the poets'). The former makes better sense and the phrase *congbháil chádhais* is attested elsewhere in Bardic poetry.[52] I have not encountered an example of *cungnamh cádhais*. A suspension-stroke after *cong* may have been mis-expanded in the exemplar(s) of MC. I have followed G in the critical edition in this regard.

34c I have emended MS *teighle* to *téigle* for *rinn* : *airdrinn* rhyme with 34d *foiréigne.* See *In úair do bhí an tír na téigle. do chín ar tí éigne iad* (*IGT* ii, ex. 1396) for another example of the common rhyme *téigle* : *éigne*.

34cd *Ceall* is found among the nouns listed in *IGT* ii, §165. There it is stated that only two of those nouns (*días*, *sgían*) have genitives singular in *-ei-* (*deise*, *sgeine*) and it is added that *cuigél* has a gen. sing. in *-é-* (*cuigéile*). Given the paradigm at the head of *IGT* ii, §165, we would expect acc. sing. *chill* (: 34d *fhill*), not G *cheill* here, especially since the implication of the observation on the gen. sing. of *días* and *sgían* is that *-e-* will not be found in the inflected forms of the other nouns listed. I know of no examples of *ceill* in Bardic poetry. Similarly, M has *feill* in 34d for expected *fill*. Masc. *feall* is listed under the headword *fear* (dat. sing. *fior*, gen. sing. *fir*) in *IGT* ii, §65 as part of a series of masc. nouns in which *-ea-*

[52] See *A-tá dhíobh go núaidhe [a-nois?]* / ar *lorg congmhála a ccádhais* / *fer caomhanta* ar *cóir a shen* / *aonshampla cháigh da ccreidther* (*ABM* 227.36), 'A new protector of the rights of his ancestors has come now from the [descendants of Niall] who will maintain them in a state worthy of them; he is the paragon whom all acknowledge' and *Sreth*ad[h] [read *Sreath*aid[h]?] *re sighnibh nana* [read *n-ana*?] / *fachuin áos á ionnramha* / *gan lí orghrána re ais* / *ar tí congmhala a chádhuis* (*ABM* 371.3), 'Undaunted [Prosperity] spreads itself out in manifestations of plenty (?) in search of a fit dwelling-place [lit. 'in search of its honourable maintenance'] – this is the reason for the long years of its wandering'.

becomes *-i(o)-* in their inflected forms. No exceptions are noted by the grammarian and *fill* can safely be retained in the critical edition.

35b For *béildearga*, G has *b(h)raitdherga* 'of red mantles'. Both readings satisfy the requirements of the metre. I know of no other example of the compound *braitdearg* in Bardic poetry. *Béildearg*, on the other hand, is quite common (see, for example, Carney 1954, §§69-70).

35c I have followed G in reading gen. sing. *teaghlaigh* rather than M *teaghlach*. The gen. sing. makes better sense here qualifying *caor* 'a host of troops' than the pl. gen of MC and makes perfect *rinn* : *airdrinn* rhyme with the adj. 35d *ceithearnaigh* (see the *plene*-reading in G). Alternatively, *teaghlach* could be retained and *ceithernaigh* in 35d read as *ceithearnach*, the gen. pl. of *ceithearnach* 'a kern', though, for sense, the adj. *ceithearnach* is preferable. According to Simms 1987, 92-4 the *ceithearn tighe* or 'household-troop of kern' appears in the fifteenth-century as a feature of Gaelic and Gaelicised Irish society, replacing the earlier more aristocratic *lucht tighe.* Whether the household-host (*caor theaghlaigh*) of 33c are the kerns from whom the *ráth* is described as *ceithearnach* or the more aristocratic household warrior-band cannot be proven but, either way, this quatrain is evidence for the employment of kerns by Aodh Mac Diarmada. For kerns, see Simms 1987, 18, 93, 95, 125-8, 135.

35cd I do not understand MS *armhaith.* It should make perfect rhyme with 35d *ghlanrath.* From the context, *ghlanrath* must represent *ghlanráth* ('beautiful rath'). If the lenition of *m* in *armhaith* is an error (see 2d *io*mh*urcaidh* and 45c *ain*m(h) for other examples), we could read *armáith* (*arm* 'weapon' + *áith* 'sharp') which would make good sense in a description of a host of soldiers. 35d masc. dat. / acc. sing. *-rāth* (*IGT* ii, §38) can then be emended to *-ráith*, the dat. / acc. sing. form of fem. *rá(i)th* or masc. *ráith* (*IGT* ii, §§39, 41-2) as in G. As for the case of *-ráith*, the preposition ***i*** in MC *'na* 'in his' and G *isa*[*n*] (read *'san* for syllable-count) 'in the' appears to have the meaning '(with)in' and should therefore govern the dat. (*BST* 189.13-15; *SNG* IV, §10.1). The nasalisation of the initials of the adjectives in G is probably not Classical and may be influenced by the nasalisation of the adjectives / gen. nouns in 35c.

36a For *foláir*, G has variant *fuláir* (*IGT* ii, §149).

36b MC *an mhuir* and G reads *mér* ('finger'?) are probably misakes for *múr* 'fort' .

For ***gidh mór***, G has *gi mhór. Gi* appears as a variant of *gidh* in *BST* 67a.28-42.

37a G *nior cumad*[*h*], though synonymous with M *níor dealb*[*h*](*e*)*adh* and containing the same number of syllables, does not alliterate with *dún.*

37c MC *comhnuidhe* does not rhyme with 37d *caomhdhúine.* G reads *aolmhúire* but I know of no other example of gen. *múire. Múr* is not listed in *IGT.* On the basis of the present example, it could be grouped with the monosyllabic masc. nouns with long vowels which behave like *o*-stems or *s*-stems in the gen. sing. listed in *IGT* ii, §46 (see *SNG* IV, §4.22). I have preferred to emend MC *comhnuidhe* to *caomhnúidhe*. For another example of the compound, see *Do dheachradaois na dúile / díbh tres an gcorp gcaomhnúidhe*, 'Owing to that gentle fair Body all the elements refrained from (troubling) them' (*DiD* 94.7ab).

37d For another comparison of the Rock to Cruachain[53] (= Rathcroghan), a site associated with the kingship of Connacht, see Poem 3.15-16 and note.

38a *Coitcheann* (comparative *coitchinne*) here means 'frequented'. Cf. substantivised *coitcheann* in *coitcheann ghnáth Ghuirt Phartholóin* 'Ireland's renowned centre of hospitality' (Poem 7.2b).

I have emended G *carraic* (C *carraicc*) to the Classical nom. ***Carrag*** (G *c*(*h*)arr*ag*) (*IGT* ii, §54).

38b The text in M lacks a syllable (C makes up this syllable with ungrammatical and unmetrical *eisiodhe*). The insertion of the preposition *ar* as in G supplies the correct number of syllables and makes good sense.

38cd I have emended 38c MS *tairm* to variant *toirm* and 38d MS *muirn* to variant *moirn* (*IGT* ii, §14) for perfect internal rhyme.

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[53] For nom. *Cruachain* (earlier *Crúachu*), see *Tuigthe dhamh gé deirim sain / do nós bhan nach bí Cruachain*, 'Yet, though I say this, I must remember that [Cruachain] is not like other women' (*DiD* 92.20ab), where *sain* : *Cruachain* make *rinn* : *airdrinn* rhyme.

In place of the article *an* in 38c and *na* in 38d, G has the **3 sing. masc. possessive adj. *a*** 'his' (i.e. Mac Diarmada's).

39 §§37-39 of the present poem can be compared with §§21-5 of *An tú a-rís, a Ráith Teamhrach?* (Quiggin 1913), a poem on Aodh Ó Conchobhair's house at Cloonfree which is quoted several times in the Grammatical Tracts and which may have influenced our poet.[54]

39b M *dhúin*iobhr*aidh*e is hypersyllabic and does not rhyme with 39a *fiodhbhaidh.* The line also lacks alliteration in M. *ABM* reads this line *do dhún chaithreach dhiúniobhr*aidhe and recommends emending *dhúiniobhr*aidhe to *chiúniobhraidh* (*ABM* 400.38b note). This would give the correct syllable-count, alliteration and end-rhyme, but the evidence of G allows for a less violent emendation. I have adopted G's text in my critical edition. In all three MSS, *dhún* (C *dhuin*) and *chaithreach* (G *chathruidh*) are written as separate words, though alliteration would suggest that they are in fact two elements of a single compound. G reads *chathruidh*, the expected dat. sing. of *caithir* after G *don* (M *do*) (*IGT* ii, §120). In place of unmetrical M *dhúiniobhr*aidhe, G reads *doinníobhr*aigh which has the expected number of syllables, makes perfect end-rhyme, and also makes better sense than M's reading (an adjectival compound of *dún-* 'fort' and *iobhrach* 'of yew-trees'). G *don* 'to the' in place of M *do* 'to' also makes better sense in this context.

40b G's text translates 'A day passes quickly for those in the house on the Rock'.

40b G has variant *tegh* for *teach* (*IGT* ii, §31).

40c The nasalisation of the initial of *Aoidhne* (°*ann*) after the 1 pl. poss. adj. combined with the preposition *fa* (= *um*) ('around our / my Aodh') is spelt *nd-* in M.

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[54] See especially Quiggin 1913, §§21, 22 and 25: *Nó an í Ráith Crúachna adchíu thoir / ar dtocht go Clúain Fráoich féraigh? / ni uil thíar acht a taidhbhse, / dochíam thoir a tuaraim-se. / Foicse thoir do thigh Chrúachna / clúmh bheithe, bárr úrlúachra; / amhghoire thíar iná thoir / sgíamh chrannghoile do Chrúachain* / [...] / *Gar fioruisge dha fleadhaibh, / gar fiodhbhaidh dá foirgneadhaibh, / fiorghar gach blad da búadhaibh, / gar mionmhagh dá marcshlúaghaibh*, 'Or do I descry yonder Croghan's rath which has come to grassy Cloonfree? To the west there is only its phantom, to the east we see its semblance. Nearer in the west to Croghan's hall is the foliage of the birch, the harvest of rushes; more distressing for Croghan is the appearance of the trees in the west than in the east [...] Spring water at hand for its [Cloonfree's] banquets, wood at hand for its buildings, close at hand each requirement, pasture at hand for its droves of steeds'.

Following G, I read gen. pl. *sluagh* here for perfect rhyme with 40d *cuan.*

40cd The same word occuring twice in a half-quatrain can make internal-rhyme with a single rhyming partner (*breacadh taidhbhse*) as here (40d *aoibhne aoibhne* : 40c *Aoidhne*).

41a C has *-eai-* for *-éi-* in 33c *réidh* and C *leaigid* probably represents the 3 pl. present indicative of *léigidh*, variant *leigidh* (*DIL* s.v. *léicid*). The 3 pl. is required here for grammar.

41c Note nom. sing. *bró* for acc. *bróin* (*IGT* ii, §84). The nom. for acc. is permitted here given the distance of the noun from the verb which governs it (41a *leigid*) (*SNG* IV, §4.4(b)). As *bró* is an *urlann* (i.e. does not have a rhyming partner in 41d), acc. *bróin* could be read without doing damage to the metre.

I am unsure of the exact meaning of *beannach* here. I have translated 'pointed' or 'peaked', taking *beannach* as describing the shape of the boat with mast and sails. Note Dinneen's translation of *beannach* (s.v.) as 'standing out to the vision, distinct'. O'Grady 1926, 360 translates *na mbarc mbennach* in a short poem on the descendants of Tadhg mac Céin as 'of the sharp-prowed barques'.

41d G reads *a ttrācht* in place of MC *fan trācht*. G's version of this quatrain could be translated: 'It is a cause of joy on a tranquil day [to see] raiding-parties bringing a fleet of boats onto the expansive galley-thronged strand and pointed ships around the lake'. MC's reading seems the more probable here, portraying as it does an aggressive militarily active force on the move, but it is possible that G's reading is the original and that MC's reading was influenced by 41a *fan*.

Dinneen translates ***laoidheang*** (s.v.) as 'galley, ship of war', though *DIL* s.v. *laídeng* translates only as 'boat, ship, vessel'. For examples where *laoidheang* is probably a galley or military vessel of some sort, see *An sgél fuarus fada o shoin / tainic a ccuan Chinn Mhaghair / dáimh go n-aoibheall áigh orth*aibh / *táin laoidheng do Lochlannchaibh* (*ABM* 216.17), 'The story I discovered was that long ago a band furious for battle, a host of galleys of men of Lochlainn came into the bay of Kinnaweer' and *do thinoil sé cablach rigdha romhor 7 do chuiretar amach a longa luchtmara lanáibhle 7 a laoidhenga leabargasda laindhíghainge 7 a nethair ailli athlumha tar drumchladh na dileann dímoire* [...], '[Murchadh *Mear* Mac Suibhne] collected a great splendid fleet, and he and his followers launched their immense

capacious ships, and their long surpassing-swift galleys, and their beautiful easily-managed boats, on the suface of the expansive deep [...]' (*LCS* §19).

42a More literally, 'are some of its types of music'.

42b I take M *oirfidach* 'minstrel, musician' to be a mistake for *oirfideadh* 'music-making'. The addition of *gnáth* at the end of the line in C ('the constant music-making of its birds'?) leaves the line hypersyllabic and does not rhyme with 42a *maithe*; it has not been adopted in the critical edition.

42c I cannot understand M *doghrán* and have followed G's reading. M *don-* is also clearly a mistake for *donn-* as in G.[55]

42d The dotted suspension stroke in M suggests that the gen. pl. of *ealta* declined as a vocalic stem (*ealtadh*) is intended here, but both G and C have *plene*-readings of the gen. pl. of *n*-stem *ealta* (*IGT* ii, §§7-8). I have adopted the latter in my critical edition. Both forms are metrically sound possibilities.

43a G *mhacruidh* is ungrammatical. The gen. is required after *gáir* and only gen. pl. *macradh* (MC) allows for the correct number of syllables (*IGT* ii, §§13-14).

43b For *taobháille* 'beautiful-sided', G has *tiormáille* 'beautiful and dry'. Both are metrical.

43c I do not understand G *shionghlana.* C *cuilg shíonghlana* is similarly obscure with *cluig* 'bells' now *cuilg* 'swords'. C *shíonghlana* cannot rhyme with 43d *iomramha* as required. G *bhionnghlana* makes good sense and perfect rhyme. The bells referred to are probably those of the religious establishments on and around Loch Cé, the sounds of vibrant and secure monastic communities during the reign of their protector.

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[55] The musical qualities of the otter are praised in nature-lyrics associated with *Fianaigheacht*: *Cearca fraoich um Chruachain Chuinn, / feadghail dobhráin Druim Dhá Loch, / gotha fiulair Ghlinn na bhFuath, / longhaire cuach Chnuic na Sgoth* (*MD* 37, ll. 25-8), 'Grouses around Conn's Cruachain, the whistling of the otter of Druim Dhá Loch, the sound of the eagle of Gleann na bhFuath, the cry of the cuckoo of Cnoc na Sgoth' ll. 2and *Is dúinne do b'adhbhar meanma / éisteacht re gothaibh bhar n-iolar; / ba bhinn cannrán do dhobhrán / agus comhrádh do shionnach* (*MD* 39, ll. 25-8), 'It was a cause of joy for me to listen to the sounds of your eagles; the chatter of your otters and the speech of your foxes was sweet-sounding'll. 2.

Both G and C have *láimh le* for G ***láimh re***. The former does not occur in the Tracts, to my knowledge. For *lámh re*, see *BST* 231.22.

43d I have emended M ar*th*ar*ach* to Classical *arthrach* (*IGT* ii, §55) for syllable-count and end-rhyme.

44a The text in M is hypersyllabic, while *uallach* is ungrammatical qualifying a nom. pl. Syncopated *uallcha* (C *uallcha*, G *u*[*a*]*lcha*(*dh*)) is required to rectify both difficulties.

The game of *fithcheall* (*fidhcheall*) may be one and the same as that of *brannamh*, but its exact nature has not been determined (*TD* ii, 198-9, 215). *Fithcheall* can refer both to the game and to the board and pieces (*DIL* s.v. *fidchell*); it is used in the latter sense here.

44c This line refers to the keeping of hostages, a reflection of the strength of Mac Diarmada and a prerequesite for the security and prosperity of his kingdom (see McManus 2006, 73-5).

I presume ***ballghlas*** 'green /grey-limbed' or '-speckled' describes the stone walls or fortifications of the Rock. McManus 2006 ex. 78 suggests the translation 'of silver chains'.

44d Neither MC *paras* nor G *parrthus* make perfect rhyme with 43c *ballghlas*. I have emended to *pardhas*, a byform of *parthas* 'Eden, Paradise' (*IGT* ii, §38; *DIL* s.v. *pardus*). For the same idea, see *Innsi challras chnódonn. pardhas innsi Hérenn* (*IGT* ii, ex. 213), 'Nut-brown Innse covered in hazel-woods is the Eden of the island of Ireland', and Tadhg *Dall* Ó hUiginn's famous *Pardhas Fódla Fir Mhanach*, 'Fermanagh is the Paradise of Fódla' (*TD* 13).

G áir*ther* is obscure to me.

45 In 45a, G has *síoth-* where MC have variant *síodh-* (*IGT* ii, §§38-9) while G has *sīodh* for MC *sí*[*o*]*th* in 45c. For other examples of the residences of Meic Dhiarmada described as fairy-mounds, see Poem 3.19d and Poem 5.10b.[56]

[56] See also *Ráth armtha fer n-órchuladh / tarrla seal 'na síthbhruighin, / rún ar fher ní hiarrfuidher / ad dhún ar feadh fionchuiridh*, 'The armed rath of the gold-attired men has been a peaceful palace for a time; no man will be asked his purpose in your palace during a wine-feast' (*DMU* 21.18). Greene translates dat. sing. *síthbhruighin* as 'peaceful palace' but I think it is better to understand it as 'fairy mansion'.

45b *Rá(i)th* has both masc. and fem. forms (*IGT* ii, §§38-9, 41-2). I interpret *ráith* here as a fem. noun (G has variant *ráth*). Note the fem. possessive adj. in 45a (°*síodhbhrugh* ***a*** °*samhail*) and the lenition of the initial of *mhic* in G and *mheadhrach* in C.

45c G has nom. *tegh* (: G *éidedh*, MC *éudigh* (normalised to *éididh* in the critical edition (*IGT* ii, §11)) for dat. *tigh* but this is grammatically impossible (*IGT* ii, §31).

45d I follow *ABM* in reading *caomh*[*a*] for rhyme with 45c *Aodha*, syllable-count and grammar (see *SNG* IV, §5.6). G *caomhna* gives the correct syllable-count but does not make perfect internal rhyme as required.

46a This line lacks alliteration in MC and could be translated 'the one capable of reproving all', a reference to the king's role in maintaining law and order. G's text differs considerably but has alliteration between *congmhala* (normalised *congbhála* in the critical edition) and *cháich*. I have adopted G's text in the critical edition. For another example of the phrase *cos chongbhála* (literally 'the support that holds up'),[57] see *Tadhg triath os na trenfearaibh* / [...] / *cos congbala Connachtach* (*ABM* 448), 'Tadhg, lord over the champions, [...] the pillar of Connachtmen'. Both *cáich* (as in M) and *cáigh* (as in G) are acceptable forms of the **gen. of *cách*** (*IGT* ii, §64).

46b For *nach luigh*, G has *nár luigh* 'the hand that was never hard-pressed...'.

46c I have emended *coillbhile* (GC, M *ciollbhile* (*sic*)) to *caillbhile* (*call* is a permitted variant of *coll* 'hazel' (*IGT* ii, §69)) for rhyme with 46d *ainbhine*. M deletes *a* after *caillbhile* and has gen. sing. *chl*áir. This is ungrammatical as *coillbhile* is made definite twice by the article and the following gen. of a proper noun without a demonstrative suffix (see *IGT* i, §15). Furthermore, *chláir* does not make perfect rhyme with 46d *lámh*. *Clár* (as in GC) must be read instead. The deletion of the preposition in M was almost certainly a mistake. *ABM* suggests inserting *ar* but both G and C read *a*: G has nasalising *a* (= *i* 'in') while C has *a* 'from'. The latter makes the best sense here and has been adopted in the critical edition.

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[57] Cf. *Do thuit ealchuing an enigh. eghir chnuic bennchuirr Bhalair* (*IGT* ii, ex. 632), 'The maintainer of hospitality [literally 'the rack supporting hospitality'] has fallen, the heir to the peaked hill of Balar' and the description of Cairbre Ó Fearghail (†1378), the bishop of Ardagh, as 'the rack supporting piety' (*ealcuing congbhala an crábhaidh*) (*AFM* iii, 668-7).

47- 8 Given how uncommonly lenition after rel. *is* is indicated in MSS and some metrically confirmed instances of non-lenition (see *SNG* IV, §3.2(g); *TD* i, c-ci), I have not lenited the initials of 47a *gairbhe*, 47c *bog* and 48c *mór*, though lenition could be supplied without disrupting alliteration.

47ab The contrast between the habitual mildness of the warrior-honorand and his ferocity in battle is a staple of Bardic panegyric. Cf. Poem 5.37c and note.

47cd G reads *huar* (= *bhuar*?) 'cows' for 47c *bhrat* and *ghroidh* 'horses' for 47c *bhoin.* In so far as G's text has alliteration between *bog* and *bhuar* and the correct number of syllables, it is metrically sound. Regrettably, part of the text of 47d in G is illegible, meaning that a proper assessment of G's text is impossible. The final of 47d in G is *uaisleadh* which probably represents *uaisle* ('who never refused because of [his] nobility'(?), interpreting the obscure letter(s) in the MS as the 3 masc. possessive adj.). This does not rhyme with 27c G *ghroidh* or with MC *bhoin.* Furthermore, as G's text stands, *bhuar* is without a rhyming-partner in 47d and the text may be lacking a syllable. MC *dán* could be emended to *duan* to provide internal rhyme but acc. *duain* would be expected for grammar.

48a Bardic honorands are often praised for abiding by their oaths and pacts. Cf. Poem 3.13g.

48b I follow *ABM* in reading MS *fil* as *fill.* For the meaning of *fionnghal* (more historical *fionghal*), see *DIL* s.v. *fingal*: 'in later texts often of killing a tribesman [read 'kinsman'] or anyone not an enemy (hence freq. associated with *fell*) and equivalent to murder as opp. to justifiable homicide'. See Kelly 2009, 127-8.

48c Perhaps more literally, 'a hand greatly given to being minutely wounded', i.e. Mac Diarmada is eager to fight many battles and has no fear of being wounded. Cf. Poem 4.1h and note. MS *niomghuin* (= *n-iomghoin*) is almost certainly a mistake for *mionghoin.* (*ABM* reads *mionghuin.*) The latter is adopted in the critical edition for alliteration with *mór.*

48cd The metrical fault of *caoiche* incurred by rhyming 48c *lámh* : 48d *lámh* is offset by the *breacadh* formed by the two offending rhyming partners with 48a *lámh.*

49 I have taken liberties with the order of the lines in my translation. Following the original, the quatrain could be translated, 'The hand of the son of generous Conchobhar, famous Mac Diarmada, sat in the middle of booty taken in fine, a hand to distribute horses and cattle'.

49c I presume *coill* means 'wood' here. Cattle taken in plunder were driven into woods to prevent their being retaken (see *Cena a gcoill 'gun chónsabal. boing in fheadha a fhúaslagadh* (*IGT* ii, ex. 743), 'The constable had cattle taken in plunder in a wood; the felling of the wood [i.e. the death of his lord?] released him').

Poem 2 FORAOIS NA gCLIAR CLANN MHAOIL RUANAIDH

THE MSS

1.0 The poem is preserved in two MSS. Neither appears to be complete.

1.1 The longer MS witness is RIA 739 (24 P 9) (henceforth P), pp. 283-90. It also appears to be incomplete: about two-thirds of p. 290 are left blank. The scribe was David Ó Duibhgeannáin and he wrote the MS in 1651-2, part of which time at least he spent on Loch Measg in Co. Galway (*RIA Cat.* p. 2241).[58] There are a number of Bardic poems in P, four of which are *snéadhbhairdne*.[59] Much of P consists of prose tales, two of which, the EModIr version of *Cath Muighe Tuireadh* (pp. 65-97) and *Cath Muighe Rath* (pp. 105-144), may be the sources of apologues in the present poem (see notes to (v)).[60] pp.

1.2 The text contained on both sides of a fragment now forming folio 9 of RIA 751 (E iv 1) (henceforth E) is acephalous, beginning in §38 of the present edition. It concludes at (x).[61] Three quarters of f. 9b is left blank, perhaps indicating that the scribe intended to continue the transcription at a later stage. In *RIA Cat.* pp. 2312-14, the scribe of this fragment is identified as Doiminic Ó Duibhgeannáin, an early eighteenth-century scribe.

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[58] For a study of this scribe, see Walsh 1947, Chapter 3.

[59] The first, *Tugam aghaidh ar Mháol Mhórrdha* (Walsh 1941), is found on pp. 193-200. Three further poems in *snéadhbhairdne* occur in succession on pp. 276-299: the poem here edited, *Rannam le chéile, a chlann Uilliam* (*DiD* 111), and Fearghal Ó Duibhgeannáin's *Teamhair Chonnacht cúirt ríogh Bréifne* (*ABM* 463). These four poems may originally have been grouped together as there is evidence that other pages were bound in an incorrect order (*RIA Cat.*, p. 2241). The handwriting and ink, which vary considerably across the MS, is very similar in both sections of poems. All four are probably addressed to Connacht patrons: respectively, Maol Mórdha Mac Suibhne Connachtach (†1581), Tomaltach Mac Diarmada (†1458), Seaán and Uilleag Clanricard Burke (sons of Riocard (†1582)), and Brian Ó Ruairc (fl. 1536-62). Walsh 1941 and *DiD* 111 may have been composed by Tadhg Mac Bruaideadha: for the former poem, see the ascription to Tadhg Mac Bruaideadha in RIA MSS 672 and 1382 (but to Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn in RIA 1382), and for the latter, see *Dán na mBráthar* ii, p. 203. The grouping of three (and possibly four) poems in the same metre together and the fact that two of these poems may have been composed by the same poet pose interesting questions about the sources and motivation for the compilation of the present collection. An earlier MS (TCD 1363, XII) compiled by an Ó Maoil Chonaire scribe for an Ó Duibhgeannáin consists only of poems in two metres in *brúilingeacht* (see Poem 3 ¶2).

[60] Note also that P contains *Tromdhámh Ghuaire* (pp. 41-64). Guaire is mentioned several times in this poem.

[61] Prose passages are numbered (i), (ii), (iii) etc.

1.3 P also contains (pp. 299-304) a copy of a song on the death of Brian Óg Mac Diarmada (†1636) who descended from a rival dynastic line to that of Tomaltach Mac Diarmada (see Poem 7 ¶3.7).

1.4 Both witnesses to the poem edited here, which was composed by an Ó Duibhgeannáin poet, are the work of Ó Duibhgeannáin scribes. Though E breaks off sooner than P, E's text is very similar to that of P. E may be a copy of P, though, if so, the scribe of E emended his exemplar in some places. I have adopted many of these emendations in my edition. These are discussed in the textual notes.

1.6 Both poems are written as prose. *Et* is written for *agus* four times, all at the beginning of prose passages (see (iv), (vii), (x) and (xii)). In P, the *er*-symbol is used for *iar* in 24b, (vii), 39e and (x) (expanded as *-ear* in my transcription) and a hyphen was used at line-breaks to connect parts of a word to one another or unstressed words to the following stressed word.

1.7 A diplomatic edition of the text of P has been published in *ABM* 247.

THE POET

2.0 The poem is ascribed to Duibhgeann Ó Duibhgeannáin in P (*duibhgenn o duibhgennáin* cecinit).[62]

2.1 *AC* records the death of *Dubgenn mac Matha Glais, h. Dubginnan an tsai eladna*, 'Duibgenn son of Matha Glas O Duibgennain, a man very learned in his art [or 'in poetry']' in 1441 (*AC* §1441.5). *AFM* iv, 918-19 records the death of *Duibhgenn gruamdha ó duibgendáin saoí senchadha*, 'Duigen Gruamdha ['the gloomy'] a learned historian' s.a. 1440; *AU* styles him *sai senchai[dhe]* and notes his death under the same year (*AU* iii, 146-7). He is probably the same man as *Duibhgenn gruamdha o duibhgennain ollamh Meic donnchaidh i senchus* 'ollav to Mac Donough in history' whose death is recorded a second time in *AFM* s.a. 1440 (*AFM* iv, 922-3). He was a member of a family who traditionally provided historians to the Síol Muireadhaigh (the Í Chonchobhair, the Meic Dhiarmada, the Meic Dhonnchaidh and their offshoots).[63] The last-mentioned obit in *AFM* occurs shortly after the death-notice of one of the Meic Dhonnchaidh of Tír Oirill, Domhnall mac Cormaic, whose family were enemies of Tomaltach Mac Diarmada and his vassals, the Meic

[62] The ascription has the appearance of being squeezed in after the first line of the poem has already been written.

[63] For an account of this family, see Walsh 1947, Chapter 1.

Dhonnchaidh of An Corann (*Dubh. Annals*, 213-14, 216); this might suggest that Duibhgeann was affiliated with the Tír Oirill branch of the Meic Dhonnchaidh but I think it is more likely that he was associated with Tomaltach Mac Diarmada's allies in An Corann, who formally acknowledged him as their overlord in 1447.[64]

2.2 Some further details about the poet can be gleaned from the present poem: he was of the Cill Rónáin branch of the family ((x) below); at some point, he embarrassed himself in front of Mac Diarmada and several hundred others but was not punished; and he seems to have sought more permanent patronage from Mac Diarmada, perhaps as his *ollamh ríogh* ((i) below). The position of Tomaltach's *ollamh* was occupied at some point by Tuathal Ó hUiginn, to judge by a poem in which he complains about being his office being usurped (*AiD* 32). In that poem, he makes the accusation that Tomaltach has hired a single poet-historian: *Ollamh re a ceird cia ag nach fuil / ar-aon is ollamh seanchaidh; / [gach] ceart ollaimh go-raile / congaibh reacht na ríoghraidhe*, 'What prince is there who has not a professional *ollamh* as well as a *seanchaidh*; do thou cherish every *ollamh*'s right, the rule of the realm' (*AiD* 32.12). Tomaltach was, as we have seen, praised by Duibhgeann Ó Duibhgeannáin, a member of the a family of hereditary poet-historians, and also by Torna Ó Maoil Chonaire (†1468), the author of *Tosach féile fairsinge* (*DiD* 120; see Simms 1980, 138). Either of these two, or indeed another unknown poet-historian might be the interloper whose employment threatened Ó hUiginn's livelihood.

2.3 I know of no other poems attributed to this poet.

PATRON

3.0 This poem is addressed to Tomaltach (§§11, (v), 49), the son of Sadhbh (§§18, 56) who held the title of Mac Diarmada at the time of composition (§§10, 12, (i), (ii), 24 *et passim*). His genealogy is given in (iii). He can be securely identified with Tomaltach an Einigh Mac Diarmada (†1458).

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[64] The partisan claim of 11ef would not have endeared the poet to Mac Diarmada's enemies in the struggle for domination over An Corann. It is interesting, in regard to how learned men operated in a highly divisive political landscape, to note that whereas our poet was certainly of the Cill Rónáin branch of the family, his patron's enemies, the Meic Dhonnchaidh of Tír Oilill (see ¶3.4 below), seem to have employed a scribe of a different (and apparently new) branch of the Í Dhuibhgeannáin, Maghnus of Baile Choilleadh Fobhair (Ó Concheanainn 1981, 22).

3.1 Tomaltach (see *TD* 32 note 58 for the unlenited *-m-*) was the son of Conchobhar Óg (†1404), king of Magh Luirg. His mother was Sadhbh inghean Í Chonchobhair Ruaidh (Mac Dermot 1996, 89, 106).[65] After his father's death, the kingship passed to his uncle, Tadhg, who died in 1405, and then to another uncle, Ruaidhrí (*a quo clann Ruaidhrí*). Tomaltach does not appear in opposition to his uncles and ultimately succeeded Ruaidhrí.

3.2 Tomaltach first appears in the annals in 1418 when Maghnus mac Feidhlim Chléirigh Í Chonchobhair attacked Ó Gadhra, lord of Cúl Ó bhFinn (= the barony of Coolavin, Co. Sligo). Tomaltach Mac Diarmada set an ambush for the raiding force at Béal an Átha Mín (= Ballinameen in the parish of Kilcolagh, barony of Frenchpark, north Co. Roscommon (PDI, s.v.)) on their return journey into Roscommon. He seized the plundered cattle and a number of Maghnus mac Feidhlim Chléirigh's force were killed. *AC* remarks that many on both sides were injured. Maghnas himself was captured and was not released until he submitted to Tomaltach (*co frith disli uad*)[66] (*AC* §1418.22).

3.3 When his uncle Ruaidhrí died on 21 April 1421, Tomaltach became king of Magh Luirg (*AC* §1421.2-4; *AFM* iv, 846-9) and, in the same year, he narrowly avoided assassination. While visiting the monastery *cum* urban settlement of Cill Athrachta (= Killaraght in the barony of Coolavin, Co. Sligo), he was attacked by the descendants of Fearghal Mac Diarmada (the king of Magh Luirg who died in 1368).[67] The descendants of Fearghal had opposed Tomaltach's uncles in the kingship and perhaps hoped to remove their newest rival in the early days of his reign.[68] According to *AC*, Mac Diarmada mounted his horse to face them but was abandoned by his followers. Tomaltach fought his way out by dint of his sword and his strong hand (*ar los a loinne 7 a lame latiri*) and returned home 'a mass of bleeding wounds' (*ina chrochosair cro*). The annalist approvingly remarks *ni menicc dorigned riam imtecht bad croda ina sin*, 'not often has a more gallant escape than this been effected' (*AC* §1421.19).

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[65] It is interesting that, apart from the long genealogy in (iii), the poet does not mention that Tomaltach was the son of Conchobhar, but mentions twice that he was son of Sadhbh. See also Poem 3.12ab and note.

[66] The editor of *AC* translates this as 'until reparation (?) was received from him'.

[67] Killaraght appears to have been the homeland of the descendants of Fearghal at this time (Mac Dermot 1996, 92).

[68] For this feud and its origins, see Mac Dermot 1996, 92, 94, 96-8.

3.3.0 Tomaltach was allied to the Mac William Burkes and the Í Chonchobhair Ruadha against the Clanricard-Ó Conchobhair Donn faction which effectively divided Connacht between them in this period.

3.3.1 In 1419, Tomaltach[69] took part in an incursion into the territory of the Clanricard Burkes led by Uilliam Ó Ceallaigh. The invading force also consisted of Mac William Burke, Donnchadh Ó Ceallaigh, chief of Í Mhaine, and Cathal Dubh Ó Conchobhair Ruadh, with Meic Dhomhnaill and Meic Dhubhghaill galloglasses. Backup had been expected from the Mac Davids but they failed to meet the invading force, which nonetheless proceeded to burn the country. Clanricard Burke rallied his Munster supporters – the Í Bhriain with the Meic Chon Mara and others – and his Meic Shuibhne galloglasses and managed to trap the invading force in a pincer movement at Béal Átha Lighean (near Killogilleen in the barony of Dunkellin, Co. Galway), taking high-profile prisoners and killing some of their number (*AC* §§1419.17-18; *ALC* ii, 148-51; *AU* ii, 80-1).[70]

3.3.2 S.a. 1434, *AFM* records that Ó Ceallaigh, Tomaltach Mac Diarmada and Tadhg mac Í Chonchobhair Ruaidh attacked the Ó Conchobhair Donn-stronghold of Ballintober, Co. Roscommon. Many were wounded within and without the town. One of the besieging party cast a flaming wattle into the settlement, starting a fire which spread among the buildings within the bawn and ultimately to the bawn itself (*AFM* iv, 900-1). The same incident is described more succinctly in *AC s.a.* 1435: *Bali in Tob*air *do losc*ad *la h. Cell*aig *cona comaenta*, 'Ballintober was burned by Ó Ceallaigh and his allies' (*AC* §1435.2 and note). *AC* records that a great war broke out in Connacht in that year. At its conclusion, Tomaltach Mac Diarmada and Cathal mac Ruaidhrí Í Chonchobhair Dhuinn, the reigning Ó Conchobhair, made peace with one another. Evidently, both sides in this conflict received support from rival factions of Meic Dhonnchaidh (*AC* §1435.3).

3.4 Tomaltach's intimate involvement in Mac Donnchaidh affairs in the 1440s is recorded in *Dubh. Annals*. In 1446, Mac Diarmada, Tadhg Mac Donnchaidh and the sons of Féidhlim Ó

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[69] Tomaltach is described as *adbar rig Moigi L*uirc 'eligible prince of Moylurg' in *AC*, but *ALC* and *AU* style him *Mac Diarmada Muighe Luirg*, though he did not succeed to the kingship until 1421.

[70] Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn makes reference to this battle in a praise-poem for the reigning Clanricard Burke: *An maidhm as mhó thug tusa / le huamhan do fhágbhussa; / do sgáth re cineadh Ceallaigh / Áth Lighean nar luaidheamair*, 'Through fear I say naught of thy greatest raid [read 'rout'], Áth Lighean; it was in fear of Ó Ceallaigh (who was captured there) that I mentioned it not' (*AiD* 40.41).

Conchobhair marched against the sons of Tomaltach Óg Mac Donnchaidh. The invading force burnt the Mac Donnchaidh stronghold of Ballymote, killed Tomaltach Óg's brother, Aodh Buidhe, and took cows and horses in plunder (*Dubh. Annals*, 213-14).[71] Mac Diarmada's association with Tadhg Mac Donnchaidh was copper-fastened the following year when Tadhg 'and all those of the countrymen, that adhered to him, gave Domination to Tomaltach mac Dermoda King of Maghluirg, to defend them, against the sons of Conner mac Donnaghy'[72] (*Dubh. Annals*, 218). This is probably the basis for the annalist's claim that Tomaltach was lord of An Corann (*AC* §1458.2), the Mac Donnchaidh territory to the north of Magh Luirg, and the references to Céis Chorainn in Bardic poems to Tomaltach (Mac Dermot 1996, 105-6; *Scottish Verse* 6.6, *DiD* 120.3, 39).

3.5 As well as exercising influence over some Meic Dhonnchaidh to the north, there is also evidence of Tomaltach's influence in Muintear Eólais, to the east of Magh Luirg. In 1442, Tadhg, the son of Tomaltach Mac Diarmada, was killed by the cast of a spear at Cill Tathchomarc (= Kiltoghert in the barony of Leitrim). Though *AC* record that the killer was not discovered, *AFM* attribute the assassination to the people (*muintir*) of Cathal Mág Raghnaill (*AC* §1442.3; *AFM* iv, 926-7). The location of Tadhg's death suggests that he was killed while attempting to exercise overlordship (most probably on behalf of his father) over the people of Muintear Eólais or while interfering in their internal politics.

3.6 The annals also record something of Tomaltach's influence in politics outside of Connacht. In 1433, a war broke out between Ó Domhnaill and Ó Néill. Ó Domhnaill proceeded to Meath to enlist the support of the colonists against his neighbour. On his return journey, he sought to secure the submission of northern Connacht. According to *AU* (iii, 126-9) and *AFM* (iv, 894-5), after visiting Athlone and the Í Mhaine, he made a nocturnal march (*sibhal oidhche*) to meet Tomaltach in Magh Luirg and then to Ó Ruairc in Bréifne.

3.7 In 1445, the same year as a great number of Irish journeyed to the City of St James, Tomaltach made the pilgrimage to Santiago and returned safely, having obtained the indulgence (*Dubh. Annals*, 211-12). The pilgrimage was particularly popular in this period

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[71] The Meic Dhonnchaidh of Tír Oilill had been allies of the descendants of Fearghal Mac Diarmada (†1368) who tried to assassinate Tomaltach in 1421 and were part of the Ó Conchobhair Donn-Clanricard faction (¶3.3 above; Ó Concheanainn 1981, 19-24).

[72] The sons of Conchobhar Mac Donnchaidh later appear allied to *clann Ruaidhrí* (see Poem 4 ¶3), opponents of Tomaltach's brother and successor Aodh, in 1461 (*AC* §1461.10).

and the fifteenth century has been described as 'a veritable century of pilgrimage' (Ó Riain-Raedel 1998, 21).

3.8 *Dubh. Annals s.a.* 1451 record that 'Macdermott [was] taken with a heauy siknes, so that the report of his death flew ouer all Ireland, although he has recouered afterwards' (*Dubh. Annals*, 230).

3.9 Seven years later, on St. Bartholomew's Eve, a fortnight after his son Cathal's death, Tomaltach died. He was buried in Boyle. *AC* title him *ri Moige Luirc, 7 Airtig 7 in Choraind 7 Tiri Tuathail 7 morain do Clainn Chathail*, 'king of Moylurg, Airteach, the Coran, Tír Thuathail[73] and a large part of Clann Chathail'. [74] This would make him overlord of the Meic Dhiarmada, of Mac Diarmada Gall, of a Meic Dhonnchaidh faction, of Mac Maghnusa and Mac Diarmada Ruadh, and of many of the Í Fhlannagáin (*AC* §1458.2 and n.; cf. *Dubh. Annals*, 240). *AC* remarks that *nibad ro d'fir a caithme 7 a cridi coiced Connacht uili*, 'and the whole province of Connacht were not too much for one of his bounty and great heart'. The obit in *ALC* gives his soubriquet (*Tomaltach mac Conchobair mic Aodha, dar chomhainm Tomaltach an einigh*) and describes him as *rogha Gaoidheal Erenn... an fear nar diult daim na deoraigh do leith a chuil na hoighthe riamh in gcein do mhair*, 'the choice of the Gaeidhel of Erinn... the man who never refused a guest or stranger for a night's entertainment, whilst he lived' (*ALC* ii, 164-5). *AU* iii, 197-8 and *AFM* iv, 1000-3 also emphasise his generosity to the poets, and *AFM* adds that he gave generously to soldiers and stipendiaries (*fear toirbearta móir damhsaibh 7 daos tuarusdail*).

3.10 Tomaltach was married at least twice. One wife is named Éadaoin in a Bardic poem and is called the daughter of Domhnall. Mac Dermot 1996, 99, 110 states that she was a daughter of a Mac Donnchaidh. His second wife (they married around 1446)[75] was Caitlín, daughter of

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[73] In 1464, Tomaltach's brother and successor Aodh took the preys of Tír Thuathail and secured their submission. The annalist notes that they had adhered to the Meic Dhonnchaidh since Tomaltach's death (*AC* §1464.35).

[74] Some time before 1453, Tomaltach gave his consent to the establishment of the Franciscan friary of Elphin in the Í Fhlannagáin territory. Torna Ó Maoil Chonaire, who composed *Tosach féile fairsinge* in honour of Tomaltach, was buried there in 1468 (Ó Clabaigh 2012, 67, 262)

[75] The following is found in the Papal Registers: 'To the bishop of Elphin. Mandate, after imposing penance, to dispense Tomoltheus Miediarmada (*rectius* Micdiarmada), donsel, and Katelina de Burgo, damsel, of his diocese, to marry notwithstanding that they are related in the third degree of kindred, and in the double second degree of affinity on one side, and the double third on another side, and are otherwise for several reasons related

Uaitéar Mac William Burke (the chief from 1402 to 1440 with whom Tomaltach invaded Clanricard in 1419).[76]

3.11 Besides the two poems addressed to Tomaltach edited as part of this thesis, five other poems for him have been edited and published: *AiD* 31, 32; *Scottish Verse* 6, 7; and *DiD* 120.

ARGUMENT

4.1 In this poem, Duibhgeann Ó Duibhgeannáin praises Tomaltach Mac Diarmada and the Meic Dhiarmada in general for their liberality to poets, their bravery and skill in battle. Tomaltach is a generous patron of the Church. His reign has produced a fertile, calm, safe and peaceful country, the beauty of which is eulogised. His house is unparalleled. He is victorious in his war against the foreigners and other enemies, receives tribute and hostages. The poet emphasises Mac Diarmada's descent from ancient kings of Ireland (§§33 and 54) as well as from the first king of Connacht (§40) and from Guaire, and asserts that he follows the noble example of his ancestors. References to the great mythological heroes Lugh and Daghdha in (iv) are re-enforced by references in (x), §§39 and 56.[77]

4.2 Some material pertaining to the sphere of influence of Mac Diarmada will be discussed in ¶5 below. §§8, 28, 58 and (x) reference locations in the hinterlands of the Mac Diarmada lordship. Though I do not know what incident is referred to in §8, it indicates a degree of mastery over the Meic Bhranáin of Corca Athchlann, a territory south of Strokestown. In §31, the poet styles Mac Diarmada the king of Achadh Abhla, that is, the king of the Meic Dhonnchaidh of An Corann. This is a claim frequently made in Bardic poems to Tomaltach[78] but one he did not make good until 1447 when the dominant faction of the Meic Dhonnchaidh of An Corann 'gave Domination to Tomaltach mac Dermoda King of Maghluirg, to defend them, against the sons of Conner mac Donnaghy' (*Dubh. Annals*, 218).

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in the third and fourth degrees of affinity, aware of which they have committed fornication; decreeing legitimate the offspring already born, if any, and that to be born of the said marriage' (*Papal register* ix, 564).

[76] Though Tomaltach's kin continued to be influential after his death (see Poem 4 ¶3.1.1), Cú Choigcríche Ó Cléirigh remarks in the early seventeenth century: *Tomaltach* mac Conchobair, *frisa raiter Tomoltach an einigh, ro crionsat a clann conach ionairmhe iet coleig*, 'Tomaltach son of Conchobhar, who is called Tomaltach an Einigh 'the generous', his sons faded away, so that they cannot be recorded [i.e. they are not prominent enough?]' (*O Clery* §998).

[77] Tomaltach is compared to Lugh by Giolla Críosd Brúilingeach in *Scottish Verse* 6.5.

[78] See *Scottish Verse* 6.6, 9 and *DiD* 120.3

This poem supplements and clarifies the bare account of the annals and demonstrates that Mac Diarmada had aspirations to the lordship of the neighbouring territory since the very early days of his reign, more than two decades before his claim was formally acknowledged by the Meic Dhonnchaidh. The most dramatic statement of Mac Diarmada's sphere of influence is the poet's itinerary in (x). In it, the poet sketches a needlessly long route from Kilronan in the parish of Boyle to the nearby settlement of Rockingham on the south shore of the Rock of Loch Cé. The poet's itinerary takes in all of the territory of the Meic Dhonnchaidh of Sligo and Tír Thuathail (which was a bone of contention between the Meic Dhiarmada and the Meic Dhonnchaidh),[79] Luighne, the territory of the Í Eadhra,[80] the territory of Mág Uidhir in Fermanagh, and the territory of the Í Fhearghail of Longford.[81] The comparison of Magh Luirg to the island of Arann, off the coast of Scotland (§45), is likewise probably as much political as poetic: it was the homeland of Clann Dubhghaill who supplied the Meic Dhiarmada and their allies with galloglasses (see ¶3.3.1 above).

DATE OF COMPOSITION

5.1 As the honorand is styled Mac Diarmada, the poem cannot have been composed before 1421.

5.2 §19 describes the fertility of the land 'in his reign since last year', which I take to mean that Tomaltach Mac Diarmada had been king for a year when the poem was composed. This would give a date of composition c. 1422.

5.3 This date can be confirmed by some of the events alluded to in the poem. §§7, 13, 22, 23 and 44 suggest that Mac Diarmada participated in attacks on the colony in Meath, Westmeath and Dublin, while (v) and (vi) also indicate that he saw action against the foreigners. §24 could indicate a prolonged campaign against the English. *AC* §§1422.21-2, 24, 30 records

[79] For the conflict between Tomaltach Mac Diarmada's immediate predecessors and the Meic Dhonnchaidh and the struggle for Airteach, see Mac Dermot 1996, 93-4, 96-7.

[80] Though I have no evidence of Tomaltach's involvement, his predecessor as king of Magh Luirg certainly had dealings with the Í Eadhra as an agent of the Ó Conchobhair Ruadh – Mac William Burke faction (*AC* §1420.10).

[81] As is demonstrated in the notes to (x), the poet is probably referring to the same EModIr version of the Second Battle of Magh Tuireadh that was edited by Ó Cuív in 1945 (CMT_2). I argue in an article in *Ériu* 63 (forthcoming) that this version of the Second Battle of Magh Tuireadh was compiled c.1398 for the Meic Dhiarmada of Magh Luirg and that it reflects the contemporary political struggles of Conchobhar Óg Mac Diarmada (father of Tomaltach An Einigh) and his allies.

that An Calbhach Ó Conchobhair Failghe waged war against the English of Meath, attacking Trim, and facing off against the Earl of Desmond. In the same year, Eoghan Ó Raghallaigh too launched a campaign against the colony, while Domhnall Ó Néill, Niall Garbh Ó Domhnaill and Brian Mág Mathghamhna *co sochraiti adbalmoir* 'with an immense following' also invaded Meath, burning Louth and Oriel.[82] It is possible that Mac Diarmada formed part of the armies of one of these lords or worked in tandem with them. As there is no annalistic evidence for Mac Diarmada's participation in these raids, it may be worth analysing what evidence there is that Mac Diarmada was allied with Gaelic chiefs whose activities against the colony are better documented.

Tomaltach Mac Diarmada and the Gaelic Resurgence

5.4.1 S.a. 1430 in *AU* iii, 126-9 and *AFM* iv, 894-5, some eight years after the present poem was composed, Niall Garbh Ó Domhnaill went into Meath and on his return journey proceeded through Athlone and the territory of the Í Cheallaigh, before visiting Mac Diarmada. The annals give no indication of any hostility between the two lords but, frustratingly, do not give much away concerning the meeting. Ó Domhnaill and Ó Ruairc's conflict with the Meic Dhonnchaidh and their Ó Conchobhair backers, enemies of Mac Diarmada (*AC* §§1421.9-11, 1422.14), would have made Tomaltach a natural ally of the northern chief.

5.4.2 Another point of contact between Mac Diarmada and one of the lords mentioned in *AC*'s account of the attacks on the colony in 1422 is indicated in Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh's account of the pilgrimage to Santiago in 1445 (*Dubh. Annals*, 211-12). Among those who travelled in the same party with Mac Diarmada was Mairghréag inghean Í Chearbhaill, the wife of An Calbhach Ó Conchobhair Failghe who was himself the father-in-law of Niall Garbh Ó Domhnaill. Some level of intimacy between Mac Diarmada and Ó Conchobhair Failghe might explain the entries in *AC* §§1421.3-4 which, unusually, describe

[82] The Ó Domhnaill-Ó Néill raid is recorded under the year 1423 in *AU* iii, 94-5 and *AFM* iv, 858-9. Other events around this time recorded in *AU* and *AFM* are similarly post-dated by a year. *AU*'s account of the raid may have some relevance to §23 in the present poem, though it states the host was made up of the Gaoidhil of Ulster and makes no mention of hosts from any other province: *fuaradur edala mora don turus-sin ⁊ do-ronadur sith re Gallaibh fós don dul-sin ⁊ do fhaghbadur an Sradbaile ⁊ Gaill uile fa chis ⁊ fa chomtachaibh o sin amach ⁊ araile*, 'And they got chattels numerous on that expedition, and made peace with the Foreigners likewise on that occasion, and left Sradbhaile and all the Foreigners under tribute and under covenants [read 'payments to avoid battle'] thenceforth, and so on'.

the election of both men to their respective chieftainships in the same entry. But perhaps the best evidence for contact between Mac Diarmada and these two lords is found in the career of Tuathal Ó hUiginn.

5.4.3 As mentioned above, Tuathal Ó hUiginn held the position of *ollamh ríogh* or court-poet to Mac Diarmada to judge from a poem he composed protesting at being unjustly dismissed (*AiD* 32). There is no record of whether the rift between poet and patron was healed, and this naturally complicates any analysis of the corpus of Tuathal Ó hUiginn to shed light on the political associations of Mac Diarmada in the absence of a concrete chronology of Ó hUiginn's poems. Nonetheless, the network of patronage enjoyed by Ó hUiginn is worth sketching. He addressed two poems to Niall Garbh (*AiD* 21 and 22) and one to Eoghan Ó Raghallaigh (*AiD* 30), two lords who invaded the colony in 1422, the former of whom visited Mac Diarmada in 1433. He also composed a poem to Aodh Ó Néill Buidhe (*AiD* 18) on the occasion of his marriage to Fionnghuala, the daughter of An Calbhach Ó Conchobhair Failghe and widow of Niall Garbh Ó Domhnaill.

5.4.4 The careers of other poets also suggest contact between the courts of Mac Diarmada, Ó Conchobhair Failghe and Ó Domhnaill. Both Mac Diarmada and Ó Conchobhair Failghe were the subject of poems by Seithfín Mór (*IBP* 40, Poem 3) and, in a poem by Domhnall Ó Cobhthaigh, An Calbhach is portrayed as looking to Connacht and Ulster for allies, including among the Í Cheallaigh who, in turn, were allies of Mac Diarmada (§§8-15, 33 *T'aire riot, a mheic Murchaidh*, McKenna 1948; *ALC* ii, 148-51; *AU* ii, 80-1; *AFM* iv, 900-1). Also of interest are the two poems addressed to Mac Diarmada by the Scottish poet Giolla Críosd Brúilingeach. In *Scottish Verse* 6, Giolla Críosd asks Mac Diarmada for a harp and, to judge by *Scottish Verse* 7, Mac Diarmada obliged him. *Scottish Verse* 7 is a *dán leathaoire* in which Mac Diarmada and Mág Uidhir are contrasted, Mac Diarmada being the paragon of generosity, valour and nobility, and Mág Uidhir being the antithesis of these virtues. The latter poem was composed in or after 1430 when Tomás Mág Uidhir became chief. The editor of the poem suggests that Mág Uidhir must have slighted the poet during his visit to Ireland but it is worth noting that, in the early years of his reign, Mág Uidhir was actively allied with Ó Néill against Niall Garbh Ó Domhnaill (*AU* iii, 118-23; *AFM* iv, 878-1, 886-9, 894-5).

Might Giolla Críosd have received the harp he so desired from Mac Diarmada in exchange for writing another poem praising him and lampooning his enemy?[83]

5.4.5 In the present poem, the use of northern locations as epithets for the celebrand, in poetical names for Ireland or in comparisons with his house or lordship (§§18, 33, 46, 48, 53, 58 and 59) could be explained by an alliance with Ó Domhnaill.[84] Note also the reference to Cuille (§23) a kenning employed elsewhere in connection with the Uí Raghallaigh.

5.4.6 Though this evidence is circumstantial, taken together, it paints a picture of a coherent network of alliances which, in turn, becomes a network of patronage for poets associated with the court of Mac Diarmada or in which poets he retained operated as ambassadors.

The Escape from Cill Athrachta (1421)

5.5.1 Further confirmation of the approximate date of this poem comes in (iv) and §§25-6 which are concerned with an attack on Mac Diarmada that took place in 1421. He was, apparently, almost killed by a rival branch of the Meic Dhiarmada[85] in whose territory he was intruding. The poet shows great concern with 'spinning' the incident, and the apologues he selects suggest a certain anxiety about how the incident was perceived, which could indicate that the incident was probably still fresh in the public mind. The incident is described in *AC* §1421.19:

> *Tom*altach *Mac Diar*mata *do dol co Cill Athrachta beccan marcsl*uaig *7 cl*ann *F*er*gail M*eic *Diar*mat*a do br*eith *fair cona tinol isin baili, 7 Mac Diar*mat*a do dol fora eoch iar sin 7 dol do forra amach, 7 a m*uinter *uili dia facbail ina aenar 7 imth*echt *do ar los*

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[83] Reference is made to Mac Rúsglainn, a comic figure associated with wooing women, in Giolla Críosd's *dán leathaoire* (*Scottish Verse* 7.7). I know of only two other references to Mac Rúsglainn in Bardic poetry. One in the poem *Námha agus cara dar gceird* (Dooley 1986) and the other in the present poem ((vii)). The former poem was cited in the Tracts. That the two other references occur in poems to Mac Diarmada is interesting, suggesting either that the story was a favourite of the patron or that the poets engaged with earlier poems commissioned by the patron or both.

[84] This feature is found in other poems to Tomaltach. Tuathal Ó hUiginn refers to him as 'the dragon of Droim Ceat' (*dreagan Droma Ceat*) (*AiD* 31.20)

[85] For the descendants of Fearghal Mac Diarmada (†1368), rivals to Tomaltach Mac Diarmada's branch of the family, their base at Cill Athrachta and their alliance with Ó Conchobhair Donn, the Meic Dhonnchaidh and enemies of Tomaltach's line, see Mac Dermot 1996, 90-2, 93-4, 97-8.

a loinne 7 a lame latiri cur ranicc tar Buill anonn uatha ina chrochosair cro; 7 ni menicc dorigned riam imtecht bad croda ina sin

Tomaltach Mac Diarmada went to Killaraght with a few horsemen and the sons of Fergal Mac Diarmata with their assembled followers came upon him in the town. Mac Diarmata then mounted his horse and rode out against them. His men all deserted him and left him single-handed; but he made his way out with his sword and his strong hand and escaped over the Boyle, a mass of bleeding wounds. Not often has a more gallant escape than this been effected.

5.5.2 The choice of apologues used to illustrate Mac Diarmada's bravery at Cill Athrachta in the present poem is interesting. In all three apologues, the protagonist was outnumbered and faced a relative by blood or fosterage as an enemy (Conghal Claon faced his foster-father and an army made up of forces from all five provinces, Lugh his maternal grandfather whose mighty Fomorian host he defeats almost single-handedly, and Cú Chulainn faces the armies of four provinces and fights his foster-brother). The choice of referencing Conghal Claon (an unjust lord who was under demonic influence!) makes a great deal more sense if the poet selected figures who, like Mac Diarmada, were outnumbered and faced their kin in battle.

Mac Diarmada and the Í Fhearghail

5.6 References to Loch Ríbh (§5), Conachail and the territory of the Í Fhearghail ((x)), the Shannon (§49), as well as a story set in Clonmacnoise ((xi)), suggest the honorand had (or wished to be perceived as having) influence to the east of his traditional territory.[86] The

[86] The reference to the Battle of Con Achail is interesting for a number of reasons. The victor, Ruaidhrí na Soidhe Buidhe Ó Conchobhair, with whom the honorand is associated (and from whom he descended), not only defeated Ó Ruairc, a traditional enemy of Ó Domhnaill, in the battle, slaying an Ó Fearghail in the process, but in his career he was a great enemy of the Í Bhriain and enjoyed the support of Clonmacnoise. The possibly political nature of the reference to Clonmacnoise has already been noted above but it should be borne in mind that Tomaltach Mac Diarmada also saw battle against the Í Bhriain only three years before the suggested date of composition (Duffy 2012; *AC* §§1419.17-18; *ALC* ii, 148-51; *AU* ii, 80-1). Note also the reference to Forbhar (§57), which seems to be in Thomond, the territory of the Í Bhriain. Hostility between a branch of the Meic Dhiarmada which supported the MacWilliam-Ó Conchobhair Ruadh faction and the Ó Briain backers of the Clanricard-Ó Conchobhair Donn faction would be only natural but evidence that the Meic Dhiarmada were making themselves known south of their territory can be gleaned from the papal registers. In 1427, the papacy commanded that Donald Macconmara (whose family were allied to the Í Bhriain) be installed in a rectory in the diocese of Killaloe which had been usurped by a Dermot MacDermot 'on account of whose power or that of his

annals are little help in identifying any concrete incidents, but these references could reflect the political landscape of the 1420s and 1430s in which the Í Cheallaigh intervened in internal conflicts among the Í Fhearghail (*AC* §§1422.25-7, 1424.6, 1434.7-8). Given Mac Diarmada's alliance with the Í Cheallaigh, he too may have been involved in the Í Fhearghail struggle. Likewise, in this period, the Í Fhearghail were certainly involved in Muintear Eólais, the territory of the Méig Raghnaill in Leitrim, which borders on Magh Luirg, squarely in Mac Diarmada's sphere of influence (*AC* §1434.7).[87]

The Priest and the Anchoress

5.7.1 An unusually vivid picture of contemporary religious life is afforded by (xi). The poet contrasts Mac Diarmada who is true to his word with the parish priest who swore the previous Sunday that he had been chaste for four years, though he then proceeded to consort with an anchoress. The poet casts himself as an eye-witness and there is nothing implausible in the story. The cells of anchorites (or 'anchorholds') tended to be positioned in or adjacent to churches and there may be some archaeological evidence for an anchorhold in Holy Trinity Abbey on Loch Cé[88] which might have been where the poet attended mass. Happily, we have

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abettors, the said Donald has no hope of obtaining justice in the city or diocese of Killaloe' (*Papal registers* vii, 490). Though the reference to Béarra (§61) may be no more than figurative (cf. *Butler poems* 1.14, *LBranach* 58.20), Mac Diarmada might very well have come to the attention of the people of Desmond as well as those of Thomond: in 1422, Ó Conchobhair Failghe, Mac Diarmada's ally, faced off against the Earl of Desmond when the latter came to defend the colony from his incursions (*AC* §1422.22).

[87] Tomaltach Mac Diarmada evidently also interfered in Muintear Eólais. He is styled 'king of the River Duff' (*rí Duibhe*) and 'the prince of Fenagh' (*flaith Fiodhnacha*) in *DiD* 120.12, 25, which suggests a claim to the lordship of the Méig Raghnaill. His son was killed by a faction of Méig Raghnaill in Muintear Eólais in 1442 (*AC* §1442.3; *AFM* iv, 926-7). Note also that the abbot of Holy Trinity on Loch Cé had a role in some clerical appointments in the diocese of Kilmore which included the territory of the Méig Raghnaill (*Papal register* vii, 483).

[88] Ó Clabaigh 2010 gives an account of the anchorite movement in late medieval Ireland. At p. 155 n. 11 he tentatively identifies a possible anchorhold abutting the northeast corner of Holy Trinity church (see Clyne 2005, 58, 88, 92 for the fifteenth-century structure tentatively identified by Clyne as a 'sacristy' which Ó Clabaigh interprets as an anchorhold, admitting that the evidence that food was consumed there is perplexing). Clyne 2005, 31 states that the canons of Trinity Island supplied priests to the parish of Kilbryan, the tiny parish on the south shore of Loch Cé, near Rockingham. Whether the incident described by the poet in the present poem took place in the parish church of Kilbryan or on Holy Trinity Island is unclear. If the former, the parish church may also have had an anchorhold, or he may have said mass on Trinity Island on this occasion. Either way, the priory of Holy Trinity would have supplied the priest in question. See *ALC* ii, 420-1 where the

evidence of anchoresses in the region in our period. *AC* §1437.4 notes *Gormlaith ingen Dabid h. Dubgindan uxur Briain Meic Aedacan, 7 bananchuiri fo feoid* [the MS reads *deoid* (RIA C iii 1, 56v)], *quieuit i manistir na Trinoti for Loch Ce*, 'Gormlaith daughter of Dauid O Duibgennain, wife of Brian Mac Aedecain, and ultimately an anchorite, entered into rest in the monastery of the Trinity on Loch Key'.[89] The anchoress in question may even be the same woman referred to in the poem.

5.6.2 How should this incident be interpreted? Though employed to highlight by contrast (and, as normal in a *crosántacht*, with humour)Mac Diarmada's virtuous conduct, it is a surprisingly frank depiction of lax clerical practices on the doorstep of the court of a lord who is portrayed as a devout man in the poem he commissioned (see §§15, 24 and 64; note also the reference to heaven in *DiD* 120.29 and the contrast between Mac Diarmada-Abel and Mág Uidhir-Cain in *Scottish Verse* 7.18), who patronised the friars at Elphin (*Papal register* x, 641-2) and made the pilgrimage to Santiago. The anecdote of the priest and the anchoress was probably not intended purely as light relief but may also reflect the attitude of Mac Diarmada towards the accused priest. The fact that the priest had sworn the allegations against him were not true suggests that he was under investigation, presumably with an eye to removing him. In this poem, the poet publicly questions the truth of this oath with his own testimony. There are a number of cases in the papal registers which indicate that complaints were made to the papacy about the conduct of priests and religious in Roscommon at this period which triggered investigations into the veracity of the allegations. If they were proved true, the accuser, a rival ecclesiastic, stood to gain. Only months after Tomaltach took power in 1421, for instance, 'Thady Macdiarmada, Cistercian monk of St Mary's, Boyle' made accusations of simony, neglect of duty and other offences against the abbot of Trinity Island. Thady was to accuse the abbot publicly and, if an investigation found the allegations to be true, Thady 'who is by both parents of noble birth' was to succeed the disgraced abbot (*Papal*

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drowning of *uasal shagart Oilein na Trinoide .i. Sean Buidhe O Sergoid* 'the chief priest of Trinity-Island' is noted in 1578.

To the evidence Ó Clabaigh 2010 has amassed of anchoritic life in medieval Ireland can be added references in the annals to an anchorite in late fifteenth-century Cavan, including a notice of the construction of an anchorhold for him (*do thionnsccain cloch angcoire do dhénamh*) (*AFM* iv, 1128-9, 1174-5). For an earlier example of an anchorite associated with Trinity Island, see *AC* §1234.11.

[89] Clyne 2005, 29 interpets the entry in *AC* as meaning that Gormlaith inghean Í Dhuibhgeannáin was taken to Trinity Island to be interred, rather than that she spent her time as an anchorite there.

register vii, 193). [90] It is worth noting that both the allegations against the parish priest in the present poem and the allegations against the abbot preserved in the Vatican Archives were made in the first year or so after Tomaltach became king (assuming my proposed date above is correct). It is possible that, in the early days of his reign, Mac Diarmada wished to install personnel recruited from his own entourage or personal support base in positions of importance in the upper echelons of society around Loch Cé or to impose a sterner clerical regime than that which operated under his uncles before him. Whether or not Tomaltach Mac Diarmada played a direct role in the attempt to oust his parish priest for alleged immoral conduct, I think that it is extremely unlikely that this incident was described by Duibhgeann Ó Duibhgeannáin simply to emphasise his patron's sterling personal qualities through a comical contrast with a lecherous cleric. Fifteenth-century Ireland experienced a renewal of religious fervour and reform, including new efforts to stamp out the practice of clerical concubinage by both bishops and laymen (Nicholls 2003, 111-12). Duibhgeann Ó Duibhgeannáin's accusation that the priest under investigation lied under oath (the mortal sin of perjury) about engaging in sexual activities (a violation of his oath of chastity and another mortal sin) and the scandalous detail that he then made advances on a woman who had dedicated herself to religious life is more likely to represent his patron's opinion about a contemporary local controversy and his negative assessment of the priest in question.

METRE

6.0 The present poem is in *snéadhbhairdne.* This metre is described in *Butler poems*, p. 101.

6.1.0 There are two main patterns of *snéadhbhairdne*:

6.1.1 Type 1 (e.g. §1) normally involves two or more couplets.

Each couplet's syllabic structure can be represented as $8^{1/2}4^{2}$.

When there is *lorga* (linking alliteration) between *a* and *b*, alliteration is optional in *b*.. Where *lorga* is absent, alliteration should occur in *b*. In *cd* and any subsequent couplets, there is alliteration in every line.

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[90] For a complaint made in 1417 by a 'Maurice Oconchubair' concerning 'Dermot Maciadgan', prior of St Mary's, the Augustinian priory in 'Roschoman', who 'publicly keeps a concubine (*fornicariam*)', see *Papal register* vii, 59-60. In 1426, 'Odo' Mac Diarmada, a monk in St Mary's in Boyle (*de Buellio*) (the Cistercian abbey mentioned in (x)) complained that the abbot was immodest, neglected his duty and practised simony (*Papal register* vii, 426).

Ab does not have internal rhyme but internal rhyme occurs in *cd*, *ef* etc. .

When the final of *a* participates in *lorga*, it is exempted from end-rhyme and can therefore be monosyllabic, as opposed to disyllabic as usual in this metre (see, for example, *IBP* 17.25, 45).The finals of even lines make perfect rhyme and the finals of the odd-lines (except *a* where *lorga* links *ab*) make *uaithne shlán* with them.

6.1.2 In Type 2 (e.g. §16) has the syllabic structure $8^2 4^2$.

There is no requirement for *lorga*.

There is alliteration in every line.

All the couplets have internal rhyme.

The even lines make perfect rhyme with one another and the odd lines make *uaithne shlán* with them.

6.1.3 Couplets can also have the syllabic pattern $4^2 8^2$. In the present poem, these only occur at the beginning of a stanza (i.e. as *ab*). There may or may not be *lorga* between *a* and *b*. When there is *lorga*, alliteration is not required within *a* (e.g. §60); otherwise, there is alliteration in both lines (e.g. §24). There is no internal rhyme between *ab*-lines of the type 4^2 8^2 in our poem. Cp. other poems in *snéadhbhairdne* where there is internal rhyme in couplets of the type $4^2 8^2$ (even the final of the 4^2-line participates in the internal rhyme) which do not have *lorga* (*Magauran* 25.8ab, 11ab; *IBP* 17.17cd, 19cd).

6.2 The poem is a *crosántacht*, in which prose passages, often with obscure references to stories, are interspersed among the stanzas.[91] Prose passages are normally connected to the previous stanza by a verbal echo.[92] Attention is drawn to this 'bridge'-word or -phrase in the notes. The final word of the prose passages normally makes end-rhyme with *bd* of the following verse.

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[91] I have not attempted to emend the prose passages to accord with Classical usage on the assumption that the Classical language was cultivated for poetry alone. Note Bergin's observation in his introduction to *IGT* i (p. ii) that in all [the three principal grammatical tracts] the language is looked upon chiefly as an instrument for versifaction'.

[92] There is a strong tendency in this poem for verses to begin by repeating or reformulating the last phrase of the previous verse in much the same way as the prose does. This is also seen in other poems in the same metre, e.g. *AiD* 99.2-4.

6.3 On the whole, the poem appears to fulfil the requirements of *dán díreach*, though a proper assessment of the metre is complicated by the fragmentary witnesses and textual problems, most (if not all) of which occurred in the course of transmission. In addition, a fuller description of *snéadhbhairdne* is required, particularly with regards to couplets of the type $4^2 8^2$. I hope to complete this analysis in the near future. Owing to the omission of a number of lines and other textual difficulties, the exact type of every couplet cannot be determined and some fragmentary or problematic couplets may, in fact, be prose. There are a number of occasions where lines are over-long or short a syllable and where alliteration is lacking. The problematic end-rhymes of §§18 and 36 are particularly noteworthy.. Attention is drawn to these and other difficulties in the notes.

6.4 There is no *dúnadh* and it is therefore likely that the text is incomplete.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

RIA 24 P 9	Critical Edition
1 Foráois na ccliar clan*n* mhaol ruan*aidh*.	1 Foraois na gcliar clann Mhaoil Ruanaidh
na ruag seghmu*r*	na ruag seadhmhar,
fú*ar*adu*r* ar chradh gan mu*r* chon*n*radh.	fuaradar ar chradh mar chonnradh
bladh nár bernadh.	bladh nár bearnadh.

1 The descendants of Maol Ruanaidh of vigorous assaults are the shelter of poet-bands; in exchange for cattle they have received fame that has not diminished through [their] pact [with the poets].

2 Clan*n* mhaol ruan*aidh* na rádh milis.	2 Clann Mhaoil Ruanaidh na rádh milis –
mo*r* an cuire.	mór an cuire –
do caithfeadh féile na na fine.	do chaithfeadh féile na fine
éire uile.	Éire uile.

2 The hospitality of [this] race, [of] the descendants of Maol Ruanaidh of sweet words – a might band! – would consume all Ireland.

3 Gabhla fion*n*tatha chráoi chata.	3 Gabhla fionndatha chraoi chatha
clan*n* mh*áo*l rúan*aidh*	clann Mhaoil Ruanaidh;
is mion g*a*ch f*ear* aga bhfeghain.	is mion gach fear aga bhféaghain
re seal sl*úagh*aigh.	re seal sluaghaidh.

3 The descendants of Maol Ruanaidh are the blond champions of the *cró catha*; puny is every man when facing them at the time of hosting.

4 Beg mo thnúth re heigsibh eile.	4 Beag mo thnúth re héigsibh eile
ón fhéin cen*n*sa.	ón fhéin cheannsa;
do gheibhim g*a*ch ní is lór liomsa.	do-gheibhim gach ní is lór liom-sa
o shlógh seaghsa.	ó shlógh Seaghsa.

4 Because of [the generosity shown to me by] the mild warrior-band [the Meic Dhiarmada] I have little reasons to be jealous of other learned men; I get all I desire from the host of the Curlews.

5 Luingseóir locha ríbh rámht*r*uim.	5 Luingseóir[e] Locha Ríbh rámhthruim –
rioghdha an fheadhan.	ríoghdha an fheadhan –
do sg*r*iob*adh da* ndán fán do*mh*an.	do sgríobhadh dá ndán fan domhan
lán leabh*ar*	[a] lán leabhar.

5 A great many books have been filled everywhere with the poetry [composed] for the mariners of Loch Ree dense with oars – royal the band!

6 Foghlain*n*tigh cheardcha an cog*aidh.*	6 Foghlainntidh[e] cheardcha an chogaidh
do chle*cht* io*m*ghoin.	do chleacht iomghoin;
ata fraoch aigh *ar* a n*arm*aibh.	a-tá fraoch áigh ar a n-armaibh
do bháidh biodhb*aidh.*	do bháidh bhiodhbhaidh.

6 [The Meic Dhiarmada are] the students [who have trained in] the forge of war that have become accustomed to doing battle; their weapons, which have destroyed the enemy, are possessed by battle-fury.

7 Cogadh na slat a síth nenta.

nós *dá* bfine.

biodh aca do b*r*íodh ar mbuile.

míon na muighe.

Mín na midhe.

7 Cogadh na slat a síth Neanta,

nós dá bhfine;

bíodh aca do bhrígh ar mbuile

mín na Midhe.

7 The war of the heroes from Síoth Neanta brings fame to their family; by virtue of my vision (?), may they possess the pastures of Meath.

8 Meóir mheadhoin mhaic-ne

m<h>*ao*l rúanaigh.

rádh n*a*ch dorcha. [93]

ni *con*chlan*n* do laoch geal-[94] g*r*eancha

a*cht* f*ear* f*r*omhtha.

8 Meóir mheadhóin mhaicne

Mhaoil Ruanaidh –

rádh nach dorcha;

ní conchlann do laoch geal Greancha

acht fear fromhtha.

8 [They are] the middle fingers of the descendants of Maol Ruanaidh – a statement not difficult to understand; no-one is a match for the fair hero of Greancha [Tomaltach Mac Diarmada] except a man who is well tested [in battle].

[93] There may be a faint fada over the *o*, perhaps indicating middle quantity.

[94] Catchword *greancha*

9 Ni ri go ff*r*easab*r*a an f*ear*si*n*.	9 Ní rí go bhfreasabhra an fear-sain
ar <f>...dh ng...e	ar f[ia]dh nG[áill]e;
mo chuilén con ós g*a*ch cúaine.	mo chuiléan con ós gach cuaine
do bhladh bháire.	do bhlogh bháire.

9 That man is a king without opposition over the land of Gáill, my [chosen] whelp above every litter who has scattered the enemy's onslaught.

10 Is terc na mhéin rí na réidhe.	10 Is tearc 'na mhéin rí budh réidhe
ar dhiol dáimhe.	ar dhíol dáimhe;
ni faghtu*r* é *ar* eadh na hu*air*e.	ní faghthar é ar eadh na huaire
gan gen g*air*e.	gan ghean gáire;
Mac di*ar*m*a*da ar chlan*n* gcréidhe.	Mac Diarmada ar (?) chlann gCréidhe,
ar mb*árr* b*áir*e.	ar mbarr báire.

10 Few kings are happier to pay a poet-band; all the while, he will not be found without a smile; Mac Diarmada ... of the descendants of Créidhe is supreme in my eyes.

11 Tomalt*a*ch ag taobhshnoidhe námhad.	11 Tomaltach taobhshnoidhe námhad,
nós nach bladhan*n*.	nós nach blaghann;
is lán re lin*n* gach ríasg romhall.	is lán re [a] linn gach riasg romhall
díasg gach abhann.	d'iasg gach abhann;
giolla dán dú cain on choran*n*.	giolla dan dú cáin ón Chorann
nach ttraidh tarann.	nach tráigh tarann.

11 Tomaltach, who slashes the sides of his enemies, [enjoys] a fame that does not fade away; in his reign, every tranquil marsh is full of the fish of every river; [he is] the warrior to whom the tribute of An Corann is due, whose fame does not wither.

12 Cuilén leómhain do len daig*r*eim.	12 Cuiléan leómhain do lean daighdhreim
go mer mongdhuin*n*.	do mhear mhongdhuinn,
giolla $_7$ sleagh d*ear*g *ar* a d*ear*nain*n*.	giolla is sleagh dhearg ar a dhearnainn
cerd in cho*mh*luin*n*.	ceard an chomhlainn.
As dó atáim ag deilbh an ndealbhuim.	Is dó a-táim ag deilbh a ndealbhaim,
g*io*dh feidh*m* forluin*n*	giodh feidhm forlainn.
Mac di*arm*oda ag dul fa dhuibhlin*n*.	Mac Diarmada ag dul fa Dhuibhlinn
do chur cho*mh*luin*n*.	do chur chomhlainn.

12 The lion-cub who has followed the [example] of [his] noble ancestors, who drove a brunette wild with desire, a warrior with a red spear in his hand, the master-smith of battle. It is for him that I compose what I compose, though it is a daunting task. Mac Diarmada goes to Duibhlinn to give battle.

13 Ag cu*r* comhluin*n*	13 Ag cur comhlainn
sag cu*r* c*r*uidh ea*cht*ran*n* ór oile.	's ag cur cruidh eachtrann ó ar-oile.
[...?]	[...?]

13 Giving battle and separating the cattle of foreigners from each other.

14 Giolla n*ár* chui*r* d*r*uim re deab*aidh*.	14 Giolla nar chuir druim re deabhaidh,
cuing a chinidh.	cuing a chinidh.
[...?]	[...?]

14 The warrior who has never refused battle, the yoke of his race.

15 [...?]	15 [...?]
cran*n* ós fiodh m*ai*cne mh*aoi*l r*úan*aigh	crann ós fhiodh maicne Mhaoil Ruanaidh.
t*ar*la da*mh* an*íarr* im nónaidh.	Tarla damh a-niar im nónaidh
niall is núal*aidh*.	Niall is Nualaidh.
atá giolla dé i dhál*aigh*.	A-tá Giolla Dé Ó Dálaigh
ar ghné an ghúal*aigh*.	ar ghné an ghualaigh.
g*io*d m*ear* uile c*r*úaidh a c*r*ab*aidh*.	Giodh mear uile cruaidh a chrábhaidh
búaidh dha bhúadhaibh.	(buaidh dá bhuadhaibh)
gio-lla th*éid* go gnáth a ngleódhuibh	giolla théid go gnáth i ngleodhaibh
a gcraduibh.	['s cách] i gcruadhaibh.

15 [Mac Diarmada] is the supreme descendant of Maol Ruanaidh. I encountered Niall and Nualaidh to the west in the evening. Giolla Dé Ó Dálaigh is black as soot. Though the fervour of his piety is totally sincere (it is one of his gifts), [he is] a warrior who often goes into battles when others are in difficulty.

(i) Cidh t*r*ath a*cht* as c*r*úaidh an tadhbh*ar* n*air*e aonduine amháin *ar* mire a mesg t*r*i ccéd no cheth*air* ata, a ttimc*eall* me*i*c dhi*arm*ada 7 misi *ar* mire na mesg .7 is mo*r* an onoir don eal*adh*ain g*an* mo chengal a nér*ai*c a nab*r*uim 7 mas fior éccóir nach bf-uráilen*n* m*a*c diar*m*oda mo chengal 7 mo chur a ccro chaolaigh *da* m*a*dh f*eir*de mhaign*ea*dh no mhin*n*tin*n* no mhin*n*tlea*cht* e, ór as é m*a*c di*arma*da do geb*adh* sgaith mheal*adh*an .7 caoin mo cheirde do d*r*uim dligh*idh*,

(i) Ciodh tráth acht is cruaidh an t-adhbhar náire aonduine amháin ar mire i measg trí gcéad nó [a] ceathair atá i dtimcheall Meic Dhiarmada 7 mise ar mire 'na measg. 7 is mór an onóir don ealadhain gan mo cheangal i n-éaraic a n-abraim. 7 más fíor, éagóir nach bhfuráileann Mac Diarmada mo cheangal 7 mo chur i gcró chaolaigh, dá madh feirrde mh'aigneadh nó mh'inntinn nó mh'inntleacht é, ór is é Mac Diarmada do-ghéabhadh sgaith mh'ealadhan 7 caoin mo cheirde do dhruim dlighidh.

(i) Moreover, it is a cause of terrible shame that one person should be enraged in the midst of the three or four hundred who surround Mac Diarmada – and I was enraged in their presence. And great is the honour [shown] to learning [by] not having me tied up for what I say. And, if it is true, it is an injustice that Mac Diarmada does not order that I be bound and put in a cage, if my mind, mood and humour would be the better for it. Indeed it is Mac Diarmada who would receive the best of my art and the most polished part of my craftsmanship by right.

16 Giolla do ghabh sén re sleagh*aibh*.

n*ár* ér fil*idh*.

ioth re a[95] lin*n* a nuir o nur*aidh*.

im búill mbil*igh*

16 Giolla do ghabh séan re sleaghaibh,

nár éar fhilidh;

ioth re a linn i n-úir ó [a]n-uraidh

im Búill mbiligh.

16 [Mac Diarmada is] a warrior who has won prosperity with spears, who has never refused a poet; corn [grows] during his reign in the soil around woody Boyle since last year.

17 Bent*ur* c*r*uach oirrchin*n* is arbha.

[...?]

17 Beantar cruach oirchinn is arbha

[...?]

17 A stack of hay and of corn is reaped.

18 Teirce re theach clíath na comhla.

im iath emhna

dídin a dhé craobhshlat *ar* cco*mh*dha.

saorm*a*c sadhbha[96]

18 Teirce re teach cliath ná comhla

im iath Eamhna (?);

dídin, a Dhé, craobhshlat ar gcomhdha,

saormhac Sadhbha!

18 There are fewer houses throughout the land of Eamhain (?) which have a door or a fence; O God, guard the tree-branch that protects us, the noble son of Sadhbh.

[95] Inserted with a caret.

[96] Catchword *ar*.

19 Ar ttionol do thuir chnodhbha.	19 Ar[na] dtionól do thuir Chnodhbha
do ghuin ghallgha.	do ghuin Ghallgha
bíd bailte úadha go hio*m*dha.	bíd bailte uadha go hiomdha
fu*air*a falbha.	fuara falmha.

19 After the hero of Cnodhbha has mustered them to wound with foreign spears, many settlements are left cold and empty by them.

(ii) Or as fú*ar* .7 is falamh a-táid bailte na mbuidhne do bi an*n*so g*us* trasta agh cosnamh a nduithch ar m*a*c di*ar*m*a*da o dhún balair.

(ii) Ór is fuar $_{7}$ is falamh a-táid bailte na mbuidhean do bhí annso gus trásda ag cosnamh a ndúithche ar Mac Diarmada ó Dhún Balair.

(ii) Cold and empty indeed are the settlements of the bands that formerly dwelt here defending their territory against Mac Diarmada of Dún Balair.

20 Cuirter fion is ceir na chomhaidh	20 Cuirthear fíon is céir 'na chomhaidh
ó fhéin Fhabh*air*.	ó fhéin Fhabhair;
m*a*c m*e*ic aodha mo thegh turaidh.	mac meic Aodha mo theagh turaidh
is t*r*eabh tar*aidh*.	is treabh taraidh.

20 The battle-band of Fabhar [the English of Westmeath] send wine and candlewax to him as a payment to avoid battle; the son of the son of Aodh is my shelter and a fruitful estate.

21 Nior ghabh on múr no gu*r* mhionaidh.	21 Níor ghabh ón mhúr nó gur mhionaigh
u*m* dhún dan*air*.	um dhún Danair;
ní léigfedhe ar chios na *ar* cho*mh*aidh.	ní léigfidhe ar chíos ná ar chomhaidh
sios go samhuin.	síos go Samhain.

21 He did not withdraw from the wall around a foreign fort until he had demolished it; [the siege] would not be called off before November for any tribute or payment.

22 Sios go samhuin	22 Síos go Samhain
ní thsher-gfa se[97] fraoch na foghla.	ní sheargfa sé fraoch na foghla;
do bheir san áth re gui*n*, ghallgha.	do-bheir 'san áth re guin Ghallgha
fuil go for*m*na	fuil go formna.

21 [His] fury for plunder will not abate before November; through wounding with foreign spears, he will make the ford shoulder-high in blood.

[97] There may be a faint lengthmark over the *e*.

(iii) Fuil go formna tealgth*air* a ttroid thomalt*aigh* mеic *con*cobu*r* meic aodha *conqu*bu*r* meic tomolt*aigh* meic mhaol*ruah*n*aidh* meic giolla XP meic *conqu*bu*r* meic corm*a*ic meic tomolt*aigh* na c*air*rge, fa cháoin ccomhráidh.

(iii) Fuil go formna tealgthair i dtroid Thomaltaigh mheic Conchobhair mheic Aodha [meic] Conchobhair mheic Thomaltaigh mheic Mhaol-Ruanaidh mheic Giolla Chríosd meic Conchobhair mheic Cormaic mheic Thomaltaigh na Cairrge fa chaoin gcomhráidh

(iii) In the battle waged by Tomaltach son of Conchobhar, son of Aodh, son of Conchobhar, son of Tomaltach, son of Maol Ruanaidh, son of Giolla Críosd, son of Cormac, son of Tomaltach of the Rock, who is mild in conversation, blood is shed until it is shoulder-high.

23 B*r*onnaidh gég chuille d*ar* ccoi*mh*ríar.	23 Bronnaidh géag Chuille dar gcoimhriar
duille in domhnáin.	duille an domhnáin

23 The hero of Cuille [i.e. Mac Diarmada] gives worldy treasures to satisfy me.

24 Duille in d*omh*náin,	24 Duille an domhnáin
do b*eir* m*a*c d*earma*da *ar* dhúanaibh.	do-bheir Mac Diarmada ar dhuanaibh;
a ttabh*air* do dhía is do dháoinibh	a dtabhair do Dhia is do dhaoinibh
cía nac ccúal*aidh.*	cia nach cualaidh?

24 Mac Diarmada gives riches in exchange for poems. Who has not heard of what he has given to both God and man?

(iv) Et cia dfe*ar*aibh eir*eann* no alb*an* nach gcual*aidh* an t*usgár*dadh do rin*n*e m*ac* di*arm*ada *ar* a esgc*air*-dibh a gcill aithre*cht*a .7 ni chúal*aidh* (?) a ion*n*shamhail don iorgailsi*n* a*cht* an ré reab*ach* (?) do righne m*ac* cein me*i*c dían c*écht* .i. lugh laid*ir* láochbhuilleach lamhf*a*da a l*ár* chatha mhuighe tortbhuill*igh* tuir*eadh* for fhomhorach*aibh*, no an cóigeadal comhmb*r*ugh*ach* do righne *con*ghal cláon m*ac* sgan*nláin* sgíath.l. a ccath mhuighe rath dhá dhioghailt fein *ar* na feadhn*a*ch-aibh no an búireadh borbchatha do righne cú cholain*n* m*ac*[98] subhalt*aigh* a mb*r*eisl*igh* m<oi>*r* mhuighe mu*r*theimhne *da* tt*u*g imláoid a nan*m*a do cheithre hollchoig*eadhaibh* eir*eann*, no na hiomghona dubha díleighis tug *con*ald cernach m*ac* aimhirghin *iar*giunn*a* ag tabhach thána bhó fráoich .7 ní haithn*idh* dhuin*n* isin domhan mo*r* .7 ni faght*ur* sg*r*iobtha ag sg*éal*uigh*eacht* ion*n*sham*ail* na hiomghona .7 na himresna fu*air* m*ac* di*arm*ada ag cosna*mh* mhuighe luirg na lerg ttor*aidh*.

(iv) Et cia d'fhearaibh Éireann nó Alban nach gcualaidh an t-usgardadh do-rinne Mac Diarmada ar a easgcairdibh i gCill Aithreachta? Agus ní chuala a ionnshamhail don iorghail-sin acht an ré reabhach do-righne mac Céin mheic Dhian Céacht .i. Lugh láidir laochbhuilleach Lámhfhada i lár chatha Mhuighe tortbhuilligh Tuireadh for Fhomhórachaibh, nó an coigeadal comhmbrughach do-righne Conghal Claon mac Sgannláin sgiaithleathain i gCath Mhuighe Rath dhá dhíoghailt féin ar na feadhnachaibh, nó an búireadh borbchatha do-righne Cú Chulainn mac Subhaltaigh i mBreisligh mhóir Mhuighe Muirtheimhne dá dtug iomlaoid a n-anma do cheithre hollchóigeadhaibh Éireann, nó na hiomghona dubha díleighis tug Conall Cearnach mac Aimhirghin Iargiunna ag tabhach Thána Bhó Fraoich. Agus ní haithnidh dhúinn isan domhan mór agus ní faghtar sgríobhtha ag sgéalaigheacht ionnshamhail na hiomghona agus na himreasna fuair Mac Diarmada ag cosnamh Mhuighe Luirg na learg dtoraidh.

[98] Catchword *subhalt*aigh

(iv) And who of the men of Ireland and Scotland has not heard of how Mac Diarmada routed his enemies in Cill Athrachta? And I have not heard of the likes of the battle, apart from the valorous fight against the Fomorians made by the son of Cian son of Dian Céacht, that is, mighty deftly-smiting Lugh Lámhfhada in the thick of the battle of Magh Tuireadh; or the mighty battle that Conghal Claon the son of Sgannlán of the broad-shield gave in the Battle of Magh Rath, avenging himself upon the warriors [opposed to him]; or the fierce battle-attack that Cú Chulainn, son of Subhaltach, made in *Breisleach Mór Muighe Muirtheimhne* in which he won fame at the expense of the four provinces of Ireland (?); or the dreadful incurable wounds which Conall Cearnach, the son of Aimhirgin Iargiunna, inflicted while exacting *Táin Bhó Fraoich*. And, in all the world or written in tales, I do not know of the likes of the wounds Mac Diarmada suffered or the opposition he encountered in protecting Magh Luirg of the fertile slopes.

25 Tír a shen as ten*n* do thab*aigh*.	25 Tír a shean is teann do thabhaigh
geall re a ghonaibh.	geall re a ghonaibh.

25 He has forcefully levied tribute from the land of his ancestors on account of his wounds.

26 [...?]	26 [...?]
is geall oirches san fhíadh aluin*n*.	is geall oircheas 'san fhiadh álainn;
fúath a mhin*n* fa mhein an mhínfhuin*n*.	fuath a mhinn fa mhéin an mhíonfhuinn –
réidh a ráidhim.	réidh a rádhaim.

26 [... his wounds are] a fitting surety for the beautiful land; the level land yearned for the sight of his emblem – what I say is clear.

27 Radh*arc* as áille fu*air* duine.	27 Radharc is áille uair duine
ar d*r*uim dhomhuin.	ar an domhan:
clúainte ura san-fhíadh iodhan.	cluainte úra 'san fhiadh iodhan
g*r*ian *da* ngor*adh*.	grian dá ngoradh.

27 The most beautiful sight any man has seen anywhere in the world: green pastures in the pristine land [and] the sun warming them.

28 U*mh*la do righ ach*aidh* abhla.	28 Umhla do rígh Achaidh Abhla
oin*ea*ch u*mh*al.	oineach umhal,
gnúis nach*ar* chle*cht* guth *dá* ghoradh.	gnúis nachar chleacht guth dá goradh,
cruth mu*r* chubh*ar*.	cruth mar chubhar.

28 Submission to the king of Achadh Abhla – whose face no criticism causes to blush, whose body is [pale] as foam – is an honourable submission.

29 Do gheibh *ar* egla chána is chomhtha.	29 Do-gheibh ar eagla chána is chomhtha
longa is lethgha.	longa is leathgha.
[...?]	[...?]

29 Rather than pay tribute or negotiate surrender, he takes up arms and heads to his fleet.

30 Is craoiseach í airt éinfhir.

ualach neimhe.

an gháoth fhúar sa gleó na gaire.

ni teó an tene.

30 Agus craoiseach í Airt Éinfhir,

ualach neimhe;

an ghaoth fhuar 'sa[n] ghleó 'na gaire

ní teó an teine.

30 And the spear of the descendant of Art Éinfhear [is] a deadly burden; fire is not hotter than the chill in the air around it in battle.

(v) Ní teóa an tene .7 ni fúaire an toighreadh errchamhail ina an ghaoth gheintlidhe, .7 an fhuarlasair ifreannda eirghios do craoisigh thomaltaigh re haghaidh eachtrann a mbeirnn bhaoghail.

(v) Ní teóa an teine, agus ní fuaire an t-oighreadh earrchamhail ioná an ghaoth gheintlidhe 7 an fhuarlasair ifreannda éirgheas do chraoisigh Thomaltaigh re haghaidh eachtrann

i mbeirn bhaoghail.

(v) Fire is not hotter, and ice in spring is not colder than the magical wind and the freezing hell-fire that rises against foreigners from the spear of Tomaltach in battle.

31 Ling*idh ar* ait*r*is bhó búraidh.	31 Lingidh ar aithris bhó búraigh
a gcró cháol*aigh.*	i gcró chaolaigh.

31 [Mac Diarmada] charges like a frenzied cow into a trap.

32 C*r*uth mu*r* cholga i ccath namad.	32 Cruth mar cholga (?) i gcath námhad
[...?]	[...?]
cuir*idh* úadha sleagh n*a*ch seólbhog.	cuiridh uadha sleagh nach seólbhog
ar feadh fánchnoc,	ar feadh fánchnoc.

32 In battle against enemies, [his] body looks like swords (?) ...; all over the sloping hills, he casts a hard-hitting spear.

33 Fer fial fán*a*d.	33 Fear fial Fánad
f*ear* do chrú c*air*b*r*e .7 chorm*a*ic.	fear do chrú Chairbre agus Chormaic;
ni lent*ur* fioch *ar* an bfion*n*shlait.	ní leantar fíoch ar an bhfionnshlait,
c*r*ioch do chomhloit.	críoch do chomhloit.

33 The generous man of Fánaid is a descendant of Cairbre and Cormac; enmity against him is not pursued, [though] he devasted a [whole] country.

(vi) *Acht* che*an*a c*r*each*aidh* .7 comhloitidh m*ac* di*arm*ada c*r*iocha e*cht*ra*nn* .7 escc*ar*ad, loisgidh a ndui*n*te, .7 a nd*eagh*bhailte, fágb*aidh* a ttíre .7 a ttighe re tenidh.

(vi) Acht cheana creachaidh 7 comhloitidh Mac Diarmada críocha eachtrann 7 easgarad, loisgidh a ndúinte 7 a ndeaghbhailte, fágbhaidh a dtíre 7 a dtighe re teinidh.

(vi) Moreover, Mac Diarmada plunders and devastates the lands of outsiders and enemies. He burns their forts and their fine homesteads. He leaves their lands and their houses in flames.

34 Ní bfú*air* se tóir fa na tighibh.

as dóigh bh*ús* deimhin.

34 Ní bhfuair sé tóir fa na tighibh –

's dóigh bhus deimhin.

34 He has never encountered a party of defenders [even] at the houses [of those he plunders] – this is to be expected.

(vii) Et is deimhin nach mu*r* fu*air* m*ac* rusglain*n* na[99] mna fú*air* m*ac* d*earm*ada na riogh*acht* muighe luirg, oir is *ar* sg*éal*aibh .7 ar sgol*airecht* do br*é*gadh m*ac* rúsgl*ainn* na maighdiona meirleabra .7 na rioghna rosgaille, Ar is ar thesgadh a chnis le c*r*aois*ea*chaibh, .7 *ar* látan*n*aibh iomu*rcach*a, .7 *con*gmháil a o*cht*a re hio*m*mbúal*adh* fu*air* m*ac* d*earm*ada riogh*acht* mhoighe luirg na lerg núaine.

[99] Catchword *mná fu*air

(vii) Et is deimhin nach mar fuair Mac Rúsglainn na mná fuair Mac Diarmada ríoghacht Mhuighe Luirg, óir is ar sgéalaibh 7 ar sgoláireacht do bhréagadh Mac Rúsglainn na maighdeana méirleabhra 7 na ríoghna rosgáille, acht is ar theasgadh a chnis le craoiseachaibh 7 ar látannaibh (?) iomarcacha 7 congbháil a ochta re hiombualadh fuair Mac Diarmada ríoghacht Mhoighe Luirg na learg n-uaine.

(vii) And Mac Diarmada certainly did not obtain the kingship of Magh Luirg the same way that Mac Rúsglainn won over women; for it was with stories and scholarship Mac Rúsglainn would seduce long-fingered maidens and beautiful-eyed queens, but it was by [suffering] his skin to be pierced by spears and many swords and by standing his ground in battle that Mac Diarmada obtained the kingship of Magh Luirg of the green slopes.

35 Do geibh *ar* io*cht* riogh is réidhe.	35 Do-gheibh ar iocht ríogh is réidhe
gnio*mh* mu*r* ghú*air*e.	gníomh mar Ghuaire.

35 Because of [his] kingly magnanimity and liberality, he can perform an act fit for Guaire.

36 Gu*air*e *ar* eineach is *ar* engnamh.	36 Guaire ar eineach is ar eangnamh,
agh*adh* rioghda.	aghadh ríodha;
giolla le lent*ur* coll cána.	giolla le leantar coll cána
fa ccrom c*r*aobha.	fan crom craobha.

36 [Mac Diarmada is] a Guaire for hospitality and generosity, a royal countenance; a warrior who follows up any failure to pay [him] tribute, because of whom branches are bent.

(viii) Cro*m*aid na craobha .7 feacaid na fiodh-b*adh*a re mes .7 re mo*r*thor*adh* fa ó máol r*úah*n*aidh* na rúag ndiogh*áir*.

(viii) Cromaid na craobha $_7$ feacaid na fiodhbhadha re meas $_7$ re mórthoradh fa ó Maol-Ruanaidh na ruag ndíogháir.

(viii) The branches stoop and the woods bend with acorns and abundant fruit under the descendant of Maol Ruanaidh of the furious raids.

37 Do bhéra laoch Mhuighe morráimh.	37 Do-bhéara laoch Mhuighe mórráimh
duine diláimh.	duine díoláimh.

37 The hero of vast Magh will leave a man armless.

38 Duine díláimh.	38 Duine díoláimh
ni dóigh, ag righ chúain na c*airr*ge.	ní dóigh ag rígh chuain na Cairrge;
daithle a áigh is fú*ar* na reilge.	d'aithle a áigh is uar na reilge
gidh fú*ar* fairrge.	gidh fuar fairrge;
ni th*éid* on fhior fa fiadh eilge.	ní théid ón fhior fa fhiadh Eilge
clíar *ar* c*air*de.	cliar ar cairde.

VARIANT READINGS [E, 9a] **38b** riogh; **38e** theaid

38 It is no trouble for the king of the harbour of the Rock to leave a man without an arm; after he has done battle, the graves [of his enemies] are cold, even as the sea is cold; no poet-band leaves [this] man to travel around Ireland unpaid.

39 Cli*ar ar* cair*de*.	39 Cliar ar cairde
nior chuir céile d*r*oma dágh*da*.	níor chuir céile Droma Daghdha;
a lan *da* gháois is eich iomdha.	a lán dá gcois is eich iomdha
fa chleith ch*árn*a.	fa chleith gCarna;
m*ac* d*earm*ada a ngleó le ngor*m*gha.	Mac Diarmada i ngleó le a ghormgha
ar eól an-ba.	ar eól anbha;
fían mhuighe luirg lór a ndealbh*da*.	fian Mhuighe Luirg – lór a ndealbhdha –
slógh na samhna.	slógh na Samhna.

39c a lan*n* da gcois is eich iomdha; **39e** mac diarmada a ngleo lé a ghormgha; **39g** fhian mhoighe

39 The spouse of the hill of Daghda has left no poet-band waiting for payment; there are many more besides them [i.e. the poets] and many horses around the hero of Carna; Mac Diarmada [charges] expertly into battle with his blue spear; the battle-band of Magh Luirg are the November host – they are a sight to behold!

40 [...?]	40 [Slógh na Samhna (?)]
Samh*ai*l m*uinter*e i dhúach ghal*aigh*.	samhail mhuintire í Dhuach Ghalaigh,
gasr*aidh* th*éid* go dioc*r*a a ndeab*aidh*,	gasraidh théid go díochra i ndeabhaidh,
fiochdha *ar* faghail.	fíochdha ar faghail.

40b mhuint*ir* hi; **40d** fhaghail

40 [The November host (?)] is a [fitting] description for the followers of the descendant of Duach Galach [i.e. Mac Diarmada], an army which goes furiously into battle, ferocious at raiding.

41 Faghail acadh *ar* áth clíath.	41 Faghail acadh ar Áth Cliath
a mbíd gallmháoir.	i mbíd Gallmhaoir;
t*éid* is a ghasraidh fhíal fhion*n*bháoidh.	téid is a ghasraidh fhial fhionnbhúidh
fa fhíadh amhláoibh.	fa fhiadh Amhlaoibh.

41c fhion*n*bhuidh

41 ... plunder Áth Cliath, where there are foreign tax-collectors; he and his generous, fair and beloved warrior-band journey around the land of Amhlaoibh.

(ix) Amhlaoibh ó lomluin, .7 gofr*aidh* o geirchaor*ach*, .7 con*n* o coinlerga, t*ríar* óglaoch do m*uintir* hi ne*cht*ui*n* do ch*uaidh* le sgáoith mhuc *dá* mesradh as feadh*aibh* átha lúai*n* síar go ráith c*r*uachan diarr*aidh* d*air*mhes. is cúis gh*áir*e.

síar go] siar fa

(ix) Amhlaoibh Ó Lomluin $_7$ Gofraidh Ó Geirchaorach $_7$ Conn Ó Coinlearga, triar óglaoch do mhuintir Í Neachtain do-chuaidh le sgaoith mhuc dá measradh as feadhaibh Átha Luain siar go Ráith Chruachan d'iarraidh dairmheas – is cúis ghháire.

(ix) Amhlaoibh Ó Lomluin and Gofraidh Ó Geirchaorach and Conn Ó Coinlearga, three servants of Ó Neachtain's household, went west from the woods of Áth Luain to Ráth Chruachan with a herd of pigs, looking for acorns to feed them – a cause for laughter.

42 Ní ffuil ó righ *ar* taobh *ar* tíre.[100]	42 Ní fhuil ó rígh ar taobh ar [d]tíre
maor no báille.	maor ná báille;
do fhothruig in luch mo léine.	do fhothraig an luch mo léine
fon sruth sáile.[101]	fon sruth sáile;
ni t*a*bh*air* sí seadh sa sáoire.	ní thabhair sí seadh 'sa[n] saoire
ben hi mháille.	bean Í Mháille;
is lom do mhill cat[102] na cléiri	is lom do mhill cat na cléire
m*a*c hí mh*air*e.	mac í Mháire ;
tug an giolla dubh o dúainre.	tug An Giolla Dubh Ó Duainre (?)
gul ar g*r*ainn*e*	gul ar Gráinne.
is binn re f*ear ar* bord na búille.	's binn le fear ar bord na Búille
dord g*a*ch dáimhe.	dord gach dáimhe;
bragh m*e*ic d...*m*...a is g*ea*l g*r*uaidhe.	brugh Meic Dhiarmada is geal gruaidhe
is t*r*eabh táidhe.	is treabh tháidhe.

42g cath na cleire; **42i** ó dhuainre; **42k** le, ar bhord b<h>uilla; **42m** brugh m*e*ic diarmada

42 In our part of the land, there is no tax-collector or bailiff from the king; the mouse has immersed my shirt in the salt-water stream [to wash it?]; Ó Máille's wife pays no mind to [her] freedom; the poets' cat has utterly ruined the son of the descendant of Máire; An Giolla Dubh Ó Duainre has caused Gráinne to cry. The chanting of every poet-band is sweet to the ears of a man [standing] on the banks of the Boyle; the palace of pale-cheeked Mac Diarmada is a hidden house.

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[100] An ink-blot here may obscure an expected *t*.

[101] Catchword *ni thabh*air *si*

[102] Damage to the MS here makes it unclear whether this is the end of the word or whether another letter or symbol has been obscured.

(x) Et ní t*r*eabh táidhe [a]ón[a], ór atáim f*éi*n re tuill*eadh* .7 [a]re[a] t*r*i ráithe ag sg*r*udadh mo

[aa] *omitted in E*; ór] oir

mhenm*an* .7 ag cú*ar*tugh*adh* mhin*n*tin*n*e *dá* fhéch*ain* caidhe an teól*us* an*n*am úaign*ea*ch

mhenmu*n*; dha fhech*adh*

do ghénui*nn* o chill ronáin go longp*o*rt [a]lethan lanoirrd*ear*c[a] m*e*ic d*ear*moda A*cht* ch*ea*na

mhic diarm*a*da

ro feadu*r* anois, ór ghébhad sí*ar* an*n*so do glen*n* súain f*r*isi*n* abu*r*t*ar* tír thúath*ail* .7 do

fheadu*r*; oir gebhad; fris anabar

choill c*r*otáin mu*r*a*r* m*a*r*b*a*dh* c*r*otán cen*n*mo*r* do lochlan*n*ach*aibh* .7 do magh treadha f*r*is

c*r*otáin] rotain; trea~~gh~~dha

anabu*r*tu*r* magh ó noilioll, .7 don ghuth*air*d goir*m*riasgaigh mu*r*a*r* labh*air* lugh lámhf*a*da

abartur, ghulard, ghoirm riasgaidh

do ghuth *ar*d f*ear*amhail ag maoidhemh thuaithe dé dha*n*an*n* dionns*aidh*e chatha lochlan*n*ach.
7 do ch*ar*n oillt*r*iall*ach* risi*n* abu*r*thu*r* c*ar*n ach*aidh* abhla .7 t*ar* uin*n*sin*n* fhérúaine mu*r*a*r*

oill_triall*ach*; frisi*n* abairt*ear*; uineas

báith*eadh* uin*n*eas *inghean* ghabha ghabhail fhoda, .7 do shíth du*mh*a mu*r*a*r* hadhlaiceadh

ghabhal foda; hadhluicedh

du*mh*a *inghean* bhuidhbh d*e*rg m*e*ic an daghdha .7 do cl*ár*ach luighne mu*r*a*r* m*a*r*b*a*dh*

cl*ár*ach m*a*c con*n*a .7 do leithchen*n* shleibhi gamh mu*r*a*r* m*a*rbh*adh* gamh g*r*úadhshol*us*

meic; leithand sleibhe ghamh; leithlen*n*

m*a*c eithlen*n* giolla eir-emhóin mhic mil*eadh*, .7 romham anall im rithing go reim-dhíreach

eiremhoin; mhic] meic

t*r*e chen*n* mhach*air*e luighne go lán athlamh .7 dath clíath an chorain*n* re rait*ear* baile an

raithear

mhúta, .7 do mháolán cin*n* tseinshléibhe re rait*ear* ceis choruin*n* .7 do chnoc na non*chon*

after .7 do *E has* ~~to enoc na~~; chin*n*; rait*ear*] nab*ar*thar; *after* non*chon E adds* ait

in*ar* cuir*eadh* m*eir*ge*a*dha ruaidhr*idh*e na soidhe buidhe í *conqu*bu*r* re c*r*an*n*aibh dionns*aidh*e

ruad*r*i; hi chonchobhuir; dionns*aidhe*] di~~e~~n*n*uig*idh*

c*a*tha *con*achla, .7 do choirrshliabh na seghsa go seóldír*ea*ch .7 do mhainist*ir* átha[103] in *da*

seoldir*ea*ch; mainisdir; in] an

laarg fu*r* búill ₇ romham soir dionns*aidh*e chal*aidh* na c*airr*ge[104] [288] bu... sén soraidh.

fu*r*] for; din*n*soighidh

(x) Et ní treabh tháidhe ón, ór atáim féin re tuilleadh ₇ trí ráithe ag sgrúdadh mo mheanman ₇ ag cuartughadh mh'inntinne dá fhéachain caidhe an t-eolas annamh uaigneach do-ghéanainn ó Chill Rónáin go longphort leathan lánoirrdhearc Meic Dhiarmada. Acht cheana ro-fheadar anois, ór géabhad siar annso do Ghleann Suain frisa n-abarthar Tír Thuathail, ₇ do Choill Chrotáin mar ar marbhadh Crotán Ceannmhór do Lochlannachaibh, ₇ do Mhuigh Treadha frisa n-abarthar Magh Ó nOileall[a], ₇ don Ghuthaird ghoirmriasgaigh mar ar labhair Lugh Lámhfhada do ghuth ard fearamhail ag maoidheamh thuaithe Dé Dhanann d'ionnsaidhe chatha Lochlannach, ₇ do Charn Oilltriallach risa n-abarthar Carn Achaidh Abhla, ₇ tar Uinnsinn fhéaruaine mar ar báitheadh Uinneas inghean Ghabha Ghabhail Fhoda, ₇ do Shíth Dumha marar hadhlaiceadh Dumha inghean Bhuidhbh Dheirg mheic an Daghdha, ₇ do Chlárach Luighne mar ar marbhadh Clárach mac Conna, ₇ do Leithcheann Shléibhe Gamh mar ar marbhadh Gamh Gruadhsholas mac Eithleann, giolla Éireamhóin mheic Mhíleadh, ₇ romham anall im [fh]rithing go réimdhíreach tre Cheann Mhachaire Luighne go lánathlamh, ₇ d'Áth Cliath an Chorainn re ráitear Baile an Mhúta, ₇ do Mhaolán Cinn tSheinshléibhe re ráitear Céis Chorainn, ₇ do Chnoc na nOnchon inar cuireadh meirgeadha Ruaidhrí na Soidhe Buidhe Í Chonchobhair re crannaibh d'ionnsaidhe Catha Conachla, ₇ do Choirrshliabh na Seaghsa go seóildhíreach, ₇ do mhainisdir Átha an Da Laarg for Búill ₇ romham soir d'ionnsaidhe Chalaidh na Cairrge. Budh séan soraidh!

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[103] The accent-mark is very faint.

[104] Catchword *b*udh *sén*

(x) And yet it is not a hidden house, for I have been searching my mind and asking myself for more than a year what would be the unusual and mysterious route that I would take from Cill Rónáin to the spacious and famous fort of Mac Diarmada. And yet now I know, for I will go west to Gleann Suain which is called Tír Thuathail, and to Coill Chrotáin where Crotán Ceannmhór was killed by foreigners, to Magh Treadha which is called Magh Ó nOileall, to Guthard where Lugh Lámhfhada spoke manfully inciting the Tuatha Dé Danann into the battle against the foreigners, and to Carn Oilltriallach which is called Carn Achaidh Abhla, and over the green-banked river Uinnseann where Uinneas, the daughter of Gabha Gabhail Fhoda was drowned, and to Síoth Dumha where Dumha, the daughter of Badhbh Dearg, son of An Daghdha, was buried, and to Clárach Luighne where Clárach the son of Conna was killed, and to Leithcheann Shléibhe Gamh where Gamh Gruadhsholas son of Eithle, the servant of Éireamhón son of Míl, was killed, and I will proceed most hurriedly back through Ceann Mhachaire Luighne, on to Áth Cliath an Chorainn which is called Baile an Mhúta, and to Maolán Cinn tSeinshléibhe which is called Céis Chorainn, and to Cnoc na nOnchon where the standards of Ruaidhrí na Soidhe Buidhe Ó Conchobhair were put on poles [as his forces headed] into the battle of Conachail, and directly to Coirrshliabh na Seaghsa, and to the monastery of Áth an Dá Laarg on the Boyle, continuing east towards Caladh na Cairrge.

It will be a pleasant omen!

43 Teach do chur na chen*n* níor chub*aidh*	43 Teach do chur 'na cheann níor chubhaidh,
b*r*ugh[105] ós b*r*ughaibh.	brugh ós bhrughaibh.

43a na cen*n*, nir cub*aidh*; **43b** brugh os broghuib_*h*

43 It would not be right to claim that any house surprassed it, it is a mansion to beat all mansions.

[105] There may be a faint accent-mark (added later?) over the *u*.

44 Teach t*r*en toirtheach,	44 Teach tréan toirtheach,
teach midhchú*ar*ta mhuighe malon*n*.	teach Miodhchuarta Mhuighe Málann;
iomdha an*n* glas is geibhion*n*.	iomdha ann glas agus géibheann
fa bhais mban nduin*n*.	is bas bhándonn (?);
is uaisle fa bhuill gach braonfhon*n*.	is uaisle fa Bhúill gach braonfhonn
na ú[106]ir aran*n*.	'ná úir Árann.

44a tréan toirtheach] tuan, tortheach; **44b** mhoighe málan*n*; **44c** glais is geibhin*n*; **44d** fa bhais bháin~~duinn~~nduin*n*; **44e** bhaill

44 [Mac Diarmada's house is] a palace above palaces, a mighty prosperous house, the Teach Miodhchuarta of Magh Málann; many are the locks and fetters and (?) pale and ruddy palms; every bit of the moist land around the Boyle is nobler than the soil of Ára.

45 Ara éiren*n*,	45 Ára Éireann
iath mhuighe luirg is t*r*om tor*adh*.	iath Mhuighe Luirg is trom toradh;
as foráois éisg san fhiadh iodhan,	is foraois éisg 'san fhiadh iodhan
gach cli-abh coradh.	gach cliabh coradh.

45c is foraois eaisg

45 The fruitful land of Magh Luirg is the Arann of Ireland; every weir is a forest of fish in the perfect land.

[106] The accent-mark may have been added later.

46 [...?]

coire lán diuchraibh is dubhlaibh.

mo chen*n* ata san tír thon*n*ghlain.

mu*r* mhín mhurb*aigh*.

46c mo chean, sa tir

46 [...?]

coire lán d'iuchraibh is d'ubhlaibh;

mo-chean a-tá 'san tír thonnghloin

mar mhín Mhurbhaigh.

46 [...] a cauldron of roe and apples; happy is anyone in the land of bright waves [that is] like the plain of Murbhach.

47 Giolla n*a*ch gabh g*r*ean*n* re garbhghuin.

ar ccen*n* con*n*raidh.

oighre tomalltaigh mhóir mhenmn*aigh*.

an chóir congm*aidh*.

47a gabh] *om.*; **47b** gcen*n*; **47c** tomalt*aigh*

47 Giolla nach gabh greann re garbhghuin

ar gceann connraidh;

oighre Tomaltaigh mhóir mheanmnaigh

an chóir congmhaidh.

47 The warrior who does not fear being sorely wounded is the one to whom I am bound by contract; the heir of great stout-hearted Tomaltach upholds justice.

48 Con*n*mhaidh dligh*eadh*,

[...?]

t*éid* as an múr árd mu*r* osleach.

gach bárd buid*ea*ch.

48c ard, oileach; **48d** bard

48 Connmhaidh dligheadh

[...?]

téid as an mhúr ard mar Oileach

gach bard buidheach.

48 He upholds justice [...]; every bard goes grateful from the high fort like Oileach.

49 Buidheach gach b*ar*d is gach brúlin*n*tigh,

do bhaidhbh shio*nn*a,

rún tomalt*aigh* go nglór ng*r*eama.

nach mo*r* mion*n*a.

49a brulin*n*tighi; **49b** tshion*n*a

49 Buidheach gach bard 's gach brúilinntidh

do bhaidhbh Shionna;

rún Tomaltaigh go nglór ngreama

nach mór mionna.

49 Every bard and poet of *brúilingeacht* is grateful to the hero of the Shannon; Tomaltach's resolution, famed for constancy, does not need to be confirmed by heavy oaths.

(xi) .7 is mo*r* na mion*n*a tug sag*a*rt na f*air*che, dia domhn*aigh*si ch*uaidh* th*a*rt .i. in leabh*ar* aif*r*in*n* mo*r* do thabh*air*t do nach r*aibh*e se féin ag mnaoi re ceithre bliadhnaibh .7 is ain-diuid do san si*n* do radha .7 misi fein aga fheitheamh ag comhradh risin mbananc*air*e, .7 m*un*a f*ar*cluas tug me úadha go raibhe in sag*a*rt go gér *da* guidhe,

ch*uaidh* th*a*rt] do chuaidh thart; aif*r*in*n* mor] mor *om.*; nach r*aibh*e se féin] fein *om.*; mise fein] meise; mbananc*air*e] mbancaire; m*un*a] munab

(xi) 7 is mór na mionna tug sagart na fairche Dia Domhnaigh-se [do-]chuaidh thart, .i. an leabhar aifrinn mór do thabhairt dó nach raibhe sé féin ag mnaoi re ceithre bliadhnaibh. 7 is aindiúid do-san sin do rádha 7 mise féin aga fheitheamh ag comhrádh ris an mbanancaire 7 muna farchluas tug mé uadha go raibhe an sagart go géar dá guidhe.

(xi) And heavy were the oaths that the parish-priest made last Sunday, i.e. his swearing on the great missal that he had not been with a woman for four years. And it was obdurant of him to say that, [for] didn't I overhear the priest soliciting the anchoress when I saw him speaking with her!

50 Nochan anan*n* ben in bhaile,	50 Nochan anann bean an bhaile
seal na suidhe.	seal 'na suidhe;
do bhúaid*ir* mo*r* .7 maine[107]	do bhuaidhir Mór agus Maine
in tol uile.	an t-ól uile;
Uoládh nochan ard uile.	a bholadh (?) nochan ard uile
an b*ar*d buidhe.	an bard buidhe;
t*ar*la dhamh ag gniomh na groidhe.	tarla dhamh ag gníomh na groighe
an maol moighe.	an míol muighe.
mac diarm*a*da is báidh ler mbaile.	Mac Diarmada is báidh ler mbaile
nach tt*r*aigh tuile.	nach tráigh tuile,
f*ear* len*us* lorg na riogh roi*mh*e.	fear leanas lorg na ríogh roimhe,
diol g*a*ch dui*n*e[108]	díol gach duine.

50 The woman of the house does not stay seated for any length of time; all the drinking has troubled Mór and Maine; the smell (?) of the yellow bard (?) is not yet entirely rank (?); ; I encountered a hare while the horses were being exercised. Mac Diarmada whose wealth is inexhaustible is beloved by my people, a man who follows the path of the kings [who went] before him, who pays every man.

[107] There may be a faint accent-mark over the *a*.

[108] This word is written a little beneath the rest of the line but above the catchword .*7 duine dall.*

(xii) Et dui*n*e dall do bhí[109] a cclúain m*e*ic nóis u*air* eigin re l... <*ar*ain>[110] naoimh .7 in tan do théigh*eadh* sé f*or* onfuis na sion*n*a[111] do bheireadh sé fiche esgon*n* lais a laghraibh a chos .7 .... fa lor diong-namh,

(xii) Et duine dall do bhí i gCluain Mheic Nóis uair éigin re linn Ciaráin naoimh ₇ an tan do théigheadh sé for onfais na Sionna do-bheireadh sé fiche easgann lais i ladhraibh a chos ₇ [a lámh (?)] – fa lór d'iongnamh!

(xii) And there was once a blind man in Clonmacnoise in Saint Ciarán's time, and when he would go swimming in the Shannon, he would bring twenty eels [back] with him between his toes [and fingers (?)] – what a marvel!

51 Mac diarm*a*da ar cul c*r*an*n*ghal,	51 Mac Diarmada ar cúl crannghal
ar brú biodhb*adh*.	ar brú bhiodhbhadh.

51 Mac Diarmada wielding spearshafts [charges] the vanguard of his enemies.

[109] The accent mark is faint.

[110] *linn ciaráin* is written at the top of the page in a later hand.

[111] The *o* was inserted later.

(xiii) .7 gidh sgel t*r*id a cheile é is m*a*ith an tadhbu*r* g*air*e n*a*ch beirion*n* an l*air* g*r*oidheadh a*cht* eintserrach is mbl*iadh*uin .7 2 en[112] .x. ag an dr-eollán, .7 ní mó is sothaimh sin ina mu*r* do ní in damhán ealla an u*air* do chluin sé[113] gotha na ngadhar go tt*eid* sé ar eaneach do in*n*ioll a liontad roimh in bfiadhach a ndóigh go ccoin*n*eoch*aidh* (?) se an damhr*aidh*

(xiii) 7, gidh sgéal tríd a chéile é, is maith an t-adbhar gáire nach beireann an láir ghroidheadh acht éintshearrach is mbliadhain, 7 dá éan déag ag an dreollán. 7 ní mó is sothaimh sin iná mar do-ní an damhán ealla an uair do-chluin sé gotha na ngadhar, go dtéid sé ar eanach do inneall a líontadh roimh an bhfiadhach i ndóigh go gcoinneócha sé an damhraidh.

(xiii) And, though it's a seemingly contradictory tale, it's funny that the brooding mare only gives birth to one foal a year, while the wren gives birth to twelve birds. And that is no more amusing than what the spider does when it hears the call of hunting-dogs: it goes to [its] trap to prepare its webs in expectation of the hunt in order to restrain the deer.

52 Ó m*áol* ruan*aidh ar* ccen*n* con*n*raid.	52 Ó Maoil Ruanaidh, ar gceann connraidh,
gach ceall cabhr*aidh.*	gach ceall cabhraidh;
do gúais sheabhac fial forbh*air*	do ghuaissheabhac fial Forbhair
bíadh do bhadhbhaibh.	biadh do bhadhbhaibh.

52 The descendant of Maol Ruanaidh, the one with whom I have made (?) a pact, comes to the aid of every church; because of the deadly hawk of Forbhar, [there] is food for the scald-crows.

[112] Inserted with a caret.

[113] The accent-mark is very faint.

53 [...?]	53 [...?]
[...?] do gég chráoibhe cloch*air*,	[...?] do ghéig chraoibhe Clochair
fuai*m* a chuilg os cách a-ccath*aibh*,	fuaim a chuilg ós chách i gcathaibh
a tt*r*ath toch*air*.	i dtráth tochair.

53 [...] from (?) the branch of the tree of Clochar [...]; in the hour of battle, the sound of his sword [is heard] over the melee.

54 Trath an toch*air*	54 Tráth an tochair
ni teilgt*ear* d*r*uim hí *air*t einfhir,	ní teilgthear druim í Airt Aoinfhir;
Is tren *ar* ghac ríogh dha ríribh,	is tréan ar gach rígh dhá-ríribh
gnio*mh* in ghaoidhil,	gnímh an Ghaoidhil.

54 Come battle, the descendant of Art Éinfhear does not bend his back; the deeds of [this] Gael heavily oppress every king.

55 Gaoidhil eiren*n* fa u*cht* sol*us*,	55 Gaoidhil Éireann fa [a] ucht solus
is slio*cht* fíre,	is sliocht fíre
[...?]	[...?]

55 The Gaels of Ireland gathered around his bright chest are a righteous dynasty.

56 [...?]	56 [...?]
rí nach bí a bfolach *ar* fhleaghaibh,	rí nach bí i bhfolach ar fleadhaibh;
lamh aga bf*uil* urch*ar* dubh domhain,	lámh 'ga bhfuil urchar dubh domhain
nach lugh leabh*air*	nach Lugh leabhair;
fer do chur na chen*n* nior chub*aidh*	fear do chur 'na cheann níor chubhaidh
bus ferr dfedhain.	bhus fhearr d'fheadhain.

56 [...?] a king who is not hidden at feasts; a hand capable of a deadly and piercing cast who is not tall Lugh; it would be wrong to compare even the best man in the troop to him.

57 Feadhn*a*cha lacha cé is cosmhuil	57 Feadhnacha Lacha Cé is cosmhail
re cruth sídhe	re cruth sídhe;
ar glac a lámh don eing uaine,	ar ghlac a lámh don eing uaine
is greim gribhe.	is greim gríbhe.

57 The battle-bands of Loch Cé resemble Otherworld beings; [Mac Diarmada's] hand is like a griffin's talons around the portion of the green land that he has seized.

58 Is greim g*r*ibhe	58 Is greim gríbhe
do ghlac mac slissinge saidhbhe,	do ghlac mac slissinge Saidhbhe;
nir cu*r* an cúan o laoch luighne,	níor chuir an cuan ó laoch Luighne
gaoth *da* g*ar*bhe,	gaoth dá ghairbhe.

58 The son of slender-sided Sadhbh has a griffin's [unbreakable] grip [on the land]; no wind, even at its roughest, [is enough to] has prevented thehero of Luighne from reaching the harbour.

59 G*ar*bcosg m*eir*leach mo*r*adh eglus.	59 Garbhchosg méirleach, móradh eaglas,
*air*seoir emhna,	áirseóir Eamhna,
giolla do fu*air* clú *ar* a-chorrgha,	giolla do-uair clú ar a chorrgha
ar brú berna.	ar brú bearna.

59 The one who harshly reprimands robbers, who patronises churches, the archer of Eamhain, the youth who has won fame in the breach with his pointed spear.

60 Baranta le cach	60 Baránta le cách
o creidhe[114] *ar* ghnaoi ghu*air*e.	ó Créidhe ar ghnaoi Ghuaire
[...?][115]	

60 The descendant of Créidhe is supreme over all on account of Guaire's fame.

[114] An accent mark over the first *e* may have been added later.

[115] Catchword *ni folchar*

61 [290] N... car m*a*ith hí mháoil rúanaigh	61 Ní folchar maith í Mhaoil Ruanaidh
a mbáoi bhérra,[116]	i mBaoi Bhéarra
[...?]	[...?]

61 The excellence of the descendant of Maol Ruanaidh is not hidden in Baoi Bhéarra [...?]

62 Ní leig damh sgeim *ar* a sgel*aibh*,	62 Ní leig dámh sgeim ar a sgéalaibh
on eing uall*aigh*,	ón eing uallaigh.

62 A poet-band does not allow the tales of his exploits [that come] from the proud land to be concealed.

(xiv) .7 is uall-ach dona g*r*egachaibh gu*r*ab é áit an dénaid siad bailte bunáiteacha, .7 caithr*ea*cha comhn*aidh*th*ea*cha *ar* mullaighibh acc-noc .7 a ccorrthulach.

ní cles diamh*air*,

(xiv) $_{7}$ is uallach do na Gréagachaibh gurab é áit a ndéanaid siad bailte bunáiteacha $_{7}$ caithreacha comhnaidhtheacha ar mullaighibh a gcnoc $_{7}$ a gcorrthulach – ní cleas diamhair

(xiv) And it was proudly that the Greeks made their original towns and permanent settlements on the tops of their hills and round mounds – it is not a secret act.

[116] The accent marks over both letters are faint.

63 Én na lach-an, on mbuill mbraonaigh,	63 Éan na lachan ón Bhaoill bhraonaigh
is caoin re clí*ar*aibh,	is caoin re cliaraibh;
fer nach ccuiren*n* ceim don chóraidh,	fear nach cuireann céim don chóraigh –
réidh a riaghail,	réidh a riaghail!

63 The duck from moist Boyle is kind to poet-bands, a man who never strays from justice – tranquil his reign!

64 Fer d*ár* buidhe día 7 dáoine	64 Fear dar bhuidhe[ach] Dia is daoine
ga mbía an b*air*e .7 a dháoine	'ga mbia an báire
[...?]	[...?]

64 A man who has left God and men grateful, who has triumphed.

NOTES

1a Literally, 'The descendants of Maol Ruanaidh of the vigorous assaults are the forest of poet-bands'. Forests, woods and trees are used metaphorically in EModIr to indicate the protection afforded by the subject. 'A forest of poet-bands' is a place where poet-bands are secure and numerous. See Poem 5.24ab. See also the following lines on Ruaidhrí Mac Diarmada (†1568) which describe him as *Geg iothmar fhínemhna na n-éigius ocus na n-ollaman,/ Craobh cumra chnuaiss na gcliar ocus na gcerrbach, / Dóss diona na ndámh ocus na ndeoraidh,/ Bile buadha buan fhoscaidh na mbrughaid ocus na mbiattach*, 'The productive vine branch of the poets and doctors; the fragrant fruit tree of the learned and gamesters; the sheltering tree of guests and strangers; the triumphant ever-shady tree of the brughaidhs and biatachs' (*ALC* ii, 398-9). For other examples of the phrase *foraois* (*na g)cliar*, (*na n-)éigeas*, etc. used of people and places, see *Caomhánuigh cérbh* ***fhoraois cliar,*** */ re neach dhíobh ní fhuil mo shúil; / fear ceannuigh adhmuid naoi rann / do ghuais Ghall ni haithne dhúin* (*LBranach*, ll. 805-9), 'Though the Kavanagh's were a shelter for poets, I have no hope of any of them; I do not know any man who will buy a poem of nine quatrains for fear of the English'll. 8, *Cruacha, Ceann Coradh na gcuan, / Oileach na gcuach is na gcorn, - / doilghe leam* ***foraois na gcliar*** */ gan laochr*aidh *na sgiath 's na gcolg* (ll. 57-60 *Brónach Goill Bhanbha dá éis*, Ó Tuathail 1940), '[Though] Cruacha, Ceann Coradh of the harbours, Oileach of the chalices and cups [be derelict] – it is more painful for me that the shelter of the poets [i.e. Dealbhna] is without the warriors of shields and spears'll. 5, and ***Foraois éiges*** *innsi gall / ni thréigter an inbhe is fherr / do bhreith aoidhed déis ar bhronn / léisi tar fhonn Ghaoidh*eal *geall* (§1 *Foraois éiges Innsi Gall*, Macbain and Kennedy 1894, 224-32), 'Inse Gall is a shelter for the learned! The best wealth is not alienated: by the judgement of visiting poets on account of all he [Domhnall Mac Domhnaill] bestowed, [Inse Gall] is unrivalled in the land of the Gaels' .[117] See also §45 and note.

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[117] The translation provided by Macbain and Kennedy totally obscures the meaning of this quatrain: 'Ye antiquaries of the learned men of the Hebrides, the best nobleman shall not be forgotten; we must record his death after all that was bestowed by him over the land of the fair Gaels'.

This quatrain expresses the same argument as §1 of the present poem: as the Meic Dhiarmada obtained immortal fame (*bladh nár bearnadh*) for mortal cattle, the fame that Domhnall Mac Domhnaill earned through his generosity (*an inbhe as fhearr*) proves to be a more enduring sort of wealth than that which he alienated to attain it. See McManus 2004, 105 and n. 22.

There is **alliteration** in this line between *gcliar* and *clann* but neither word is the final or penultimate word of the line: *íoruaim* or *uaim ghnúise* as required in *dán díreach.*

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1c I have followed *ABM* in deleting MS *gan* in the critical edition. MS *gan* does not make sense here and gives the line an extra syllable.

Connradh (*IGT* ii §49 gives only *cunnradh*, gen. sing. *cunnraidh*; see also 47b) 'pact, bargain' seems to refer to short-term transactions with multiple poets here. The term is used in Bardic poetry to describe the agreement between a patron and his court-poet (*ollamh flatha*) (Breatnach 1983, 51ff.) but also to agreements of more limited application, such as the agreement to supply supplementary quatrains (see P.A. Breatnach 1993).

1d For another example of the praise, *bearnaidh b(h)ladh* 'blemishes fame', see *Maire on chleir gan bern*adh *mblagh / ag leanmhuin don chré or chin*, 'Máire, following in the footsteps of her ancestors, comes from the poets with her fame unblemished' (§38ab *Foraois éiges Innsi Gall*, Macbain and Kennedy 1894, 224-32).

2cd The Meic Dhiarmada's generosity exceeds the resources of the country. Cf. *Rotrom éigsi ar fhine an Rúardaigh / na rennd neimhe / níorbh foráil d'féile a fhine / Eire eile* (*ABM* 463.6), 'The poets are a huge burden on the race of Ó Ruairc of the poison spear-tips; another Ireland would not be need to satisfy the hospitality of his race'. See Poem 1 note 31 and cf. Tomaltach an Einigh's obit in *AC.*

3a For the pl. nom. of *gabhal* 'pillar, underseting' with syncope, see *IGT* ii §192. An alternative nom. pl. without syncope *gabhala* is permitted by *IGT* ii §12. As Herbert 2012, 294-304 demonstrates, the *cró catha* 'battle-pen' was a circular formation of soldiers, either enveloping the enemy or defending themselves against a surrounding hostile force. The idea here is that Tomaltach Mac Diarmada and his adherents strengthen the *cró catha* and do not allow the enemy to penetrate the formation; they are essential to the survival and success of their army.

I take **MS *fionntatha*** to be for attributive gen. *fionndatha* 'fair-hued, blond'.

4d There is no alliteration in this line as *shl-* does not alliterate with *s(h)* + vowel in Classical Irish (*Duanaireacht* §69).

5a This line, like 6a, is lacking a syllable. The solution in both instances seems to be that a final *-e* has been omitted by the scribe and that nom. sing. MS *loingseóir* should be read *loingseóire* and 6a MS *foghlainntigh* should be read *foghlainntidhe*. 5b appears to be parenthetical to 5a: 'royal the band' would hardly be a suitable gloss on a single individual described as 'the mariner of Loch Ree'.[118] See also 6a and note. The scribe was evidently thinking of an individual rather than the family.

5cd A similar boast about the extent of the written witnesses to the fame of the honorand(s) is made in *Butler poems* 6.14ab: *Do-gheibhid cách cuid* dā *sgēloibh / sgrīobhtha a meamrom*, 'All find some stories regarding him written in manuscript'. Cf. also *D'eachtra an ríogh 's a ríoshlógha / líontar leabhair nuabhána* (*LBranach*, ll. 861-2), 'The doings of the king [Aodh Ó Broin] and his royal host fill [the pages] of blank white books' ll. 8and *Sgéla h'oirbheart is t'fhéile, / uaisle crú do chaithréime / ad dhiaidh dá deighleanmhuin d'fhior / biaidh a seinleabhruibh sruitheadh*, 'The tales of your valour, your generosity, the nobility of the blood in your battle-roll, these being traced by a man when you are gone, will be found in the old books of the ancients' (§12 *Gabh mo shuirghe, a ua Émuinn*, Carney 1955, 266-75).

5d This line lacks a syllable. *ABM* recommends inserting the 3 pl. possessive adj. (*lán [a] leabhar*) and reading (literally) 'the fill of their books'. Alternatively, read *a lán leabhar.* The article would also suffice to restore the syllable count: 'the fill of books'. The preposition *de* (*do*) (*lán de leabhar*), 'the full of a book', would also restore the syllable count but I think this is probably too modest a claim to be a credible emendation.

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[118] *Luingseoir* could, of course, be used of an individual celebrand. See *A luingseóir Búille na mbarr, á dhamh iúil ealb*aidh *Fhrémhan*n, / *a nertchráobh da níamhtha[i]r ga / á Ea*chtair *iarthair Eórpa* (*ABM* 222.6), 'O you who sails on the fertile (?) Boyle, O stag who guides the herd of Fréamhainn, O strong sapling who polishes a spear, O Hector of western Europe'. In another context, the young scholar is advised to be a good sailor on the sea of learning: *Ar mhuir mhóir an léighinn láin / bí id loingseóir mhaith, a mhacáimh* (*MD* 10, ll. 17-18).

6a The lenition of ***cheardcha*** here is neither grammatical nor required for alliteration. It qualifies as an instance of *sléagar* where lenition is permitted on B in phrases of the type noun (A) + one or two nouns in the gen. (B) + gen. sing. / adj. (C) (Mac Cárthaigh 2012).

For similar figurative phrases as ***ceardcha an chogaidh***, see *DIL* s.v. *certcha*. The use of the term *foghlainntidh* 'student' to signify a warrior recalls the use of the forge as a metaphor for the Bardic school (McManus 2004, 100 n. 9), as in *Do faighreadh – feirrde m'aigneadh - / meise, a bhaisréidh bhrághaidgheal, / - nach mealltair go hollamh ionn - / i gceardchaibh ollamh Éirionn*, 'I was trained (lit. 'burned, tempered') in the smithies of Éire's sages; that has perfected my mind so that I do not easily make blunders, O smooth hand and fair bosom' (McManus 2004, 102; *AiD* 41.8). Similarly, the warriors mentioned in the present poem are students in the school (or forge) of warfare. This same notion of the warrior's education can be detected in the following quatrain, in which the time spent in the forges of war is linked with the patron's present willingness to go to do battle: *D'éis chuart[a] a gcerdchuibh goile / ní locann lar n-iorghaile / Domh[n]all 'na céimibh do clecht / gan comhlann einfhir d'eitecht* (*ABM* 333.13), 'Having experienced the forges of valour, [Domhnall] does not shirk before the battle-field; on his campaigns, Domhall is not want to refuse single combat'. The description of Tadhg *an Dúna* Mac Carthaigh as *mír chruaidhe cherdcha goile* (*ABM* 282.34a), 'the piece of steel from the forge of valour', similarly conveys the idea that the warrior is perfected in the forge of battle, i.e. the celebrand is the finest metal which emerges from the purifying fire of conflict.[119] Cf. *Cuilg a cceardchaidh t'fhoghlama. uirg* [read *uird*?] *lé ndeargthair dearnana* [read *dearnanna*] (*IGT* ii, ex. 1952), 'Swords in the smithy where you were educated are hammers by which palms are reddened'.

6c The battle-fury here is used in reference to the weapons, rather than to the warrior wielding them. For some references to the battle-fury experienced by the weapons of heroes in the earlier literature and another example of this motif from a poem to Tomaltach Mac Diarmada, see Poem 3.15g and note. Cf. *Ealta bhadhbh do bheathuighis, / do chleacht*

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[119] In the Book of O'Hara, Cormac Ó hEadhra is called *a mhír chruadha an bhronnuidh bhig*, 'thou piece of steel, thou man of generous heart' (*O'Hara* 21.20d). In Muiris Ó Maoil Chonaire's elegy on Brian Óg Mac Diarmada (†1636), Toirdhealbhach and Ruaidhrí Ó Conchobhair, kings of Connacht, are described as *an dá mhír chruadha ó Bhóinn Bhreagh* (§22 *Do leónadh Éire i nÁth Luain*, *FFC*, 283-93), 'the two pieces of steel from the Boyne of Bregia'. Cormac Mac Diarmada, king of Magh Luirg, is described as *mir cruadha na Connachtach* in *AC* §1528.4, which Freeman translates as 'the iron rod of the Connachta', noting the literal meaning as 'piece of steel'.

h'arm-sa a n-oileamhuin; / gér chīocrach in cloidhiomh-soin / a chīocrus do choisceabhair (*O'Reilly poems* 1.26), 'You have satisfied the [blood-thirsty] ravens, your blade is accustomed to providing for them; though that sword is ravenous [for blood], you have quenched its thirst'. The blood-lust of Lugh and Celtchar's spears is a motif of earlier literature (see *TBDD*, ll. 1242-55).

For *fraoch áigh*, see *Do* ***fhráech áig*** *do bí ar a brataigh, ní dho bháidh thapair ós Tadhg* (*IGT* ii, ex. 2094), 'The extent of the battle-fury levelled against his (?) standard caused the flame above Tadhg to go out',[120] *Trí laithe d'éis ar-oile / sraoínis orlār iorghaile, / lér anadhuin* ***dá fhīoch áigh****, / ar Dhanaruibh Chríoch gColmáin*, 'On three successive days, with all his fury for battle aroused, he turned the tide of battle against the Danair of the lands of Colmán' (*O'Reilly* 12, ll. 1577-80 and note), and *Ar nglanadh sgiath is arm n-óir, / Fir Mhanach b*udh *trom tionól / táin laoch m*ar *thóir na tána / o* ***fhraoch áigh*** *nach iompábha* (*ABM* 216.47), 'Having polished shields and golden swords, Fir Mhanach (they will be a might raiding-party like the pursuing party [Ulstermen] in the *Táin*) will not turn around because of a party pursuing the cattle they have taken, owing to their battle-fury'.

6d I have lenited the initial of acc. sing. *bhiodhbhaidh* as is required when the acc. sing. form differs from the nom. sing. form of the noun (*SNG* IV, §3.2(a)).

7a In *OG* (s.v. *Síd Nento*), Hogan identifies three places as Síoth Neanta: one in the Aughty Mountains, another in Co. Roscommon (either at Fairymount, in the parish of Kilgefin, barony of South Ballintober, or at Mullaghshea, which I take to be the place of that name about four kilometres as the crow flies to the east of Tibohine) and another near Fréamhainn in Meath. Another reference to Síoth Neanta in Bardic poetry occurs in a poem on the tree at Sgeithín na gCeann (= Skehinagan) in the barony of Ballymoe, Co. Roscommon: *Do-chí[nn] ni liums-sa nach lean / go síghmadh Segsa fa sliabh / is Cruacha ceardcha na righ / 's na tuatha um rígh Neanta a-ni*ar (*ABM* 197.5), 'I used to see [from the tree at Sgeithín na gCeann] to the enchanted plain of mountainous Seaghais, and Cruacha, the forge of kings,

[120] The torch (acc. sing. *thapair*) here is probably the standard (dat. / acc. sing. *brataigh*) of the previous line. For bright or shining standards, see Herbert 2012, 260-2.

and the lands around the king of Neanta in the west'. [121] See also *O'Reilly poems* 13.13 and *DiD* 85.41, two poems to Connacht-based patrons.

7c I have emended MS *b[h]ríodh* to *bhrígh*, the dat. sing. of the fem. variant of *brí(o)gh* (see *IGT* ii, §§14, 38-9), for perfect rhyme with 7d *mín.*

I am unsure of **MS *ar mbuile*** 'our prophecy' (?). A reading of *a mbuile*, giving 'by the strength of their rage', would make better sense in this context but cf. *Rád gach dhuine / tarla gach críoch úadh fa eire / búan mo bhuile / buan mo bhuile* (*ABM* 463.25), 'Everyone says that he subdued every territory; true [lit. 'lasting'] my vision, true my vision'

7d The scribe has written this line twice. On the second occasion, he has substituted *muighe* (the gen. sing. of *magh* 'plain') with *Midhe* 'Meath' (the second reading is required for perfect rhyme with *fine* in 7c) and omitted the erroneous glide-vowel in *míon*. For *mín* in the sense of 'flat, arable, fertile land', see *DIL* and Dinneen s.v. *mín.*

8 8ab refers to the heroes of §7, while 8cd moves the spotlight of the poem to Tomaltach Mac Diarmada exclusively.

8a This is the only example known to me of pl. *meóir mheadhóin.* For other examples of the figure, see *Do **mhér m[h]eadhóin** mhíleadh Grég / nī thuigim nár thrácht Mairghrég - / maith cuimhni an fheasa 'gan fhior - / fuighle Neasa 's an naoidhion*, 'I think that Margaret has taught to the middle finger of the Grecian warriors [i.e. Pádraigín FitzMaurice] – well does he remember the lesson! – the words of Neasa and the child' (*IBP* 11.33), *Conall ōs na curadhaibh, / **mēr meadhōin** maicni Mī*leadh*, / frioth leis luach ar bhronnastuir: / sēala a chlú suas do síneadh* (*O'Reilly poems* 8.9), 'A Conall [Cearnach] among warriors, the middle-finger of the Milesians, [Pilib Ó Raghallaigh] has received the worth of all he has bestowed: the sign of his fame has been raised high', and *Dā mbeinn dā meas choidhche am aign*eadh */ trēidhe Teabóid, / as ē crē chúil Ghall is Gaoid*heal */ 's a **mēr meadhōin***, 'If I were ever assessing the characteristics of Teabóid [Butler] in my mind, [it seems to me that] he is a defensive bank to the rear of the Gaill and the Gaoidhil, and their middle finger' (*Butlers poem* 6.31 and note).

[121] For some details about this poem on Scéithín na gCeann, see Simms 2004.

8c (An) Greancha is in Corca Athchlann, the territory of the Meic Bhranáin in Co. Roscommon (*AC* §1411.28). *AFM* iv, 1018 has acc. sing. *ar an nGreanchaigh.*

9a Literally, 'that man is not a king with opposition'. For the terms, *rí go bhfreasabhra* and *rí gan fhreasabhra*, referring to the position of the high-king of Ireland, see *DIL* s.v. *fresabra.* For examples from Bardic poetry, see *Tug leis a-le a Lunnuinn / ceart* [read *cairt*?] *ar a thír thórunnuill / tríath go mbrígh áigh is anma / fá láimh rígh gan fhreasabhra* (*ABM* 408.5), '[Tomás Dillon], a lord of great valour and fame, has brought over from London his charter to his vast country by leave of a king without opposition [James I]' and *Bliadhain ar fhichid oile / fuair Figheann mhac Fiodhchoire; / do gheabh an tír i dtarla / seal 'na rígh gan fhreasabhra*, 'For twenty-one years Figheann, son of Fiodhchuire, reigned; the land in which he was he held for a time as a king without opposition' (*TD* 32.31).

I have emended **MS *-sin*** to *-sain* (see *SNG* IV, §9.4).

9b I have read *fiadh nGáille* here. Though the MS text is partially illegible, the metre allows for a fairly sure reconstruction of the original. Gáille is the townland of Galey, barony of Athlone North, Co. Roscommon (*PDI* s.v. *Gáile*). For an example of the spelling here and its use as an epithet, see *Ineosam dhó ar imigh oraind / uch mo thruaighe / fillem tar ais go geis nGáille / deis ar nuaille*, 'I will tell him [Maol Mórdha Mac Suibhne] what happened to me, alack and alas!; I will return to the swan of Gáille after my pride' (*Tugam aghaidh ar Mháol mhorrdha*, Walsh 2003, 216-21). Note that though no motion is implied *ar* in the sense 'in power over' appears to govern the acc. here.

9c For the celebrand as a (young) hound (a zoomorphism no doubt encouraged by the preoccupation in Bardic poetry with the ultimate hero, Cú Chulainn), see *Mo chuiléan do chuan na Con / riamh nár traothadh a dtachar / mo bhruineagán ionmhuin m'fhuil / m'fhuileagán d'fhiodhbhaidh uasuil* (§6 *Coimhghe Críost fa Choin gConnocht*, Walsh 1929, Poem 2), 'My whelp of the litter of Cú [Chonnacht] who was never defeated in battle, my nanny (?), my blood, my beloved nobleman (?) from noble wood', *uirrim gach cuaine is dú duit, / a chú do chuaine Chormuic* (*O'Reilly poems*, 5.26ab), 'the submission of every pack is yours by right, O hound of the litter of Cormac [mac Airt]', and *Do-ghéntar sealg Sléibhe Bregh / le coin énaigh mac Míleadh; / fuilénaigh gan bhú ón bhladh / cú do chuilénaibh Cruachan*, 'The bird-hunter of the sons of Míl shall hunt over Sliabh Breagh; the hound of

the litter of Cruachain will suffer being without cattle from buying renown' (*DMU* 17.8).

9d MS *bhladh* does not make perfect rhyme with *con* in 9c. *Bladh* 'fame' does not have a variant in *-o-* to my knowledge. MS *do bhladh* has therefore been read as a verb and emended to *do bhlogh*. The verb *blaghaidh* has an alternative form *bloghaidh*.[122] Though I do not know of another example of the phrase *bloghaidh b(h)áire*, literally 'scatters the charge (?)' (see *DIL* s.v. 1 *báire* (d)(i)), it appears to be a synonym of *bloghaidh ruaig* and *locaidh léim*, phrases expertly elucidated in Herbert 2012, 316-20. The situation envisaged is one in which the enemy force charges the honorand's phalanx but is unable to break through. The honorand's force meanwhile is drawn up in close order with shields joined and with the strength, courage and military savvy to hold their ground. Crashing against an immovable wall of shields, the enemy battalion breaks up, scatters and is easy prey to the unbroken line of the honorand's warriors. Cf. *bloghaidh troid* (Poem 4.12c).

10a I cannot make sense of MS *rí na réidhe. ABM* suggests reading MS *na* as *budh*: 'there are few kings who would be...' and I have adopted this emendation in my critical edition.

10c I have emended MS *faghtur* to *faghthar* (*IGT* iii, §22). The unlenited *t* may reflect the pronunciation in spoken Irish at the time the scribe wrote. See also 20a MS *cuirter,* (iv) *ni faght*ur and (x) *abarthar / abartar*.

10ef *ABM* prints these two lines as the first couplet of a new quatrain but the rhyming scheme suggests that they form part of §10. Furthermore, 11ab in my edition must begin a quatrain to account for the lack of internal rhyme. Note also the *lorga* linking 11a and 11b.

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[122] For the vocalisation *o*, see *feidhm catha ar cCon Connaichtne / do bhlogh clacha cengailte* (*cCon* : *bhlogh*), 'the battle vigour of the Cú Chonnacht of whom I speak has shattered mortared castles' (*DMU* 21.2cd) and *ōn chlēir gan ghruaidh do ghoradh, / léim gan bhloghadh mbruaigh bearar* (*ghoradh* : *bhloghadh*), 'leaving the poets who have not caused a cheek to blush [with satire], he leaps without breaking the bank [i.e. performs a difficult feat] (*Butler poems* 17.9cd and note); for the vocalisation *a*, see *gan bhlaghadh feadhma ar an bhfear / go ndearna an talamh teicheadh* (*bhlaghadh* : *talamh*), 'nothing can break down his energy until the world passes away' (*Magauran* 18.42cd) and *Fogus d'fhéin Mhurbhuigh mi-se, / ní fhéadaim a innise / mar do bhlagh a gclach chuir / 's a chatha fa mhagh Murbhaigh* (*bhlagh* : *mhagh*) (*DiD* 82.31), 'I am close to the battle-band of Murbhach: I cannot recount how he shattered their smooth stones and [all] his battles around the plain of Murbhach'.

10e MS *ar* cannot be the preposition governing the acc. and dat., as MS *chlann* (: 10f *mbarr*) is nom. sing; an emendation to *chlainn* would be required but this would interfere with the perfect internal rhyme with 10f *barr*. Furthermore, with the elision of *ar*, this line is lacking a syllable. *Ar* is probably a mistake for another word or words: if a noun was omitted in transmission, MS *chlann* could be read as the gen. pl. This would also explain the nasalisation of *gCréidhe* and would not interfere with the internal rhyme between *Chlann* and 10f *mbarr*. For sense, something along the lines of *Mac Diarmada rí chlann gCréidhe* 'Mac Diarmada, king of the families descended from Créidhe' should be understood.

Créidhe (or Craoidhe) (nom. *Créadh* and *Créidhe* occur in Ní Shéaghdha 1942, 62-3) seems to have been the daughter of Guaire and the mother of the Meic Dhiarmada's ancestor Muireadhach Muilleathan (*Magauran* pp. 411-12, 426, *Butler poems*, p. 102, and *Giolla Brighde* 15.37c and note, but note also *O'Reilly poems*, pp. 293-4).

10f I take *barr báire* to mean 'my (our) champion' ('the one for me (us) who is supreme in the contest'). The accent mark over MS *b*árr emphasises middle quantity.

11a In the MS this line is hypersyllabic. The MS text as it stands would translate 'Tomaltach slashing his enemies' sides'. The omission of the preposition *ag* restores the correct syllable count. The verbal noun *taobhshnoidhe* 'slashing' here could be translated 'the slasher' or 'the one who slashes' (see *TD* i, lv).

For ***taobhshnoidhe*** 'side- (or *pars pro toto* body-) slashing', see *Tairthi a ttráigh 'gā **táobhshnoidhe** / (aigi a-tāid na tréidhi-si) / nír mhó fān Art Aoinfhir-si / nó lacht bó fān mBréifne-si* (*O'Reilly poems* 1.40), 'No greater under Art's reign [than now] in Bréifne were the amount of sea-wrack eroding away the beach [as it washes ashore], or the amount of cow's milk; it is [Pilip Ó Raghallaigh] who can bring these things about', *Cormac mhac Céin, cúl failgheach, / triath éachtach na n-oghoinbhreath / dreach craobhghoirthe ar nar chinn lámh, / sinn **taobhshnoighthe** dá thromghrádh*, 'Cormac son of Cian, the ringlet-haired, the doughty lord who knows ancient dooms, (?) the hero of bright-curved face unconquered by any man's hand – I have wasted away with love of him' (*O'Hara* 11.9), and *coill ó a torthaibh **taobhshnoighthe** / ód rochtain sa ríghesi*, 'the wood has branches torn from it by the weight of its fruits since you came to the kingship' (*DMU* 20.16cd).

11b Literally, 'a fame that does not break', i.e. 'a fame that endures'. I take it that the verb *blaghaidh* 'shatters, breaks' is used intransitively here (*DIL* s.v. *blogaid*). Cf. 2d.

11cd For the abundance of fish in the reign of the just king in Bardic poetry, see McManus 2006, 92, 95 and 101-2. The claim that the honorand has brought about a superabundance of fish may be significant given its proximity to a claim to tribute from An Corann (= barony of Corran) in Co. Sligo. Elsewhere, similar symptoms of righteous rule are spoken of as the charter or guarantee of the lord's dominion over other territories (see Poem 5.36cd and note for examples).

11e Tomaltach Mac Diarmada is described as a *giolla* 'a youth of an age to bear arms' (*DIL* s.v. *gilla*) several times in this poem (see 12c, 17c, 18a). He is so styled three times in *Lámh aoinfhir fhóirfeas i nÉirinn* (*Scottish Verse* 6.2-4), once in *Dá urradh i n-iath Éireann* (*Scottish Verse* 7.3) and once in Poem 3.36c. His kinsman Cathal Mac Diarmada is called a *giolla* in Poem 4.1. For examples outside of poetry to the Meic Dhiarmada, see *gilla mor ferchonta fáebrach* (*ABM* 90.3), 'a great vicious fierce youth' and *gilla dan crann glesta a ghlaisslegh* (*ABM* 90.4), 'a youth whose grey spear is a ready lance' and *an giolla do chrú an Chroibhdheirg* (*ABM* 181.11d), 'the youth descended from [Cathal] Croibhdhearg'. Damian McManus has suggested to me that *giolla* probably means simply 'warrior' or 'hero' in Classical Irish and I have adopted this translation throughout.

11f In an indirect relative clause where the subject of the subclause is in a genitival relationship to the antecedent (here *tarann* is in a genitival relationship to *giolla* 'warrior'), a possessive adj. referring to the antecedent (*a* 'his' here) is implied, though not indicated (*SNG* IV, §7.34). The omission of the possessive adj. is necessary for syllable-count. Damian McManus gives the following example in his forthcoming paper on female ancestry and maternal kin in Bardic poetry: 'For the construction without the possessive compare *Gion go cuimhnighmid an Coimdhe / fa cheann na tíre tug dúin / a chíos gan bhuidhe do-bhearam / don duine bhíos fearann fúinn* (*ABM* 345.9), 'Although we do not consider [thanking] the Lord for the land (i.e. the world) He gave us, we pay rent without [receiving] thanks to the person on whose land we live' (lit. 'whose land is under us'). Note that, though the possessive is essential to sense here, its inclusion (i.e. *a fhearann*) would destroy the metre.'

I take ***tarann*** (*torann*), literally 'noise', to mean 'fame, tidings' here. For a similar metaphorical use of *tarann*, see *Do-clos sa tuaisgirt a thairm / eas abhann fhéile Roailbh; / tarann a áigh nochan an; / a ghráin is abhann iongnadh*, 'In the north the noise has been

heard of the torrent of the river of Roalbh's generosity; the clamour [or 'tales of, fame'?] of his prowess never ceases; his warlike grimness is a wondrous river' (*Giolla Brighde* 15.46). Cf. 11b.

The initial of the conjunct form of present indicative *tráighidh* is nasalised (MS *ttraidh*) after ***nach*** in the MS; this is not Classical but is a feature of scribal orthography from the sixteenth century (*SNG* IV, §3.3). I have retained nasalisation after *nach* in prose passages.

12a For other descriptions of the celebrand as a young lion, see *As cuilén do chúan leómhan* [read *leomhain*] / *mac mic Áodha ilcheól*aigh / *nó as leomhan nach do chúan* con / *ag seól*adh *go búar mbíodhb*adh (*ABM* 257.43), 'The son of the son of Aodh of varied strains of music is a whelp of a lion's litter or a lion not of a hound's litter proceeding to the herd of an enemy' and *Mar sin téid a ccen*n *a chur*adh / *cuilén leoghuin Locha Long* / *damhna teith*idh *re gleo Gaoidh*eal / *beithir bheo na ccaoilshleadh ccorr* (§41 *Maith an chairt ceannas na nGaoidheal*, NLS Adv 72/2/2, 3r), 'So the lion-cub of Loch Long, the one who causes his enemies to take flight rather than do battle against the Gaels, the vigorous bear of pointed slender spears, proceeds to the head of his warriors'.

MS *daigreim* is obscure to me. Damian McManus has suggested reading *daighdhreim* (acc. sing.) 'a noble band', i.e. Tomaltach's ancestors.

12b I do not understand why the final of adj. *mongdhuinn* (: 12d *chomhlainn*) is palatal. This suggests that MS *mer* (: 12a *lean*) is a fem. noun in the dat. / acc. sing., but I know of no way to make sense of this possibility. I have only noted one other example of the compound adj. *mongdhonn* used of a secular honorand: [123] *Ni facadhus*[124] *re hathaidh* / *me, a m*ic *í* Cu*ind* Cet*cath*aig / *a Domn*aill, *na duin mar sin* / *an suil mongduinn red m*uintir (§21 *A Domhnaill, deglam fa sid*, Quiggin 1913a, 42-4), 'You have not seen me for a while, O son of the descendant of Conn Céadchathach; therefore, do not close your brown-lashed eye against your people'. I tentatively suggest that MS *go* is an error for the verbal particle *do* and,

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[123] It is also used of the Virgin Mary: *Oircheas daoibh déanamh go subhach;* / *suairc an toradh tháinig dínn,* / *leanbh aobhdha do fhóir ar ndoghruing* / *ó óigh mhaordha mhongdhuinn mhín* (*DiD* 17.3), 'It is right that you should be happy; delightful is the fruit that has come from us [i.e. from humanity] through the majestic gentle brown-haired Virgin – a beautiful child that has helped us in our affliction'.

[124] The transcript of this poem from Rawlinson B 514 made by the Department of Irish, TCD, as part of the Bardic Poetry Project, suggests reading 2 sing. *facadhais* here for sense. I have translated accordingly.

supplying lenition, interpret the line as a reference to the celebrand's irresistiblity to women (see McManus 2009).

12d For the image of the battlefield as a smithy, see note 6a. The implication is also that, while the Meic Dhiarmada of 6a are apprentices in the smithy collectively, Tomaltach is a master craftsman. Note that in 12e the poet continues with images of craftsmanship by his use of the verb *dealbhaidh* 'compose, construct, fashion' in relation to his own profession.

12e *A* 'all that' is written *an* by the scribe.

12f The task of praising Mac Diarmada is arduous no doubt because of his many great deeds and qualities, i.e. the poet struggles to do him justice.

12gh Duibhlinn here is probably Dublin but could also refer to locations in Donegal or along the river Suck (see *OG* and *POI* s.v.). In §41 I take Áth Cliath to be Dublin. Though Ballymote was known also known as Áth Cliath (an Chorainn) (see (x)), by our period it was probably no longer in Norman hands (Nicholls 2003, 173); the observation that there were foreign stewarts (*Gallmhaoir*) in Áth Cliath suggests that Dublin and not Ballymote was intended. See also the reference to Meath in §7.

13 This stanza could also be read as a prose passage.

14a For other examples of the motif of the warrior never refusing battle, see *Bíodh a fhios ag Ráith na Ríogh / nár dhiúlt síoth, nár ob eissíodh / 's nár fhás taom égára ann / - craobh as édána ar anbhfand*, 'Let Ireland know that [Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir] did not refuse peace nor avoid war and that no trace of injustice was ever found in him, a scion who is gentle to the weak' (*DMU* 2.22), *Conchubhar nār dhiúlt deabhaidh, / d'éis an urchoir nāimhdeamhuil / na dhiaidh gur thōg*aib*h ón treas / gur fhóbuir líaigh* dá *leighios* (*O'Reilly poems* 9.14), 'Conchubhar, who never refused battle, after being struct by an enemy shot, rose from the battle and a surgeon worked to heal him' and *giolla bog a Baoill na n-eo / nach ob ghleo ná laoidh re lá*, 'this generous hero from the salmon-rich Baoill, who never refused to give fight or to take a poem' (*Magauran* 14.4cd).

14b For the figurative use of *cuing* here ('yoke' > 'he who upholds, controls'), cf. *Mor ttaisbeánadh da ttig sén / do fhuair tú a oighre oilén / da dhruím bud dochuirthe sibh / a chuing chothaighthe a chinigh* (*ABM* 68.34), 'You have received many omens of prosperity,

O heir to the islands; on account of [this], you will be invincible, O yoke that upholds his race'.[125]

15 I do not agree with *ABM* that this line appears to be misplaced and properly belongs at 23a, with the final phrase of the preceding prose passage (*fa gcaoin comhráidh*) as 23b. If the line were transposed in the manner suggested by *ABM*, it would supply a four-syllable line to be paired with the present line and give perfect internal rhyme (*Mhaoil* : *gcaoin*), but such a quatrain would be *snéadhbhairdne* Type 2, requiring a final rhyme between *Ruanaidh* and *gcoimhriar*, which do not make perfect rhyme. In addition, such a reading would mean that the final word of this prose passage would not made end-rhyme with the following stanza, a feature of other prose passages in this poem. The four-syllable line which should preceed (or possibly follow, but note the end-rhyme) may have been omitted in the course of transmission.

15b Literally, 'a tree that grows above the wood of the descendants of Maol Ruanaidh'. In 1ab, the figure of the tree is an image of defence. Here, as often in Bardic poetry, the tree is used as an image to represent the celebrand's superiority over his peers and/or ancestors, much like the earlier image of the middle finger.

15c I have normalised MS *a-níarr* (: *Niall*) to *a-niar*.For similar spellings in Middle Irish, see *SNG* III, §2.11.

15ef I take ***Giolla dé Í Dhálaigh*** to be a mistake for *Giolla Dé Ó Dálaigh*: there is no reason for gen. sing. *Í Dhálaigh* unless *Í Dhálaigh* qualifies the noun preceding it; if this is the case, *giolla dé* is not to be read as the personal name *Giolla Dé* but as a common noun 'servant of God, priest (?)'. I have not been able to identify any Giolla Dé Ó Dálaigh.[126]

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[125] The term can also be used of a female celebrand: *A bhean gan bhreagtha sgoile / a bhrath rúin na rioghruighe / a chuing cheillidhe a chlódh dreach / a ghlor seimhighe suirgheach*, 'O woman by whom schools of poets are seduced, O darling of kings, O prudent yoke [i.e. 'O self-controlled lady'?], O you who turn heads, O soft voice of wooing' (*ABM* 21.7).

[126] For the history of the Í Dhálaigh, see O'Donovan 1852, 3-15. The genealogical chart at p. 4 shows some Í Dhálaigh bearing the forename Giolla Íosa and Maol Íosa.

15g *giodh*: *ABM* reads *g* with superscript *d* as *gad* here. I do not know how to make sense of *gad mear uili*. I have preferred to read *giod*[*h*]. Cf. 12e where, however, superscript *d* is accompanied by a *punctum*.

15ghij The double-use of *crua*(*i*)*dh* in these lines links this quatrain with the first sentence of the prose passage which follows. I take substantivised *cruaidh* in 15g to refer to Giolla Dé's piety and dat. pl. *cruadhaibh* (emended from MS *craduibh* for rhyme with 15h *bhuadhaibh*) in 15j to mean 'difficulty, the thick of battle'. For the latter, see *Ná faghadh ced ó Chrích Bhregh / dá locdaois laochruidh Gaoidheal, / ursa sluaigh férMhuighe Floind, / as sénmhuire a ccruaidh chomhloinn*, 'Even though the warriors of the Irish should flinch, let Ireland not permit it to the pillar of the host of grassy Ireland, who is most fortunate in the thick of battle' (*DMU* 2.15). These lines seem to refer to Tomaltach's combination of martial prowess and piety. Cf. *Fear mur Chairbre Lifeachair, / úa Corbmuic meic Airt Éinfhir, / dearbhchara tá ag fileadhaibh / do-nī feidhm laoich is cléirigh* (*O'Reilly poems* 8.16), 'The descendant of Cormac the son of Art Éinfhear [Pilip Ó Raghallaigh] is like Caibre Lifeachair – the sure friend of poets who is both a warrior and a cleric'.

15j The line lacks a syllable. A monosyllabic word rhyming with *gnáth* has been omitted. Ihave inserted *cách*, the only monosyllable beginning in *c*- (this is required for alliteration) that can make perfect rhyme with *gnáth* to my knowledge. For sense, I also supply the conjunction *'s* at the beginning of the line.

(i)

In this prose-section, the poet refers to being hot-tempered in the presence of Mac Diarmada and several hundred others, probably at a feast. He is grateful for Mac Diarmada's indulgence[127] and suggests that he wishes to become or to be reinstalled as Mac Diarmada's court-poet or *ollamh ríogh*.

ar mire: *Mire* is the abstract noun from the adj. *mear*, used of Tomaltach Mac Diarmada in the previous quatrain. This may be no more than coincidence but the deliberate verbal echoes

[127] Ó Duibhgeannáin was not alone among his brother-poets in having offended a patron while at a feast. Seaán Ó Clumháin's *Laoidh an Duirn* (*DiD* 84) is the most famous example of a genre of poem in which a poet who has quarrelled with or insulted a patron then urges him to show forbearance, often invoking legendary precedents. See Simms 2012.

based on *cruaidh* suggest that the poet probably chose his words carefully. In the context of a description of a mis-step by the poet (his losing his temper in public), the verbal echo of *mire* in I with *mear* in §15 may be deliberate: having used the adj. in a laudatory sense in the previous quatrain, the impropriety of the poet's conduct, described with the abstract noun from the same adj., is (potentially) eased by the verbal association of the conduct of poet and patron.

***i measg trí gcéad nó [a] cheathair*:** The particle a^{h} must precede the numeral when it is employed predicatively or substantively in Classical Irish (*SNG* IV, §8.1). Here the particle may simply have been elided after *nó*. It is interesting that the initial of the numeral here is lenited as the *iairmbéarla coimhleanamhna* causes *h*-mutation. Lenition here is probably an error.

***más fíor*:** In Classical Irish, *más fhíor* would be expected.

***sgaith mh'ealadhan*:** For other examples of the phrase, see *Do dhán, d'fhoghloim is d'aithne, / d'éis Brian do bheith ullmhaighthe / fuair flaith neamhumhal Ó Néill / sgaith a ealadhan aindséin*, 'After Brian [Mac Con Midhe] had been prepared, the unbending chief O'Neill got the flower of his art the of poetry, learning and knowledge' (*DMU* 23.12) and

> *Nī haithnidh dūin slighe molta*
>
> *'s a beith uaing*each,
>
> *gach duine ag dréim re [a] cheird dūthchuis*
>
> *nī nōs nuaidhe.*
>
> Agus *nī nuaidhe in nós damh féin ceard m'ath*ar ₇ *mo sh*ean-*athar do leanm*hain, *duana* ₇ *drēchta* ₇ *dūchanna* ₇ *laoidhe āille adhmolta do dhēnamh do Thiobóid B*uiltēr *is daor cheannchas.*
>
> *Sgoith mo cheirde duit do dhlighfinn*
>
> *a ghruaidh dealbhghlan;*
>
> *do-ghēn daoibh in aisti is uaisle*
>
> *i gceann mo sheanchuis*,

(*Butler poems* 6.48-9)

I do not know a road of encomium that is not well-travelled; that everyone one should pursue his hereditary career is not a new custom. And it's not a new custom for me to follow the trade of my father and grandfather, and to compose poems and compositions and songs (?) and beautiful laudatory lays for Teabóid Butler who buys them dearly. I owe you the choicest of my trade, O fair-formed cheek; I will compose for you the noblest poem along with my historical lore.

***caoin mo cheirde do dhruim dlighidh*:** For *caoin*, 'the polished side, part', see *DIL* s.v. 2 *caín*.

16b I have emended MS *fil*idh to *fhilidh*: the expected lenition of acc. sing. *fhilidh* (see *SNG* IV, §3.2(a)) is required for alliteration with *éar*.

16cd For the abundance of corn and other crops in the reign of the righteous king as described in Bardic poetry, see McManus 2006, especially 98-101. McManus (p.101) suggests that this is an image of the massive agricultural surplus under the reign of the just king 'so that corn is left in the ground without harvesting', or that it refers to a constant supply of corn throughout the year (p. 109 n. 90). If this half-quatrain refers to the commencement of the reign of the honorand in 1421, the latter interpretation is probably more likely, i.e. since Tomaltach became Mac Diarmada (one year ago), corn has been growing continually.

17 I have normalised MS *oirrchinn* to *oirchinn* (*DIL* s.v. *airchinn*). *DIL* suggests the meaning 'field' but 'grass' seems to be the meaning here, as elsewhere in Classical Irish: *Do folchadh d'oircheann uaine / teaghdais Macha Mongruaidhe*, 'the House of red-haired Macha is covered by a sheet of green grass' (*AiD* 8.5ab), *D'ionadh a n-áirgheadh nó a n-each / ní coigillte ar chionn Chairbreach / fear uaim i n-oirchill a gcruidh / ná cluain oirchinn dá n-eachaibh* (*DiD* 82.9), 'When I send a man to the men of Carbury to seek cattle from the places where they keep their cowherds and horses, [this request] should not be refused – nor should [a request for] a grazing meadow for their horses', and *Leaptha sróill da seachna ar oircheann; / uisge a chuirm go gcuirenn glíaidh; / tug ar fhírshreibh, re feadh bhfaghla, / seal do ríghfhleidh Banbha Briain* (*LCAB* 29, ll. 9-12), 'He prefers grass to beds of satin;

water is his ale until he gives battle; while raiding, he prefers [to drink from] a freshwater stream than to spend a while at the royal feast of Brian's Banbha'll. 9.

18 The end-rhyme between *b* and *d* is problematic: *Eamhna* : *Sadhbha* is not a perfect rhyme However, as the stressed vowel of both would have been pronounced *-a-*, and given the evidence of rhymes of *ea* : *a* in *Fianaigheacht* poetry and historical poems (*SNG* IV, §2.4 and see also *Eamhna* : *fhreasabhra* in a quatrain, otherwise in *dán díreach*, presumably extracted from a historical poem and cited in *LCAB* p. 29), the text may not be corrupt here.

18a MS *re theach* seems to represent *re* [*a*] *theach*: 'most rarely is there a fence or door to his house'. It is possible that this is reference to the open-door hospitality of the celebrand (cf. Poem 3.16) but, taken with 18b, this interpretation does not give good sense. I take the lenition of the initial of *teach* to be an error and interpret the line as a reference to the peace and security enjoyed throughout the land of Eamhain as a result of the rule of Mac Diarmada (who is styled 'the tree-branch that protects us [or 'me']' in 18c). Cf. Poem 5.16 where the oath of Brian Mac Diarmada is like a door for the vulnerable house on the highway, i.e. even the houses most prone to attack need no defences in his reign. See McManus 2006, 75-7.

18b *Iath Eamhna* 'the land of Eamhain' seems to be a poetical name for Ireland here (for another example, see *O'Reilly poems* 34.6).

18cd The poet asks God to protect his protector. Cf. *Mar tá a chroidhe fá n-ar gceann, / ord fileadh innsi hÉireann, / go mbiadh cridhe an Choimdheadh d'Aodh, / an bile boinngheal baschaomh* (*LBranach*, ll. 593-6), 'As [Aodh Ó Broin's] heart is towards us, the Bardic order of the island of Ireland, so may the heart of the Lord be to Aodh, the white-soled fair-palmed scion'll. 5.

19 I take this to mean that, after Mac Diarmada's raids, whole settlements are abandoned. For *follmhaighidh* 'empties, lays bare' to describe raiding in Bardic poetry, see Herbert 2012, 338-41. Cf. *Rug cúirti úaidh gan fhoghal. fúair folamh dúinti Danar* (*IGT* ii, ex. 1366), 'He took mansions from him (?) without plundering; he found English forts empty'.

19a This line is a syllable short. *ABM*'s recommends reading *ar[na]* [*ar*^{n} 'after' + 3 pl. possesive adj. *a*^{n}] *dtionól*, presumably referring to the warriors of the Meic Dhiarmada.

Adopting this reading, I interpret 19c *uadha* as 3 pl. (referring to Tomaltach's army) rather than 3 sing. masc. (referring to Tomaltach alone) (for *uadha ó innsgne é 7 iad* 'conjugated 3 sing. masc. and 3 sing. pl.', see *BST* 193.29-30).

Cnodhbha (= Knowth) is in Meath (*OG* s.v. *Cnódba*). *Tuir Chnodhbha* 'the tower of Cnodhbha' is the celebrand.

19b *DIL* translates *Gallgha* as 'a foreign javelin, an English spear' (*DIL* s.v. *gall*); from the examples in Bardic poetry, it seems to be a type of spear foreign (Norman?) in origin, rather than a spear belonging to a foreigner. Two examples of the term mention the spear filling the palm and it is possible that it was a particularly thick spear: *Tuillidh sí ar lár a ladhra. gallgha 's as lán dí a derna* (*IGT* ii, ex. 967), 'A *Ghallgha* fills the centre of his hand and his hand is full of it' and *A Aodh Í Chonchubhair Chliach, / deargfa im cheann nÉireann th'óirsgiath, / deargfa i n-ágh, a abhra gorm, / gallgha dan lán do leathdorn*, 'Dark-browed Aodh Ó Conchobhair of Cliú, in the fight for Éire thou shalt redden thy gilt shield, and the foreign lance thick as thy hand can grasp' (*DiD* 84.45).[128]

19cd I take the syntax of these lines to be [*is*] *fuara falbha bhíd bailte go hiomdha uadha*, 'it is cold and empty that many villages / towns / farmsteads / settlements are because of him / them'. The predicative adj. here is plural as it refers to a pl. subject but contrast 49d and (xi) (see *SNG* IV, §5.6).

Nom. pl. ***bailte*** is prohibited by *IGT* ii §2. See Mac Cárthaigh 2002, note 9a for examples.. Note also *ní bhiadh a nglór**bhailtibh*** (: *mhóirmhaicn*ibh) *Gall* in a seventeenth-century Scottish poem (§17 *Saoth liom do chor, a Cholla*, Black 1973). *Bailte* does not participate in rhyme here, so an emendation to nom. pl. *baile* is possible. Acc. pl. *bailte* occurs again in the following prose passage.

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[128] For other examples of *gallgha* in Bardic poetry, see *Nír sgibh croidhe churadh Saingil / re sonn gcorcra gcraoiseach réidh; / troigh an fhir agus [a] abhra / ní sgibh re goin **ngallgha** ngéir*, 'The heart of Saingeal's Hero quailed not before the red line of smooth lances; his foot and face shrank not in fear of wound from sharp foreign spears' (*Magauran* 32.20), *Marcoch mór mhoidhe Cliodhna / sróll roimhe ar glaclach* [read *glacach*?] ***gallgha***, 'The great rider of the Plain of Cliodhna has a satin banner carried before him spread on a couple of foreign spears' (*O'Hara* 32.11), and *Fir sgíath ngeal is **gallgha** ngér / mo-chen tríath tárla* ar *a ccúl / fir ón donn goirmthealach ghlíadh / an fhían trom oirthearach úr* (*ABM* 375.16), 'I welcome the lord who holds up the rear of the men of bright shields and sharp foreign spears, men who redden the dark mound of battle, the mighty vigorous battle-band who form the vanguard'.

The adverb (?) ***go hiomdha*** is unusual. *Iomdha* is normally found only as an attributive or predicative adj. I know of only one other possible example of *go hiomdha*: *A dhuine le mbudh ail fhotraig / eir(i)g a ndithra*m *dhaerda chorp / mo dhath*air *dod bidhbha baegal / go hi*m*dha [io]na t'aen*ar *ort* (*bidhbha* : *hi*m*dha*) (*ABM* 345.20), 'O you who would seek to be cleansed, proceed into the desert of bodily mortification (?); [...]' but I am unsure how to interpret the relevant lines.

(ii)

This prose passage is connected to the previous quatrain by the adj. *fuar*. The final four or eight syllabes of this passage could be read as a metrical line, though in the latter case it would be without alliteration. The final word of the prose passages makes perfect end-rhyme with *bd* of the following stanza.

MS *bailte na mbuidhne*: I have emended MS gen. sing. *na mbuidhne* to gen. pl. *na mbuidhneadh* (alternatively *na mbuidhean*) (*IGT* ii, §54) to account for the nasalisation in the MS and for sense.

MS *agh cosnamh* is a mistake for *ag cosnamh*.

Dún Balair is Tory Island.

20 It is to be noted that the payment to avoid battle (*comha*, a token of submission, probably a black-rent) is given in wine and wax(-candles), commodities necessary for a nocturnal feast (see also *Cēir a tigh ar tí comhóil, / fir don fhéin, a rí, at raláimh, / escra caem fat chuirm nglanfhuair / laem raghuail guirm ar gabáil*, 'Wax in (thy) house in preparation for a drinking feast, men of the Fian, o king, in captivity with thee, a beautiful cup holding thy clear cold ale, a flame of blue coal enkindled' (§30 *Baile suthach síth Emhna*, Ó Cuív 1955-7), *[A] dtigh* uī *Mheadhbha in mhiodhóil / fir gach feadhma dá n-onóir / lasuidh céir ghorm ar ngabháil / ōn léir fagháil chorn gcomhóil* (*O'Reilly poems* 22.16), 'In the house of the descendant of Meadhbh of mead-drinking men of every activity are honoured (?); a blue taper gives light as soon as it (the feast) commences (?) [or 'as soon as it (the wax) is taken'?] by which is seen the handing out of drinking cups', and *is port ríogh magh mar mhagh Néill, / fion is céir is cradh a chaoin*, 'a royal land is a plain like Niall's plain, its surface being wine and wax and kine' (*Magauran* 14.26cd)). This oblique reference to the celebrand's feasts

chimes well with the note of liberality towards the poet struck in the second half-quatrain (cf. the mention of wax-candles and wine in an incident in *LCS* (§26) when Maol Muire Mac Suibhne encounters a group of poets (*cliar re healadhain*) whom he wishes to repay for their music and chanting (*ac cantain ceoil ⁊ oirfidigh dhó*): *dfhiarfaigh Mac Suibne cred an spreidh do batar diaraidh ⁊ adubratar san nach gebtais gan or dfhagbail mar spreidh ⁊ fín mar digh ⁊ céir mar tsholus ⁊ adubairt Mac Suibne riu san a techt leis da baile fein ⁊ gach ni da fedfad dfhagbail doib co fuighdis hé*, 'Mac Suibhne asked what kind of fee they wished for, and they replied that they would accept no payment except of gold, and no drink except of wine, and no light except of wax. Mac Suibhne answered that, if they came with him to his house, they would receive whatever he would be able to procure them'). For another possible example of an honorand receiving wine and wax-candles as *comha*, see *Fín doinnfhedba ag dul d'Ú Néill. céir ag cur connealbhra a críaidh* (*IGT* ii, ex. 99), 'Wine in brown casks (?) going to Ó Néill, wax-candles making a candelabra in the earth'.

20b Fabhar is Fore in Westmeath (*OG* s.v. *Fabar*).

20c For another example of the kenning *teagh turaidh* 'dry lodging, shelter' (*DIL* s.v. 1 *turad*), see Poem 4.1b.

21a For another example of the verb *mionaighidh* in Bardic poetry in a similar context, see *IGT* ii, ex. 2170 (= ii, ex. 1381): *Do mhionuigh mainnreacha cloch. mun ttréd ccomhaightheach ccáorach*, 'He has shattered the stone folds around a foreign flock of sheep'.

***ón múr*:** The preposition *ó* governs the dat. in Classical Irish (*BST* 193) and following *ó* + article *an* the initial of the noun should be lenited. See 4b, 12e and 38c for examples of the expected lenition. But see 61a where nasalisation occurs on the initial of the noun after *ón* and the adj. that qualifies that noun.

21b The *Danar* 'Dane' here is an Englishman.

21d The warring season generally lasted from summer to November (hence the Méig Uidhir's claim that they could quarter their hounds and horses on the people of Ireland *ó thá samhain go samhradh* (*TD* 9.14)). The start of the warring season is announced by the cuckoo in *Briathra cogaidh 'gan chath Laighneach* (*Do cuireadh súas don fhod Ultach / lé*

glór cúach ón Chalbhach, 'Because of the Calbhach the soil of Ulster has been abandoned at the voice of the cuckoos' (*IBP* 40, ll. 81-2)). The warring season generally ended in November owing to the hazardous weather conditions.[129] A half-quatrain cited in the Grammatical Tracts notes that the coming of November brings peace (*Do-bhérduis síodh na Samhna. síol Sadhbha a n-égmhuis fhoghla*, 'In the absence of plunder, the descendants of Sadhbh would grant the peace of Samhain' (*BST* 187.21/28b3)).

21b I have emended MS *ní thshergfa* to *ní sheargfa*, as, in Classical Irish, the neg. particle *ní* causes lenition on the initial of the verb. *S-* mutates to *tsh-* after the masc. gen. sing., fem. nom. sing., and dat. sing. article in Classical Irish. Through analogy, *tsh-* came to be regarded as the lenited form of *s-* in other circumstances in EModIr (see *SNG* IV, §§3.2(c), 3.5).

21cd For another example of blood reaching shoulder-height in the honorand's battles, see *Líonfaidhear do linntibh corcra / clár Midhe ón dá mhearghasraidh, / go n-éirghe fuil ós na formnaibh / san mhuigh thonnghloin Teamhrachsain*, 'The land of Meath will be flooded with ruddy pools from the two vigorous bands, until blood rises above the shoulders on that bright-surfaced plain of Tara' (*TD* 16.67).

21c *'san áth*: There are frequent references to battles in fords in Bardic poetry, as in Early Irish literature: *Íadhuid cách san áth uime. gnáth an buinne ar lár linne*, 'Everyone presses around him in the ford – there is often a flood [of blood?] on the surface of the water' (*BST* 197.2) and *Sé ar sgáth an sgéith úachdaraigh. a fhéich san áth íocfuidhir* (*IGT* ii, ex. 472), 'While he is beneath the final shield [i.e. at the rear of the host],[130] what he is due will be paid in the ford'. See Herbert 2012, 64-5.

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[129] Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn gives some evidence of the danger of winter conditions in the fifteenth century: *Bheith i ngoire do Ghallaibh / dá gcreidinn a gcualamair / mó an guasacht don té do thogh / é ná gluasacht sa gheamhradh*, 'If I am to believe all I here, he who chooses to consort with Goill runs more risk than he who travels in winter' (*AiD* 40.5). Further evidence that winter campaigns were relatively rare can be gleaned from the late sixteenth- / early seventeenth-century history of the Í Néill in *LCAB* where it is specifically stated that a campaign happened at wintertime (p. 24) and where a proclivity for winter-campaigning was sufficiently uncommon to give rise to a nickname (p.17). The winter campaigns described so vividly by Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa (*IBP* 29, *ABM* 228) were not the norm.

[130] Cf. *Bídh so ag cách do chomhurtha. san áth as dó as deireadhcha*, 'Let this be observed by all: in the ford, he is the very last [i.e. he holds up the rear]' (*BST* 205.16).

(iii)

This prose section carries the honorand's genealogy back to Tomaltach *na Cairrge* Mac Diarmada, king of Magh Luirg (1197-1207). It accords with the genealogy reconstructed by Mac Dermot 1996, 57, 89.

MS *mhaol*ruah*n*aidh: The suspension stroke after MS *mhaol* was marked with a *punctum* here.

***Fa chaoin*:** Note the lenition of the initial of *caoin* after the rel. past copula *fa* (see *OIP*, 72-3). See also 26c and note but cp. Poem 7.12a where rel. *fa* does not lenite the following noun. It is possible that the lenition here and in 26c is in error, through confusion with the preposition *fa*.

23 *Duille an domhain* (or *an domhnáin*) literally 'leaves (of the world)' is often used in the sense 'worldly wealth' (see *fear nar mheall duille an domhain* 'a man whom the wealth of this world never beguiled' (*TD* 9.51c and note)). Here its literal and metaphorical meanings are employed together ('The hero [lit. 'branch'] of Cuille bestows the leaves of the world...' is a more literal translation of the half-quatrain). Cf. *meóir Aodha eidir fhileadhuibh / craobha a ndeóidh an duileabhair* [read *a n-duilleabhair*?] (*LBranach*, ll. 666-7 and note), 'Aodh's fingers among poets are like branches having shed their leaves [i.e. the poets have taken his rings?]'ll. 6. See also Poem 5.1.

I have not identified the placename gen. ***Cuille***. It occurs in a kenning *sgath Cuille* 'the blossom of Cuille' which describes Pilib Ó Raghallaigh (†1508) (*O'Reilly poems* 34.21d and note). Carney speculated (*O'Reilly poems*, p. 303) that gen. *Cuille* might have derived from *Cuilne*, gen. sing. of *Cuileann*. There is a townland by that name in the barony of Carrigallen, Co. Leitrim, in the lordship of Ó Ruairc. There is a place named Cuilleann in north-west Derry and in north Tyrone, on the border between the traditional lordships of Ó Néill and Ó Domhnaill (*PDI* s.v.).

24b The *er*-symbol is used here and elsewhere in the text to represent *iar*.

(iv)

The question posed in this prose-passage is an echo of that in the previous stanza. The final word of the prose-passage makes perfect rhyme with the final of 25b.

The reference to the Battle of Magh Rath is too vague to allow for the identification of a source-text but see ¶1 above. Two versions of the Battle of Magh Rath have been edited (O'Donovan 1842 and Marstrander 1911).

For the *Breisleach*, see *TBC LL* ll. 2121-37, *TBC 1* ll. 2072-32, *TBC Stowe* ll. 2159-73. See also Poem 3.35a and note for a possible verbal echo of the *Breisleach*. Tomaltach Mac Diarmada is compared to Cú Chulainn in another poem also (*DiD* 120.38).

The wording of the reference to the Second Battle of Magh Tuireadh in the present prose passage has some parallels with the longer EModIr version of the tale,[131] in particular the unusual compound adj. *tortbhuilleach* (*CMT*$_2$, ll. 68, 238) (cf. the following from a *crosántacht* by another Ó Duibhgeannáin poet around a century later: *Dóigh ní chualabh*air *a chomhcosmhuil a ccléithbern*aidh *a*cht *m*edh [read *madh*] *Lugh Lámhfada, láoch bhuill*idh [read *laochbhuilleach*] *ag freastal na bFhomhttorach a Móirtreas M*uigh*e tortbhuill*idh *Tuir*edh (*ABM* 463, after §7), 'It is certain that you have not heard his likes in the gap in an enemy phalanx unless it be deftly smiting Lugh Lámhfhada facing the Fomorians in the Great Battle of Magh Tuireadh of the heavy blows'). Furthermore the language of ll. 680-3 (*Mór ámh an foiréigean gábhaidh sin ina mboī Lugh ar an láthair sin uair ní r*aib*he cathmhīl*id*h gan a c*hor*p do chr*éachtnugh*ad*h re* ***gaothaibh iomluatha adhfhuara earrch*aidhe** *an locha leathain láinneimhnigh sin*, 'Great indeed was the deadly peril in which Lugh found himself there, for there was not a warrior whose body had not been wounded by the swift icy vernal gusts of that wide, toxic pool [Balar's eye]') is similar to that of (v).

***Agus ní chuala a ionnshamhail*:** The dotted suspension stroke would suggest reading *ní chualaidh* but 1 sing. *chuala* makes much better sense here.Cf. *ní haithnidh dhúinn* later in the passage.

***an t-usgardadh*:** See *DIL* s.v. *uscardad* 'act of casting out'. For an example from Bardic poetry, see *Guais linn Lúan in usgardaidh. sind uadh idir easgairdibh* (*IGT* iii, ex. 492), 'I

[131] A shorter version was edited in Ó Cuív 1954. For the Early Irish tale, see Gray 1982.

fear that on the Monday of casting out [Doomsday] I will be among enemies'. The accent mark in the MS emphasises middle quantity.

***i gCill Aithreachta*:** I have found no other example of *Aithreachta*; the usual form is *Athrachta.* Cill Athrachta is Kilaraght, the barony of Coolavin, Co. Sligo.

MS *an ré reabh*ach: For *ré* 'battle', see *DIL* s.v. 2 *róe* (b). For the adj. *reabhach* 'skilled in feats, nimble, playful', see *DIL* s.v. *rebach.*

***an coigeadal combrughach*:** MS *cóigeadal* is probably a mistake for *coigeadal* 'noise (of battle)' here apparently 'battle' (see *DIL* s.v. *coicetal*). The adj. seems to be *comh-* 'intense' + *brughach* 'strong' (see *DIL* s.v. 1 *brogach*).

***búireadh*:** lit. 'bellowing'. Here it seems to mean 'fight'. Note the phrase *búireadh míleadh* in *Ba méla mór la Achíl sein. ⁊ atnaig a iachtad curad ass. ⁊ a búiriud míled* (*LL*, ll. 32818-19), 'Achilles was greatly shamed by that [being injured by Hector] and he gave forth his champion's cry and his hero's roar' (there follows a description of his fierceness in battle) ll. 3and *o nach tarraidh,* air *ni rourmais in chon*air *dochuat*ar *uad, dob*eir *a trombuired miled as, co rocrithnaigh sliab n-Eth[n]a, ⁊ gor'fagaib fo tond*gar *in f*airgi *n-Iondae gor'gab omu*n *⁊ imegla lucht na h*Et*aili* ar *adhuthm*aire *in gotha*, 'Since [Polyphemus] overtook them not, for he did not hit upon the way they had gone, he uttered his heavy martial roar, so that Mount Etna shook, and he put the Ionian Sea under a wave-roar, so that the people of Italy were alarmed and terrified, at the dreadfulness of the voice they heard' (Calder 1907, ll. 180-6). Cf. *coigeadal* above.

***iomlaoid a n-anma*:** I am unsure what this phrase means: 'the fierce battle-attack... by which he [Cú Chulainn] gave the five provinces a change / exchange of their name / fame'. I presume that this means that Cú Chulainn won fame at their expense, that he became more famous than all the Irish. I know of only one other example of the phrase *iomlaoid anma*: *Crosmaoidne h'iomlaoid anma / ort a hucht na healadhna; / cóir car an athanma ar ais / suil rabh h'athardha it éagmais*, 'In the same of poetry we forbid thee to chnage thy title [Mac William]; thou shouldst renounce the new appellation rather than lose thy patrimony' (*TD* 22a.19).

25b Tomaltach has seized the lordship of his ancestral kingdom (as indicated by his levying of tribute) as payment for the wounds he suffered in defending it. Cf. *Is é Tadhg féin fuair i gcath / na trí Luighne ó fhlaith Teamhrach; / 's ní ar ór 'ná ar chomha gcruidh, / acht lógh a fhola d'fhearthuin. /* [...] */ Níor bheag do Chormac do chóir, / dá bhféachdaois cách i gcéadóir, / gach anbhuain dá n-uair impe, / 'na sduaigh armruaidh innillte. / Maith an chairt ar chrích a shean / a bhfuair d'ulc ó aois naoidhean, / ag dortadh a chrú fa a ceann, / gur nochtadh clú a chéimeann*, 'It was Tadhg himself who obtained the three Luighne from the king of Tara in battle; and not for gold, or in exchange for cattle, but as the price of shedding his blood. [...] Claim enough for Cormac, did all consider it forthwith, are the troubles he met concerning it, armed red weaponed hero. A good charter on the land of his forefathers is the evil he suffered from childhood's years, shedding his blood on its behalf, till he displayed the fame of his exploits' (*TD* 32.21, 74-5). This idea is discussed with examples (including from poems to Meic Dhiarmada) in Herbert 2012, 409ff.

26ab I have followed the scribal punctuation here and taken the text in the MS as one metrical line. *ABM* reads *Is geall oirches... / san fhíadh aluinn*, i.e. that four syllables have been inadvertenly omitted in transmission after *oirches*. The repetition of a word in a previous stanza (in this case *geall*) normally occurs in half-quatrains where the syllable-count is 4^2 8^2, meaning the line could be divided *Is geall oircheas* / [...] *san fhiadh álainn*, but see §36 where *Guaire* is repeated in a half-quatrain of the 8^2 4^2 type. Whichever division is adopted, *álainn* : MS *ráidhim* will not make perfect rhyme, as required of the finals of *bd* in *dán díreach* of this metre. *Ráidhim* could be emended to *rádhaim* and, as it seems likely that a rhyme was intended between *álainn* and *ráidhim*, I have adopted this emendation in my critical edition.

***Is geall oircheas*:** 'it is a fit pledge / security for'. The *geall* here may be the wounds of the previous stanza (the *geall* of 25d) or the support of the populace in §26. I have suggested the former in the translation above.

26c *a mhinn*: *DIL* defines *mionn* as 'a distinguishing badge or emblem of honour or rank, esp. one worn on the head, a crown, diadem' (*DIL* 1 *mind* (a)) and sometimes appears to mean 'helmet'. See *Is as aithnim fhóir Sinda. gilla caithminn óir orra* (*IGT* ii, ex. 1453), 'This is how I recognise the band from the Shannon: warriors who wear golden

helmets'.There is no evidence that Gaelic lords wore crowns (Simms 1983, 38-9; Harbison 1976, 195).

I presume **MS *fa mhein*** represents the rel. past of the copula leniting *méin* 'desire'. See the notes to (iii).

27 The beauty of Magh Luirg is also celebrated in another poem to Tomaltach (*AiD* 32.37-8). For a description of the great heat of the sun in Tomaltach's reign, see Poem 3.27-8 and note.

27a I have emended *fuair* to *uair* or *fhuair* (*IGT* iii, §22) to supply alliteration with *áille.*

27b *Domhain* does not make perfect rhyme with 27d *ngoradh* or *uaithne shlán* with the finals of 27ac. I have emended ar *druim dhomhuin* to *ar an domhan.* Though a signifcant emendation, I know of no other way of satisfying the metrical requirements for a *seóladh* of *snéadhbhairdne* Type 1.

28ab More literally, 'submission to the king of Achadh Abhla is submissive honour', i.e. one can submit to Mac Diarmada without losing face?

Achadh Abhla is in An Corann, Co. Sligo (*OG* s.v. *Achad Abla*).

28c I have emended MS dá *ghoradh* to *dá goradh*. *Dá* represents *de* (*do*) + 3 sing. fem. possessive adj. *a* referring to *gnúis* 'face', which does not lenite the initial of the following noun, but as *gnúis* is used *pars pro toto* for Mac Diarmada, the possessive adj. may have (inadvertently?) been felt to refer to Mac Diarmada and so treated as 3 sing. masc. possessive adj.

29 More literally, 'For fear of tribute or *comha* ['payment instead of battle, concession'], he gets ships and spears.'

29a This line is hypersyllabic. I have no solution to offer.

Cána is the gen. sing. of *cáin* here 'tribute' (*IGT* ii, §201). *Comhtha* is the gen. sing. of *comhaidh*, a by-form of *comha* 'something offered as an alternative to battle, hence condition(s), term(s), peace-overture(s)' (*DIL* s.v. *coma*).

29b *leathgha*: I take *leathgha* (acc. pl. here) to mean 'one of a pair of spears'. For literary evidence of the use of two spears in battle, see Harbison 1976, 272-3, 275. For another example of the term, see *as am*laid*h* imorra *ro baoi-sidhe ina chodl*ad*h: am*ail *ra beith ag irn*aid*he catha 7... da leathgha lánmhóra dha leith dhes*, 'this is how [the belliocose Aodh Alláin] was sleeping: ... as if he were waiting for battle, with ... two huge javelins on his right side' (Radner 1978, 62-3). See Poem 3.33c and note.

30a I read MS *is* as *agus* for syllable-count.

Art Éinfhear was the son of Conn Céadchathach.

30b *DIL* s.v. *neim* (b) defines *neimh* 'poison' as 'keeness, piercing force' when used attributively of weapons. In Bardic poetry, weapons, especially spears, are frequently qualified by gen. *neimhe* or the adj. *neimhneach* (see, for example, *O'Reilly* 11.37).

30cd The syntax of this line is *ní teo an teine* [*ioná*] *an ghaoth fhuar 'sa*[*n*] *ghleo 'na gaire*. The expected *ioná* is dropped as the phrase which would follow *ioná* in conventional syntax is on a separate line from the object of the comparison (see McManus 2006, n. 59). Cp. *ní fuaire an t-oighreadh earrchamhail **ioná** an ghaoth gheintlidhe* in the following prose passage.

30c For the motif of weapons becoming hot in battle, see *Reagar a leas ann t'fhuaradh, / do lann a dtreas gā tēaghadh* (*Butler poems* 17.26ab), 'Your blade getting hot in the frey, it is necessary to cool you down in battle' and *Tar éiss dáile deargfhoghadh / sccéith bhláithe dá mbordghor*adh, 'After red spears had been distributed, fair shields were heated' (*DMU* 21.22ab). An extreme case of this idea is the idea of melting swords: *beag nār leagh crúaidh a chloidhimh / ag oidhidh slúaigh bhFear bhFuinidh* (*O'Reilly poems* 22.2cd), 'the blade of his sword almost melted as he slaughtered the warriors of Ireland', *Sgél folaigh ar feadh ndeabhtha / nach foghuir lét fhear n-iomtha, / ad láimh gur leagh an dornchla; / t'fhear comtha āigh ní fhionnfa* (*Butlers poems* 17.17), 'For the length of battle, your opponent does not learn the secret – that hilt of your sword has melted in your hand; the man who pays you

tribute [rather than face you in] battle will never know [either]', and *Do láimh le loinn nuaghontar / ac boing cnámh a caoinsheicnibh; / cóig luirg ód bhois mbánalt*aigh / *a ccois an chuilg chaoilleitrigh*, 'Your hand is newly wounded by a blade as you tear bones from fair skins; your whitejointed hand leaves five tracks in the hilt of the slender-lettered sword' (*DMU* 8.22). See also McManus 2006, 91-2 n. 57.

(v)

In the prose, the comparative form of the adj. is disyllabic (*teóa*) but the syllable-count confirms that 30d *teó* is monosyllabic. I have found no other example of comparative / superlative *teóa* in Bardic poetry and *IGT* i §111 states that *teó* is monosyllabic.[132] *Teóa* appears to be an alternative form of the comparative of the adj. inherited from the earlier language but forbidden in Classical Irish. It may be a feature of the dialect of the poet or of the scribe.[133] Similarly, *IGT* i §111 states that the comparative of *mór*, *mó*, is monosyllabic, but the disyllabic OIr form *móo* (*GOI*, 235) is found in EModIr prose (for example, see *an mac ba móo* (Radner 1978, 60)). Similarly, though I know of no example of (*s*)*óo*, disyllabic comparative of *óg*, in Bardic poetry (where (*s*)*ó* is attested), it is found in prose (for example, *an mac ba sóo* (Radner 1978, 60).

For other examples of the adj. ***earrchamhail*** and *earrchaidhe* 'vernal' used of the cold wind, see note to (iv), *Fúar liom dá leacain shubhaigh / fráoch na n-iodhlann n-earrchamhail, / ag séideadh síongháoth na reann / fá ríoghláoch ngéigeal nGaileang*, 'Too cold, I deem, for his blithe face is the rage of the wintry [literally 'springtime'] blasts driving the stormy winds of the stars upon the white-armed kingly warrior of Gaileanga' (*IBP* 29.7) and *Beith fa bron do dhíth duille / ó ghláoith adhfhú*air *errchuidhe / dligh*idh *donncoill Banba Bregh / lomcroinn abhla gan earr*adh (*ABM* 205.29), 'The brown wood of Ireland, the bare apple-trees without covering, are right to be sad because of the loss of leaves to the freezing springtime wind'. For a similar image of the cold wind given off by weapons wielded in battle, see *Oncú séanta*

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[132] *An chuid don iomurbháidh nach ó phearsuin lóir tig, a n-éinshiolla bhíos, mar tá so: as sía, no as mó, no as teó mé ina thú*, 'Comparative adjectives that do not derive from abstract nouns are monosyllabic, e.g. *as sia* ...' In Classical Irish, the adj. *te* (*té*) does have a disyllabic form in the nom., dat. and acc. pl. and the fem. sing. (*tee*) (*IGT* ii, §82). For the pl. form *teo*, see *DIL* s.v. *te/té*.

[133] This form survives in Connacht Irish (*te*, *níos teocha*) and Scots-Gaelic (*teth*, *nas teotha*) (*SNG* VII §4.11, *SNG* IX §12.4).

síl Chréidhe / a cholg as cúis aigmhéile / fraoch na coinghleaca ar an ccoin / gaoth oighreadhta dhá n-armoibh (*ABM* 181.5), 'The blessed banner of the descendants of Créidhe, its sword is a cause of dread; the hound is possessed by battle-fury; their [the Í Chonchobhair] swords give off an icy wind'.

DIL s.v. *gentlide* cites a passage from *FFÉ* in which the adj. ***geintlidhe*** is used of a wind conjured by the Tuatha Dé Danann against the Milesians: *Mar do chonncadar draoithe Thuath Dé Danann iad-san ar an muir, do thógbhadar gaoth ghaibhtheach gheintlidhe do chuir anfadh ar an muir; agus adubhairt Donn mac Míleadh gur ghaoth draoidheachta í*, 'When the druids of the Tuatha De Danann saw them on the sea, they raised a terrific magic wind which caused a great storm at sea; and Donn son of Milidh said that it was a druidical wind' (*FFÉ* ii, 86-7). For *gaoth gheintlidhe* in Bardic poetry, see *Aithnid dráoithe ar dhealbhaibh néll / flaith Cruachna na gcolg slimger; / aithnid banfháidh láoch Line / ar anail ghaoth nginntlighe*, 'The druids recognise the king of Croghan of the slender-sharp weapons by the shapes of the clouds; by the breath of magic winds a prophetess recognises the warrior of Line' (§38 *An tú a-rís, a ráith Teamhrach?*, Quiggin 1913).

Eachtrann 'outsider, alien, foreigner' probably refers to the neighbours of Mac Diarmada here.

For ***bearna bhaoghail,*** see *DIL* s.v. *bern.* The spelling *beirnn*, dat. / acc. sing. of *bearn* (variant of *bearna*) (*IGT* ii, §39) emphasises middle quantity. For the gap in Bardic poetry and images of patrons both repelling advances into their territory at passes and breaking through the passes into enemy territories, see Herbert 2012, 355ff. The following stanza would indicate that the reference here is to the latter circumstance.

31a For *búrach* 'rage', see *DIL* s.v. I take *búrach* to be in the gen. sing. qualifying *bó* here. This image is presumably a reflex of the motif of the celebrand charging recklessly into battle, for which see Simms 1990, 609-10. Cf. the similar kenning *doi*mh *bhúruigh* (*ABM* 492.22c), 'enraged stags'.

31b For *cró chaolaigh* 'pen of wattles; cage', here apparently 'trap', see *DIL* s.v. *cáelach* (a) and *IGT* ii, §87.

32a If this represents line *a* of a stanza, the line is a syllable short once *i* is elided. The 3 sing. possessive adj. could be inserted at the beginning of the line or, if this the *seóladh* of a quatrain in *snéadhbhairdne* Type 1, *námhad* ('of enemies') could be read *re námhaid* ('against [his] enemy') to provide the missing syllable, but I cannot restore the syllable-count with any certainty. It is possible to divide this line [...] *cruth mar cholga / i gcath námhad*, taking it as *snéadhbhairdne* Type 1, but *námhad* does not make perfect rhyme with 35d *fánchnoc* or *uaithne shlán* with 32c *seólbhog* (but see note 32c below). Alternatively, the line may be misplaced or corrupt (see below). As it stands in my critical edition, I take it as *a* of a *seóladh* in *snéadhbhairdne* Type 1 with *b* omitted but this is highly tentative.

The phrase ***cruth mar cholga*** 'form like swords (?)'(i.e. 'he plies his sword so swiftly that he appears to be wielding multiple swords' (?)) is bizarre and possibly corrupt (influenced by §28 *cruth mar chubhar*?). An emendation to *cruthmhar* [*a*] *cholga* 'beautiful his swords' is possible (for the sing. predicative adj. describing a plurality, see note 19cd) and would restore the corrupt syllable-count, but I know of no example of the adj. *cruthmhar* in Bardic poetry and only one citation is given in *DIL*.

32c *Sleagh*, grammatically acc., has its nom. form here as it is separated from the verb which governs it by *uadha* (*SNG* IV, §4.4).

Seólbhog is a compound of *seól* 'course' (see *DIL* s.v. *séol* (d)) and *bog* 'soft'). *Seólbhog* and *fánchnoc* do not make *uaithne shlán* with one another; I cannot resolve this difficulty.

33a Fánaid, gen. Fánad (= Fanad) is a peninsula in the barony of Kilmacrenan, Co. Donegal, the territory of the Meic Shuibhne in the overlordship of Ó Domhnaill.

33b Cairbre Lifeachair, king of Ireland, was the son of Cormac, the son of Art Éinfhear (see §30).

As lenition is indicated on the initial of *Chormaic*, qualifying dat. sing. *chrú*, I have also lenited the initial of *Cairbre* in my critical edition.

(vi)

This prose section is connected to the previous stanza by the verb *comhloitidh* and the final word (*teinidh*) makes perfect rhyme with the final word of 34b.

34a Mac Diarmada encounters no resistance from the inhabitants of the areas he raids even when burning their very houses. For other examples of the reluctance (or inability) of inhabitants to defend themselves against the honorand's raiding, see *Airgfe, a rí, Bóinn bháinealach / gan tóir dá dtí an ghléighealach*, 'Neath the bright moon [i.e. when the attack would be clearly visible to any possible defenders] thou shalt raid the Bóinn on which white swans swim, and thou shalt not be pursued' (*AiD* 20.15ab) and *Má tá go seachnoid síol Éibhir - / d'ógbhaidh toghtha ní thug béim, / ní bhéaraidh ar mhnáibh dá moille / táir ar bhféaghain chloinne Céin*, 'If it be that they avoid the rest of the seed of Eber that is no reproach to the excellent warriors, a pursuing party that has looked upon the children of Cian will not overtake even the most slowly-stepped women' (*TD* 29.7).

34b Literally, 'it is an expectation that will be certain'? The article *is* is elided (as above) or omitted (as in *ABM*) for syllable-count.

MS *bhús* may represent the Roscommon pronunciation of the relative future indicative of the copula at the time the scribe was writing. The lengthening of the vowel after the disappearance of the aspirant *-dh* in future indicative *budh* has been stereotyped.

(vii)

The beginning of this prose section and the previous stanza are connected by *deimhin.* The final word of the prose (*uaine*) makes perfect end-rhyme with 35b.

I agree with *ABM* that *na* in MS ***na rioghacht Mhuighe Luirg*** is an error. Cf. (in the same section) *riogh*acht *Mhoighe Luirg.* For gen. sing. *moighe / muighe* see note 37a.

***sgoláireacht*:** I know of no other occurence of this word in Classical Irish. It is not given in *DIL*, though *sgoláir*(*e*) 'scholar' is attested. *ABM* reads *sgol*aire*s* for *sgol*aire*acht* in my transcription.

MS *ar is ar thesgadh*: For sense, I have read the first *ar* as *acht.*

I do not know how to interpret MS ***látannaibh***

I have normalised MS **con*gmháil*** to *congbháil.* I take the phrase *congbháil a ochta re hiombualadh* to mean 'keeping his chest towards battle', i.e. not retreating.

35a I take *do-gheibh* here to mean 'is capable of' (*DIL fo-gaib* (f)).

36ab Comparisons of honorands with Guaire are very common in Bardic poetry. For a similarly worded example from a poem in the same metre, see *Teabóid Builtēr, ceann na fēile, / gnúis mar Ghúaire* (*Butlers* 6.10ab), 'Teabóid Butler, pre-eminent for generosity, a face like Guaire's'.

Eangnamh is so frequently paired with *oineach* that the two can be taken as synonyms despite *eagnamh*'s original meaning of 'dexterity, valour' (*DIL* s.v. *engnam*). Here *eangnamh is oineach* appears to be synonymous with *iocht ríogh is réidhe* in 35a.

36b I have emended 36b *ríoghdha* to *ríodha* for perfect end-rhyme (each of the other finals has only a single intervocalic liquid). For *ríodha* (*ríoghdha*), see Poem 1.28c and note. Even with this emendation, the *bd* rhyme *ríodha* : *craobha* is still not perfect. The scribe sometimes confuse *ío* and *ao* (they were evidently pronounced the same in Roscommon in the seventeenth-century (see 50h and note)), but the text as it stands makes good sense and I can offer no emendation to satisfy the requirements of rhyme. Cf. §18 *Eamhna* : *Samhna.*

36d *ABM* incorrectly reads *sa* for *fa.* I have emended MS *fa gcrom*, the preposition *fa* + nasalising rel. particle + 3 sing. dependent form of the verb *cromaidh*, to *fan crom* (= copula + *fa* + adj. *crom*). The 3 sing. dependent form *crom* is impossible here as the subject of the verb would be pl. *craobha* (see *SNG* IV, §7.30) and I think *cromaidh* could be used transitively in this context. For images of stooping trees in Bardic poetry, see McManus 2006, 103-5.

(viii)

This prose passage is connected to the previous stanza by the association of *cromaid* with 36d *gcrom*. The final word of the passage makes perfect end-rhyme with 37b.

37a Following *IGT* ii §31, the gen. sing. of *magh* is *moighe*, but the noun was also declined with the vocalisation *-u-*. For example, see pl. nom. *muighe* in *Muighi loma lesaíbhne. luibhi orra ag eiséirghe* (*muighi* : *luibhi*) (*IGT* ii, ex. 150), 'herbs growing again on bare beautiful-ramparted plains'; see also Poem 3.6ab *mhuighe* : *duine*. The lenition of *mhuighe* here is another example of *sléagar.*

I am unsure how to translate gen. sing. ***mórráimh***. More literally, 'of great course', i.e. expansive? If *Magh Mórráimh* or *Magh* (*mór*)*Ráimh* is a placename, I cannot identify it. *Rámh* literally means 'the act of rowing', figuratively 'a course, a reign'. I take Magh to be a placename. It could refer to Magh Luirg or Magh Aoi (= the plain of Roscommon), but used attributively of *laoch* 'hero', it might refer to a location where the honorand did battle. An Magh in the barony of Athlone in the territory of the Í Cheallaigh (*AC* p. 836, *ALC* ii, 369) might be the location meant or Magh Ó nGadhra in the territory of the Í Ghadhra. Note also the title Mág Raghnaill an Mhagha (*OG* s.v. *Mag*).

37b For *díoláimh*, see *DIL* s.v. *díláim.* In the examples cited, *díoláimh* is used figuratively to mean 'useless, ineffectual', but in the present instance, *díoláimh* may be taken literally, 'without a hand / arm'. Cf. Poem 3.35-6 where Seithfín Mór asserts that Tomaltach has maimed many warriors, leaving some one-legged, and also employs the compound *biothainimh* which may suggest he was influenced by the *Breisleach*, which is also referred to in the present poem.

38 The copy of the poem in E begins at this point.

38b I have translated *cuan* in the sense of 'harbour' here but the translation 'waters' is also possible (*DIL* s.v. 2 *cúan*).

38cd I have emended 38c MS *fúar* to variant *uar* (for an example of *uar*, see *ag súr thrághann n-°úar n°Éireann* (*IGT* iii, ex. 683), 'seeking the cold beaches of Ireland') for alliteration. Presumably, this also avoids the metrical fault of *caoiche* as *fuar* no longer rhymes with itself in 38cd.

38e *Eilge* (*Ealga*) is a poetical name for Ireland. For other examples, see *O'Reilly poems* 39.9 and *TD* 26.13. The implication is that poets travel to Mac Diarmada's court from all over Ireland.

39b I take Druim Daghdha as a poetical name for Magh Luirg. I have not encountered another example.

39c E has *lann* for P *lān* ('a sword with them') but, for sense, P's reading is superior.

39d For the metaphorical use of *cleath* 'house-post, stake, spear' of a celebrand, see *DIL* s.v. 1 *cleth* (e). I am unsure of the location of Carna. There is an Ard Carna (= Ardcarne) in the barony of Boyle and a Carna in Tír Amhalghaidh, Co. Mayo, the lordship of the Í Dhubhda (*OG* s.v. *Carna*).

As dat. / acc. sing. *cleith* is not identical with nom. sing. *cleath* (*IGT* ii, §39), I have supplied nasalisation on the initial of *Carna* after the preposition *fa* (*um*) 'around', though as the qualifying noun is a place-name this might not be entirely reliable indication of the case governed by the preposition in this circumstance. Cf. 46d *mar mhín Murbhaigh.*

39e P has a 3 pl. possessive adj. where one would not be expected: *le ngormgha* 'with their blue spear' is probably an error for *le a ghormgha* as in E.

39f I am unsure of the meaning of *ar eol anbha* 'with great knowledge'. It might refer to Mac Diarmada's expertise in war. Cf. the description of the Í Fhearghail as *eolaigh an chogaidh* (*ABM* 213), 'those knowledgable in war'.

39g *lór a ndealbhdha*: more literally, 'ample their beauty'. *Dealbhdha* appears to be an abstract of the adj. 'shapely, comely, beautiful'. The abstract noun *dealbhdhacht* would not make *comhardadh brisde* with the other final words of this stanza. *DIL* do not give examples of abstract *dealbhdha* (*DIL* s.v. *delbdae*). For another example of abstract *dealbhdha* 'beauty', see *An abhus, a ócclāigh fhinn, / do chomhdhealbhdha ní fhaicim, / binn linn do theanga sholamh / idir bhéarla is bhinn-fhoghar* (Ní Shéaghdha 1942-5, i, 125), 'Stay where you are, O blond youth, I cannot see the likes of your beauty; I find your quick tongue, both speech and tuneful singing, melodious'.

39h I am unsure of the meaning of this phrase. It might refer to the host returning at Samhain 'November', the end of the warring season, laiden with treasures for the poets, or to a raid being carried out at Samhain, out-of-season. It seems likely, however, that this might be another reference to *Cath Muighe Tuireadh* in which Tuatha Dé Danann did battle with the Fomorians at Samhain.

40a I agree with *ABM* that a 4^2 line has been omitted here, possibly a repetition of 42d.

40b E *mhuintir* (?) is grammatically incorrect and would also leave the line a syllable short.

For **Duach Galach**, see Poem 3.11d and note. The lenition of the initial of *Ghalaigh* is not to be realised after *-ch* (*IGT* i, §51). Cf. 53b *gég* ***ch****ráoibhe.*

40d The initial of *faghail* is lenited in E but alliteration requires *f-* as in P. See Poem 1, note 31 and Poem 6.4a and note.

41ab This couplet poses a number of difficulties. I do not understand MS *acadh.* It might be an error for 3 pl. prepositional pronoun *aca*, but if so, the line would be a syllable short after the elision of *ar.* There is no alliteration in *b* which, assuming the text is not corrupt, suggests that the first stressed word of *b* should participate in *lorga*, i.e. that this couplet is a *seóladh* of *snéadhbhairdne* Type 1 where alliteration would not be required in *b*. The monsyllabic final of *a* does not make *uaithne shlán* rhyme with the finals of *bcd* which further suggsests the couplet was originally a *seoladh* in *snéadhbhairdne* Type 1 as monosyllabic finals are possible in *a* in this metre if they participate in *lorga*, i.e. if they are excluded from end-rhyme. *Cliath* however does not alliterate with *mbíd* and the *seóladh* therefore lacks *lorga*.

***Gallmhaoir*:** For *maor* 'collector of dues', see Simms 1987, 82-3.

41c *fhionnbhúidh*: I have adopted the reading of E's reading of *-bhūidh* 'affectionate' (see *DIL* s.v. *baíd*), a well-attested adj. in Classical Irish, for P *-bháoidh* which was probably influenced by the finals of *bd*.

41d I know of no other example of the phrase *fiadh Amhlaoibh.* If it is a poetical name for Ireland, it cannot be very common. Note, however, that the following prose passage begins

Amhlaoibh and the poet may have selected *Amhlaoibh* here as a 'bridge-word' to the prose passage.

(ix)

Note that the final word of this prose passage makes perfect end-rhyme with 43b.

I know of no other reference to this story but stories about magical pigherds in Sligo and Roscommon are recorded in *Metr. Dind.* iii, 150-1, 382-95, 438-9. Each of the surnames contains the name of an animal: *-luin*, gen. sing. *lon* 'blackbird', *-chaorach*, gen. *caora* 'sheep', *coin-* palatalised gen. *cú* 'hound'. Each forename and surname alliterates. *Ó Lomluin* might be translated 'Ó Bare-Blackbird', *Ó Geirchaorach* 'Ó Sheep-Fat' and *Ó Coinlearga* 'Ó Dog-Track'. I am unsure of the significance of this passage which appears to have been a humorous anecdote. It is connected to the previous stanzaby a 'bridge'-word and should probably therefore be read in the light of the argument of that stanza. Is the journey of the three servants of Ó Neachtain who make the relatively short journey from Athlone to Rathcroghan to feed their pigs being humorously juxtaposed with Mac Diarmada's raids on his enemies? For another reference to a story concerning grazing pigs, see Ní Shéaghdha 1942-5, i, 99.

***as feadhaibh*:** The Classical form of the preposition is *a*, rather than *as*, historically the 3 sing. masc. prepositional pronoun (*SNG* IV, §10.3).

42 This stanza begins with the assertion that Mac Diarmada levies no exactions on the learned family of Í Dhuibhgeannáin (*ar* [*d*]*tíre*). There follows four half-quatrains which reference stories unknown to me. If this stanza is concerned with generosity to poets, as 42ab might suggest, these references might be to stories illustrative of the indulgence with which poets are treated.

42a I have emended MS P *ffuil* (cf.E bfuil) to Classical *fhuil* (*SNG* IV, §3.3).

42b There is no alliteration in this line.

I have emended MS *nō* to *ná* here, but see *DIL* s.v. 1 *nó* for examples of *nó* for *ná.*

***báille*:** I know of no other example of the loanword *báille* (see Risk 1968-75, §§3 and 205) in Classical Irish. *DIL* (s.v.) cites two examples from post-Classical verse and notes that the word also occurs in the late fifteenth-century prose text *Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás* (Quin 1939, xxiv-xxv).

42cd Stephen Stacey has suggested that this may refer to a story similar to that recorded by Céitinn regarding Mo Chua (Bergin 1930, 35). The apologue concerning Aithirne in *Giolla Brighde* 11 does suggest that on occasion a poet might expect the natural world to be as obliging as a patron!

42f There is no alliteration in this line.

42g *cat*: The reading of P is unclear and E *cath* 'battle / army' does not make perfect internal rhyme with *mac* in 43f, unlike the other words in internal rhyme in this stanza.

42i I follow P here in taking *An Giolla Dubh Ó Duainre* 'The Dark Youth Ó Duainre' (*Duainre* > *duan* 'poem' ?) as a fanciful personal name. E reads *ó Dhuainre* 'the Dark Youth from Duainre'. *Duainre* does not make *uaithne shlán* with the other finals of the stanza. Read *Duainne* ?

42j *gul*: *IGT* ii §69 gives only *gal* and *gol*, both with dat. sing. *gul*. For examples of nom. / acc. sing. *gul*, as in the present poem (: *dubh*), see *nír leigemh da mhather gul / na bheith ina bhun san ngleó* (*gul* : *bhun*), 'His mother was not let weep or attend him in the battle' (*ABM* 2.8cd) and *do-chuaidh Róise leis gan ghul, / fear táinig gan ghuth as broinn* (*ghul* : *ghuth*), 'Róise went with him without a tear, the man who came faultless from the womb' (*O'Reilly poems* 15.23cd).

42k To give the correct number of syllabes, I have elided the copula (as suggested in *ABM*). Alternatively, following E, the article could be omitted.

42m I take MS P *bragh* to be a mistake for *brugh* as in E.

42n Both MSS have *is treabh tháidhe* but the prose passage opens *Et ní treabh tháidhe*. As prose passages often begin by repeating a phrase from the previous stanza, *is* could be emended to *ní* here, or perhaps the opening phrase of the prose passage is deliberately intended to contradict the false statement of the preceding stanza. I take *treabh tháidhe* to mean 'a hidden / secret house'. Though *táidhe* 'stealth, fornication, theft' carries connotations of unseemly behaviour, it is sometimes used simply in the sense of 'secrecy': *DIL* s.v. *táide*

(a) cites *I dtáighe ní théid a mhaoine / mac Róisi go riarann dáimh* (*LCAB* 29, ll. 33-4) which is translated as 'his wealth is not concealed (i.e. stored away?) till he has satisfied a band of poets'. The attribute gen. *táidhe* probably means 'secret / hidden' in *Fiadh sidha ar nar bfes a ríl / do chi(th) re sleasaibh na slógh / a gleannaibh táidhe do triall / fiadh go mbeannaibh áille dh'ór* (*ABM* 197.13), '[Fionn] saw a fairy-deer whose ... was unknown, a deer with wonderful golden antlers that fled down the slopes occupied by the hosts into mysterious glens'.

(x)

After much thought, the poet imagines a circuitous route to Mac Diarmada's court, though his own home-territory of Cill Rónáin is in fact only a short journey from Mac Diarmada's demesne! Cf. a similar prose passage in *ABM* 463 after §18.

Abartar occurs twice and ***abarthar*** once in this prose passage.

D'ionnsaidhe occurs twice in this prose passage, once leniting the noun which follows it.

Archaic ***for*** used in place of EModIr *ar*.

I have translated **Lochlannach** as 'foreigner' in this prose passage. It refers to the Fomorians on both occasions.

Cill Rónáin was an Ó Duibhgeannáin centre in the parish in Boyle, Co. Roscommon.

Tír Thuathail refers to an area north of the river Boyle.

Coill Chrotáin, through which Lugh chased Balar in CMT_2, is tentatively identified by Ó Cuív (CMT_2, p. 77) as Killucrutteen, barony of Magherastephano, Co. Fermanagh. In place of Coill Chrotáin, E has Coill Rotain, perhaps indicating confusion with Ceall Rotán in the parish of Tibohine, Co. Roscommon.

Magh Treadha / Magh Ó nOileall is a territory in Co. Longford, between Longford town, the Shannon-Leitrim border, ruled in our period by the Í Fhearghail. It appears as *Magh Treáá* in CMT_2, pp. 48-9, 52. I have emended MS *do magh* to the expected dat. sing. *do Mhuigh*.

Guthard (E **Gulard**) is, according to *OG* s.v. *Guthart*, pp.'n[ea]r or in Mag Slecht', Co. Cavan. The phrasing here might suggest a folk-etymology for the place-name (*do ghuth ard* > *Guthard*), but see Mulchrone 1939, 55.

Carn Oilltriallach / Carn Achaidh Abhla, named for a Fomorian warrior who features in *CMT*$_2$ pp. 26, 28 and 46, and is killed by Lugh is Heapstown in modern Co. Sligo (*OG* s.v. *Carn Oilltriallaigh*).

OG identifies **Uinnseann** as a river that issues from Lough Arrow and flows into Ballysadare Bay. I know of no other example of the story referred to here.

Síoth Dumha is in the barony of Leyney, Co. Sligo. For another reference to this story, see *Metr. Dind.* iv, pp. 292, 453.

For the death of **Clárach**, see *Metr. Dind.* iv, 282-3.

For another notice of the origin-story of **Sliabh Gamh**, the Ox Mts of Sligo and Mayo, see *Metr. Dind.* iii, 436-7.

Ceann Mhachaire Luighne could be translated 'the end of the plain of Leyney'.

Áth Cliath an Chorainn / Baile an Mhúta is Ballymote, a Mac Donnchaidh stronghold in the barony of Corran, Co. Sligo.

I know of no other example of the name **Maolán Cinn tSheinshléibhe**. **Céis Chorainn** is Keshcorann in Sligo.

I know of no place named **Cnoc na nOnchon**. **Conachail** in An Corann (*a crích Coruinn* (*ALC* ii, 74-7) was the scene of battle in 1087 between Ruaidhrí *na Soidhe Buidhe* ('of the Yellow Bitch') Ó Conchobhair and the king of Connacht Aodh Ó Ruairc in which the former was victorious (*AFM* ii, 928-9; *AU* ii, 42-3; Stokes 1895, 419).

Coirrshliabh na Seaghsa is the Curlew Hills.

Áth da Laarg is the monastery of Boyle. For *Laarg*, see *abb mainistrech Átha Dá Laarc for Búill* (*AFM* iii, 14), *mainistir Atha Da Laarg* (*AFM* iv, 822) and also *mainisdir Atha Da Laarac for Buill* (*ALC* i, 321)

Caladh na Cairrge is the shore opposite the Rock of Loch Cé, probably Rockingham.

44b Magh Málann is another name for Magh Aoi, the plain of Roscommon (*OG* s.v. *Mag Malann*). Tomaltach Mac Diarmada's house is also compared to Teach Miodhchuarta in *DiD* 120.36. See also Poem 7 ¶4.0 n. 163 for the comparison of Loch Cé to Teach Miodhchuarta in the reign of Brian Óg Mac Diarmada (†1603). For the comparison of another chief's house to Teach Miodhchuarta, suggestive of lavish hospitality, see *LBranach* 58, ll. 5678-82. The lenition of the initial of *Mhuighe* (*Mhoighe*) in both MSS is a further example of *sléagar.*

44cd For images of hostages in the possession of the strong ruler, see McManus 2006, 73-5.

These two lines pose some metrical problems. For perfect rhyme, neutral finals are necessary, but in both MSS the final of 44d (E *bháinnduinn*, P *mbannduinn*) is palatal. Nom. sing. *glas* in the same line does not make perfect internal rhyme with 44d *bhais. Glas* could be emended to to nom. pl. *glais* (following E; for nom. and pl. after *is iomdha*, see 44c below) to rhyme with 44d *bhais*, but this would not resolve the difficulty of end-rhyme. 44d *mbánduinn* cannot be emended to *mbándonn* unless the phrase *fa bhais* is radically emended: *iomdha ann glas agus géibheann / is bas bhándonn* 'many there are the locks and fetters and pale ruddy palms' or perhaps *iomdha ann glas agus géibheann / na mbas mbándonn* 'many there are the locks and fetters of the pale ruddy palms'. I have adopted the former emendation in my critical edition, but 44d as it stands in the MSS, despite the metrical difficulties, makes good sense.

44c This line is a syllable short. *ABM* suggests inserting the present indicative of the copula at the beginning of the line. Alternatively, MS *is* could be emended to *agus.*

***iomdha*:** P reads nom. sing. *glas* and *gēibhion*n but E has pl. *glais* and *gēibhin*n are in the nom. pl. Predicative *iomdha* can be followed by a nom. sing. or pl. noun. For the pl., see *Imda ad lis geimli agus géibinn. scris na merli a hÉrinn íad* (pl. *geimli* : *merli*, pl. *géibinn* : *hÉrinn*), 'There are many chains and fetters in your liss, they guarantee the extirpation of robbery from Ireland' (*IGT* ii, ex. 155) and *Imda neóil reachta na ríghe. is teachta sgeóil fhíre íad* (pl. *neóil* : *sgeóil*), 'many are the clouds of princely righteousness; they are messengers announcing justice' (*IGT* ii, ex. 2066).

44d Both MSS read *bán**n**duinn* for *bánduinn.* In P, the initial of the adj. is nasalised after acc. sing. *bhais* (nom. *bas*), while it is lenited in E. See note 44cd above.

44f The conjunction *ná* here is the shorter form of Classical *ioná*. *Ná* is prohibited by *IGT* v §12 (*Lochtach sin* [*ná*], *uair is egean ailm i tosach na himarbagha 7 ailm 'na deradh 7 nin atorra*, 'That [*ná*] is faulty because there must be an *a* at the beginning of the comparative conjunction and an *a* at the end of it and an *n* between them') but metrically-confirmed examples of *ná* are found in Bardic poetry (*SNG* IV, §5.8); here, '*ná* is required for syllable-count.

***úir*:** *IGT* ii §96 gives masc. nom. sing. *úr*. For nom. sing. (fem.) *úir* as above (: *Bhúill*), see *nír thiormaigh mo shúil ó shin, / ionmhain úir ris nar fhaoiltigh* (*shúil* : *úir*), 'never has my eye been dry since; I prefer some place where my eye enjoyed no such delight' (*AiD* 10.36cd).

***Árann*:** The following stanza begins *Ára Éireann* which implies that the *Ára* mentioned here is not to be found in Ireland. It is probably Arann off the west coast of Scotland, the beauty of which is praised in a Fenian lay (Ní Shéaghdha 1942-5, i, 29-31).

45cd *Foraois* 'forest' in phrases such as *foraois éigeas*, *chliar* etc. indicates a location where poets are numerous and secure (see §1); the idea here is that fish are very numerous and packed into the weirs in Moylurg. I take *cliabh coradh* to mean '(the space formed by) the arms of a weir'.

46b In the context of rivers and the sea, *coire* might be translated as 'whirlpool', but the reign of the just prince is characterised by calm waters (see 11c in the present poem where the rivers are described as *romhall* 'very slow') and the image of plentiful food is best conveyed by 'cauldron'.

46c *Mo-chean*: I have adopted the reading of E *mo chean* rather than P *mo chenn* for sense.

Tonnghlan might also be translated 'pure-surfaced' (see *DIL* s.v. *tonn*).

46d Mín Murbhaigh is in Tír Chonaill, the lordship of Ó Domhnaill (*DiD* 66.6).

The lenition of ***Mhurbhaigh*** after fem. *mín* is an example of the nom. for acc. where nom. = acc. discussed by Ó Riain (see note 10d and 25c above) (i.e. the initial of *Murbhaigh* is lenited because the fem. noun it qualifies is treated as nom.), or it could be an example of *mar*

governing dat. *Mar* historically takes the acc. (see, for example, °*fill mar an* °*bhfiodhbhaidh dtoraidh* (*TD* 15.49c)) but see *Gnáth an pór* °*riamh mur an* °*fhréimh* (*LCAB* 9, l. 61) for a possible example of *mar* governing the dat. confirmed by *fioruaim*. Alternatively, perhaps *Murbhaigh* should be emended to *Murbhaigh*. Cf. 39d *fa chleith Charna*.

47a The expected lenition of the initial of *gabh* after *nach* cannot be realised as *-ch* and *gh-* are homorganic (*IGT* i, §51).

47b More literally, 'our / my side of the agreement', i.e. 'the one I am obligated to (?)'. See 53a below. For another example of the phrase in a poem to Tomaltach Mac Diarmada, see *AiD* 31.12: *Go reacfa riu ríghe an Chúigidh / do cheann cunnraidh na cuir díot; / is adhbhar leisge d'fhuil Fhiachaidh / a bhfuil eisde d'fhiachaibh d'íoc*, 'Shirk not thy part in the bargain (O Aodh), and continue to let Fiachaidh's race have the kingship of the Province on payment; they like not what they have to pay for it'. See also *Ger mhaith g*ach *mac don cloi*nn *caoi*mh / ar*na síoladh go snúadh áoibh / rug Orch*aidh *an gioll* [read *geall*] ar *ghoil / do chumhta[ibh]* g*an ce*nn *cun*n*raidh* (*ABM* 412.39), 'Though every son of the noble family was great, having all inherited good looks, Orchaidh surpassed them all in martial deeds, by [amassing] unconditional submissions'. For the poet's *connradh*, see 1c and note.

47c This Tomaltach (note the unusual double-*l* in the MS; cf. the spelling *Ulltach* for *Ultach* sometimes found in MSS) Mór is probably the king of Moylurg back to whom the poet traces Mac Diarmada's genealogy in (iii). He was king from 1197 to 1207 and was the first to build a stone castle on the Rock of Loch Cé (Mac Dermot 1996, 58-61).

48c *Oileach* is a royal site associated with the ancient kingdom of the Ulaidh (see Mac Cárthaigh 2012a, note 21b). For the comparison of another chief's house with Oileach, see *LBranach* 58, l. 5661. See also Poem 3.15-16 for further comparisons between Mac Diarmada's residence and mythological houses.

48c As *a* governs the dat. in Classical Irish (see *BST* 193, *búain na healta as an* ***fhei****lm* ***oi****r* (§23d *Foraois éiges Innsi Gall*, Macbain and Kennedy 1894, 224-32) and *as an c****h****lár aíbhinn oilén* (*IGT* ii, ex. 916), and note frequent examples of dat. sing. *toigh* after *a*, as in *foireand a toigh* (: *sgoir*) *Thoirrdhealbhaigh* (*IGT* iii, ex. 507) and *ní thiaghair a toigh* (:

shoin) *athar* (*IBP* 38.6c)), MS *as an múr* has been emended to *as an mhúr*. Nasalisation after *as an* (suggesting the acc.) is marked once in the Tracts (*easgar dá bhoing as an* ***mb****éim* (*IGT* ii, ex. 762) but I have not encountered any metrically-confirmed examples of *a* governing the acc.

48d In EIr law, the bard appears to have been a lower-class poet, distinguished from the *file* by a comparative lack of scholarship (Breatnach 1987, 98-100; Kelly 2009, 46-7). Knott suggested that in the Classical period, *bard* was another term for *reacaire* or 'reciter' (*TD* i, lx) but the pairing of *bard* and *brúilinntidh* below suggests that they also composed poetry, [134] and the extract cited by Knott (the prose after §24 in *DiD* 111) could also be interpreted as evidence that, while the *file* had a *reacaire* to recite his poem for him, the bard recited his own composition. The bard probably remained a less prestigious class of poet in the Classical period.[135] For some other references to the patronage of *baird*, see *Magauran* 11.27 and 16.9, *DiD* 119.18, and *ABM* 412.40.

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[134] The religious poem *Fada mé ar mearaghadh sligheadh* is attributed to An Bard Ruadh in P (Ó Cuív 1946-50). In the Book of the Dean of Lismore, four poems are attributed to Fionnlagh Ruadh an Bard (*Scottish Verse* 15, 16, 18, 19), while another is attributed to An Bard Mac an tSaoir (ibid., 29). One of Fionnlagh Ruadh's poems contains a version of the apologue of the hag on the Rock of Loch Cé (ibid., 19). That the *bard* produced original compositions might also be evinced by the survival of the word *bàrd* 'poet' in Scottish Gaelic.

[135] See *Tadhg má díltar ar a dán. díltar an bard Ó Bánán .c.* (*IGT* iii, ex. 740), 'If Tadhg [a *file*?] is paid for his poem, let the bard Ó Bánán be paid' and the pairing of a dwarf(-jester) and a bard in *Ní háil abhac, ní háil bard. ó do-cháidh ramac Riocard* (*IGT* ii, ex. 1873). In his vitriolic attack on Gofraidh (mac Briain) Mac an Bhaird, Fear Feasa Ó'n Cháinte also associates the bard and low-brow court entertainment: *A bhaird gan an mbairdneacht féin / a abhlóir bhig, a bheigéir / mar shruth ngarg gidh teann a-taoi / do gheall lem bard do-béarthaoi*, 'You are a mere reciter – an unqualified one at that [or 'You are a *bard* without even the ability to compose the poetry proper to a *bard*'], you are a petty buffon, a beggar; bold as you are like a brawling stream, you would not be a match even for my reciter [*bard*]' (§69 *Créad dá sealbhainn damh an dán*, McKenna 1951). If the *bard* was indeed a 'reciter' as McKenna translates above, one can only hope Fear Feasa Ó'n Cháinte did not do his *bard* the disservice of sending him to deliver this last insult in person! Dáibhí Ó Bruadair associated the *bard* with vagrant women: *Gé ma é an bárd no an bhean tsíobhail / shireas aisge / nocha n-iarruid aithne an íosdagh / d'aithle an aisdir* (*ABM* 461.32), 'Whether it is a *bard* or a travelling woman who seeks a gift, they do not need to seek any further for accommodation after their journey'. Similarly, in *Foghmhar na bhfileadh fuil Bhrianach* (*ABM* 242), the bard appears rather low down in the hierarchy of attendees at the court of Ó Briain: *eigsi ⁊ anroith, filigh ⁊ f[e]allsamhuin, draoithe et deaghollmhuin, geocaig [⁊] gláimhínigh, baird ⁊ biothamhlóirigh, óinmhidígh et amadáin eigciallaigh, lucht siobhail*, 'learned men and poets next in rank to master-poets, poets and philosophers, druids and expert master-poets, jesters and satirists, bards and buffoons, idiots and senseless lunatics, travellers'. See also *[Iom*dha?*]'na bruigin bard béllúath / re mbi urgrain* (§28ab

49a The MS text is hypersyllabic. I elided the conjunction *is* to supply the correct syllable-count.

***brúilinntidh*:** *IGT* ii §52 has *brúilingidh*, of which *brúilinntidh* (P *brúlinntigh*, E *brulinntighi*) (influenced by 6a *foghlainntigh*?) 'a poet who practises *brúilingeacht*' is presumably another form. I know of no example outside of the present poem of *brúilinntidh*. *Brúileang*, a further term for a composer of verse in brúilingeacht, occurs paired with *bard* in *Táinic an Croibhdhearg go Cruachain*: *Ní choisgfed cuig cuigidh Eireann / oirecht Cathail in chuil tais. / coisgidh camdhúain bhaird nó bruiling, / glanshlúaigh an aird chúilfinn chais*, 'The five provinces of Ireland would not restrain the host of Cathal of the smooth poll [or 'smooth hair'], a competitive lay of bard or bruileng [read 'a crooked lay' in contrast to the *dán díreach* or 'straight-verse' of the *file*] restrains the bright retinue of the lofty, fair-haired, curly-headed (prince)' (Quiggin 1912, §15).

49b *Badhbh Shionna* 'the crow of the Shannon' is Mac Diarmada. For other examples of *badhbh* used figuratively of celebrands, see *Giolla Brighde* 10.31c, *Magauran* 21.10c, *Magauran* 29.19d and *DiD* 84.3b. The *t*-mutation on the initial of *Sionna* in E is not Classical (see Poem 2.note 1a).

49cd Literally, 'Tomaltach's intention famed for constancy, the oaths of which are not great'. *Greim* 'grip', gen. *greama*, is commonly used to mean 'power' in Bardic poetry but here, as it describes the honorand's *rún*, it seems to refer to his steadfastness in fulfilling what he has promised or resolved to do; hence the translation 'constancy' above. See *DIL* s.v. *greimm* III.

49c *Go*^{n} historically takes the acc. but the nasalisation has spread here to *ngreama*, suggesting that it takes the acc. For another example of *go*^{n} apparently governing the acc., see *Fúair Oilill go n-aigneadh* ^{o}*bhfairsing, /* ^{o}*foirinn bhfaidshleagh nglaisshlim ngér*, 'Generous Oilill got a crew with long, grey, smooth, sharp spears' (*IGT* i, §112). See *Magauran* l. 1010 note.

49d *Mionna* is the *canamhain*-form of the pl. of *mionn* (*IGT* ii, §60). For another example of the phrase *mionna móra*, see *Do-béur-si mion*na *mora / a mbreig d'iar*aidh *onora / eidear mnaib suirge go saob / gan baidh no cuimne ar cómgaol*, '[Youth] will stupidly made false

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Éireóchar fós le cloinn gColla, RIA 744 (A v 2), 73b), 'There are many bards in his palace who are detested'.

oaths in search of favour among courting women without affection and heedless of consanguity' (*ABM* 355.3).

(xi)

The 'bridge'-word between §49 and (xi) is *mionna* and the final word of the prose passage makes end-rhyme with 50b.

***muna farchluas*:** *ABM* incorrectly reads *mna.* P *muna* represents the conjunction *má* + neg. present indicative of the copula, while E *munab* represents the present subjunctive.

***farchluas tug mé*:** *Do-bheir farchluais ó* means 'eavesdrop on' (cf. *forcloisin* (*DIL* s.v.)). See *far-chluais* '(act of) eavesdropping' in Dwelly s.v.

E ends after this point.

50cd I cannot identify Mór and Maine. Given that these lines follow (xi) (with which they are connected by rhyme), they might be on the theme of false oaths or unseemly behaviour.

50ef 50e lacks a syllable and I do not understand MS *uoládh. U* sometimes represents *bh* in MSS but *bholádh* remains obscure to me. Taking the accent-mark as an error, I have read *[a] bholadh* and translate literally 'The yellow poet, the smell of him is not entirely high (?)'.

50h For sense and for perfect internal rhyme with *gníomh*, I have emended MS *maol* to *míol.* The scribe (or a scribe further back in the process of transmission) makes the same error in another poem in the MS where he writes *thír* for *shaoir* (: *daoibh*) (Mhac an tSaoi 1946-50, p. 142 and §14).

For perfect end-rhyme with *buidhe*, I have emended **MS *moighe*** to *muighe* (see note 37a above).

50i More literally, 'Mac Diarmada is beloved of my townland / village / town / settlement'. The *baile* here may be the lands of the Í Dhuibhgeannáin (see *DIL* s.v. 1 *baile* (a)). For other examples of *is báidh le X Y*, 'X likes, is fond of Y', see *As báidh libh-se a laochradh Ghall / gan luadh ar chath na ar chomhlann / mar ta an sgiath chorcra do-chím / fa cliath ochta don airdrígh* (*ABM* 279.8), 'You are glad, O foreign warriors, that there is no mention of battle or

conflict because the purple shield I see is before the chest of the high-king' and *báidh le Bóinn buing fan bfer-soin / do fhóir easb[h]*aidh *fhuinn Uisnigh* (*ABM* 406.23cd), 'The Boyne is happy to adhere to that man [Tuathal Teachtmhar] who cured the want of the land of Uisneach'.

50j I take the *tuile* 'flood-tide' here to be Mac Diarmada's prosperity (see *DIL* s.v. *tuile* II). Tomaltach's divinely guaranteed liberality is compared to the tides in *DiD* 120.11: as he receives, he distributes. In Poem 3.8, the great wealth of Tomaltach is a giant wave which he distributes in gentler waves.

50k For examples of the similar phrase *leanaidh lorg na sean* (or *sinsear*), see *Banbha muna beith fa chion(*n*) / da leantaoi lorg na sinnse*ar */ is duit b*udh *duth*aigh *Eamhuin / cuid dot dhuthaigh dheaghanaigh* (*ABM* 214.33), 'If you followed the path of [your] ancestors, Eamhain would be your inheritance, a part of the inheritance passed down to you, if [all] Ireland was not the object of [your] affection', *Mairidh aca go nua a-niodh / flaith leanas lorg na sinnsear / ar chuing réidhe a nduas do dhíol / ar fhéile 's ar chruas gcaithghníomh* (*DiD* 102.8), 'Today they have a new prince who follows the path of [his] ancestors by [his] readiness to give payment [to poets], by [his] generosity and the bravery of [his] deeds in battle', and *Bliadhain is cethrochad gan chol / geall gach ríogh d'ua na n-iarladh / lorg a shen ar fhonn Éirionn / do lean Conn na gcaithréimionn* (*LCAB* p. 37), 'Forty-one years without blemish, the descendant of the earls was supreme over all kings; Conn [Bacach Ó Néill] of the battle-rolls followed the path of his ancestors over the land of Ireland'.

(xii)

Duine is the 'bridge'-word between the prose and the preceding stanza. The final word of the prose passage makes end-rhyme with 50b. This prose anecdote is presumably relevant in the light of 50b, i.e. as in St Ciarán's time, the land enjoys great prosperity under Tomaltach?

***re linn Ciaráin naoimh*:** The MS text is unclear here but a later scribe supplies the wanting words.

***do théigheadh*:** The verbal particle *do* is not Classical here: the Classical forms of the 3 sing. past habitual of the verb *téid* are *téigheadh*, *do-éigheadh*, *do-dheachadh* and *do-dhigeadh* (*IGT* iii, §8). However, it is historical (cf. OIr *no téged*); Classical grammarians, through

analogy with verbs such as *do-icc* (*ticc*), regarded *téid* as a compound verb (variant 3 sing. present indicative *do-éid*).

***onfais*:** *IGT* ii §13 has *ónfais* but the long-vowel is otherwise unattested (*DIL* s.v. *onfais*) and may simply have been used to emphasise middle quantity. For further examples of *onfais* from Bardic poetry, see *ní fholaig*[h] *im sribh eigne ar onfais / le tes greine gemraid*[h], 'no salmon swimming in a stream can hide because of the heat of the winter-sun' (*ABM* 327.20gh), where the end-rhyme precludes a long-vowel (*onfais* : *Ulltaib*[h] : *ionnruic* : *bronntar*), and *A mathair Criost do cum neam / nir fhas ar cach sa[n] creidim / snaidm nac folchai-si is e a fhior / re ré onfaisi an Ardrigh* (*folchai-si* : *onfaisi*), 'O mother of Christ who created the heavens, no doubt in the faith has come upon anyone that you did not conceal beneath the immersive moonlight of the King of Kings' (*ABM* 452.25).

I have normalised MS ***laghraibh*** to *ladhraibh.* The Shannon was evidently noted for its eels to judge by a reference to them in *Agallamh na Seanórach* (Ní Shéaghdha 1942-5, i, 60).

I agree with *ABM* that ***a lámh*** can safely be inserted for sense where the MS text is illegible.

51a *ar cúl chrannghal*: Literally, 'behind spearshafts'. For the similar phrase *ar cúl chaoilshleagh*, see *Nō no as tusa Filib fēin, / a throigh sheada, a bhos bhlāithrēidh, / a chneas seangmhālla, a ghlūn geal / nach neamhdhāna ar cūl caoilshleagh*, 'Or it is you yourself Filib, O elegant foot, O smooth warm palm, O slender delicate form, O pale knee, who are brave behind slender spears' (*O'Reilly poems*, 19.38). Note also *Rún ler imdhigh d'ól fhuairshreabh / ag inghin tar ól rífhleadh, / tarla lá ar cúl dá chaoilshleagh, / ler sgaoileadh rún mná Míleadh* [recte *míleadh*] (§11 *Failghigh chosnas clú Laighean*, McKenna 1949) which McManus 2009 n. 62 renders 'A girl had a secret reason for choosing to drink from cold streams rather than at a royal banquet; the secret [passion] of a soldier's wife was revealed one day behind two slender spears'. As McManus demonstrates in the same note, there are references in Bardic poetry to temporary tents constructed with spears, but in the case of the phrase *ar cúl chaoilshleagh*, I do not believe 'tent' is meant. Cf. the example cited above. I would emend McManus' translation to 'there came a battle [in which he fought] behind two slender spears by which the love of a soldier's wife was obtained', i.e. she fell in love with the honorand while watching him in battle. See also Herbert 2012, 394 n. 38.

(xiii)

There is no 'bridge'-word, perhaps because some lines have been omitted before it. The previous stanza described Mac Diarmada wielding spears before enemies; there may be an implication that he is facing a superior number of enemy combatants. The prose describes the mare giving birth to only one foal, though the wren can give birth to twelve chicks. Is it implied that, bizarre as this discrepancy in reproductive capacity is, the foal is the better offspring? Similarly, the poet has the spider best (or at least attempt to best) the hunting-dogs. Could the connection between the previous stanza and the prose be that quality is to be preferred to quantity?

***tríd a chéile*:** The preposition *tríd*, in origin the 3 sing. masc. prepositional pronoun *trí* + *é*, here is used in place of historical *trí*, a usage not recognised by the Grammatical Tracts, though current in spoken Irish and prose at the time (*SNG* IV, §10.3). *Tríd a chéile* occurs in an *amhrán* by Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn (*TD* 35.9d).

***is mbliadhain*:** *Is* here is a shortened form of *isan* (see *SNG* III, §7.8) followed by nasalisation (historically, this would indicate the acc.). I know of no other example of such nasalisation in Bardic poetry. Perhaps *is m-* is a mistake for *isin* (*isan*) (*i* 'in' + article).

***dreollán*:** Both *dreolán* and *dreollán* are attested (*DIL* s.v. *dreol(l)án*), *l* and *ll* being pronounced the same in this position.

***damhán ealla*:** Historically, *damhán allaidh*, according to *DIL* s.v. *damán allaid.*

***do inneall*:** *D'inneall* would be expected in Classical Irish as *do* is not a verbal particle but non-elision of the preposition *do* in verbal noun phrases is sometimes found in prose (e.g. *do indeall* (§23 *Oidheadh Chon Culainn*, Van Hamel 1933, 69-133).

***líontadh*:** According to *IGT* ii §96, the gen. pl. of *líon* is *líon* but metrically-confirmed instances of dat. *líontaibh* are found in Bardic poetry (see Poem 5.12b).

***roimh an*:** According to *SNG* IV, §10.3, the use of *roimh*, the historical 3 sing. masc. prepositional pronoun *ro* in place of the pronoun itself, is not Classical. It is, however, found in EModIr prose and *Fianaigheacht* lays. For some examples from seventeenth-century Bardic poetry, see (also from P) *roimh an ccuaine mur chosbóir* (§23d *Dursan do chás, a*

chríoch Bhreagh, Mhac an tSaoi 1946-50, Poem 1) and *roimh an da ríghshliocht eile* (§9a *Ar sliocht trír atáid Gaoidhil*, Ó Concheanainn 1984).

I have emended MS *go ccoinneoch*aidh (?) to conjunct *go gcoinneócha.* Cf. the suspension stroke in MS *ni chual*aidh (?) for *ní chuala* in (iv).

52c This line is a syllable short. I can offer no solution to supply the correct number of syllables.

***guaisseabhac*:** 'Deadly hawk'. For some other examples, see *Is gúais seabhac* [read *gúaisseabhac*] *as ger sbraic / nach cosmoil re cruth seabhaic / as innráidh re fedh fóghla / re fer finnláir ollorba* (*ABM* 257.45), 'He is a deadly hawk whose power is great, who does not look like a hawk – during battle this can be said to the man [who possesses] the fair heartland of a massive patrimony, *Gúais sheabhaic* [read *gúaissheabhaic*] *far gheis an lía / lega úaisle na hIndía / slúaig merchorra muighe Rath / feuthlonna toighe Temhrach* (*ABM* 301.6), 'Deadly hawks for whom Lia [Fáil] cried out, the noble jewels of India, the long-fingered hosts of Magh Rath, the lords of the house of Tara' and *Do thogh tar fhearaibh oile / gúais sheaphac* [read *gúaissheaphac*] *d'iath Iúghoine / do threibh Neill as céim cub*aidh / *d'Ó Neill do-bheir baramhail* (*ABM* 449.5), '[Ireland] has chosen the deadly hawk over all the men of the Land of Iughoine; the House of Niall recognises Ó Néill, as is just and proper'.

***Forbhar** appears to be in Thomond (*OG* s.v. *Forbair*).

52cd This is a common image in Bardic poetry: *Gabuis 'na láim cranngail cleath / do bhadhbhaibh do dháil a ndeoch* (*Butlers* 18.28cd), 'He took into his hand the shafts of spears to pour forth their drink for scald-crows', *Ealta bhadhbh do bheath*uighis, / do *chleacht h'arm-sa a n-oileamhuin*, 'You fed a flock of ravens, your weapon was wont to nourish them' (*O'Reilly* 1.26ab and note) and *Fir mharbha d'athghuin san ágh. fadhbha a ttachruibh do thionál* (*IGT* ii, ex. 759), 'When armies come together, scald-crows gather to wound dead men again in the battle'.

53b Clochar is in Co. Tyrone, the lordship of Ó Néill.

53d I have emended MS *tochair* to the variant *tachair* (*IGT* ii, §17) for perfect rhyme with 53b *Clochair.*

54ab More literally, 'At the time of battle, the back of the descendant of Art Aoinfhear is not let down' (see *DIL* s.v. *do-léci* II (d)), i.e. he stands tall in battle and does not cower or seek to avoid injury. **54b** For perfect rhyme with 53d *Ghaoidhil* I have emended MS *einfhir* to *aoinfhir* (*IGT* i, §100).

54cd As it stands in the MS, the grammar of these lines is problematic. MS *ríogh* is the gen. pl. of *rí* in place of the expected dat./acc. sing. *rígh* after *ar*. If MS *ríogh* is emended to *rígh*, 54d *gnio*mh must be emended to nominal pl. *gnímh* if the two are to make perfect internal rhyme. I have adopted the latter emendation in the critical edition and translation. MS *ghac* is a mistake for *gach.*

56a *Ar fhleadhaibh* has been emended to *ar fleadhaibh* for alliteration with *i bhfolach.*

56c I agree with *ABM* that MS *aga* must be elided to *'ga* to give the correct syllable-count.

56d In denying that Mac Diarmada is Lugh, the poet implies that he could be mistaken for him. This may be another reference to *Cath Muighe Tuireadh* in which Lugh's cast destroys Balar's eye.

For rhyme and grammar, ***leabhair*** here must be nom., though *leabhar* is the normal radical form. According to *DIL* s.v. 1 *lebar*, *leabhair* is an alternative radical form of the adj. See *As tú an chraobh lubhghuirt leabhair / ar nach fás acht fíneamhain* (*leabhair* : *fíneamhain*), 'Thou art the slender garden bough on which nought grows save vine-produce' (§36a *Aisling ad-chonnairc Cormac*, O'Dwyer 1946-7), where, as O'Dwyer's translation makes clear, *leabhair* 'long, flowing' more probably qualifies nom. *craobh* 'branch' than gen. *lubhghuirt* 'garden'.

56ef I take the syntax of this couplet to be *níor chubhaidh* [*an*] *fear bhus fhearr d'fheadhain do chur 'na cheann.* For alliteration with *fheadhain*, I have emended MS *bus ferr* to *bhus fhearr*. For lenition after the relative future indicative of the copula confirmed by alliteration, see *Gu bhfhagham °aimsir bhus °fhearr. sgaram re haimsibh Éreann* (*IGT* ii, ex. 1351),

Mhichéal °oirn bhus °fhear garma (*DiD* 64.37c) and *da deóin ní °he bus °f*[h]*eargbhuan* (*ABM* 312.11c).

57a This is the only example known to me of *feadhain* (historically an *ā*-stem (see *IGT* ii, §§10, 37)) declined as a guttural stem in Bardic poetry. For a prose example, see (iv).

57cd More literally, 'what his [or 'their'] hand has taken of the verdant land is the grasp of a griffin'. The griffin is employed as a kenning of celebrands in Bardic poetry (see, for example, *DiD* 85.35cd).

58b *Slissinge* (*slios* 'side' + adj. *seang* 'slender' in gen. sing.) is a preposed adj. qualifying *Saidhbhe* (: 58d *ghairbhe*). Damian McManus has the following in *Ériu* 63 (forthcoming):

> In poetry, the qualifying adjective may, very occasionally, precede its noun for metrical reasons. Examples are: *mó shaoilim mo chion do cheilt / d'fhior mar ó* ***dtaoibhsheing*** *Teircheirt* 'more likely do I think it that my crime would be concealed by a man like the descendant of slender-figured Teircheart' (*A Dhomhnaill, deaghlam fá shíodh*, Quiggin 1913, qt 16cd; the rhyme *shaoilim* : *taoibhsheing* confirming the case of the latter); in *Ua* ***cneisghil sheing*** *shaoirEoghain / lingeas ceilg 'na cléithlínib* 'The descendant of bright-skinned slender, noble Eoghan [mac Néill Naoighiallaigh], who rushes into ambush against the odds' (*Gach síol go síol ríghEoghain*, eulogy for Énrí (mac Eoghain) Ó Néill (†1489, *ABM* 264.35ab) *cneisghil* could perhaps be emended to *cnisgheal*, rhyming with *lingeas*, but this still leaves *sheing* (: *ceilg*) in the genitive. Another variation on this with the adjective before a fixed epithet is: *do oirrdhearcaigh féin gach fuil / ó Néill* ***ghoirmdhearcaigh*** *Glúnduibh* 'the descendant of blue-eyed Niall Glúndubh made famous the blood [of his ancestors]', the person in question being Énrí Óg (mac Énrí) Ó Néill († 1498) (*ABM* 309.41cd).

58cd I take MS *do cur* to represent *do chuir*.

Luighne is the barony of Leyney, Co. Sligo, the lordship of Ó hEadhra.

59c *IGT* iii §22 authorises *fuair*, *uair* and *do-uair* as forms of the 3 sing. past tense of *do-gheibh*. I have therefore emended MS *do fuair* to *do-uair*. I know of no metrically confirmed example of the past tense of the verb in *do-f-*.

60-1 I am unsure if I have divided this and the following two stanzas correctly. The scribe's punctuation is no help in the matter. I have interpreted both §§60 and 61 as *seólta* where the *comhaid* have been omitted. However, *Butler poems* 1.14 (*Mac iarla gan cruas, gan caoile / duas as dēine, / do chuir a chlū tar gnaoi Guaire / gu Baoi Béirre*) and *LBranach* 58, ll. 5614-18 (*Ó Thuinn Cliodhna go Tuinn Tuaighe / tearc ar fhéile / fear coimeasa ré gnaoi Ghuaire, / 's go Baoi Béirre*), two poems in the same metre, mention Béarra and Guaire together in very similarly worded quatrains, the idea being in both cases that the honorand's fame for generosity has spread to the furthest reaches of Ireland. This might suggest that §§60 (which mentions Guaire) and 61 (which mentions Béarra) should be taken as a single quatrain, but this poses a great many metrical difficulties. 60a *Chréidhe* would make perfect rhyme with *Bhéirre* (a variant of *Béarra*) but *ad* do not need to rhyme perfectly, while 60b *Guaire* does not make perfect rhyme with 61b *Bhéarra*, with which, if these lines formed a single quatrain it should properly rhyme, or *uaithne shlán* with 61a *Ruanaidh.* §61 is thematically very similar to both these quatrains and might also have formed part of the original stanza, but it too poses a number of difficulties for rhyme. 62b *uallaigh* would make perfect rhyme with 61a *Ruanaidh* but would not make perfect rhyme with 61b *Bhéarra* with which it should properly rhyme.

60 More literally, 'the descendant of Créidhe is surety for all on account of the fame of Guaire'. Mac Diarmada is, of course, the descendant of Créidhe, daughter of the famous Guaire. For a similarly worded quatrain, see *Ní thug tú é d'aonduine, / ní théid do chlú ar céilidhe; / geall daoíbh ō ghnaoí an Ghúairi-si, / díod gach laoí ní léigi-si* (*O'Reilly poems* 1.37), 'Your fame is not transferable, you have ceded it to no-one, you do not give it up any day; you are supreme on account of the fame of this Guaire'.

61b Both gen. *Béarra* and *Béirre* (= Beare, Co. Cork) are common in Bardic poetry (Hoyne 2011, note 39a).

62b I take *sgeim* (: *eing*) to be a variant of *sgim* 'filament, covering' (*DIL* s.v. *scim*; Dinneen s.v. *scim*). I have no other example of the noun in *-ei-*.

(xiv)

The 'bridge'-word between the prose and the preceding stanza is *uallach*. The final word (*diamhair*) makes perfect end-rhyme with 63b. The function of the image of the cities here is probably the same as the central image of Poem 3: Mac Diarmada's great fame surpasses all others.

***Gréagachaibh*:** *ABM* incorrectly reads *Greg*aibh.

***a ndéanaid siad*:** the construction 3 pl. synthetic present indicative + 3 pl. pronoun is attested in Bardic poetry (*SNG* IV, §7.30; *BST* 241.5 and note).

***ar mullaighibh*:** I know of no example of the dat. pl. of *s*-stem *mullach* in Bardic poetry. *Mullach* is not treated in *IGT* ii, so far as I know, though Damian McManus points out to me that *mullach*, a noun in *-ach* which is declined as an *o*-stem in the sing. and an *s*-stem in the plural, is consistent with the paradigm of *IGT* ii, §55.

63a I take *éan na lachan* 'duck' to be a figure for the honorand. See *Da mbeath (gu) nach ibadh endig. inann a duasa ag dail bho (?). en na lachan o loch gile. 's do rachadh sgoth dighi do .l.* (McManus 1997, 98-99, ex. 19), 'Even if the duck from Loch Gile could not drink anything [i.e. if he were on campaign?], he gives the same rewards when distributing cattle and receives the finest drink of all [i.e. poetry?]' and also *Rí Fhear Manach, mór an torchar, / torchair le rígh Rátha Both; / ag sin sgéal ar ágh a athar - / fa snámh éan lachan ar loch*, 'The king of the Fir Manach – great the good fortune – fell at the hands of the king of Rath Both; lo, it was like an account of his father's valour – it was the swimming of ducklings on a lake [i.e. something entirely natural?]' (*Giolla Brighde* 5.28). For some other images of ducks relevant to the honorand, see *As buing toili con da claind / do tol on fhoghail ni fhill / tusa don tochur do boing / usa boing lachan do lind* (*ABM* 269.21), 'Your love for plunder will never abate – it would be like trying to wrench love for its litter from a bitch; trying to get you out of the battle – it would be easier to take a duck from a pool' and *O Domhnaill ní hiongnad[h] dhó / a bfuighbhe impe d'annró / cert na lachan* ar *an linn / a c[h]ert ar achadh Éirinn* (*ABM* 173.28), 'It is no wonder that Ó Domhnaill has encountered so much tribulation; his right to the field of Ireland is the right of a duck to the pool'.

I have emended **MS *on mBuill mbraonaigh*** to *ón Bhúill bhraonaigh*. See note 21a.

63c *Cóir* is declined as a *k*-stem here (hence my normalisation of MS *chóraidh* to *chóraigh*). Cf. *ag cosnamh a gcórach* (: *brónach*) (*IGT* ii §42, ex. 1171), 'protecting their rights'.

64 There does not appear to be a *dúnadh* and the poem is probably incomplete. *7 a dhaoine* is repeated in the MS. This may be an error or it may be the beginning of the next line in the poem.

64a I do not understand MS *dár buidhe*. I have emended the text to *dar bhuidheach* (cf. *bean dar bhuidheach Dia is duine* (*DiD* 7.30b)).

Poem 3 GRIAN SHAMHRAIDH TEISD TOMALTAIGH

MS

1.0 This poem is found on pp. 132-4 of TCD 1363 (H.4.22) in the portion of that MS known as the Seithfín Duanaire.

1.1 An account of TCD 1363 (H.4.22) is given in Abbot and Gwynn 1921, xiv-xv, xix, 199-216. They observed that the vellum poem-book (Section XII of the MS as described in the catalogue, pp. 207-9) was separate from the main body of TCD 1363 and suggested that it is seventeenth century in date. Ó Cuív 1973, 22 favoured a date towards the end of the sixteenth century.

1.2 The *duanaire* or 'poem-book' may have been the work of a single scribe. A scribal autograph is found at two locations: *b*ean*n*acht *lib a senfineda misi Tanoighi ⁊ do Choin* Chon*nacht* con*a cl*ainn *do scribad*, 'greetings, ancient tribes, I am Tanaidhe and I wrote this for Cú Chonnacht and his children' (p.154) and *misi Tanaighi h Mael*chonaire *⁊ a Drui*m *Calp… tigh Doighre I Duibgennai*n *do Coin* Chon*nacht Ua Duibgennan do scrib*adh, 'I am Tanaidhe Ó Maolchonaire and in (?) Druim Calp[e][136]... the house of Doighre Ó Duibhgeannáin for Cú Chonnacht Ó Duibhgeannáin it was written' (p.156). *ALC* record the death of a Doighre Ó Duibhgeannáin in 1589 (Walsh 1947, 9).

1.3 Excluding the poems edited from the MS in this thesis, there are eleven poems in this *duanaire*. Quatrains are not clearly demarcated, the text instead being presented as prose, with each metrical line normally being divided from the next with a dot. The poems are addressed to patrons who flourished in the fifteenth century and were based in Ulster, Connacht, Meath and, in one case, Munster. They are ascribed to Sei(th)fín (no surname) and Seifín Óg and Maol Eachlainn mac Seifín (presumably sons of Seifín Mór), to a Lughaidh (no surname) and to Eóin Másach Ó Maothagáin (the author of the poem to the Munster celebrand). All the poems adhere to the rules of *brúilingeacht.* Eight of these poems are in *deachnadh mhór* and three are in *casbhairdne*. Osborn Bergin edited one poem from this *duanaire*: *Briathra cogaidh 'gon chath Laighneach* by Seithfín Mór, addressed to An

[136] Walsh 1947 (9) quotes a Fiant of 1590 which mentions Drom Calpe as a residence of ten members of the Í Dhuibhgeannáin.

Calbhach Ó Conchobhair Failghe (†1458) (*IBP* 40). Another poem from the *duanaire* (*Marthain le mac Conchobhair*) was published in O'Donovan 1849, 328-38.

1.4 Ó Cuív (1973, 22-3) suggests that the Seithfín Duanaire may have had its origin either in a *duanaire* of the poems of a particular Bardic family or in an example of a 'category of *duanaire* of which the metrical form was the governing characteristic'. He writes that 'there might well have been a place in the library of a bardic school for such volumes of a technical nature'. This, I believe, was probably the purpose of this MS. The pages of the MS have not been cut to uniform dimensions. The scrap of folio between pp. 128 and 129 was a scrap when it was first written on by the scribe: the text does not appear to have been interrupted by a tear but has been written within the limits of the slip. In addition, the bottom right-hand corner of page 132 appears to be missing, but, as there are no lacunae in the text, it is clear that this was the original shape of the vellum when the poem was transcribed. It seems unlikely that this was a presentation volume for a lordly patron,[137] but rather a scholarly textbook[138] on *brúilingeacht* which was put together for the use of an Ó Duibhgeannáin school. It may have drawn on an earlier *duanaire* devoted to the poetry of Seithfín and his family.

1.5 The text of the present poem is for the most part clear and legible. It begins near the end of p. 132 and concludes half-way down p. 134. A bad tear in the middle of p. 133 runs through the text but does not obscure it. Interestingly, some of the letters have been rubricated: these are indicated in bold type in my diplomatic edition.

1.6 The orthography of these pages of the MS is not as close to Early Irish usage as the text of Poem 4 on pp. 128 and 128A but shares many features with it (see Poem 4 ¶1). Lenition of (-)*m*(-) is never indicated, and lenition of (-)*b*(-) very rarely. The lenition of the other consonants is sporadically indicated. Nasalisation of *f*-, *t*- and *c*- is never indicated. The nasalisation of *d*- is often represented by *ndh*-. 4c *-ng-* and 10c *ng-* are both dotted. *-g*(-) is

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[137] Damian McManus has, however, pointed out to me that presentation volumes for lordly patrons are not always 'presentable' by modern standards. The Book of Magauran is not particularly pleasing to the eye, for instance. I would note, however, that no scraps of vellum were employed in that volume, but every folio is a rectangular leaf of roughly the same dimensions (give or take an inch in length).

[138] Cf. the remarks of O'Sullivan and Herbert 1973, 174 about Laud Misc. 615: 'The vellum leaves, uneven and naturally defective, are possibly unwanted scraps, suggesting that the manuscript was originally intended to be a scholar's rather than a patron's book'.

often represented by -*c*(-). Note the spellings *in* (article *an*), *can* (*gan*), *cor* (*gur*) and *con* (*'gon* (< *ag an*)).

1.7 A diplomatic edition of the poem has been published in *ABM* 275.

POET

2.0 The present poem is ascribed to Seithfín (or Seifín) Mór in the MS (*seifin mor* cecinit). No surname is given.

2.1 Seithfín was active in Leinster, the Midlands, Connacht and Ulster. Besides the present poem, five poems ascribed to him are known to me: *Beannacht don tí do mhúin Murchadh* to Murchadh Ó Madagáin (†1451?) (*ABM* 67), *Briathra cogaidh 'gon chath Laighneach* to An Calbhach Ó Conchobhair Failghe (†1458) (*IBP* 40), *Croinn a héanbhun aicme Fearghais* (TCD 1363, 139) to Cathal Mág Raghnaill (maternal grandfather of Cathal Mac Diarmada (Poem 4 ¶1.1.0)?), *Eolaigh an chogaidh clann Fhearghais* to Uilliam Ó Fearghail (†1445) (*ABM* 213), and *Meastar teach innse re hOileach* to Rudhraighe Mág Mathghamhna (*ABM* 328). All of Seithfín's poems are found in the Bardic poem-book bound in TCD 1363 (H.4.22), with an additional copy of *Briathra cogaidh 'gon chath Laighneach* and of *Eolaigh an chogaidh clann Fhearghais* in TCD 1393.[139]

2.2 With the exception of the present poem, which is *casbhairdne* (*brúilingeacht*) all of the extant poems by Seithfín are in *deachnadh mhór* (*brúilingeacht*). It is possible that Seithfín Mór specialised in *brúilingeacht* but, as the poems included in TCD 1363 were probably selected as examples of poems in *brúilingeacht* and as that *duanaire* (along with TCD 1393) is the only source for his work, it is possible that he composed poems in other metres that have not come down to us. [140] As Bergin pointed out (*IBP* 40), citations from the work of

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[139] The three Bardic poems contained in TCD 1393 are all found in the Seithfín Duanaire. The third, *Gach síol go síol ríoghEoghain* (*ABM* 264), is without ascription. I am in the process of preparing editions of the four poems attributed to Seithfín which have not yet been edited and hope to discuss the relationship of TCD 1363 and TCD 1393 as part of those editions.

[140] Giolla Críosd's soubriquet *Brúilingeach* (*Scottish Verse* 7) suggests that certain poets (and presumably their children) specialised, or at least were particularly noted, for poems in *brúilingeacht*. See also Poem 2.49a and note. Note also the soubriquet of Cormac *na Casbhairdne* Ó Dálaigh (*LMG* i, §133.4) which suggests that the poet was particularly noted for his compositions in *casbhairdne*. It may be worth noting, as Gordon Ó Riain pointed out at a seminar on the poet in the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, that while his soubriquet

Seithfín Mór in the grammatical tracts indicate that his poetry was held in sufficient regard to be studied in Bardic schools.[141]

2.3 Maoilsheachlainn mac Seithfín and Seithfín Óg were probably sons of Seithfín Mór. Maoilsheachlainn was the author of a poem in *deachnadh mhór* to Éinrí Ó Néill (fl. 1471) (*ABM* 90). Seithfín Óg composed two extant poems: one to Féidhlim Ó Néill (†1461) (*ABM* 300) and another to Éinrí Ó Néill (†1489) (*ABM* 327). All of these poems are in *deachnadh mhór* (*brúilingeacht*) and survive only in the Seithfín Duanaire.

PATRON

3 This poem is addressed to Tomaltach (§§1, 3, 4, 9 *et passim*), son of Conchobhar (§§10, 30) and Sadhbh (§14), grandson of Aodh (§24), who held the title of Mac Diarmada at the time of composition (§§7, 28). This is Tomaltach an Einigh (†1458), for whom see Poem 2 ¶3.

ARGUMENT

4 §§1-6 of the present poem concern the pre-eminent fame of Tomaltach Mac Diarmada which has spread far and wide in Ireland and abroad. In §7, the celebrand is compared to a mythological messianic figure, An Cliabhghlas. §§7-9 focus upon his generosity to poets. §§10-14 concern the celebrand's genealogy (for the political significance of these references, see ¶5 below). §§15-23 praise the hospitality and the house of Mac Diarmada on Loch Cé. §§24-8 describe the peace, prosperity, fair weather and fertility of Magh Luirg under the reign of Tomaltach. §§29-36 praise the celebrand for his prowess in marksmanship, in protecting his territory and prosecuting his enemies: he is portrayed shooting birds, maiming warriors and splitting shields.

DATE OF COMPOSITION

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indicates that he was famed for his apologues, not every poem that is attributed to Maol Eachlainn na n-Uirsgéal Ó hUiginn contains an apologue.

[141] Thus far, three three citations from the work of Seithfín Mór have been identified in *IGT*: *Briathra cogaidh 'gon chath Laighnech* (*IBP* 40, ll. 43-4 = *IGT* ii, ex. 955), *Grian shamhraidh teisd Tomaltaigh* (*ABM* 275.25cd = *IGT* ii example 1344) and *Meastar teach Innse re hOileach* (ABM 328.25cd = *IGT* ii, ex. 268) (McManus 1997, no. 33; 2004a, no. 165-6; 2005, no. 176).

5.1 As Tomaltach is styled Mac Diarmada, this poem cannot have been composed before 1421.

5.2 The claim that Tomaltach's fame has spread to Britain and Europe (§§1-6) might suggest that it was composed after he made the pilgrimage to Santiago in 1445. It is plausible that Tomaltach might have travelled to England (§2) and then to France (§3) on his way to the City of St James. [142] However, I know of no evidence that he travelled to Wales or Scotland (§2)[143] or Greece (§3), and if the poem had indeed been composed after Tomaltach's journey to Spain, it is surprising that Spain of all places is not mentioned once in the poem. On the whole, I think it is unlikely that the poet is making reference to the celebrand's pilgrimage, and, indeed, the fact that he refers to the celebrand's fame venturing overseas but does not mention the celebrand's actual journey to Spain suggests to me that the poem was composed before Tomaltach's journey to the Continent in 1445. References to England, Wales, Scotland, Greece and *Lochlainn* (Scandinavia but possibly Britain (see 32d and note)) evoke the racial make-up of Ireland: Norman invaders, Gaelic Irish and Scots, and Ostmen.[144] In

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[142] If these places do indeed indicate something about the course of the pilgrimage of Tomaltach Mac Diarmada, his party took the more arduous route to Santiago through France, rather than a more direct route by sea, disembarking at Corunna. Roger Stalley writes, 'It is not clear how soon the maritime route to Corunna was established, but by the fourteenth century only the most fervent and courageous pilgrim would have considered travelling by any other means' (Stalley 1994, 238). A maritime journey from Galway or another port might have been more convenient by the mid-fifteenth century but the longer route through France did continue to be used at this period. Several panels decorated with images of St James and a number of French saints on a fifteenth-century tomb in Kilconnell, Co. Galway suggest that the individual interred in the tomb (an Ó Ceallaigh?) made his way to Santiago through France around the same period (Stalley 1994, 254; Fitzpatrick 2010, 14) For maps of routes to Santiago, see Stalley 1994, 242, Fitzpatrick 2010, 15 and Ó Riain-Raedel 1998, 19.

[143] Tomaltach an Einigh Mac Diarmada was sufficiently famous in Scotland in his life-time to draw the poet Giolla Críosd Brúilingeach from Scotland to Ireland (*Scottish Verse* 6.20). Poems addressed to him were included in the early sixteenth-century Book of the Dean of Lismore.

[144] For the Normans as English, Welsh and Frenchmen, see *Is iat in ré gránna garb / Bretnaig co n-imat a n-arm / cus na gelmaigrib dá nguin / Sacsain, Francaig tar finnmuir*, 'The ugly coarse shoal who are assailing the bright salmon are the British with abundance of weapons and the English and the French from over the fair sea' (§50 *Tairnic in sel-sa ac Síl Néill*, Ó Cuív 1983). For Ireland as a melting pot of Greeks, Frenchmen, Britons and Vikings, see *Tucc áoibhne a tulcha* [read *tulach*?] *'sa tonn / Grégaigh Frangcaigh fian Lochlann* [*ABM* recommends reading *Lundann*] / *'s an fhían Lochlannach a-lle / go fiadh bothlongach Bóinde*, 'The beauty of [Ireland's] mounds and waves brought Greeks, Frenchmen, the warrior-band from London, and the Viking warrior-band over to the land of the Boyne, abounding in house-like ships (?) [see *O'Reilly poems*, p. 253]' (*ABM* 346.2) and *Grégach Frangcach fiorghonta / Sacsanach e s as Gáoideal / Alusdur grinn gniomhacla / ní*

having the patrons fame travel to their homelands, the poet asserts, not so much that the honorand is famous abroad, but that he is supreme at home.[145]

5.3 The genealogical references in the poem may be clues to the contemporary political concerns which the poet (or his patron) might have wished to address and so could be useful in suggesting a date for the poem. Hostility towards the descendants of Niall Naoighiallach is hinted at in the first quatrain, where the poet asserts, not that the patron is more famous than any of his relatives or ancestors, but that he is more famous that any of the descendants of Niall Naoighiallach. The Meic Dhiarmada were descendants of Brian (earlier Bríon), Niall's older half-brother.[146] Brian lost out on the kingship in favour of Niall (Byrne 2001, 74-5; Ó Cuív 1987).[147] Given this hostility and the reminder that the celebrand's ancestors have claimed the kingship of Tara (§5), the emphasis placed on the honorand's descent from Eochaidh (or Eachaidh) Muighmheadhón, the father of both Niall and Brian, and the common ancestor, therefore, of the Meic Dhiarmada and the descendants of Niall who had incurred

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cóir a bheith da mháoidhiomh, 'Swift agile (?) Alastar is a Greek, a wound-dealing (?) Frenchman, an Englishman and a Gael – it shouldn't be boasted about' (*ABM* 450.11).

[145] Cf. the following very similar stanzas in the same metre to members of the Butler family: *Lomnán* dā *chlū crīocha Sagsan, / seólchrann Alban, / nī raibhe ar chlū ann a urdail, / lann nār laghdadh / ... / Aisdreach ar chlú an mheic-sin Mairghrēg / tar muir ttonnruaidh, / rāinig ar cuairt ō ghēig Gabhráin / san* [*n*]*Gréig gormruaidh* (*Butler poems* 1.5, 7), 'The lands of the English are full of his fame, the famous hero [lit. 'ship's mast'] of Scotland; [even] in a land that could not be faulted, his fame was not satisfied [...] The fame of this son of Mairghréag travelled across the red-waved sea and journeyed from the scion of Gabhrán into dark-red Greece' and *Do-ch*uaidh *a chlū fōs fā Ēirinn, / mōr na grāsa, / ar feadh Saxan is fhuinn Alb*an, / *ar ndamh dána* (*Butler poems* 6.38), 'The fame of our brave stag went yet throughout Ireland (what an achievement!), throughout England and the land of Scotland'.

[146] It is interesting that Brian (Bríon) is only referred to once in the extant corpus of Bardic poetry addressed to the Meic Dhiarmada, in a quatrain in Muiris Ó Maoil Chonaire's elegy for Brian Óg (honorand of Poem 7): *Tré Brian ní hiongnadh uch / ag cloinn Bhriain Mhóir mic Eachach / neamhthuirse ní dú 'na dhiaidh / sreabhchuisle do chrú an chéidBhriain* (§7 *Do leónadh Éire i nÁth Luain*, *FFC*, 283-93), 'It is no wonder that the descendants of great Brian son of Eachaidh should lament the death of Brian; it is right to mourn his death, the lifeblood of the earlier Brian'. Here, as elsewhere in Bardic poetry, Early Irish Bríon has become Brian, but Damian McManus points out to me that Bríon survives as gen. Briúin in Classical Irish *í Bhriúin* (see *IGT* ii, ex. 1583, *ABM* 463.10 and *DiD* 79.4 for examples).

[147] A poem for Cathal Croibhdhearg Ó Conchobhair (Ó Cuív 1983) retells the story of how Niall, rather than any of his brothers, won the kingship but boldy subverts the tale to give occasion to a prophecy of the reign of Cathal Croibhdhearg, a descendant of Brian (Bríon). The poem begins by announcing the end of the reign of the Í Néill (*Tairnig an seal-sa ag Síol Néill*) and gives prominence to Bríon over the other brothers (§12).

their ire at this time, is no doubt significant. Though there is insufficient evidence in the present poem to allow for an identification of a nemesis descended from Niall, Mac Diarmada was in conflict with Tomás Óg Mág Uidhir c. 1430 and, to judge from the references in Poem 2, this conflict probably went back at least to 1421 (see Poem 2 ¶4.2, 5.4.4). Similarly, §§9, 11 and 13 which mention the honorand's descent from Muireadhach Muilleathan, a common ancestor of the Í Chonchobhair and the Meic Dhiarmada, and §12, which notes his descent (through his mother) from Cathal Croibhdhearg Ó Conchobhair, king of Connacht, can probably best be understood as attempts to establish parity between the Meic Dhiarmada and the Í Chonchobhair, a key theme elsewhere in the corpus of poetry addressed to Tomaltach Mac Diarmada (see Poem 1 ¶4.1). In contrast to the conciliatory tone of *Dá mhac rugadh do rígh Connacht* (*AiD* 31), another poem which treats of the relationship between the Meic Dhiarmada and the Í Chonchobhair, the present poem suggests some degree of hostility between the two families. This might suggest a date before 1435, when Mac Diarmada made peace with Ó Conchobhair Donn (see Poem 2 ¶3.3.2) but, once again, the evidence is not conclusive.

5.4 In conclusion, I suggest that the poem was composed between 1421 and 1435.

METRE

6.0 The poem is in *casbhairdne* (*brúilingeacht*).[148]

6.1 Each line has a syllable-count of 7^3.

6.2 There is alliteration in every line. If *fioruaim* (alliteration between the final and penultimate stressed word of the final line of a stanza) is a requirement of poems in *brúilingeacht* with a constant rhyming scheme, it should be noted that there is no *fioruaim* in 11d, as I have divided the text, but see ¶6.4 below on the division into stanzas.

6.3.1 Internally, the stressed words of the even lines make *comhardadh brisde*-rhyme with stressed words in the preceding odd line. (The first one or two stressed words of the odd lines can be exempt from internal rhyme.) In internal rhyme, the stressed vowel is the same (but see note 33c). (In 9c *modhaibh* appears to rhyme with 9d *Mhuilleathain*. But note the (compensatory?) *breacadh* 9a *modha* : 9b *modha* : 9d *modha-sain.* In addition, *Muilleathain*

[148] Bonventura Ó hEodhasa remarks that *casbhairdne* is the most common metre in *brúilingeacht* (*asī an c[h]asbhairn as gnáithi ann*) (*GGBM* ll. 2755-7).

rhymes better with the final of 9c *Muireadhaigh*, and this *aicill*-type rhyme may also have compensated for the faulty internal rhyme.) The unstressed vowels are always the same length and the finals are the same quality.

6.3.2 The final words of the even lines make *comhardadh brisde* with each other: the stressed vowel is always *o*, the final vowel is the same length (short) and the final consonant has the same quality (palatal). The odd and even lines rhyme with each other: the vowels are the same length (short) and the consonants have the same quality (palatal).The final words of the odd lines make *uaithne bhrisde* with each other and the even lines: the stressed and final vowels will always be the same length (short) and final consonants will always have the same quality (palatal).

6.3.3 Though unnecessary (indeed, theoretically forbidden) in *brúilingeacht*, internal rhymes are sometimes perfect.[149]

6.3.4 *Breacadh* offsets the occurence of *caoiche* (a word rhyming with itself) in §1 *teisd* : *teisd* : *teisd* : *teisd*, §25 *tír* : *tír* : *tír* : *-chíd* and §29 *fear* : *fear* : *fear* : *fear*. See also 16cd pronoun *í* (alliteration prevents an emendation to *sí* in 16c and grammar prevents this in 16d) rhymes with itself but this may be offset by the rhyme 16b *bhean* : 16c *bhreagh* : 16d *treabh*. In 26ab, both instances of *tír* in 26b rhyme with the single *tír* of 26c; this is an instance of *breacadh taibhse*. There are four instances of *caoiche* where I can neither distinguish between the meaning of the rhyming words or discover compensatory *breacadh* in strict rhyme: 2ab *clú* : *clú* (but note 2cd *cúig cúigidh* : [*g*]*clúi-sin*), 9ab *modha* : *modha* (but note 9cd *mhodhaibh* and *modha-sain*), 11cd *fuil* : *fuil* and 21cd *ól* : *ól* (but note 22ab *tóir* : *nóin* which could provide a loose *breacadh*).

6.4 The final word of the poem *Tomaltai**gh*** forms a *dúnadh* with the first (***G**rian*), which might suggest that we have the entire composition, though the poem concludes suddenly and has the appearance of incompleteness. The final line of the poem is written twice by the scribe. The repetition of lines in this manner in the MS is used elsewhere to indicate the conclusion of the text, even when the entire poem is not given. See Poem 4 for another example without a *dúnadh*. The scribe likewise repeats the entire last line of *Beannacht don tí*

[149] *IGT* v §117 states that rhymes should not be perfect in poems in *brúilingeacht* on the logic that imperfect rhymes are forbidden in *dán díreach* (*ni dligheann* [*comardudh dana dirigh*] *beth isin brulingeachd mar nach dligheand comardudh brulingeachta beth isa dan direach*). This prohibition (if it is as simple as it appears) was not observed by the poets (*Duanaireacht* §111). See also Poem 4 ¶6.2.3

do mhúin Murchadh (TCD 1363, 134);[150] that poem has the appearance of incompleteness and lacks a *dúnadh.* The repetition of entire lines occurs in other positions also in this MS. In *Briathra cogaidh 'gon chath Laighneach* line 87 is written twice but the second line clearly has no place in the metre (*IBP* 40).

6.5 I have followed *ABM* in dividing the poem into quatrains. However, for each stanza to conclude with *fioruaim* (see ¶6.3 above), a division into eight-line stanzas might be preferred. A division along the lines of theme could also be proposed. It should be borne in mind that the rhyming scheme is constant and any division into stanzas is, therefore, editorial. In presenting *Briathra cogaidh 'gon chath Laighneach*, another poem from the same MS with a constant rhyming scheme, Bergin (*IBP* 40) opted not to divide the poem into stanzas at all. Similarily, Ó Cuív (1946-50) adopted the same procedure in his edition of *Fada mé ar mearughadh sligheadh.* An advantage of a stanzaic division, however, is that it allows easier referencing and, for this reason, has been preferred in the present edition.

[150] In the transcription of this poem in *ABM* 67, the full line is not repeated.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

TCD 1363 (H.4.22)	Critical Edition
1 **Grían tsam*r*aidh teist to*m*altaigh.**	1 Grian shamhraidh teisd Tomaltaigh -
an*m*ain fan teist tog*ar*tu*r*.	anmhain fan teisd togarthair;
***teist* o neill anallam*ai*n.**	teisd ó Néill a-nallamhain
ni th*eid tar* theist to*m*alt*aig*[*h*].	ní théid tar theisd Tomaltaigh.

1 Tomaltach's fame is a summer sun; let the extent of his fame be examined. [Even] the fame of the descendants of Niall long ago does not eclipse Tomaltach's fame.

2 **Suil an*us* clu i*n* curadhsi*n***	2 Suil anas clú an churadh-sain,
ni fadh*ar* clu a co*m*cosmail.	ní faghar clú a comhchosmhail;
na cuic cuigidh cuirfid*ir*.	na cúig cúigidh cuirfidhir
fa*n* cluisi*n* an chon*nacht*aigh.	fan gclúi-sin an Chonnachtaigh.

2 Before the fame of that Connacht champion comes to rest, its likes will not be found. The fame of that Connachtman will overwhelm the five provinces.

3 Caidhi i*n* clu *ar* n*ar* chin*n*estu*r*.	3 Caidhe an chlú ar nar chinneasdair? –
clu th*air*si nir thoghu*mar*.	clú thairse níor thoghamair;
do ro si*n* a saxa*n*aib.	do-ró sein i Saxanaibh,
ni lor le t*eist* to*m*altaigh.	ní lór le teisd Tomaltaigh.

3 I have not chosen [to praise] any other fame in preference to his: whose fame has [Tomaltach's] not surpassed? It will reach the English, [but] Tomaltach's fame is still not satisfied.

4 Rug si buaidh o bretnach*aib*[*h*].	4 Rug sí buaidh ó Bhreatnachaibh –
cu*air*t na tir do thogrost*air*.	cuairt 'na dtír do thograsdair;
m*ar* si*n* dalb*ain* echlonghaig	mar sein d'Albain eachlongaigh
f*ar* ghablaigh t*eist* tomalt*aig*[*h*].	far ghabhlaigh teisd Tomaltaigh.

4 [His fame] has won victory over the Welsh; it chose to journey into their land. It is the same for Scotland of the horse-headed galleys (?) throughout which the fame of Tomaltach has spread.

5 Ni clu a nesbaigh urradhuis	5 Ní clú i n-easbhaidh urradhais
do lethnaigh fa loch*lann*aib.	do leathnaigh fa Lochlannaibh;
teid os *air*d in tall*ad*[*h*]sin.	téid ós aird an t-alladh-sain –
ceim san fhrai*n*gc do rothog*air*.	céim 'san Fhraingc do rothogair.

5 The fame that has spread throughout *Lochlainn* is not undeserved; that fame is proclaimed far and wide – it has indeed sought to make its way in France.

6 Tic ruaig don rei*m* siubailsin.	6 Tig ruaig don réim siubhail-sin
san g*r*eig na cu*air*t *chonus*aigh.	'san nGréig 'na cuairt chonasaigh,
ac sur na niath nanaithnigh.	ag súr na n-iath n-anaithnidh
can s*r*ian re clu i*n* *con*n*acht*aig.	gan srian re clú an Chonnachtaigh.

6 [His fame] charges into Greece on that march, on its warlike circuit; the fame of the Connachtman seeks out foreign lands unrestrained.

7 M*a*c di*ar*mada a dheghsham*ail*.	7 Mac Diarmada a dheaghshamhail,
i*n* cliabghlasa a co*m*cosmuil.	an Cliabhghlas-sa a chomhchosmhail;
le hua nechach adai*mtir*.	le hua nEachach adaimhthir
is eclach re noll*am*ai*n*.	is eaglach re n-ollamhain.

7 Mac Diarmada is the true likeness [of An Cliabhghlas], An Cliabhghlas is a perfect resemblance of [Mac Diarmada]; the descendant of Eochaidh [Muighmheadhón] does not deny that he is fearful before an *ollamh*.

8 A ton*n* duasbog deighenigh.	8 A thonn duasbhog dheigheinigh
ar ua*m*an an fhochog*air*	ar uamhan an fhochogair:
a c*r*odhsan m*ar* c*r*uin*n*ight*ir*.	a chrodh-san mar cruinnighthir
ga b*r*ondadh na boctonnaib.	gá bhronnadh 'na bhogthonnaibh.

8 [Such is] his [great] gift-giving wave of noble generosity for fear of [the poet's] complaint: as his cattle are gathered together, they [are] distributed like gentle waves.

9 Modha a m*ai*cne medhaighidh	9 Modha a mhaicne meadhaighidh,
modh<a> maithi to*m*alt*aig*[*h*].	modha maithe Tomaltaigh;
is do modaib muiredhaigh.	is do mhodhaibh Muireadhaigh
muillethai*n* na modhasi*n*	Mhuilleathain na modha-sain.

9 He is mindful of the way his ancestors conducted themselves, [such is] the noble conduct of Tomaltach; Tomaltach's conduct is like that of Muireadhach Muilleathan.

10 M*a*c *con*qb*air* c*eir*tbreth*aig*[*h*].	10 Mac Conchobhair cheirtbhreathaigh
co*m*chob*air* do *con*n*acht*aib.	comhchobhair do Chonnachtaibh;
ní t*ear*c im g*r*ib ngheluisnigh.	ní tearc im ghríbh ngealUisnigh
tech da ti do tog*r*ad*air*.	Teach Da Thí do thogradair.

10 The son of Conchobhar of just judgements is the deliverer of all Connacht, the griffin of bright Uisneach has many ancestors who sought out Teach Da Thí.

11 Finfhola da freg*airtir*.	11 Fíonfhola dá bhfreagairthir
fichmu*r*a na folasi*n*.	fíochmhara na fola-sain;
fuil sin gan fhuath dealadai*n*	fuil sein gan fhuath d'ealadhain,
fuil duach fad d*eir*c mo*n*gshoc*r*aidh.	fuil Duach fad deirc mongshochraidh.

11 The fierceness in [Tomaltach's] blood corresponds to that noble pedigree; that blood of Duach around your eyes with their elegant eyebrows is blood which loves poetry.

12 Cru an chrobhdhuin*n* mu*n* cu*r*udhsi*n*.	12 Crú an Chrobhdhuinn 'mun gcuraidh-sin,
t*us* co*m*luin*n* do cosnaduir.	tús comhluinn do chosnadair;
fuil uasal an Echachsi*n*.	fuil uasal an Eachach-sain,
can cnuasach a co*m*cosmuil.	gan chnuasach a chomhchosmhail.

12 That champion has the blood of An Crobhdhonn in his veins – they [both] fought at the vanguard of the battle; the noble blood of that Eachaidh [Muighmheadhón] – there is no pedigree to match it.

13 Caer don mia*n*ach muir*eadh*aigh.

ní mianach n*ar* molu*mair*.

fuil mael ruan*aid*[*h*]. ron*ear*tm*air*

sa chaeir uasail fholasi*n*.

13 Caor do mhianach Muireadhaigh –

ní mianach nar mholamair;

fuil Mhaoil Ruanaidh roneartmhair

'sa[n] chaoir uasail fhola-sain.

13 He is a metal cast from the ore of Muireadhach [Muilleathan] – a substance that I have praised; the blood of mighty Maol Ruanaidh runs in his veins.

14 Cru i*n* chúig*ir* do chana*mair*.

i*n* crúisi*n* an *con*n*acht*aigh.

m*a*c saidhbi gnuiss genam*ail*

i*n* maigre o buill bogs*r*oth*aig*[*h*].

14 Crú an chúigir do chanamair

an crúi-sin an Chonnachtaigh,

mac Saidhbhe, gnúis gheanamhail,

an maighre ó Bhúill bhogshrothaigh.

14 The blood of the five aforementioned make up the blood of the Connachtman [Tomaltach Mac Diarmada], the son of Sadhbh, the charming countenance, the salmon from the Boyle of the soft-flowing streams.

15 Med oili ní hi*n*tomhuis.	15 Meadh oile ní hiontomhais
re a c*r*oidhi *acht* teg tomalt*aig*[*h*].	re a chroidhe acht teagh Tomaltaigh;
mur crúach*an* s<a >chaithirsi*n*.	múr Cruachan 's a[n] chaithir-sin
do chuala gu*r* co*m*cosmuil.	do-chuala gur comhchosmhail.

15 Only his heart is comparable to Tomaltach's house; I have heard that that citadel and the fort of Cruacha are almost identical.

16 Se*cht* ndhoirrsi *ar* an dhai*n*gensi*n*.	16 Seacht ndoirse ar an dhaingean-sain
do ben coi*nn*me *ar* com*ar*sai*n*.	do bhean coinnmhe ar chomharsain;
Rath bregh is í a hi*n*dam*ail*	Ráth Bhreagh is í a hionnamhail
mu*n*ab i treb thomalt*aig*[*h*].	munab í treabh Thomaltaigh.

16 There were seven doors on that fort [Cruachain] which deprived its neighbours of their bands [of visitors]; Ráth Bhreagh is the image [of Tomaltach's house], if it isn't [actually] the house of Tomaltach.

17 Tech na g*air*di gemaghaid

treb na c*air*gi a co*m*cosm*ail*

gres daibhnes in istaidhsin.

maeidhfed <a>r thegh to*m*alt*aig*[*h*].

17 Teach 'na gairde geamhadhaigh,

treabh na Cairrge a chomhchosmhail;

greas d'aoibhneas an iosdaidh-sin

maoidhfead ar theagh Tomaltaigh.

17 The winter's night passes quicker in that house [Ráth Bhreagh] – it is the very likeness of the house on the Rock [of Loch Cé]; I will claim fo that the house of Tomaltach that it rivals the delights of that dwelling.

18 Loch ce mu*n* cuirt midhab*aig*[*h*].

na teid clui*m* a colcach*aib*[*h*].

Co*i**m**l**i**n**g** bad on b*r*uiginsi*n*.

co t*r*agh ton*n* bin*n* thobu*r*ghloi*n*

18 Loch Cé 'mun gcúirt miodhabaigh

'na dtéid clúimh i gcolcachaibh;

coimhling bhád ón bhruighin-sin

go trágh toinnbhinn tobarghloin.

18 Loch Cé surrounds the palace in which mead is [ever] ripe, in which bed-clothes are stuffed with feathers; boats race from that banqueting hall to the beach of melodious waves and pure springs.

19 In l*eath*anrath lu*cht*m*ar*sin.	19 An leathanráith luchtmhar-sain
ethu*r*baid na horsan*n*aib.	eatharbháid 'na horsannaibh,
teglach righ sa ra*chathraig*[*h*].[151]	teaghlach ríogh 'sa[n] rachathraigh,
i*n* sith c*ear*nach co*m*soc*air*.	an síoth cearnach comhshocair.

19 There are boats in the docks of that thronged capacious rath [and] a king's retinue in the great citadel, the level fairy-mound with many recesses.

20 Bro eges in ist*aid*[*h*]sin.	20 Bró éigeas an iosdaidh-sin
ac ól t*r*enfledh tomaltaigh	ag ól tréinfhleadh dTomaltaigh;
Cuir*m* g*rí*sd*ear*g sa ghel*chathraig*[*h*].[152]	cuirm ghrísdearg 'sa[n] ghealchathraigh
a ndhíben*n* cuirn cloch*ar*saigh.	i ndíbheann cuirn clocharsaidh.

20 The throng of learned men [are wont to be] in that dwelling drinking Tomaltach's strong liquor; [there is] sparkling red ale in the bright citadel in a great vat covered with ancient gems.

[151] *Chath* is indicated with a lenited *k*.

[152] *Chath* is indicated with a lenited *k* again.

21 Fa fleidh *con* ua eachachs*in*.

a sreith cuach *ar* cond*acht*aib.

Ol t*ar* fer ní faicfider.

acht fledh dól co horsan*n*aib.

21 Fa fhleidh 'gon ua Eachach-sain

a sreith chuach ar Connachtaibh;

ól tar fear ní faicfidhir

acht fleadh d'ól go horsannaibh.

21 In a banquet thrown by the descendant of that Eochaidh [Muighmheadhón], the Connachtmen had an array of goblets; no man is ever seen left out but rather liquor is drunk throughout the house.

22 Rucc toir *ar* dhigh nd*r*ithlen*n*aigh

i*m* noin a tigh tomalt*aig*[*h*].

fr<a>s blaes isi*n* b*r*uighinsi*n*.

fa lacht caer gu*r* cor chodladu*r*.

22 Rug tóir ar dhigh ndrithleannaigh

im nóin i dtigh Thomaltaigh;

fras blaosg isan bhruighin-sin

fa lacht caor gur chodladair.

22 Sparkling drink was sent for in Tomaltach's house at night; in that mansion, [there was] wine in an abundance of nut-shells which put them [the revellers] to sleep.

23 Rug la *ar* i*n* digh nd*eir*enuigh

suil tic cach na colcachaib.

on fhleidh fhoghn*us* daiff*r*in*n*aib.

a corrb*r*udh i*n* *con*n*acht*aigh.

23 Rug lá ar an ndigh ndeireanaigh

suil tig cách 'na gcolcachaibh

ón fhleidh fhoghnas d'aifreannaibh

i gcorrbhrugh an Chonnachtaigh.

23 Day breaks on the final drink before everyone has gone to their beds having drunk [many] masses' worth of wine in the pointed hall of the Connachtman.

24 M*a*c mic aedha enechbhuig.

i*n* taedhsi*n*. a f*or*cosmhuil.

magh luirg na fed foithre*m*ail.

ar te*cht* fa chui*n*g cosant*aig*[*h*].

24 Mac meic Aodha eineachbhuig

an tAodh-sain a fhorchosmhail;

Magh Luirg na bhfeadh bhfoithreamhail

ar dteacht fa chuing cosantaigh.

24 The son of the son of generous Aodh is the very likeness of that [same] Aodh; Magh Luirg of the verdant woods is after submitting to [its] guardian.

25 Tir is feitmech dfhil*eadh*aib.	25 Tír is fheithmheach d'fhileadhaibh,
ti<r> da c*r*eided co*mar*sai*n*.	tír dá gcreidead comharsain,
tír nach beg *ar* brughadhuib.	tír nach beag ar brughadhaibh –
t*earc* do tíd a co*m*chosmail.	tearc do-chíd a comhchosmhail.

25 A country that is attentive to poets, a country whose neighbours submit to it, a country that is loved by *brughaidh* – seldom do they see the like!

26 Tír can c*r*úas na cun*nar*taib.	26 Tír gan chruas 'na cunnarthaibh,
tír na suan tir to*m*[153]	tír 'na suan tír Tom[altaigh];
as e a naithni*m* duiresb*aid*[*h*].	is é a n-aithnim d'uireasbhaidh
ar an f*air*si*n*g fochlocaigh.	ar an fhairsing fhochlochaigh...

26 Tomaltach's country is a land asleep, a land without harshness in its agreements; the only want that I can observe in the wide stony plain...

[153] A space for about four or five letters is left by the scribe here.

27 A fuil di [154]a nuisg*ead*[*h*]aib.	27 A bhfuil d'í[sle] i n-uisgeadhaibh
isi*n* tirsi to*m*alt*aig*[*h*]	isan tír-se Thomaltaigh;
ar a muillib moth*aig*[*h*]t*ir*.	ar a muillibh mothaighthir –
a cuidigh nir cognaduir.	a gcuidigh níor chognadair.

27 ... is the shallowness of the water in Tomaltach's country; it can be observed on its mills – they could not grind their lot.

28 Don tríath o moigh mu*r*[155]	28 Don triath ó Mhoigh Mhuir[eadhaigh]
g*r*ían ac goid gach lochthob*air*	grian ag goid gach lochthobair;
m*a*c diar*m*ada i*n* deighf*ear*si*n*.	Mac Diarmada an deighfhear-sain,
slat ríaghalta rosgshochraigh.	slat riaghalta roscshochraidh.

28 Because of the chief from the Plain of Muireadhach [Muilleathan] the sun steals [water] from every millpond; Mac Diarmada is that noble man, a just warrior with beautiful eyes.

[154] The scribe leaves space for about four letters.

[155] This occurs at the end of the line and there may be a suspension stroke obscured in the margin.

29 Fer orru*ma* dfhil*eadh*aib.	29 Fear orrama d'fhileadhaibh,
f*ear* cosanta a comfhocuis.	fear cosanta a chomhfhogais,
fer can orrui*m* desc*ar*aid.	fear gan orraim d'easgcaraid,
f*ear* co*m*aill a co*m*ossaid.	fear comhaill a chomhosaidh.

29 A man who honours poets, a man who protects his neighbours, a man who gives no homage to an enemy, a man who fulfils the terms of his truce.

30 **Lámh do cheis** *ar caith*shleghaib.[156]	30 Lámh do cheis ar caithshleaghaibh,
do b*eir* bás do bogadhaib.	do-bheir bás do bhoghadhaibh;
m*ac con*cob*air*[157] cnessholuis.	mac Conchobhair cneassholais
gor*m*lachai*n* do gon*us*tu*r*.	gormlachain do ghonasdair.

30 A hand which has not flinched before battle-spears, which slays with bows; the fair-skinned son of Conchobhar has slain blue ducks [with arrows].

[156] *Caith* is indicated by a *k*.

[157] It seems the scribe may originally have written *q* for *co*.

31 Eói*n* cré*cht*acha *ar* cal*ad*[*h*]aib.	31 Eóin chréachtacha ar caladhaibh
ó t*r*énbogha tomalt*aig*[*h*].	ó thréanbhogha Tomaltaigh;
easb*aid*[*h*] *ar* na heltadhuib.	easbhaidh ar na healtadhaibh
suil bent*air* do*n* bogha si*n*	suil beantair don bhogha-sain.

31 There are wounded birds on the shores [of Loch Cé] because of the strong bow of Tomaltach; bird-flocks are left depleted before that bow is retired.

32 Ua heachach bas barram*ail.*	32 Ua hEachach, bas bharramhail,
spreg*us cath* re *con*n*acht*aib.	spreagas cath re Connachtaibh;
ar ndháil i*n* c*r*oin*n* cuirfid*ir.*	ar ndáil an chroinn cuirfidhir
lai*m* ar an lochl*ann*aigh.	láimh ar [loinn] an Lochlannaigh.

32 It is the descendant of Eochaidh [Muighmeadhón], the smooth palm, who provokes conflict with [all] Connacht; after the spear has been thrown, a hand will be placed on the sword of the Norseman [i.e. the sword is engaged].

33 Do ní i*n* lan*n* a l*eath*cu*m*aidh.	33 Do-ní an lann a leathchumaidh –
sí sa cran*n* fa co*m*fal*aid*[*h*].	sí 's an crann fa chomhfhalaidh;
fr*á*ech *cath*a *ar* an coi*n*girsi*n*.	fíoch catha ar an choingir-sin –
fala rígh do fhro*m*adu*r*.	fala ríogh do fhromhadair.

33 The sword does its part – it and the spear are in it together; battle-frenzy grips them both – they have known the anger of a king.

34 Is t*earc* bias can bithai*n*imh.	34 Is tearc bhias gan bhiothainimh
da ria o thres tomalt*aig*[*h*].	dá ria ó threas Tomaltaigh;
lámh ass <.> mó assa mui*n*ight*ir*.	lámh is mó asa muinighthir
mór do chách do co*m*ar*t*aig[*h*].	mór do chách do chomharthaigh.

34 Hardly anyone is without a permanent deformity if he comes from battle against Tomaltach; the hand which can most be relied upon has marked many.

35 [158]cossa croi*n*d fa cu*r*adhaib.	35 Cosa croinn fa churadhaibh
o loi*n*d corc*r*a in *con*n*acht*aigh.	ó loinn chorcra an Chonnachtaigh;
aighedh *ar* gleo i*n* gillisi*n*.	aigheadh ar gleó an ghille-sin
aithrech leo n*ar* locadu*r*.	aithreach leó nár locadair.

35 Champions are left walking on wooden legs by the bloody sword of the Connachtman; they regret that they did not think better of heading into battle against that warrior.

36 Sceith[159] l*eath*na na l*eath*scoiltib.	36 Sgéith leathna 'na leathsgoiltibh
t*ar* éis tresa tomalt*aig*[*h*].	tar éis treasa Tomaltaigh,
t*ar* éis tresa tomalt*aig*[*h*]	tar éis treasa Tomaltaigh.

36 Broad shields are left shattered in two pieces after the battle with Tomaltach, after the battle with Tomaltach.

[158] Several letters have been rubbed out here, though some strokes are still visible. They may have spelt *cossa.* The space they occupied was subsequently left blank.

[159] Subscript *i* seems to have been added as an afterthought after *sceth* was written.

NOTES

1a The solar image here conveys the wide range of Tomaltach's fame: like the summer sun, it is perceptible to all. Cf. *Is tú an ghrian shamhraidh sholus / ar nach éidir amhorus*, 'Thou art the bright summer sun which cannot be doubted' (§42ab *Aisling ad-chonnairc Cormac*, O'Dwyer 1946-7). Cf. also *Lá samhraidh samhail na bfer. adhaigh fhaghmair ar innemh* (*IGT* ii, ex. 385), 'The men are like a summer day and an autumn night for wealth' and *Feadh ós feadhaibh, grian ós reannuibh / triath Chnuic Grafann gaoth-neartmhuir* (*Butler poems* 16.17ab), 'The lord of wind-swept Cnoc Grafann is the tallest tree in the wood, the sun above the stars'. Similarly, the all-pervading sorrow caused by the death of Donnchadh Ó Conchobhair Sligigh (†1609) is compared to the sun: *Síon choitcheann cumh*adh *Ghaoidhil / luisni is leithne cráobhsgáoileadh / fa mhagh bfhoirleathan na bFhionn / do ghabh coimhshreatha[dh] coitchionn. / Sníomh na nGaoidheal-sa guirt Bhreadh / an ghrían mur gabhus timcheal / do choimhshiobhlaigh ceann a gceann / gach beann d'oiriormhuigh Eireand* (*ABM* 428.1-2), 'The sorrow of the Irish is [their] common tempest: the light that reaches farthest around the expansive plain of Ireland has spread itself everywhere. The torment of these Gaoidhil of Ireland has traversed, one after another, every peak in the sea-bound plain of Ireland, like the sun's journey around [the earth]'. The metaphor of the sun is used to good effect in a poem by Dáibhí Ó Bruadair in which the celebrand is compared to the sun which is liberal to all and to which all are equally indebted, and similar qualities may be implied about Tomaltach through the use of the solar image in the present poem: *Lu*cht *coiméada chríche B*arr*ach / beag dá bhféile / do-ghníd [i]sa bhfádha fiora / gnátha gréine*, 'Those who keep the territory of the Barrys along with their true poets make rays of sunshine of a small part of their generosity'.[160]

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[160] This is followed by a long piece of prose: *Et is gnáth ag an ngréin an u*air *mhúsglan*n *sí as soithidh síorchómhnuighthe 7 as a fosgabhluibh fiorfhuiling, 7 é*irgios *7 róithimtidhea*cht *ina róghnúis, 7 sao*irse *7 sao*ird*heallr*adh *ina saorag*haidh, *go mbí do shochróidhea*cht *7 do shofh*airsionga *inn*te, *nách mó luígheas sí* air *na tulchaibh sgoithsheamracha sgáthshóillse sgiamhuaine sgímhealbhréagha, ná* air *na lathachuibh fua*ra *fiordhorcha, 7 nách fe*árr *lé sol*us *ná sírtheasuígheacht do dhéanamh do ríoghuibh 7 do róithígher*nuíbh, *ná dona móghaibh 7 dona míoladranuibh, 7 do gach aon dá ghiubluídhe 7 dá dhe*aróile air *domhan, go bhfághan gach aon aco a sásadh 7 a sárghoradh uaithe; 7 is* ar *an órdúgh*adh *sin atá* Dáibhí *mhic [sic] Séamuis mhic Ruiste*ard *do B*arr*[a] le huaislibh 7 le hanuaislibh Eir*end, *óir mur do-ghnídh se toil an rígh, 7 an ródhuine, an fhile 7 an ollamhu(i)n, an amhuis 7 an óigthigher*na, *an bhrúgh*adh *7 an bhuainbhiatuig, do-ghnídh sé ré*ir *7 róthoil an che*arbaigh *mheisgeamhuil mhaillbhe*artuig *mhíothapuig, 7 na hionnsuídhe úd maille anmráidhthe iom*arcuíghe *éigcialluíghe, 7 an bh*áird *bhéilbhrisg bhuantuitmhig, 7 gach nduine bh*us *uaisle 7 is anuaisle na iad; go*

I have emended **MS *tsamraid*** to *shamhraidh*. In Classical Irish, *tsh-* was reserved for use after the article *an* (in Old Irish, the *t*-mutation was, of course, part of the article) on the initial of nom. sing. and dat. sing. fem. nouns and gen. sing. and dat. sing. masc. nouns in *s-*. The use of *tsh-* as an initial mutation after a fem. nom. sing. ending in *-n* (and by analogy in *-l*) may reflect contemporary spoken Irish (*SNG* IV, §3.5).

1b More literally, 'let the extent of his fame be sought'. For *anmhain fa* (*fo*), see *fanaim fúm*, 'I remain as I am' (Dinneen s.v. *fanaim*). Here it can conveniently be translated 'extent'.

I have emended **MS *togartur*** to *togarthair* (*SNG* IV, §7.3): for *comhardadh brisde* end-rhyme, final vowels must be palatal in this poem.

1cd The Meic Dhiarmada were not descendants of Niall Naoighiallach but of his half-brother Brian (Bríon). See note 4a below. Cf. two similar claims from a poem to Teabóid Butler (†1596): *nī dhénoid Clann Nēill an nós-soin, / dréim re [a] dhuasaibh*, 'the descendants of Niall do not attempt to compare with him in gift-giving' and *do-chōidh tar Chlainn Néill a airdteist / fhéile is oirdhearc* (*Butler poems* 6.21cd, 46cd), 'his great fame for generosity, which is well-known, has exceeded that of the descendants of Niall'. For similar comparisons with the alliterative pair *Néill* and *a-nallamhain*, see *Deuna mar adubhart rut, / don tuisgiort tarruing romhut, / do mhac ríogh féin go bhfaghair / tar shíol °Néill a°nallamhain* (*LCAB* 2, ll. 9-12), 'Do as I have commanded you, head north until you find your *meic ríogh*,[161] who

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bhfaghann gach nduine aco a n-onóir iomchuibidh féin uaidh, gur cómbuídheach bhíos an math ⁊ an sáth, an saidhbhir ⁊ an daibhir, an saor ⁊ an daor de féin ⁊ dá oighreacht ⁊ dá fhíormhaithibh mhatha sé an t-oineach (*ABM* 461.26ff), 'And the sun is wont on awaking from its eternal vessel and from its smaller ever-lasting cauldrons to rise with great fieriness in its mighty countenance and nobility and noble aspect in its noble face, and such is its brightness [or 'munificence'] and great reach that it does not shine more on the beautiful green hills, both bright and shady, fair and shadowy, covered in clover blossoms, than on the cold, muddy, dark fields; and it does not prefer to shine and provide long-lasting heat for kings and great lords or for slaves and wicked robbers and to everyone on earth no matter how wretched or pitiable, so that each is satisfied and well-heated by it. So is Dáibhí the son of Séamas the son of Ruisteard de Barra towards the nobles and commoners of Ireland, for as he pleases king and noble and poet and learned master and mercenary and warlord and hospitaller and permanent victualler, so he pleases the drunken slothful slovenly gambler and that suitor there who comes babbling a great deal of nonsenseand the quick-speaking ever mis-speaking bard, and all who are nobler or more common than they, so that every one of them receives the honour due to them from him, so that great and small, rich and poor, noble and commoner are equally grateful to him and his heirs, and to his truly good nobles he is generosity (?).'

[161] For the *meic ríogh*, see Herbert 2012, 123-31.

surpass all Niall's progeny in ancient times' and *Má atá and ní haithnidh damh / ciodh eolach mé ar iath Uladh, / ac dréim re a dhíol ní fhaghair / acht síol °Néill a-°nallamhain*, 'Although I know the land of Ulster, I do not know of any others who have competed with its generosity, except the race of Niall long ago' (*DMU* 14.28).

1d *tar theisd*: lenition is optional after the preposition *tar* in Classical Irish (*BST* 188.32-3, 190.1-3, 192.3). See also the following examples where lenition or non-lenition is required for alliteration: *fáth do ghabháil* ***tar*** ***°fh****iadh n°Eachaidh* (*LBranach* 64, l. 6512), *nách faghaid síoth* ***tar*** ***°fh****onn n°Eórpa* (*TD* 16.8c) and *do shín sé* ***tar*** ***°f****earaibh °Fáil* (*Magauran* 2.26c).

2a *BST* 238.9 forbids *sul* (*.l.*) and authorises only *suil* (*.c.*).

I have emended **MS *curadh-sin*** to *curadh-sain* (see *SNG* IV, §9.4). Where this same emendation is necessary elsewhere in the poem, it is made silently in the critical edition.

2b *ABM* recommends emending MS *fadhar* to *faghar*. For the confusion of *-dh-* and *-gh-* elsewhere in the MS, see 17a below.

***a comhchosmhail*:** As *clú* can be both masc. and fem. in Classical Irish (*IGT* ii, §§98 and 108), the possessive adj. may be masc. (leniting) or fem. (non-leniting) but non-lenition here and the prepositional pronoun in 3b and the pronoun in 4a indicate that *clú* is fem. there. Etymologically, *comhchosmhail* is somewhat peculiar: *comh* + *comh* + *samhail* (see *DIL* s.v. *cosmail*). Be that as it may, examples of *comhchosmhail* are not uncommon in Classical Irish. For the substantive, see *duas nách fríoth a comhchosmhail* (: *bhronnaidh-sin*) (*LBranach* l. 2349), 'the likes of such a gift was never had', (from another poem to Tomaltach an Einigh) *aige ní fhuil comhchosmhail / acht trághadh agus tuile*, 'there is nothing like it but the ebb and flowing tide' (*DiD* 120.11cd), and for the predicative adj. see *síad re chéile comhchosmhuil* (*ABM* 449.25d), 'they are comparable to one another'.

2cd I have nasalised the initial of *clú* after the preposition *fa* (*fo*) which governs the acc. here (see *SNG* IV, §10.1). For *cuiridh fo* in the sense of 'conquers' or 'triumphs over', see (from another poem to Tomaltach an Einigh) *An fonn do-chí fa Chloinn Muiris, / maith bhur gceart ar a chur fúibh*, 'You have every right to conquer the land you see under Clann Mhuiris' (my

translation)[162] (*AiD* 31.32ab) and *Gearr arís go rugsad oruinn / aicme Cholla na gcuach n-óir; / ar gcur gach tíre ar feadh fúthaibh; / mo chean ríghe is dúthaigh dhóibh*, 'It was not long until the gold-ringletted race of Colla rejoined us, after completing subduing every territory, happy the kingdom which is their homeland' (*TD* 11.31).

3ab I have emended MS *chinnestur* to *chinneasdair* as a slender final is required for end-rhyme. As often in *casbhairdne*, the less common 3 sing. past tense ending in *-asda(i)r* is used here to generate the required trisyllabic final word. Similarly, I have emended MS *thoghu*mar to *thoghamair* (*SNG* IV, §7.16).

3c MS *do ro* represents *do-ró* 'will reach', a 3 sing. future indicative form of the verb *do-soich / do-roich* (*IGT* iii, §15).

I have followed *ABM* in emending **MS *sin*** to *sein* for *comhardadh brisde* rhyme with *teisd* in 3d. Likewise in 4c.

I have retained **MS *x*** in the critical edition as there is no metrical evidence as to whether *x* should be realised as *-cs-* or *-ghs-* (see *IGT* ii, §§17-18).

4b I have nasalised the initial of MS *tir* after the 3 pl. possessive adj.

4c I do not understand the adj. *eachlongach.* It could mean 'avid for horses' (Dinneen s.v. *loingtheach*) but see the following citation where *eachlonga* appears to refer to ships: *Colla da Chríoch na ccosgur / as he tug mur thuar*ustol / *Es Rúaidh do mh*er*Cholla Men*n / *a n-echlonga d'uaim Eirenn* (*ABM* 257.16), 'It was valorous Colla da Chríoch who gave Eas Ruaidh as payment to brave Colla Meann; their *eachlonga* [succeeded in] conquering Ireland'. *Each-* could perhaps refer to the speed of the vessel but might also be a reference to the animal-headed sterns of Gaelic galleys (Breen 2001, 430-2). In *LBranach* 57, l. 5417 Labhraidh Loingseach is styled *Labhraidh* °*eachLuingseach* (: *neamhchuimseach*) °*oirdhearc*, but if the soubriquet *eachLuingseach* is related to the expression *eachlong* then *loingseach* cannot have its usual meaning of 'exile' here.

[162] McKenna renders this, 'Good is thy right to the land now held by Clann Muiris though near to thee'.

5b Dat. pl. *Lochlannaibh* could be translated 'around Scandinavia' or 'around the land of the Norsemen' but *Lochlannach* 'Norseman' and *Danar* 'Dane' are often used of the Norman invaders (see 32d and note and Poem 2 (x)) and the meaning of the word is unclear here.

5d *do rothogair*: the past tense of *tograidh* with the intensifying prefix *ro-*. I know of no other example of this compound.

6b *DIL* (s.v.) gives the meaning of the adj. ***conasach*** as 'contentious'. I have found only one other occurence of the adj. in Bardic poetry, in a satire in the Book of the Dean of Lismore: *Buidhean bhrosgalach bhruidhneach, / labhar dhuanach dhíochuimhneach / shiorrach chonasach chíocrach / ghionach dhona dhroichíotach*, 'A band loud-voiced and talkative, loquacious, chanting, negligent; flighty, quarrelsome, greedy, ravenous, evil, of ill desires' (*Scottish Verse* 29.8).

7ab For another equation between an honorand and mythical An Cliabhghlas, see *As ainm dó in cliabglas gu ceart . beart as mó iarnas a ucht* (*IGT* iii, ex. 721), 'He is rightly called An Cliabhghlas, armour (?) [the title of An Cliabhghlas?] which most protects his chest [lit. 'fetters his chest']'. An Cliabhghlas was a prophesied king of Ireland (see Ó Buachalla 1989 and Murray 2004, 24-5). For another reference to him in Bardic poetry, see *Tiucfaid d'fuil Chuinn an triar tenn / Aodh(a) fial 'sa[n] Cliabhghlas coitchenn / is biaid seal go caomhna cruidh / ag fear an aonga echtuidh* (*ABM* 472.8), 'Three mighty [kings] of the blood of Conn will come: [these three are] noble Aodh, and renowned An Cliabhghlas, and The Man of the Death-dealing Spear will have his time protecting cattle'.

7c For the descent of the Meic Dhiarmada from Eochaidh Muighmheadhón, father of Niall Naoighiallach (ancestor of the Í Néill) and Brian (Bríon) (ancestor of the Meic Dhiarmada), see Mac Dermot 1996, 35.

8 I presume that the possessive adj. in 8a is masc. sing. referring to Tomaltach, and that the possessive adjectives in 8d are masc. sing. referring to 8c *crodh* 'cattle'. A similar metaphor is used of Tomaltach an Einigh's hospitality in *Tosach féile fairsinge*: *A dtabhair mac Conchobhair / agus a bhfaghann chuige / aige ní fhuil comhchosmhail / acht trághadh agus*

tuile, 'What Conchobhar's son gives away and what he gets to give away, there is nothing like it but the ebb and flowing tide' (*DiD* 120.11). Cf. the phrases *linn duas* and *linn einigh* (45b and note, *Mairidh teine i dteallach Ghaoidheal*, Ó Raghallaigh 2010; *AiD* 31.40). The point in the present poem seems to be that as soon as Tomaltach has gathered together a massive amount of cattle, he bestows them upon the poets in smaller tranches.

8c The initial of passive present indicative *cruinnighthir* is not lenited after *mar*, but a lenition-mark may simply have been omitted owing to the space above *c* in the MS being occupied by superscript *u*. For lenition of the initial of the passive verb after *mar* required by alliteration, see (from the Seithfín Duanaire) *spuir °ort-sa mar °fháisgfidhther* (*ABM* 237.10f), 'as you don [lit. 'will don'] your spurs', but cp. *ar an anmain mar °frioth °faill*, (*DiD* 21a.8c) 'as the soul was caught at unawares'. See note 31d below.

9cd For the descent of the Meic Dhiarmada from Muireadhach Muilleathan, an early medieval king of Connacht, see Mac Dermot 1996, 35. Muireadhach Muilleathan was the progenitor of Síol Muireadhaigh, the principal dynasties of which were the Í Chonchobhair and the Meic Dhiarmada.

Gen. *Muireadhaigh* in 9c is qualified by the soubriquet *Mhuilleathain* in 9d. Cf. *Lasair Fhíona, inghean Chathail / Chroibhdheirg, ar do chúl a-tá*, 'Lasairfhíona, daughter of Cathal Croibhdhearg... stands behind you' (*Giolla Brighde* 6.13ab) where gen. *Chathail* and the adj. which qualifies it (*Chroibhdheirg*) is similarly separated on two metrical lines.

10a Tomaltach was the son of Conchobhar Mac Diarmada, king of Magh Luirg, who died in 1404 (see Mac Dermot 1996, 96-7). I know of no other source for his being a wise judge but that was, of course, a characteristic of the ideal king in Irish literature, including Bardic panegyric. See, for example, (of Tomaltach himself) *a rí ceirtbhreathach Céise*, 'O true-judging king of Céis' (*DiD* 120.39b), *Créad nach creidid clann Eachach / do rígh ródha cheirtbhreathach, / nách biadh céim d'iomarcaidh air / ag fréimh iongantaigh Fhiachaidh*, 'Why do not the race of Eachaidh put their trust in a valiant, rightly-judging king, over whom none (other) of the wondrous line of Fiacha would have any degree of superiority?' (*TD* 9.46) and *Dar leat as ē Conn nō Cathaoír / ar lár Teamhra, / ag dēnomh cirt do shlúagh Bhanbha / a measg a theaghloigh; / nō Niall Frosach arar fearadh / na trí ceatha, / nō Cormac Airt,*

airdrí Éirionn, / nār chlaon breatha. / Meadh chosmhoil don rīogroidh Teabóid / san chúirt ghrianoigh, / ag dēnomh cirt fā fhíadh bhFōdla / as fhearr riaghoil (*Butler poems* 6.5-7), 'You would think he was Conn or Cathaoir in the midst of Tara, dispensing justice to the host of Ireland from among his retinue, or Niall Frosach on whom three showers poured, or Cormac [son] of Art, highking of Ireland, whose judgements were true. Teabóid, whose rule is best, resembles those kings in his sunny court, dispensing judgement throughout Ireland'.

10b More literally, 'the common/great deliverance of Connacht'. For *An Cobharthach* 'the Deliverer' in Bardic poetry, see Ó Buachalla 1983, 74-5 and Ó Buachalla 1989, especially 208-9, 218-20.

10c For this use of *um*, see *DIL* s.v. *imm* I (a) and see, for example, *TD* 3.54 (and note): *Ní fhuil do thaobh Chuirc nó Chuinn / **umad**, a Aodh Í Dhomhnuill, / fuil ríogh lér dhligheabhair dol / nách bíodh d'fhileadhaibh umhol*, 'From the side of either Corc or Conn – there is no noble connection whom thou owest to resemble, O Hugh O'Donnell, that was not wont to show forbearance towards poets.' See also McManus 2009, 81-3. In his forthcoming paper on female ancestry and maternal kin in Bardic poetry, Damian McManus writes that this poetic figure 'which has [his ancestors] 'surrounding the celebrand'' gives 'them a presence – like portraits hanging on a wall in a later period – in a very striking way'.

Uisneach is Ushnagh in Co. Westmeath, an Ó Néill royal site.

10d Teach Da Thí (= Tara) is a metonym for Ireland and therefore for the sovereignty of the whole island: *Ó do ghabh **Teamhar Dá-thí** / Toirdhealbhach Mór mac Ruaidhrí* (§38ab *Éistidh, a éigse Banbha, re hiomrádh na healadhna*, *FFC*, 12-19), 'since Toirdhealbhach Mór, son of Ruaidhrí, took the kingship of Ireland...', *Flaith dan cóire **Teach Dá Thí** / ná meas ar a óige é*, 'Judge not by his age, the true lord of Dá Thí's House' (*DiD* 93.20ab), *Ní bhia 'gud shíol **teach Dá Thí**, / ní breath ríogh an bhreath bheirthí* (*LCAB* 1, ll. 97-8), 'Your descendants will not obtain the kingship of Ireland; it is not a king's judgement that you give', *gá beg seal a Énri t'Eamain / **tech Dá trenThi** (?) tog*air (*ABM* 327.10gh), 'a while in Eamhain is enough, Éinrí: seek Teach Dá Thí [i.e. do not be satisfied with provincial kingship but seek the kingship of Ireland]'.

11ab More literally, 'noble bloods [the blood of his ancestors] to which the fierceness of that blood [Tomaltach's] corresponds'. For *freagraidh do* 'corresponds to', see *DIL* s.v. *fris-gair* (b).

11d *Duach* is the gen. of the proper name *Duach*, historically *Daui* (*DIL* s.v. *Daui*). For the descent of the Meic Dhiarmada from Duach Galach or Tenga Umai, an early medieval king of Connacht, see Mac Dermot 1996, 35 and Byrne 2001, 245. According to *AFM* i, 160-3, he died, as king of Connacht, in 499 in a battle against Muircheartach mac Earca, a member of the Í Néill who later became king of Ireland.

12ab An Crobhdhonn is Cathal *Croibhdhearg* Ó Conchobhair (†1224), king of Connacht. I know of no other example of this kenning. Through his mother, Sadhbh inghean Í Chonchobhair (*DiD* 120.6; Mac Dermot 1996, 106; Poem 2 ¶3.1), Tomaltach could claim descent from Cathal Croibhdhearg. As well as a powerful warrior, the son of a dominating figure in twelfth-century Ireland, he was also a patron of the Church, patronising ecclesiastical institutions in Connacht and donating five marks a year to the Cistercian motherhouse of Cîteaux (*NHI* ii, 35-6, 688, 741, 744-5). His obits in the annals mention his chastity, piety, charity and martial vigour, and claim that he introduced tithes to the country (*AC* §1224.2; *ALC* ii, 268-9; *AU* ii, 272-3; *AFM* iii, 208-15).

12a I have emended MS *curudh* to the expected acc. sing. *curaidh* (*IGT* ii, §21) (also required with slenderising *-sin*).

12b Note the rhyme *Chrobhdh**uinn* : *chomhl**uinn***. Cf. 23c *fhoghn**us*** : 23d *corrbr**udh***.

12d I have translated *cnuasach* 'collection, gathering' as 'pedigree' above.

13a For *caor do mhianach* and similar expressions, see (in praise of Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir) *caor óir as uaisle mianach*, 'a golden mass of the noblest metal' (*DMU* 17.2a), (of the Virgin Mary) *caor do mhianach criadh ceinéil*, 'a creature of human flesh' (*DiD* 49.2d), (of the soul) *caor mhaoth do mhianach nimhe*, 'a soft fragment of the Heaven's substance' (*AiD* 50.28b).

The MS reads *don m*[*h*]*ianach muir*eadh*aigh* (*ABM* mistakenly reads *do* for *don*) but this violates the teaching of *IGT* i §15 that the article cannot be used in a genitival phrase with a

proper name, except when accompanied by a demonstrative adj. (as in *an Crú Cuinn-se*, *an aicme Chuirc-se*). I have omitted the article in my critical edition.

13b More literally, 'it is not a substance that I have not praised'.

13c I have emended MS *mael* to the expected gen. sing. *Maoil* (: 13d *chaoir*). For Maol Ruanaidh Mór, progenitor of the Meic Dhiarmada, see Mac Dermot 1996, 38-9 and *AiD* 31.

13d More literally, 'is in that noble cast-metal [the *caor* of 13a] of blood'.[163]

14a The five are Maol Ruanaidh, Muireadhach, an Crobhdhonn, Duach and Eochaidh.

15 For other comparisons to mythological houses in Bardic poetry, see *DiD* 119.1-5, especially 1a *Tomhus mhúir Chruachna i gCluain Fraoich*, 'A model of Cruachain Castle is in Cluain Fraoich', (from a poem on Rughraidhe Mág Mathghamhna's house in the Seithfín Duanaire) *Samuil múir Temra a-ta a nUltuib / mar rath Temra ó tossaigh /* acht *munab é in tech-sa Temair / is é chena a chosmuil* (*ABM* 409.1abcd), 'The like of the fort of Tara is in Ulster, like the rath of Tara long-ago; if this house it not Tara, it is certainly its very image' and (from an *amhrán* to Edmund, Viscount Mountgarrett) *Meadh dot theaghlach, a thriath Bearbha, / Eamhuin Abhlach ógbhláthmhur; / cosmhuil t'ósda is Brugh na Bóinne / nó brugh nósmhar nó Ábhartaigh. / Meadh ar uaisle do thigh Cruachna / an tigh cuanna coimcheārdach; / tigh Chinn Choradh ris is cosmhuil, / an tigh sgolach sgeólbhārdach* (*Butler poems* 19.11), 'Your hoursehold is like new-blossomy Eamhain Abhlach; your hostel and Brugh na Bóinne and the famous hostel of noble Ábhartach. For nobility, the beautiful well-built house is like the house of Cruachain; the poet-thronged house renowned for being frequented by bards resembles the house of Ceann Coradh'.

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[163] *DIL* s.v. *cáer* (b) gives *caor* in the sense of 'drop of liquid' and cites the following example from Bardic poetry (one of only two citations for this meaning): *Mionn sleidhe dá sileid caora*, 'the wondrous spear along which blood-drops trickle' (*O'Hara* 33.13a). I am unsure of McKenna's translation, however, and suggest that it could be rendered 'the spearhead from which sparks fly'. Cf. also *Na gaoi fhoirbhthe ac cor a [c]aor / nach antar ar fhuighlibh druadh; / do dhá cheis-[s]i ac dáil a ndér, / dáigh as gach sgél deisi is dual,* 'The excellent spears shedding drops go further than what is foretold by poets; your two spears shed their drops, a story told by two should be believed' (*DMU* 13.17). In this case, I would suggest the alternative translation 'from which sparks fly' for 'shed their drops'.

15ab For a similar line, see the following from a poem on Rughraidhe Mág Mathghamhna's house in the Seithfín Duanaire: *Méd in toighi ni thé*d *tairis / croidi in te do thogaib* (*ABM* 409.8cd), 'The size of his house does not surpass the size of the heart of the man who caused it to be built'.

16a The double *rr* in *ndoirrse* (MS *ndhoirrsi*) emphasises middle quantity before the optionally heavy consonant cluster *rs*. The lenition of the initial of dat. sing. *daingean* after *-n* is not to be pronounced (*IGT* i, §50). Seven doors is suggestive of a house of great hospitality. For the tradition that the great hostels of Ireland had seven doors, see the short note on the five hostels of Ireland in the Book of Lismore f. 200v,[164] O'Grady 1892 ii, xvix-vii, *TBDD* ll. 279-84 and *SMMD* ll. 9-12, 85-7. I am unsure which *daingean* is intended in 16a. It is probably Cruachain, the last location mentioned in §15. While I have no reference to Cruachain having seven doors, the division of the hostel into seven sections described in *TBF* ll. 65-6 strongly suggests that it was imagined in this way. It is also possible that the *daingean* refers to 16c Ráth Bhreagh but if Ráth Bhreagh is to be identified with Tara (see note 16c below), it should be noted that Tara normally is described with fourteen doors (*Metr. Dind.* i, Temair III §15, Temair IV §16).[165] Either way, the inference is that Tomaltach is an exceedingly hospitable host.

16b *Coinnmhe* is the acc. pl. of *ā*-stem *coinneamh* 'company (of visitors or armed men)'. I take it that *coinneamh* signifies 'visitors, a group of travellers' here. It is used in this sense in another poem to Tomaltach: *Ní hí cuid na céadoidhche / do-bheir Dia dá dhreich mhínghil / acht é ag riar gach éanchoinnmhe / bhíos 'n-a chás air dar-íribh* (*DiD* 120.10), 'It is not [merely] the portion of the first night [the most basic hospitality] that God supplies to his smooth, white face; rather [Tomaltach] attends to every band of visitors that truly need him

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[164] *Coicc bhruighne hEir*eann *.i. bruighen mheic dareo i mbreifne. Bruig*en *da dhercai. Bruig*en *datho. Bru*igen *da choca i niarthar midi. Bruig*en *fhorcaill m*ac (?) *Atberat araile bruig*en *blai brug* (?). *Seacht ndorais frisin mbruig*in. *Seacht slighida trena l*ar. *Secht teall*aighe *indte. Seacht gcaire ⁊ dam cu dtinn*e *in cech chaire dhibh.* Cf. *SMMD* cited above.

[165] Tara is, however, imagined with seven ramparts (§14 *An tú a-rís, a ráith Teamhrach?*, Quiggin 1913). Thebes is also described as having seven doors in *Togail na Tebe* (Calder 1922, 194-5).

[for as long as they require]'[166]. I take *beanaidh ar* to mean 'takes from, deprives' here (*DIL* s.v. *benaid* II FOR): the hospitality of Tomaltach's house is so great that all guests in the area prefer Tomaltach's house to any other. I have lenited the initial of *n*-stem *comharsa* after *ar* taking the acc.; lenition is required on the initial of nouns in the acc. sing. which have a distinct dat./acc. form. (*IGT* ii, §21). *Comharsa* here probably means 'neighbourhood, environs' (*DIL* s.v. *comarsa* (b)).

16c Breagha was a kingdom in Leinster (see *TD* note 1.2). Ráth Bhreagh appears to have been a royal site, possibly Tara; it is often used metonymically in Bardic poetry for the kingship of Ireland (Mac Kenna 1950, §§19a and 35c; *TD* 9.27c; *LCAB* 7.12). Cf. also *lios Breagh* in *TD* 7.29c.

17a I have emended MS *aghaid* to *adhaigh* 'night' (*IGT* ii, §93).

17cd More literally, 'I will attribute to the house of Tomaltach an attack on / insult to the delights of that dwelling [Ráth Bhreagh]'.

18b *Colcach* is a variant of *colcaidh* 'featherbed' (*DIL* s.v. *colcaid*). See *As fir sin nach obthach n-áigh. fir leis nach áil colcach chlúimh* (*obthach* : *colcach*) (*IGT* ii, ex. 595), 'Those are men who do not refuse battle, men who do not wish for a featherbed' and *Mairg fa mbí an chalann chiontach, / dom anam is í as colcach; / each bu uaimhneach dá marcach / each sdalcach uaibhreach olcach* (*colcach* : *olcach*), 'Woe to him who rests on sinful body; it is my soul's couch; 'tis a steed proud, stubborn, vicious, dangerous to its rider' (*AiD* 91.2). The dat. pl. occurs again in 23b of the present poem. In a poem on Mág Mathghamhna's house in the Seithfín Duanaire (*ABM* 409.21), the hospitality of the celebrand is so great that there is no complaining about the quality of the featherbeds (*gan cess*acht ar *cholcaid*).

18d I have emended MS *tonn b*[*h*]*inn* to *toinnbhinn* for *comhardadh brisde* rhyme with 18c *coimhling*. The scribe evidently mistook *tonn* as an uncompounded noun qualified by *binn* and MS *thoburghloi*n. As *tobarghloin* qualifies masc. acc. sing. (= nom. sing.) *trágh*, I have not the lenition of its initial in my critical edition.

[166]McKenna translates, 'It is not the supply for a single night, (supply which God gives this fair-faced hero) which causes him anxiety, but his constant supplying of every guest-chamber' but I think that my rendering is more laudatory and therefore more likely to represent the poet's intention.

19a I have emended MS *-rāth* to its alternative form *-ráith* (*IGT* ii, §§38, 39, 41, 42) for *comhardadh brisde* rhyme with *-bháid* in 19b.

19b I have not succeeded in locating any other example of the compound noun *eatharbhád* in Bardic poetry, but *DIL* (s.v. *ethar*) cites the following from *AFM*: *tangattar drong don fhorinn in etharbhátt bhiucc i ttír...*, 'a party of the crew [of the ship which came to capture Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill] came on shore in a small boat...' (*AFM* v, 1860).

***Orsa* (*ursa*)** '(door-)post, jamb' is, I think, used here of a dock for a small boat. For another example, see *Fíon ón Mháidh aoibhinn easmhoill / ad laoidhing láimh re Glaislinn; / da bhrudh chorr ós linn luschoirr, / long 'n-a hursoinn fhinn fhairsing*, 'Wine from pleasant Máigh of noble cascades is in thy ship at Glaislinn; a ship can enter the fair wide portal [or 'dock'] of thy stout castle over the weed-thick lake' (*O'Hara* 32.19).

19d For descriptions of the honorand's dwelling as a fairy-fort, see Poem 1.45 and note.

20d *Díbheann* appears to mean 'a two-handled vat', *díbheann* being a masc. noun with dat. sing. *díbheann* (the numeral 'two' + *beann*). In the famous representation of Tech Midchúarda in the Book of Leinster (TCD 1339, 29), a *dabach* 'vat' is drawn with two handles. (Incidentally, *DIL* cites (s.v. *dabach*) an etymology of *dabach* given in Cormac's Glossary, *déhoach* 'having two ears'.) For a later medieval example of such a vessel, see Duffy et al. 2001, 66-7. Alternatively, perhaps *dí-* might be the intensifying prefix *dé-* (*DIL* s.v. *dí- / de-*), giving *díbheann* 'a great vessel'. As for other examples of this word, §815 of O'Mulconry's Glossary (Stokes 1898, cited in *DIL* s.v. *debend*) has *mid medb a bēlaib debend*, 'intoxicating mead from the mouths of *debend*s'. *Debhend* here is probably the same word as *díbheann*. I have only found one other instance of *díbheann* in Bardic poetry: *As í comhairle ar* ar *chinn / gan fuil a cnis do choigill / do ráidh go madh rogha leis / dáil a fhola tar aithis. / An chúis nocha cuirthe a bhfad / do bhris sé ar an sluagh námhad / dob é* ***díbeann*** *a ndála* [read *an dála*?] / *gan dígheann a ndioghbhála* (*ABM* 181.21-22), 'He took the decision not to protect the blood in his veins; he said that he would rather spill his blood than [suffer] shame. The case need not be dwelt on: he routed the enemy host; he was a vat

pouring forth [lit. 'the vat (?) of distribution'], without an end to their ruin'.[167] Gen. sing. *cuirn* 'of a goblet' qualifying *díbheann* is probably to be understood as a reference to the use of the *díbheann* to fill up smaller drinking vessels. The poem *Cuach ríogh Connacht cuanna séad* 'Noblest of treasures is the King of Connacht's bowl' treats of a bejewelled and elaborately ornamented vat (*cuach*, *cupa*) and mentions that it is used to fill up smaller goblets (*cuirn*): *Cuirn áille ag tadhall re a thaobh* 'Beautiful goblets are ever in motion about this one' (*AiD* 8.14a).

21b OIr *sreth* has nom. *sreath* (see *sreath (an arbha)* 'row (used of corn)' in *IGT* ii, §39) and *sreith* (*IGT* iii, §81) in Classical Modern Irish. For *sreith* (*sreath*) *chuach* and similar expressions, see *Mór i dtigh meadhair Maineach / sibh ar fleadhaibh gá bhfuireach; / go dtráigh sibh an sreith ndabhach / ramhach libh ar mbeith buidheach*, 'Great the gaiety of the men of Maine when thou keepest them (feasting) at banquet-time; thou art surprised if we thank thee before thou has emptied the whole range of wine-vats!' (*AiD* 11.20), *Iad is deocha don damhraidh / meadha in chlāir ghuirm ghēgabhl*aigh; / *sreath do chornuibh ōir orra, / dōibh 'na [g]conglaibh comhthroma* (*Butler poems* 7.54), 'Mead from the verdant apple-blossomed plain and drinks for the warriors and a series of gold goblets for them in great clusters', *Ionmhuin sreath dáileamh an dúin / nách ráiteach ré headh an óil, / 's fuighle a hógbhan snuaidhgheal sídh / do thógbhadh dínn buaidhreadh bróin* (*LBranach* ll. 4354-7), 'Delightful was the line of cup-bearers in the fort who do not speak [i.e. were too busy to chat] at drinking-time, and the conversation of pale fairy-women who cheered my sorrow' and *Gnáth san chuirt-sin fá a codhnach / graifne greadhgháir búabhallgot[h] / sreatha chorn n-óirfhleasglan n-óir / ag coimhfhreasdal chorm ccomhoil* (§5 *A-déar madh Gall et Gaoidheal*, RIA 744 (A v 2), 1b), 'It is customary in that palace to find in the presence of its lord neighing horn-dinned horse-races [and] lines of gold goblets adorned with gold branching ornamentation dispensing ale at drinking-time'.

21cd For another reference to the equitable distribution of drink at the honorand's feast, see note 22d below.

21c As palatal finals are required for end-rhyme, I have emended MS *faicfider* to *faicfidhir* (*SNG* IV, §7.6).

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[167] Cf. the same idea in *Th'air*m *dháibh do dáil*eadh *'na gcioth / mar [budh] dháilimh ag dáil dheoch* (*ABM* 439.17ab), 'like a cupbearer dispensing drink, [you] doled out an abundance of weapons to them'.

21d *go horsannaibh*: literally 'to the doorposts'.

22b As dat. sing. *tigh* differs from nom. *teach* (*teagh*), I have supplied lenition on the initial of qualifying gen. *Tomaltaigh.* Similarly, in 28a, I have lenited the initial of *Muireadhaigh* which qualifies dat. sing. *moigh.*

22c *Fras* 'shower' is used figuratively meaning 'abundance' here.

Following *ABM*, I read **MS *blaes*** as *blaosc* 'shell' used metaphorically of a drinking vessel. Cf. (from *Samhail mhúir Theamhra in Ultaibh*, a house-poem in the Seithfín Duanaire) *sr*eth *blaosc aga c*ar *t*ar *chuthaib / fa la*cht *caor mar chorco*ir (*ABM* 409.18gh), 'there is juice of crimson berries [i.e. wine] in a series of overflowing nutshells' and the description of Ó Conchobhair's drinking vat as *blaosg imleach dara fleadh fíon / as ar bhean gríobh ingneach éan*, 'this wide-edged wine-bestowing shell (of an egg) from which some long-clawed griffin took its young [referring to the ornamentation]' (*AiD* 9.14cd). For 'shells' as drinking vessels, see also *DIL* s.v. *gnóe* I (a).

22d Note the repetition of *gur* in the MS (*gur cor*), on the first occasion written in Early Modern orthography, in the second in Old Irish orthography.

I have emended MS *chodlad***ur** to *chodlad***air** for end-rhyme with the finals of 22abc. For another reference to sleep-inducing wine, see *Fíon da ibhe a heasgruibh cumhtaigh / a gcuirt Aodha – adhbur súain - / ní úair rí* ar *a uille aige / nach fuighe an tí as f[h]aide úaidh*, 'Sleep-inducing wine is drunk from ornamented vessels in the court of Aodh; the king by his elbow got nothing that the man furthest from him didn't get' (McManus 2006, 87 = *ABM* 78.10).

23c Literally 'from the ale-feast that suffices for [many] masses'. Cf. *Bean don fhuil Uidhir-se ag cuan / i n-uireasbhaidh cruidh 'ga clódh / gémadh aithghearr í fa fhíon / ní bhí díol Aifreann gan ól* (*DiD* 103.24), 'A woman of the blood of Uidhear [stands] at the vat for want

of cattle to be given away; though it is only briefly full of wine, enough for [many] Masses will be drunk'.[168] I have emended MS *aifftinnaib* to *aifreannaibh* (*IGT* ii, §11).

24a I have emended MS *mic* to Classical *meic* (*IGT* ii, §15).

24ab Tomaltach an Einigh's grandfather was Aodh Mac Diarmada (†1393), the patron of Poem 1.

25 *Tír* can be both masc. and fem. in Classical Irish (*IGT* ii, §45). I have interpreted the possessive adj. here as 3 sing. fem. though 3 sing masc. (with following lenition) is also possible. Likewise in §26, I have interpreted *tír* as a fem. noun though the initial mutations could be altered to accommodate a masc. noun without difficulty.

25a Alliteration requires that the initial of *feithmheach* be lenited after the relative present indicative of the copula (*SNG* IV, §3.2(g)).

25c For the *brughaidh*, a major landowner and farmer who provided food and hospitality either generally or as part of a relationship of vassalage to a lord, see *DIL* s.v. *briugu*, Kelly 1988, 36-8 and Simms 1978, 71-3. Magh Luirg is loved by *brughaidh* because of its fertility, guaranteed by the martial activities of its king, the celebrand. See Poem 4.7d and note, and McManus 2006, 98-101.

25d I do not understand MS *do tíd.* I follow *ABM* 275 note 23d[169] in reading *do-chíd* here. An emendation to *do-**ch**íd* would allow for alliteration with final *comhchosmhail.*

26a I presume that *cruas* 'hardness' here refers to punitive clauses in agreements. These are rendered redundant by the complete suppression of criminality in the reign of the honorand-king and the uprightness and civic-feeling of his subjects, motifs dwelt on in more detail elsewhere in Bardic poetry (see McManus 2006, 78-9).

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[168] McKenna renders this verse, 'Tho' Odhar's daughter at the vat – forced by the shortness of her store – keeps close watch on the wine, even that reserved for Masses is drunk', but the present poem suggests that *díol Aifreann* should be understood as 'wine enough for [many] Masses', rather than ' wine reserved for Masses'.

[169] Owing to a typographical error, the quatrains are numbered incorrectly after §24 of the present edition in *ABM.*

26b As the country is at peace thanks to Tomaltach Mac Diarmada, its inhabitants can sleep soundly.

26d For substantive *fairsing* 'wide open area', see *DIL* s.v. *fairsing* (a). I have supplied lenition on the initial of *fochlochlaigh* (qualifying dat. / acc. *fairsing*) for alliteration.

27a I follow *ABM* in inserting ī[*sle*] for rhyme with *tír-se* and for sense. I do not know why the scribe left the space for these letters blank in the MS.

27cd This half-quatrain is cited in *IGT* ii, ex. 1344: *Ar a muillibh mhothaighthear* [v.l. C *mhothaighear*, C^2 *moithighth*ear]. *a cuidigh níor chognadair* which appears in P as *A ccuidigh nior cognadur. ar a muillibh mothaighthear.*[170] The initial of the passive verb *mhothaighthear* is lenited in C, indicating that this phrase was taken as a relative clause. Note that the ending of the passive verb cannot be *-ear* and the ending of the 3 pl. preterite must be *-adair*, as palatal finals are required for end-rhyme. A similar image from the Seithfín Duanaire is cited and translated by McManus 2006, 96 (= *ABM* 213.5): *muilli* ar *thobruib*[*h*] *re tes Márta / lesg cognuid a círa*, 'mills on millponds in the March heat, sluggishly will they grind their corn'.

27d For *cuidigh*, a variant of *cuid*, see *IGT* ii §187.

28ab For drought-like conditions brought about by the righteousness of the celebrand's rule, see McManus 2006, 93-6. For *lochthobar* translated as 'brimming well', see *DIL* s.v. 1 *loch*, but McManus 2006, 96 translates *lochthobar* as 'millpond' which seems much more likely here.

29a *IGT* does not give the form *orruim* (gen. *orrama*), though *uirrim*, *oirrim* and *urraim* are given (*IGT* ii, §§13 and 42), but see *Croidhe tiodhlaightheach treabhar / ní bhiam air dha fhoillsioghadh / nó an chiall do shealbh orruim d'fhior, / nó an dealbh chonnuil ód chíthior* (*orruim* : *chonnuil*) (*LCAB* 36, ll. 75-6), 'I will not publicise his great generous heart or the

[170] Bergin's text of *IGT* ii 'follows the text of CC^2 and combines the material of all of them [the other witnesses, H and P]'.

wisdom that won him respect or the [fine] figure that all can see' and *Siomón naomhtha námha Dhiabhail / na ndeich n-aithne nír fheidhm dhíosg / dá bhiodhbhaidh nó gur bhean orraim / do ionghuir fear comainn Críosd* (*orraim* : *comainn*), 'Holy Simon, Devil's face and Christ's friend, kept the Commandments – fruitful work! – and forced his foe to yield to him' (*Philip Bocht* 24.21cd). See also *Do bhreith eólach a n-iúl ghrinn / is tuar ardfhlaithis d'Fhélim / cúl dromannach ós dreich gil, / bheith úr orramach d'éigsibh* (*dromannach* : *orramach*) (*LBranach* 48, ll. 4480-1), 'According to the experts in esoteric lore, it is a sign that Féilim will attain the high-kingship that he, the man with the wavy head of hair over a pale face, is generous and respectful to men of learning'. Emendations to *chunnail*, *cumainn* (: *urraim*) and *drumannach* (: *urramach*) respectively would, however, be possible and these examples are, therefore, inconclusive as to the existence of the form *orraim* in Bardic poetry. However, in 29ab of the present poem gen. *orrama* makes *comhardadh brisde* rhyme with *cosanta* and in 29cd *comhaill* rhymes with *orraim*: *IGT* ii §11 only gives the form *comhall* and I know of no form of either *cosain* or *comhall* with the vocalisation *-u-* in Bardic poetry.

29d For another reference to the honorand keeping his truce, see (from a poem in the Seithfín Duanaire) *Do lu*cht *cogaidh a flesg Luimnigh / fedh ossaidh nír* air*gis* (*ABM* 90.11ab), 'You do not plunder those who would make war against you as long as the truce lasts, O chief of Limerick'. Keeping a truce is, of course, symptomatic of the honorand's righteous and honourable conduct in general (see McManus 2006, 71-2).

30a More literally, 'a hand which has thought little of battle-spears', i.e. does not fear being wounded in battle. For this sense of *ceisidh*, see *DIL* s.v. 1 *ceisid* (d). See Poem 3.1h and note.

30cd Shooting birds, one of the favourite activities of Cú Chulainn, was obviously an aristocratic pastime. Elsewhere in the Seithfín Duanaire, Fínghean Mac Giolla Phádraig is described shooting birds: *Mac Finghe*in *bas boign*eart*mu*r / *slat do minigh m*er*oi*reacht / *aenshoighet* 'con*n Os*raig[h]*ech* / *le mbaedloighther begcoilech* / *eoin ghonta do glac*us*d*air / *dá bogha mu*r *benf*aid[h]*er* / *gúais don choilech chengoilt*er / *soighet fu*air *a fedhoi*racht (*ABM* 237.6), 'The son of Fínghean whose hands are smooth and strong, the young warrior who has calmed rowdy nobles; a small cock is endangered by a single arrow shot by the man from Ossory; he has taken up injured birds as they are felled by his bow; the cock's danger is assured [as soon as] the arrow starts to whistle [through the air]'. See also Ar *bfaghail urchu*ir

sleighe / ar *mac eilte d'aireidhe* / *tug eala 'na suan* ar *sál* / *le treagha* nár *bhuail bradán* (*ABM* 333.4), 'Having struck a fawn with a spear-cast, [Domhnall Mac Domhnaill] has caused a swan to sleep on the brine with a spear (?) that has not struck a salmon [i.e. that has never missed its target]' and *A ccait(m)he uaibh dod fogha[ibh]* / *ag cur* air *ar ealtadh*aib[h] / *sl*edh *od bhois san rian ro*mh*ibh* / *'na crois a bfiagh fu*ar*amu*ir (*ABM* 333.25), '[Of] all the spears you have thrown in slaughtering birds, we found one [standing like a?] cross lodged in a deer in the path before you [i.e. when you missed a bird, you hit a deer?]'. Fearghal Ó hEadhra (†1390) is portrayed shooting stones at birds: *clocha a bais fhearta Fhearghoil* / *bearnoidh ealta ar Ghlais Ghainmhigh*, 'stones shot by the marvel-working hand of Fearghal knock down many birds on Glais Ghainmheach' (*O'Hara* 32.12cd). I have emended MS *ghonustur* to *ghonasdair* as a palatal final is required for end-rhyme. It is unclear whether *gonaidh* means 'wounds' or 'kills'.

30c *Cneassholais* is to be realised *cneasolais* (*IGT* i, §52).

31d As *suil* is followed by the relative of the verb, the passive verb can be lenited or unlenited (*SNG* IV, §7.32): *coimhighthe t'fh°ian sul* ***fh****°illtear* (*LBranach* l. 7021)[171] but *uain a °fóirthi sul °****f****rith leis* (*ABM* 229.11a).

32 The practice of casting spears at the beginning of a battle before drawing swords has been discussed in Herbert 2012, 101-5. For another example of this motif, see Poem 4.2ab.

32d *Láimh* here is the acc. sing. of *ā*-stem *lámh* (*IGT* ii, §192). A palatal final is required for rhyme with *ndáil* in 32c. (Internal rhymes must be at least *comhardadh brisde*, but the rhyme *lámh* : *ndáil* is an example of *comhardadh slán*.) The subject of the passive verb can take the acc. form on occasion in Classical Irish (*Desiderius*, 247; *Giolla Brighde* 4.1c and note; Hoyne 2011, 80-1): *Níor deargadh le hingnibh each,* / *níor loiteadh le lorg nuaichreach, /do* ***leirg*** *dtonnbháin ngairthe ngil* / *congháir t'fhaighthe do uaignigh*, 'It is not now cut up 'neath hoofs of steeds or disfigured by tracks of plundered cattle; but the baying of hounds (lamenting) on thy lawn has made desolate thy bright fair slope' (acc. *gil* is required for *rinn-*

[171] The editor incorrectly states that the lenition of the passive verb is incorrect here but it is required for alliteration.

airdrinn with *uaignigh*) (*DiD* 68.4); *fa chríoch dtaoibhghil cnuaistigh gCuinn / ní gluaistir aoin**shleigh** d'ealchuing*, 'through the fair thick-fruited Land of Conn no lance is being taken from its shelf' (acc. *aoinshleigh* : *dtaoibhghil*) (*DiD* 75.38cd); *A ccró sleagh as bruidhean bíatuigh, buidhean fhear le mbíathtair **baidhbh*** (*IGT* ii, ex. 814), '...a group of men by whom the crow is fed'; and *tárras ort **meing** is meabhail; / olc do ghreim do Ghaoidhealaibh*, 'one met guile and shame upon you; poor your profit to the Irish' (acc. *meing* : *ghreim*) (*Giolla Brighde* 4.1cd).

As the line appears in the manuscript, it wants a syllable. *ABM* suggests inserting ***loinn*** (acc. of *lann*) which makes perfect rhyme with *chroinn* (at least *comhardadh brisde* is required) in 32c and restores syllable account, alliteration and sense.

Herbert 2012, 13-15 observes that part of the high status which attached to the sword in later medieval Gaelic Ireland and its literature derived from the fact that swords were an expensive rarity which had to be imported. I have translated gen. ***an Lochlannaigh*** above as 'of the foreigner [lit. 'Norseman']'. This probably indicates a Norman origin for Tomaltach's sword. In another poem to Tomaltach an Einigh (*Dá mhac rugadh do rígh Connacht*), the Norman conquerors are referred to as *Danair* 'Danes': *Doilghe mar fhuilnge th'fhód dúthaigh / fa Dhanaroibh – doirbh an bhrod*,[172] 'Grievous to thy heart is the way thou hast to let thy native land be beneath the Danair – terrible the slavery!' (*AiD* 31.29ab). The *Danair* are clearly the Norman invaders to judge from the reference in §33ab (*Na trí críocha dá chéad bliadhan / fa bhroid eachtrann, anba an socht*, 'The Three Territories are now subject to the tyranny of the Foreigners for two hundred years – what terrible neglect on thy part [read 'a cause of great sorrow']').[173] Similarly, in a *dán leathaoire* which contrasts Tomaltach with Tomás Mág Uidhir (*Dá urradh i n-iath Éireann*), Giolla Críosd Brúilingeach declares that Mág Uidhir has not hesistated to pay *Danair* tribute (*nár fhuirigh ré díol Danar*) (*Scottish Verse* 7.14d).

[172] An emendation to *bhrad* is required for rhyme with *bhfad* (§29d).

[173] The three territories here are not, as McKenna hesitantly suggested, the Trí Tuatha, but the three areas conquered by the Normans mentioned in the poem (§§31-2): Clann Chúáin (around Castlebar, the barony of Carra), Tír an Áir (in the parish and barony of Burrishoole, according to *OG*) and Clann Mhuiris (the territory of the Prendergasts, the barony of Clanmorris).

33a More literally, 'the blade does its half-share'. For this meaning of *cumaidh* (*comaidh*), see *DIL* s.v. *commaid* (d).

33b For another example of the phrase *fa chomhfhalaidh* (more literally 'in a common feud', 'in shared enmity'), see *Dot fhéin a-tá toilemhail / sé agas cách fa chomhfhalaidh*, 'Because he suffers with others under an equal wrong, a prince submits to your soldiers' (*DMU* 11.19ab).

33c MS *fraech* 'fury' should make *comhardadh brisde* rhyme with *ríogh* in 33d. I have adopted *ABM*'s suggestion of emending to *fioch* which has much the same meaning as *fraoch*, but see Poem 3.36bd and note. The sword and spear are described as a *coingir* (*congair*) 'a yoke, a pair'. Cf. a similar use of *coingir* of a pair of spears in *Teagh a choda don choinnimh. coingir shleagh bfoda fillidh*, 'A banquet-hall for the band, a pair of long spears return' (*IGT* ii, ex. 2041), *Coingir shlegh ceinngér caithfidh. fa reghlén fer n-anaithnidh* (*IGT* ii, ex. 935), 'He casts a pair of pointy-tipped spears about a battle-field (?) of unknown men' and (from the Seithfín Duanaire) *rucc sighi* ar *an coingir coirrsled / nir fhuirigh re n-innsmadh* (*ABM* 67.36cd), 'he dashed for the pair of pointed spears, he did not wait to rivet them'. See Poem 2.29b and note.

33cd Interestingly, the sword and spear, rather than the person wielding them, experience battle-frenzy here. See Poem 2.6cd and note.

33d I have emended MS *fhromadur* to *fhromhadair* for as palatal finals are required for end-rhyme.

34a To my knowledge, there is no other example of the compound *biothainimh* in Bardic poetry. Reference is made in another poem to Tomaltach an Einigh (Poem 2 (iv)) to *Breisleach Mhuighe Muirtheimhne*. The compound *biothainimh* also occurs in the *Breisleach* in a passage that may have influenced this quatrain: *Díríme imorra archena di chonaib 7 echaib 7 mnáib 7 maccaib 7 mindóenib 7 drabarshlóg, ar nír órna in tres fer do fheraib Hérend cen chnáim leissi nó lethchind nó lethshúil do brissiud nó cen bithanim tra bithu betha*, 'a countless number besides of hounds and horses and women and boys and children and the common folk [killed by Cú Chulainn]. For not one man in three of the men of Ireland escaped without his thigh-bone or the side of his head being broken or without being marked

for life' (*TBC LL* ll. 2121-37).**34d** I take it that *comharthaighidh* 'signs, marks' means 'leaves a mark on, deforms' here.

35a I take the wooden legs here to be peg-legs but *cos chroinn* might also mean 'crutch'. *DIL* cites an example from the *Bórama* in *LL* (l. 38614) where *cos chraind* means an artificial leg attached below the knee after the lower leg had been severed. Note that in CMT_2, which is extensively referenced in Poem 2, another poem to Tomaltach Mac Diarmada, Lugh cuts of Balar's leg at the knee (*ro beanadh cos do Bhalar ann sin agā ghlún* (l. 1351)).

35b More literally, 'blood-red sword'.

35d I have emended MS *locadur* to *locadair* as a palatal final is necessary for end-rhyme.

36 For other examples in the Seithfín Duanaire of the motif of the celebrand splitting shields, see *Briathra cogaidh 'gon chath Laighneach* (*IBP* 40, l. 40) where Ó Conchobhair Failghe is praised as the man who shatters ornamented shields (*fer scailti scíath n-amlach*) and *sciath gel 'na aislib ret t'ucht-sa* (*ABM* 327.11ij), 'a shining shield is in pieces before you' in *Meanma siobhail ag síol Eoghain*. Cf. also *Anaidh lé scoltadh sciath ndonn / Gearalt mar budh é Émonn* (*LBranach* 40, ll. 7030-1), 'He [Gearalt Ó Broin] waits for the smashing of brown shields as if he were [his brother] Éamann'.

Poem 4 SGUIREAM FEASD DO CHRANNCHUR CHATHAIL

MANUSCRIPT

1.0 This poem is found in the Seithfín Duanaire, bound in TCD 1363 (H.4.22). For a description of this MS, see Poem 2 ¶1.

1.1 The poem begins on the eighth line of p. 128 of the MS. This page is in poor condition. Much of the text has faded and some portions are illegible. Words on the right-hand margin are very difficult to make out. There are several smaller stains and there is also a diagonal cut through a portion of the page, but the blemishes do not seriously obscure the text. The final portion of the text on p. 128 (see 11ab) is contained in a crudely drawn box, underneath which were drawn seven or more dots. The poem continues onto a scrap of velum between pp. 128 and 129 (henceforth 128A, recto and verso). Though the text on 128A generally clear, some words are difficult to make out. At the end of the text on *v* the scribe has drawn five dots.

1.2 A notable feature of the manuscripts' orthography is that it is generally closer to standard Old Irish spelling than to EModIr usage. Medial *b* and final *d* are written *p* and *t* in 2e and 7g respectively; medial *g* is written *c* (for examples, see 3d, 4b, 11h and 12f). The lenition of fricatives is rarely shown, except in the case of *ch* and *th*. Nasalisation of *c-* and *t-* is never indicated orthographically. In 2g, 11a and 16c, *fh-* is used to indicate *bhf-*.

Another noteworthy feature of this manuscripts' orthography is the use of an open *a*, written a little below and sometimes ligatured to the preceding letter: 4g *ma*$_a$ *tci*m [*mā at-c*[*h*]*īm*], 5a *d*$_a$ *an geall* [*da* (read *gá*) *an geall*], 5c *o*$_a$ *ninit* [*ō an init*], 7g *f*$_a$ *an mag* [*fa an magh*] and 13c *o*$_a$ *ni*air [*ō an iair*?]. (Note also 5a *re*$_a$*d* (*re* + *do*) and 14f *re*$_a$ (*re* + *a*).) While the ligaturing of the glide-vowel *a* to a previous *e* is very common in this and other MSS (see, for example, 4a *asteach*), I know of no other example of the above-mentioned use of subscript *a*. It seems to indicate an *a* that is to be expected etymologically but is to be elided.

1.3 A diplomatic edition of the text on folio 128A has been published in *ABM* 182.

POET

2.0 The poem is attributed to Páidín Ó Maoil Chonaire in the MS: *paidin o maol*chon*airi* cecinit *.i. mac lo*ch*laind* mi*c*[174] *mailsechl*ainn. The genealogical information given in the MS agrees with the O'Clery Book of Genealogies (*O Clery* §844).

2.1 Páidín son of Lochlainn son of Maoileachlainn Ó Maoil Chonaire died in 1506. *AU* and *AFM* describe him as *en-rogha Ereann ina aimsir lé senchus, 7 lé filidhecht*, 'unique choice of Ireland in poetry and in history' (*AU* iii, 478-9; *AFM* v, 1286-7). *AU* reports that he died *do bidhg* 'of a fit'. *ALC* describes him as *fithighir fer nErenn re filidhecht ocus re senchus* 'preceptor of the men of Erinn in poetry and history' and state he died in his own house suddenly (*ALC* ii, 206-7). *AC* §1506.3 similarly describes him as *fithír u*fer *n*Erenn *re s*en*chus 7 re fil*ide*cht* 'teacher of the men of Ireland in History and Poetry' but states that he died suddenly in the house of Mathghamhain Mac Cába, a member of a galloglass family associated with the Ó Raghallaigh and Ó Ruairc lordships of south Ulster.[175]

2.2 The Cluain Plocáin branch of the learned family of Ó Maoil Chonaire to which Páidín belonged was not the most prominent branch of that family at this period (Cunningham and Gillespie 2008-9, 20-2); it is perhaps significant that the sole poem by Páidín which has come down to us is addressed to a junior member of a branch of the Meic Dhiarmada which had spent fifty-six years (1421-78) in opposition to the ruling line and continued to struggle to maintain their grip on power even after that point (see ¶3 below).

2.3 A. Martin Freeman argued, with the support of T.F. O'Rahilly, that Páidín was scribe A of the Annals of Connacht (*AC*, xi-xiii), but Paul Walsh preferred an Ó Duibhgeannáin with the same forename (Walsh 1947, 23-4; Cunningham and Gillespie 2008-9, 25). No other extant poems are attributed to Páidín to my knowledge.

2.4 Páidín had at least two sons: Muirgheas and Lochlainn. Lochlainn (†1551) was chief poet to the Í Chonchobhair and Meic Dhiarmada (*ard ollam tsiola Muiredhaigh*), at a time when the branch of the Meic Dhiarmada which patronised his father Páidín held the kingship of

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[174] Superscript *c* over *i*.

[175] As will be demonstrated below (¶3.1.2-3), the family of the honorand of the present poem was heavily involved in the politics of this area. It is likely that Mathghamhain Mac Cába was in the service of an ally of Páidín's Meic Dhiarmada patrons. An interesting detail concerning the capture of the Rock of Loch Cé by the celebrand's family in 1478 illustrates the interconnectedness between north Connacht and south Ulster: *clann Ruaidhrí* used siege engines built by the craftsmen of Fermanagh to overcome their dynastic rivals and take the ancestral seat of the Meic Dhiarmada (*ALC* ii, 178-9; *AC* §1478.21-22; *AFM* iv, 1108-9).

Magh Luirg again (*ALC* ii, 358-9). Muirgheas (†1543) was a distinguished scribe, poet-historian and school-master (see Cunningham and Gillespie 2008-9).

PATRON

3.0 The poem is addressed to Cathal (1a, 2a, 3e, 4a, 4g and 5g). The reference to Magh Luirg (5g) suggests he was a Mac Diarmada. Internal evidence (see ¶4 below) allows us with near certainty to identify him with the Cathal Mac Diarmada who died in 1530.

3.1.0 Cathal Mac Diarmada was a member of the branch of the Meic Dhiarmada known as *clann Ruaidhrí*, the descendants of Ruaidhrí Mac Diarmada, king of Magh Luirg 1405-21. Cathal is the only member of *clann Ruaidhrí* for whom we have an extant poem. He was the son of Ruaidhrí Buidhe who reigned as king of Magh Luirg 1478-86. His mother was the daughter of Cathal Mág Raghnaill, a great ally of his father and lord of the small Leitrim kingdom of Muintear Eólais (*O Clery* §1003).[176] By the time of Cathal's death in 1530, three of his brothers had succeeded to the kingship of Magh Luirg and one of them was the incumbent in that year.

3.1.1 In this period, Connacht was divided between two major factions. *Clann Ruaidhrí* formed part of the Ó Conchobhair Donn-Clanricard Burke constellation of alliances in opposition to Ó Conchobhair Ruadh, Mac William Burke and their allies.[177] In particular, *clann Ruaidhrí* fought a bitter feud with Feidhlimidh Fionn Ó Conchobhair Ruadh

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[176] Note also the genealogy in RIA MS D i 3, 81r: *...uaidri óg mac rua... caoich mac aoda clann maith lais .i. tadg 7 cormac, tom...tach 7 aodh clann ingine mac uilliam, diarmaid an einigh .7 con<c>obar cath... 7 brian clann ingine meg raghnaill*, '[R]uaidhrí Óg son of Rua[idhrí] *Caoch* son of Aodh had a fine family: Tadhg, Cormac, Tom[al]tach and Aodh (the children of the daughter of Mac William), Diarmaid an Einigh, Conchobhar, Cath[al] and Brian (the children of the daughter of Mág Raghnaill)'. (As the MS was not available for consultation during the preparation of this thesis and images for every section of the MS had not yet been made available on-line, a photostat was consulted for all citations from this MS.)

[177] See Nicholls 2003, 170-8; *AC* §§1461.23, 1464.18, 1465.5, 1466.23-4, 1489.8, 1526.10; *ALC* ii, 186-7, 256-7; *AU* iii, 370-1; *AFM* iv, 1036-7, 1056-9, 1168-9, 1170-3, 1176-7, 1180-1, 1206-7, 1250-3; *AFM* v, 1262-3. Unsurprisingly, *clann Ruaidhrí* occasionally appear allied to factions within the Uí Chonchubhair Ruadha who were opposed to the reigning chief of the Ó Conchobhair Ruadh family (*AFM* iv, 1168-9, 1170-3; *AC* §1527.22; *ALC* ii, 262-5). In 1490, one of the Í Chonchobhair Ruadha whom *clann Ruaidhrí* had supported in opposition was inaugurated chief and *clann Ruaidhrí* were in the position of being allied to the reigning Ó Conchubhair Ruadh and opposed to Ó Conchobhair Ruadh dissidents for two years (*AFM* iv, 1180-1).

(†1490).[178] Until around 1504, *clann Ruaidhrí* struggled for power in Magh Luirg with a rival branch of their own family (Tomaltach an Einigh (see Poems 2 and 3), his brothers and descendants) and this conflict in turn was a microcosm of the larger conflict between Ó Conchobhair Donn and Ó Conchobhair Ruadh for supremacy in the region.[179]

3.1.2 *Clann Ruaidhrí* could exercise influence over other, smaller powers in the region: they counted some Meic Dhonnchaidh of Sligo and Méig Raghnaill of Leitrim among their allies and were heavily involved in the internal politics of these lordships, often competing against other would-be overlords.[180] In 1487, *clann Ruaidhrí* and some of their allies killed Tighearnán Óg Ó Ruairc, the *tánaiste* (or heir-designate) of the kingdom of Bréifne, and two Méig Uidhir, in the Mág Raghnaill kingdom of Muintear Eólais. Tighearnán Óg had supported a rival Méig Raghnaill faction to that endorsed by *clann Ruaidhrí* in a succession dispute (*AFM* iv, 1154-5; *AU* iii, 302-5; Calder 1922, xxii-xxiii).

3.1.3 This incident may have provoked the first of the powerful Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill's invasions of Magh Luirg to destroy the strongholds of *clann Ruaidhrí*: the northern lord had that very year reduced the Í Ruairc to paying him tribute for protection (*ciosa cosanta*). Ó Domhnaill was supported in his raids against *clann Ruaidhrí* by their Meic Dhiarmada rivals and Feidhlimidh Fionn Ó Conchobhair Ruadh (*AFM* iv, 1150-3). In 1488, Ó Domhnaill unsuccessfully laid siege to the Rock of Loch Cé which, though a member of the rival branch now held the kingship, was still in the hands of *clann Ruaidhrí* (*AFM* iv, 1162-3). *Clann Ruaidhrí*'s rival Meic Dhiarmada once again attempted to take the Rock in 1492 but, according to *AFM*, were obliged to desist for the sake of peace by Ó Domhnaill (*AFM* iv,

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[178] A battle in 1490 between *clann Ruaidhrí* and Feidhlimidh Fionn is described in *AFM* as follows: *tachar aggarbh ainmín do thabhairt dóibh da 'roile co ro cuimhnighsiot a sen fholta ⁊ a nuafholta da cheile, ar batar daoine ainnsidhe i n-aghaidh aroile las ro marbhadh aithre ⁊ braithre a chéle*, 'they gave each other a fierce and furious battle, in which they remembered their old and recent enmities towards one another, for there were persons here arrayed against each other who had slain each other's fathers and kinsmen' (*AFM* iv, 1176-7).

[179] See *AC* §§1461.39, 1462.10-11, 1465.4-5, 1472.5, 1473.11, 1473.25, 1478.21-2; 1504.4; *ALC* ii, 178-9, 204-5; *AU* iii, 370-1, 466-7; *AFM* iv, 1036-7, 1080-1, 1082-3, 1108-9, 1150-1, 1206-7; *AFM* v, 1264-5; *Dubh. Annals*, 248.

[180] For the Meic Dhonnchaidh, see *AC* §§ 1462.10, 1464.20, 1505.3; *ALC* ii, 204-5, 212-13. For the Méig Raghnail, see *AC* §§1464.20, 1473.36, 1482.5-6; *AFM* iv, 1120-1. *Clann Ruaidhrí* also secured support from an Ó Ceallaigh at the Battle of Carn Fraoich in 1465 (*AC* §1465.5; *AFM* iv, 1036-7) and counted some of the Meic Bhranáin of Corca Athchlann (a district south of and perhaps including Strokestown, Co. Roscommon) as their vassals (*AC* §1526.10-11; *ALC* ii, 256-7; *AC* §1527.22; *ALC* ii, 262-5).

1198-9). In 1495, *clann Ruaidhrí* formed part of an alliance of northern Connacht families who supported the Í Chonchobhair Shligigh against the Í Dhomhnaill and their Meic Dhonnchaidh and Í Ruairc allies during a siege of Sligo (*AFM* iv, 1214-17).[181] The high point of *clann Ruaidhrí*'s resistance to Ó Domhnaill's southern incursions came at the battle of An Bealach Buidhe in 1497 in which they were victorious over the Í Dhomhnaill and took the Í Dhomhnaill's treasured relic, the *Cathach*, and a number of high profile hostages (*AC* §1497.3, 5; *ALC* ii, 194-7; *AU* iii, 412-13, 420-1, 444-5; *AFM* iv, 1230-3, 1248-9, 1252-3).[182]

3.2 Despite the influence and celebrity of his family, Cathal Mac Diarmada is not referred to by name in the annals before his obit in *AC* and *ALC*. *AC* describe him as *cenn fedhna is mo do bhuaidhir ⁊ do bhúainmhill da bhidhb*adaib *⁊ da escaraid a comaimsir fris et dob ferr do cenn damh ⁊ déor*ad *⁊ deibhlen ⁊ d'aos gaca cerde*, 'the captain who of all his contemporaries most harassed and harried his enemies and foes and was the best patron of poets and exiles and poor people and the men of every art' (*AC* §1530.7). *ALC* describe him as *sáoi chinnfhedhna do chrechairecht ocus do chendsugad a escarad ar gach taoibh dhe*, 'a most eminent captain for plundering and subduing his enemies on every side of him' (*ALC* ii, 272-3).

3.3 For his sons, 'the descendants of Mág Raghnaill's daughter' (see ¶3.1.0),[183] see Mac Dermot 1996, 430, *AC* §1535.5, *ALC* ii, 378-9, and *AFM* v, 1424-5.

ARGUMENT

4 The poem opens with the assertion that the celebrand's high status is irrefutable (1a). This statement is followed by a list of laudatory kennings (§1). He is described going into battle, securing the territory, protecting the wealth of farmers and acquiring wealth for poets (§2). He is a fierce and brave combatant whose military campaigns secure the territory that his father held (§3). He is the land's protector. His generosity to poets surpasses even that of his

[181] The following year, *clann Ruaidhrí* and their Í Chonchobhair Shligigh allies saw action together again when they killed the successor of Mac David of Clann Chonnmhaigh, a Norman-Gaelic territory in south Roscommon and northeast Galway (*AU* iii, 410-13).

[182] Interestingly, the Meic Dhiarmada later ransomed the captured lord of Carbury, Feidhlimidh Ó Conchobhair Sligigh, for a share in the lucrative harbour of Sligo (*cuid chlainni Mhaolruanaidh do cóiced chuain Sligigh*).

[183] Note the following genealogy from RIA D i 3, 81r (photostat): *Cl*ann *la cath*al *mac ruaidri óig .i. brian .⁊ 2 concobh*ar, *tadhg ⁊ aodh breifnech, tom*altach *.⁊ toirr*dhealbhach, 'the children of Cathal son of Ruaidhrí Óg: Brian, two Conchobhars, Tadhg and Aodh *Bréifneach*, Tomaltach and Toirrdhealbhach'.

ancestors, as his hospitality surpasses even that of the heroes of the Ulster Cycle. A prodigal Shrovetide feast is described and it is asserted that Cathal is Magh Luirg's protector and rightful possessor (§§4-5). Magh Luirg experiences a period of great fertility owing to his martial activities.[184] (As a result?) Cathal can proceed around Connacht without opposition – no-one dares to do battle with him (§§6-7). Like Conchobhar and Celtchar in *TBC*,[185] he holds Ulster hostage (8abcd). The rest of the poem consists of a *caithréim*, a list of the honorand's military triumphs, and concludes with a reflection on Cathal's power and wealth.

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[184] Moylurg abounds in berries. The fallen fruit from its trees is so bountiful that it has clogged the river, encumbering traffic. Bees are producing honey and almost every scrap of land, including hills, has been given over to cultivation. Note also the reference to clement weather (4ef). For the extraordinary fruitfulness of the land reflecting a legitimate political regime, see McManus 2006, 89ff. For rivers clogged with fallen mast, see ibid., 106. For images of bees, see ibid., 91-2. For the hyper-cultivation of the land, see ibid., 99-100. For clement weather, see ibid., 89-91.

Such images of clement weather and paradisal fecundity are intimately connected with the enforcement of law and order, a connection clearly seen in the present poem where the description of the great fertility of Moylurg is introduced after the observation that Cathal Mac Diarmada has a right to Moylurg, having pacified it (5gh) (cf. the remark that he has possession of his father's lands at 16cd). It is interesting to note that Cathal Mac Diarmada never held or, so far as the annals indicate, aspired to hold the kingship of Moylurg. The present poem might well be evidence for some ambition on Cathal Mac Diarmada's part to take the kingship but I think it more likely, given the absence of any hint of dissension between Cathal and his brothers in any historical source known to me and the fact that possession and not lordship are referred to in 5gh and 16cd, that these lines are a hyperbolic reference to his high status under his brothers' regime; Cathal is praised as if he were king, but I do not believe a claim to the chieftainship is being made.

Though the symptoms of *fír flaithemon* discussed above are normally associated with kings or would-be kings, they are sometimes attributed to honorands who did not or could not attain or seek to attain the headship of their families: 'As the imagery [of the king's peace and bounty in Bardic poetry] is for the most part that of an idealized, paradisal, rather than an attainable, condition, I am not much concerned with the actual or historical circumstances behind any poem that I use. Thus, the fact that in the case of two of the poems drawn on below [...] neither of the two potential prophecy fulfillers [...] actually became *ceann fine* ('head of the family'), is of no relevance for my purpose and does not exclude them from consideration as examples of the imagery being investigated here' (McManus 2006, 67). See also McManus 2006 n. 65 and his forthcoming paper on female ancestry in Bardic poetry for the attribution of the symptoms of *fír flaithemon* to female patrons.

[185] An account in the margin of RIA MS D i 3 of the whereabouts of material which formed part of the Book of Cluain Plocáin shared among this poet's sons indicates that his son Muirgheas possessed a copy of the *Táin cona réimscélaib* 'the *Táin* with its preludes', while a son of Muirgheas transcribed a version of *TBC 1* (Walsh 1947, 44-5; Cunningham and Gillespie 2008-9, 25-6).

DATE

5.0 The poem cannot have been composed after 1506, when the poet died (¶2.1 above).

5.1.0 An analysis of the battle-roll allows us to refine the likely date of composition to c. 1497.

5.1.1 Hostility towards Ulster is particularly noticeable in the poem: when the poet observes he can find no antecedent to match the honorand, he adds that his patron has bested the feasting of the heroes of the Ulster cycle (4gh, 5ab). Reference is later made to a battle or battles against Ulstermen in which a Tadhg lost his life and an Ulster chief was captured, and an allusion is made to the great number of hostages taken by the Connachtmen from Ulster in *TBC* (§§8-9).[186] The poet also pointedly observes that the honorand has plundered as far as the Ulster border (11d). The context for this hostility is readily identifiable: the efforts by the Í Dhomhnaill chiefs of Tír Chonaill to secure the submission of northern Connacht (see ¶3.1.3).[187] The mention of hostage-taking and the capture of an Ulster chief points to the battle of An Bealach Buidhe in the Curlews in 1497 in which many Ulster notables were taken prisoner by *clann Ruaidhrí.* The only captive Ulster chief of his name enumerated in the annals is Ruaidhrí Mac Suibhne Fánad. It is interesting to note that reference (8gh) to an attack on Callow Castle on the south shore of Loch Gara, Co. Sligo, is made in the middle of a sequence of couplets concerned with Ó Domhnaill aggression: in 1527, *clann Ruaidhrí*'s castle there was destroyed by a northern invasion force; this stronghold may have been disputed between the Meic Dhiarmada and the Í Dhomhnaill at an earlier date (*AC* §1527.11; *ALC* ii, 260-1; *AU* iii, 566-7; *AFM* v, 1390-1).[188]

5.1.2 I have not identified the battle in the Aughty Mountains referred to in 9ef. It may refer to some battle fought in the service of the Clanricard Burkes. Another indication of *clann Ruaidhrí* activity in the far south of Connacht is the marriage of our honorand's brother Diarmaid an Einigh, king of Magh Luirg 1528-33, to the daughter of an Ó Briain chief (*ALC* ii, 376-7; Mac Dermot 1996, 131)

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[186] For my interpretation of 8b, see ¶5.1.8.

[187] Of course, the *Ulaid* of *TBC* and the *Ulaidh* of the fifteenth century were very different population groups, but the general idea of Northern/Southern, Ulster/Connacht antagonism made *TBC* a useful analogue for our honorand's political situation.

[188] *Clann Ruaidhrí* killed some Í Ghadhra, traditional lords of the area, in 1478 (*AC* §1478.16).

5.1.3 9gh refer to a battle at Ardakillin Lough. In 1589, *clann Ruaidhrí* joined with rebel Í Chonchobhair Ruadha in a rising against Feidhlimidh Fionn Ó Conchobhair Ruadh. According to *AFM*, they made for Ardakillin but the cattle they had taken in plunder were quickly reclaimed by Feidhlimidh Fionn, who pursued the rebels to Tulsk. Feidhlimidh Fionn's galloglasses then turned on him (probably in exchange for a reward from *clann Ruaidhrí*) and took some of his cattle, though he nonetheless managed to escape with most of his spoils (*AFM* iv, 1168-9).

5.1.4 10gh mentions the capture of the Gaelic Norman lord of Costello, Co. Mayo, and the raiding of his territory. This must refer to the capture of Mac Goisdealbh by *clann Ruaidhrí* in 1496 (*AU* iii, 410-13).

5.1.5 §§11-12 describe hostilities with the Burkes, in particular the Mac Davids of southern Roscommon and eastern Galway. Conflict with the Mac Davids can be traced at least to 1461 when *clann Ruaidhrí* were raided by Aodh Mac Diarmada, the reigning king of Magh Luirg from a rival branch of the family. He brought the plundered cattle into the territory of his allies, the Mac Davids. In 1462, *clann Ruaidhrí* retaliated against the Mac Davids and Mac Diarmada with the help of their own Meic Dhonnchaidh allies. In turn, Éamann Mac David and Mac Diarmada raided *clann Ruaidhrí* again (*AC* §§1461.39, 1462.10-11). Hoibeard, the son of Éamann Mac David, and two other Mac Davids were killed in 1475 by *clann Ruaidhrí*'s allies, the Í Chonchobhair Dhonna (*AC* §§1475.8, 13). In 1478, *clann Ruaidhrí* killed Maghnus Mac David (*AFM* iv, 1106-7). In 1496, *clann Ruaidhrí* participated in the slaying of the new Mac David (*AU* iii, 410-13). Frustratingly, the annals do not give the names or the ancestry of the Mac Davids involved in this last incident. But, as the grandsons of an Éamann Mac David appear in the chieftainship in the early sixteenth century, the incumbent in 1496 could plausibly be a son of Éamann, perhaps his son Dáibhíodh, and he might be 'the heir of Éamann' mentioned in our text.[189]

5.1.6 13ab refers to a victory won by the celebrand at Tulsk, Co. Roscommon. This may refer to the battle discussed in ¶5.1.3 above. Given the long feud with Feidlimidh Fionn (see

[189] *AFM* v, 1280-1, s.a. 1504, mentions the death of Uilliam, the son of Dáibhíodh, the son of Éamann Mac David and the succession of his brother Tomás to the chieftainship. (O'Donovan understood this entry as 'Uilliam Mac David, the son of Éamann' but the genealogy in the obit of his brother Tomás in *AC* and *ALC* confirms my understanding of the entry). Tomás died in 1536 (*AC* §1536.4; *ALC* ii, 290-1).

¶3.1.1), it is interesting to note that our poet refers to his honorand's enemies at Tulsk as *fuighle th'airm*, 'those who had earlier escaped your sword'.

5.1.7 Despite the evidence of 13ef, I know of no explicit evidence that *clann Ruaidhrí* attacked the residence of the Ó Ruairc chief of Leitrim, but in 1487 the annals record the assassination of an Ó Ruairc *tánaiste* or heir-designate by *clann Ruaidhrí* and their Méig Raghnaill allies (*AU* iii, 302-5; Calder 1922, xxii-xxiii). Given the intimate relationship between *clann Ruaidhrí* and the Méig Raghnaill of Muintear Eólais,[190] a subkingdom within Ó Ruairc's lordship, hostility with Ó Ruairc is not surprising.

5.1.8 13gh refers to the raiding of an area of the Ó Conchobhair Sligigh-dominated barony of Carbury. *Clann Ruaidhrí* had allies among the Í Chonchobhair Shligigh and were active in the region in the late 1490s (*AFM* iv, 1214-17; *AU* iii 410-134). In 1497, the reigning Ó Conchobhair Sligigh joined Conn Ó Domhnaill at the battle of An Bealach Buidhe and was captured by *clann Ruaidhrí* (*AC* §1497.3, 5; *ALC* ii, 194-7; *AU* iii, 412-15, 426-9; *AFM* iv, 1230-3). This explains the allusion (8b) to a captured Ó Conchobhair in a sequence of lines that refers to battle against the Ulstermen and the capture of Ulster chiefs.

5.1.9 §14 refers to hostilities with the Meic Dhonnchaidh of Sligo, to the capture of the 'heir of Dubhghall Gruamdha' and to activities around the Mac Donnchaidh stronghold of Ballymote. The heir of Dubhghall Gruamdha mentioned is probably the son of Dubhghall Gruamdha Mac Suibhne. His son was the constable of the galloglasses of Mac Donnchaidh and was captured in a battle between Ó Conchobhair Donn and Ó Ceallaigh in 1474 (*AC* §1474.12).[191] This poem is the only evidence known to me that might indicate Cathal Mac Diarmada's presence in that battle. *Clann Ruaidhrí*'s involvement with Ballymote can also readily be identified. Cathal Mac Diarmada's sister Fionnghuala was married to Seaán Mac Donnchaidh, the son of the chief Tadhg who died in 1469 (*AC* §1505.3; *ALC* ii, 204-5). Seaán was resident in Ballymote in 1476 when he was expelled from the town (*AU* iii, 258-61). Seaán died in 1511 and in that year *clann Ruaidhrí* killed his brother Fearghal (*ALC* ii, 212-13). The exact circumstances of these incidents are difficult to unravel but they are

[190] As well as being the son of a daughter of Mág Raghnaill, Cathal's son Aodh was probably fostered in Bréifne to judge by his soubriquet (see ¶3.3).

[191] The editor of *AC* notes that the son of Dubhghall Gruamdha occurs twice in *AFM*'s account of the events of 1474, as a prisoner and as a casualty respectively.

sufficient to demonstrate that *clann Ruaidhrí* had an interest in Ballymote and played a role in its politics.

5.1.10 15ab refers to the celebrand's actions in Tír Fhiachrach. While I cannot point to a specific incident or incidents that may be meant here, *clann Ruaidhrí* were allied with the Í Dhubhda, lords of Tír Fhiachrach, in 1495 when they formed part of an army that opposed Conn Ó Domhnaill's siege of Sligo (*AFM* iv, 1214-17).

5.1.11 15cd refers to raids by Cathal Mac Diarmada in Leyney, Co. Sligo. By 1527, *clann Ruaidhrí* held Banada Castle in Leyney when it was attacked by Ó Domhnaill (*AC* §1527.11; *ALC* ii, 260-1; *AU* iii, 566-7; *AFM* v, 1390-1).

5.1.12 15ef refers to a battle, most likely against the Meic Dhiarmada Ruadha, an off-shoot of the main Mac Diarmada family, but I cannot identify the incident mentioned.

5.2 In conclusion, the latest securely datable allusion would seem to be that to the battle of An Bealach Buidhe in 1497. The other incidents identified would support a date of composition around this time.

METRE

6.0 This poem is in *deachnadh mhór* (*brúilingeacht*).

6.1 The syllable-count is $8^2\ 6^2$.

6.2 There is alliteration in every line.

6.3.1 There is internal rhyme in every couplet. Every stressed word in the even lines makes *comhardadh brisde* with a stressed word in the preceding odd line. (The final of both lines do not participate in internal rhyme and one or two stressed words at the beginning of the odd lines may be *urlanna*, i.e. may be exempt from internal rhyme.) See ¶6.2.3 below.

6.2.2 The pattern of end-rhyme is constant throughout the poem. The finals of the even lines make *comhardadh brisde* with one another and the finals of the odd lines make *uaithne bhrisde* with one another and the finals of the even lines. See ¶6.2.3 below.

6.2.3 Though unnecessary in *brúilingeacht*,[192] both internal and end rhymes are often perfect.

[192] For the prohibition in the Grammatical Tracts of perfect rhyme in poems in *brúilingeacht*, see Poem 3 ¶6.2.3.

6.4 There is no *dúnadh*.

6.5 I have followed *ABM* in dividing the poem into eight line units; these stanzas often have a common theme or word which might indicate that they are to be taken as single units. However, it should be borne in mind that as the rhyming scheme is constant throughout the poem, the division into stanzas is editorial. Note that there is no *fioruaim* in the final line of §8. See Poem 3 ¶6.2, 5.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1 Sccuiri*m* f*east* do chran*n*chu*r* chath*ail.* H.4.22

carthu*r* gach teagh tu*r*aid.

ar negne gel *ar* g*r*ia*n* topa*ir.*

nach lesg t*r*iall do thula*ig*[*h*].

ar slat fhial do*n* chriaid nach cait*ir.*

ar ng*r*ian a ndiaid dub*aid*[*h*].

gilla geal on gegbaill gealtais.

f*ear* nach egai*n* u*cht*gui*n.*

1 Sguiream feasd do chrannchur Chathail - Critical Edition

carthar gach teagh turaidh:

ar n-éigne geal ar grian tobair,

nach leasg triall do thulaigh,

ar slat fhial don chriaidh nach caitir,

ar ngrian i ndiaidh dubhaidh,

giolla geal ón ghéagBhaoill ghealtais,

fear nach éagcaoin uchtghuin.

1 Let us desist from casting lots regarding Cathal – every house that gives shelter is beloved. [He is] our bright salmon on the bed of a spring who eagerly proceeds to an assembly-mound, our noble hero of the land whose fertility is inexhaustible, our sun after an eclipse, a fair warrior from the leafy, bright, moist river Boyle, a man who does not complain about a chest-wound.

2 *Ar* uai*n* in da c*r*and[193] a chath*ail.*

land as a t*r*uaill tugais.

duit dama br*eath* re a *m*bia at chumaid.

bud leat bias g*ach* brug*aid*[*h*].

in da bruach ag an*ad*[*h*] ag*aib*[*h*].

lua*ch* na tach*ar* thugais.

a fhia*ch* les i*n* cler do chuiris.

a t*r*iall a cei*n* chugaib.

2 Ar uain an dá chrann, a Chathail,

lann as a truaill tugais.

Duit dáma[dh] breath re a mbia id chumaidh

budh leat bhias gach brughaidh.

An dá bhruach ag anadh agaibh,

luach na dtachar thugais.

A bhfiach leis an gcléir do chuiris,

a dtriall i gcéin chugaibh.

2 When the two spears [were cast], O Cathal, you took your sword from its scabbard; if you could decide who will be in your company, every *brughaidh* would be with you. The whole land is obedient to you, the reward of the battles you fought; you gave the poets their due, they journey far to you.

[193] Underneath this letter what appears to be an *i* has been added in darker ink.

3 B<*eir*>thear lib do lem in tachair.

cem in fhir le hu*cht*aig.

d*r*uidid led sciath uai*m* in ath*aid*[*h*].

a cu*air*t thi*ar* go t*u*cais.

to*cht* san ag re choir a chathail.

is s*n*am re cois chu*r*aig.

<c*r*u>th*aig*[*h*] in fond do fhuaigh thath*air*.

re <b>ond uaib go hu*r*sai*n*.

3 Beirthear libh do léim an tachair

céim an fhir le huchtaigh.

Druidid led sgiath uain an athaidh

a gcuairt thiar go dtugais.

Tocht 'san ágh re coir, a Chathail,

is snámh re cois gcuraigh.

Cruthaigh an fonn do fhuaigh th'athair

re bonn uaibh go hursain.

3 You charge into battle like a man racing downhill; until you have safely brought their tribute back [to Magh Luirg], [the enemy] follows in hot pursuit. To come into the battle against wrong-doing [beside you], O Cathal, is to swim alongside a coracle. Secure the entire territory that your father consolidated with a [new] foundation laid by you.

4 T*us*a a dil d<o> cheap a chathail.

in c*r*ich asteach tucais.

no co t*eid* suas t*ar* na sea*n*aib.

duas re cleir nir chumais.

ni m*eist*e dib anf*ad*[*h*] ag*aib*[*h*].

th*artr*ach a tir tugais.

ni ler lem ma atci*m* a chath*ail.*

do gell ag ní anu*r*aidh.

4 Tusa a díol do cheap, a Chathail,

an chríoch is-teach tugais.

Nó go dtéid suas tar na seanaibh

duas re cléir níor chumais.

Ní meisde díbh anfadh agaibh,

th'arthrach i dtír tugais.

Ní léir leam má ad-chím, a Chathail,

do gheall ag ní a-nuraidh.

4 You are the one capable of stabilising the country, O Cathal; you have pacified it; the only limit you have set on the payment you give to poets is that it should surpass what the ancestors gave. You are none the worse for a storm: you have brought your ship ashore. I do not think, O Cathal, that I can find your equal in the recent past.

5 Da an geall <d>o bo *c*ruaid read chaith*im*[*h*]

an u*air* dob fherr ult*aig*[*h*].

ni bi ach arc all*aid*[*h*] o an init.

ar marth*ain* dod mucaib.

muca fa a cuairt na ceap chais*il*.

t*ar* buaibh crech at chucht*air*.

seanmag luirg <i>s leat a chath*ail*.

a buird asteach thugais.

5 Gá an geall do budh cruaidh red chaithimh

an uair dob fhearr Ultaigh?

Ní bhí acht arc allaidh ón Inid

ar marthain dod mhucaibh.

Muca fa a gcuairt 'na gceap chaisil

tar buaibh creach id chuchtair.

SeanMhagh Luirg is leat, a Chathail,

a bhuird as-teach thugais.

5 Even when the Ulstermen were at their peak, when did their liberality compare to yours? After Shrovetide, only one wild piglet survives of your pigs. The pigs which fill their stone enclosure [will be brought] into your kitchen after the cows taken in plunder [have been despatched]. Ancient Magh Luirg is yours, Cathal; you have pacified its borders.

6 Tulcha lebra i*n* muig<h>i m*us*clait.

m*ean*ma dui*n*e dub*aig*[*h*].

<t>aobh na l*ear*g i*m* a*n* mbuill mbreacglais.

d*ear*g or shuid do shubaib.

b*ean*aid l<ucht do ch...u>as a carth*aib*[*h*].

a luas do lu*cht* chu*r*aig.

ar thuit <do t>ar*ad*[*h*] dod cr*an*[*n*]aib.

<d>... b*aid*[*h*] (?).

6 Tulcha leabhra an Mhuighe musglaid

meanma duine dubhaigh.

Taobh na learg im an mBúill mbreacglais

dearg ór shúigh do shubhaibh.

Beanaidh lucht do chnuas i gcarthaibh

a luas do lucht churaigh.

Ar thuit do tharadh dod chrannaibh

[...]

6 The tall mounds of the plain lift the spirits of a mournful man. The slopes around the shimmering-blue Boyle are red with the berries [whose juice] they have absorbed. The nuts which you have caused to fall clog weirs, slowing a coracle. All the fruit that has fallen from your trees [...]

7 Moilli chnuais do b*ean* a beach*aib*[*h*].

teag tu*air* ar g*ach* tul*aigh*.

cr<i>de i*n* <m>... i*n* t<ir n>ach t*rea*bth*air*.

fan c*r*ich do char brug*aid*[*h*].

tir a *conn*achtaib nar chrechais.

is *conn*achtaigh chugaib

tugais cuairt fa an mag co mi*n*ic.

nar g*ar* g[194]o chu*air*t chu*m*aicc.

7 Moille chnuais do bhean a beachaibh

teagh tuair ar gach tulaigh.

Cridhe an m[...] an tír nach treabhthair,

fan gcrích do char brughaidh.

Tír i gConnachtaibh nar chreachais

is Connachtaigh chugaibh?

Tugais cuairt fan Magh go minic

'nar ghar do chuairt chumhaig.

7 [The presence of] a farmhouse on every hill has made bees eager to produce honey. The very centre of the ... is the [only] part of the country that is not tilled throughout the country that the *brughaidh* loves. Have you plundered any territory in Connacht where Connachtmen opposed you? You have often taken tribute around the plain [of Connacht?] where your triumphant progress went unopposed.

[194] The scribe has inserted a *d* over this letter.

8 T*r*oid *chon*chob*air agus* cheltch*air.*

toisg *chon*c[*h*]*obhair* chug*aib*[*h*].

b*eir*ther gell re sidhe sebuic.

libsi a chean*n* an chu*m*aiscc.

do*n* tsidhe ga geall rer gl...cais.

ceann *a*n fhine ult*aig*[*h*].

do lei*m* do chreachadh i*n* chal*aid*[*h*].

l*eathan* i*n* lei*m* <tu*r*>raic.

8 Troid Chonchobhair agus Chealtchair

toisg Chonchobhair chugaibh.

Beirthear geall re sidhe seabhaic

libh-se, a cheann an chumaisg.

Don tshidhe gá geall rer g[hla]cais,

ceann an fhine Ultaigh?

Do léim do chreachadh an Chalaidh,

leathan an léim thurraic.

8 [Like] Conchobhar and Cealtchar's battle, the Í Chonchobhair come to [do battle with] you. You triumph, O head of the battle, with a swift charge. When has there been a battle like the one in which you captured the head of the Ulster family? Your charge to plunder An Caladh was a wide-ranging attack.

9 <D>oca*r* leo na lei*m* a t<e>n*n*...

do gleo don fhein ult*aig*[*h*].

do bi ni is mo and da nesb*aid*[*h*].

ger lor tadg do thubaisd.

<i*n*> ... ... á[195]th agaibh

áth na nda*m* na dubfhuil.

g*an* fh*air*b*r*ig a chor do chuiris.

l...ch c*air*<gi*n*> na chu*m*aidh.

9 Docar leó 'na léim i dteann[taidh]

do ghleó don fhéin Ultaigh.

Do bhí ní is mó ann dá n-easbhaidh

gér lór Tadhg do thubaisd.

An (?) [... ...]áth agaibh

Áth na nDamh 'na dhubhfhuil.

Gan fhairbrígh a chor do chuiris,

Loch Cairrgín 'na chumaidh.

9 The Ulster warrior-band found the fight you gave them difficult when they rushed into battle. Though [the loss of] Tadhg was a great disaster for them, he was not their only casualty. [...] Áth na nDamh [covered] in dark blood. Without exaggeration you also overthrew Loch Cairrgín.

[195] The accent-mark, too faint to be an *n*-stroke or suspension-stroke and similar to the accent mark over *áth* in the next line, is written after *th*.

10 Da *m*b*eath* nach biad a*n*d da nesb*aid*[*h*].

tadg is cian bus c*um*ai*n*.

tug do bal ar ... oth*air,*

cata ar dath a*n* dub*aid*[*h*].

tugais mac goisdelb a *n*glasaib.

lat g<*an* c*r*ui>... cu*m*aisg

a chr*each*ad ad chia*m* gu*r* chle*acht*ais.

do shliab l*eatham* lug*aidh*.

10 Dá mbeath nach biadh ann dá n-easbhaidh

Tadhg is cian bhus cumhain.

Tug do bhal ar [... ...] othair

catha ar dath an dubhaidh.

Tugais Mac Goisdealbh i nglasaibh

lat gan (?) [... ...] cumaisg.

A chreachadh ad-chiam gur chleachtais

do Shliabh leathan Lughaidh.

10 Even if Tadhg were the only one that they had lost, it would [still] be remembered for a long time. It has darkened the countenance of battle-bands in such a way that the [...] of a sick man improves (?).You took Mac Goisdealbh with you in fetters without [...]. I see that you have become accustomed to plundering him as far as broad Sliabh Lughaidh.

11 Do fhagbuis chl*oinn* fi<ch>m<a>... [196]fhuiltig*h*.

...*air* ...na cl*oinn* chu*m*aisg.

do chl*oinn chon*nm*aig*[*h*] noch*ar* choisgis.

dot fhogl*aib*[*h*] go hult*aib*[*h*].

do fhagbuis ema*nn* ga*n* oigir.

<ar> *céad*barr i*n* chu*m*aisc.

do la a *n*gleo i*n* chairn nocha chosm*ail.*

sb*airn* bud teo go t*u*cuis.

11 Do fhágbhais chloinn bhfíochmhair bhfuiltigh

[... ...] 'na cloinn chumaisg.

Do Chloinn Chonnmhaigh nochar choisgis

dot fhoghlaibh go hUltaibh.

Do fhágbhais Éamann gan oighir

ar céadbharr an chumaisg.

Do lá i ngleó an Chairn nocha cosmhail

sbairn budh teó go dtugais.

11 You left a fierce bloody family [...] a family in turmoil (?). You have not spared Clann Chonnmhaigh on your raids as far as Ulster. You left Éamann without an heir at the vanguard of the battle. It is unlikely that you ever fought a fiercer battle than the battle of An Carn.

[196] The words from here to the end of 11b are contained in a crudely drawn box underneath the body of the main text. In the very far left of this box, the scribe has written *dcan.*

12 Hi chin*n* chna*m*a at chia*m* gu*r* chrechais.

da*n*a t*r*iall i*n* tu*r*uis.

t*r*oid in tsl*uaig*[*h*] bu*r*caig do bl*og*[*h*]ais

do chúrs*aig*[*h*] a cu*r*aid.

b*r*atach emain*n* go*n*a horr*aid*[*h*].

as a*n* t*r*ensb*air*n tucais.

ar du*n* na mona do meascais.

nirb ona i*n* t*ús* tu*r*ais.

12 Í Chinn Chnámha ad-chiam gur chreachais -

dána triall an turais.

Troid an tshluaigh Bhúrcaigh do bhloghais,

do chúrsaigh a gcuraidh.

Bratach Éamainn gona horraidh

as an tréansbairn tugais.

Ar Dún na Móna do mheasgais –

níorbh ónna an tús turais.

12 I see you have plundered Í Chinn Chnámha – it was a bold move to set out on that expedition. You left the Burkes' army in disarray – [that] chastised their warriors. You brought away Éamann's standard and its bearer from the fierce battle. You attacked Dún na Móna – you were not fearful at the outset of the expedition.

13 Ni raib *acht* fuigli h*air*m ag*aib*[*h*].

maid*m* a tuilsce t*u*cais.

do h*airgeadh* gleann o an i*air* ag*aib*[*h*].

d*earg* ad diaid a dubchnuic.

cu*air*t na*ch* raibi na cu*air*t chorr*aig*[*h*].

co baili .h. ru*airc* r*u*cais.

fasa choill*ead*[*h*] mu*r* do chrechais.

ni c*r*oidth*ear* do chu*m*aisg.

13 Ní raibhe acht fuighle th'airm agaibh,

maidhm i dTuilsge tugais.

Do hairgeadh gleann ó aniair agaibh

dearg id diaidh a dhubhchnuic.

Cuairt nach raibhe 'na cuairt chorraigh

go Baile Í Ruairc rugais.

Fása Choilleadh mar do chreachais

ní croidtear do chumaisg.

13 [When] you secured victory in Tulsk, you faced only those who had [earlier] survived your sword. You have plundered ... and left its black hills red in your wake. You made a confident circuit to Baile Í Ruairc. Because of the way you plundered Fása Choilleadh, the battles you fought are not believed.

14 Do bi ag cl*oinn* don*n*ch*aid*[*h*] a deasg*aidh.*

do co*m*[197] t*r*oid sa cu*r*aid.

oigi*r* dubgaill g*r*ua*m*da a nglasasaib.

at chuala na cu*m*aidh.

~~[...]a*i*n*i*g l*eat* do b[...]~~ rainig[198] rai*n*ig l*eat* do bo toisc tapaid

sa chrech re a choi<s> ch<u>g*aib*[*h*].

fa baili i*n* m<u>ta co m*ein*ic.

caidhe i*n* ruta rugais

14 Do bhí ag Cloinn Donnchaidh a deasgaidh,

do chomhthroid 's a gcuraidh.

Oighir Dubhghaill Ghruamdha i nglasaibh

ad-chuala 'na chumaidh.

Ráinig leat – do budh toisg thapaidh –

's a chreach re a chois chugaibh.

Fa Bhaile an Mhúta go meinic

caidhe an rúta rugais?

14 The Meic Dhonnchaidh were the worse for the contest between you and their champions. I heard also that the heir of Dubhghall Gruamdha is in fetters. You managed [this] – it was a swift expedition – and got plunder from him as well. Where is the likes of the war-band you have often brought around Ballymote?

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[197] A larger *n*-stroke has been written over the letter and underneath the *n*-stroke a smaller and cruder *m*-stroke was added.

[198] A box has been drawn around this word.

15 Cia dib nachar hiarrad agaib.

tir fhiac*r*a<ch> go hu*r*sai*n*.

do sheol t*r*e luig*n*i nir legais.

eól *ar* chui*m*ni i*n* chu*m*aisc.

t*r*e[199] boi*n*g re bar sbairn do sb*r*egais.

i*n* coill *air*d san ursain.

da *m*b*eath* nech dot ag*r*a at fholtaib.

beag nach ag*r*a ar ul*aib*[*h*].

15 Cia díbh nachar hiarradh agaibh,

Tír Fhiachrach go hursain?

Do sheól tre Luighne níor leagais -

eól ar chuimhne an chumaisg.

Tre bhoing re bhur spairn do spreagais

An gCoill nAird 'san ursain.

Dá mbeath neach dot agra it fholtaibh

beag nach agra ar Ul[t]aibh.

15 Who in all of Tír Fhiachrach has not been scoured by you? It is recorded of the battle that you did not finish your journey in Luighne. Because they dared to face you in battle, you checked An Choill Ard on your return. If someone were to accuse you of your crimes, [he would assert that] you almost demand [tribute] from Ulster.

[199] An undotted suspension stroke.

16 Dol dh*air*eam do chreach a chathail.

ceadh nach cai*n*eadh cu*m*muisg.

sealb na fhad mu*r* hathair agaib.

lam agaib na huchtaig.

a slan fa dhith duitt na deg*aid*[*h*].

do thuit an chrich chugaib.

do thuit i*n* chrich cug*aib*[*h*].....

16 Dol dh'áireamh do chreach, a Chathail,

ceadh nach cáineadh cumaisg?

Sealbh na bhfád mar th'athair agaibh,

lámh agaibh 'na huchtaigh.

A slán fa dhíoth duit 'na dheaghaidh,

do thuit an chríoch chugaibh,

do thuit an chríoch chugaibh.

16 [Having] tried to count your cattle-raids, O Cathal, which [of them] is not an argument against doing battle [against you]? You hold your father's land as he did before you, you control its hill. The country fell to you – let them try to do you harm after that!

NOTES

1a The poet asserts that it is no longer necessary to cast lots to determine the honorand's status as this has already been demonstrated in the battles he has fought; lots need only be cast when land is being distributed when no grounds exist to distinguish between candidates who are on equal footing. For other examples of this idea, see *Don leith do-ríne ragha / leath an mhíliodh gur mheala; / gan chur gcroinn ar Chrō Logha / roinn logha dó fa-deara* (*Butler poems* 17.5), 'He has chosen half [of Ireland]; may he hold the half of the warrior; without casting lots for Ireland, he deserves half', *Faemthar don bosfhada bronntach / Connachta fa chrandchur*, 'When it comes time to cast lots concernig Connacht, it is yielded [instead] to the long-handed generous prince' (*IBP* 40, ll. 83-4), and *Mar Dhomhnall Óg an airm chuirr / ag cosnamh cineoil cConuill / na bí taobh re cuid ccrann*char / *druid a Aodh re hEoghanch*aibh (*ABM* 101.31), 'Like Domhnall Óg [Ó Domhnaill] of the tapered weapon who protected Cinéal Conaill, do not content yourself with a division assigned by lot: confront the Í Néill, O Aodh'. See also Poem 6 note 40c.

I have interpreted **MS *sccuirim*** as *sccuiri*[*o*]*m* (standardised *sguiream*), the 1 pl. imperative: 'Let us / me desist forthwith from casting lots regarding Cathal'.

1b *teagh turaidh*: Literally, 'a house of dryness', i.e. a house that does not admit rain. The honorand is, of course, the house which gives shelter. See Poem 2.20c and note.

1c *Éigne*, *eó*, *maighre* 'salmon, trout' are frequent kennings for the celebrand in Bardic poetry (*TD* i, liii). For another example of the figure of the salmon in a stream or well used to describe the celebrand, see *a eo tobair* 'salmon of the springfed stream' (§14a *Cia meise, a mheic an Chalbhaigh?*, P.A. Breatnach 1990). The image may have martial significance: *Samhail don bhuanna i mbeirn ghábhaidh / i ngrian bhuinne mur bhíos eó; / gan tí saor uadha 'na imeal, / 's aobh don bhuanna i ngrinneal ghleó*, 'When a soldier occupies a difficult position in battle, he is like a salmon at the bottom of a river; in the river-bed of battle, the soldier appears to be able to cover his flank completely' (§10 *Ní ar aois roinntear rath buanna*, Ó Foghlú 1991, Poem 3, cited in Herbert 2012, 190 n. 234).

1d This line could be freely translated 'who does not hesitate to go to battle'. Military expeditions would often set out from hills and battles were also fought at such landmarks

(Fitzpatrick 2004, 30-1). See Poem 6.17a for another reference to *tolcha troda* 'hills of battle'.

1e *Caitir* represents the Classical Modern pronunciation of *caithtir* (*IGT* i, §41), the passive present indicative of *caithidh* 'spends, consumes'.

1f For a similar kenning, see *grían i ndeaghaidh na díleann*, 'a sun after the downpour' (*LCAB* 17.18d).

1h The motif of the celebrand ignoring his wounds in battle occurs frequently in Classical poetry (see Herbert 2012, 432-9). For examples from the Seithfín Duanaire, see *Ceilter a áladh con Fhailghech / bántor noco mbarrlass*, 'The Offalian conceals his wound until a white tower blazes to the summit' (*IBP* 40, ll. 51-2), *nir chronaigh fos fa céad coirrshlegh / crecht mor* acht *m*ar *mhinlot* (*ABM* 67.38cd), 'he has never complained about a hundred pointed spears; [to him] a huge wound is like a tiny one' and *co den*am *h'áthuis* ar *íarluib / na hál*aid (?) *nir fech*ad (*ABM* 213.12ij), 'until you have triumphed over the earls, [your] wounds are not noticed [or 'examined']'.

2a In battle, spears were thrown before swords were drawn. See Poem 3.32cd.

2cd More literally, 'If it were a judgement by you concerning all who will be in your company, it would be with you that every *brughaidh* will be'. For the *brughaidh*, see Poem 3.25c and note. I take it that these lines refer to the hospitality of Cathal Mac Diarmada who wishes to surround himself with wealthy farmers to give him the means to supply his guests with lavish entertainment. The same idea (of a lord surrounding himself with food-providers) is implied in a poem on Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill's captivity: *Do lucht altraim, t'aos ghrádha, / do bhrughaidh, do bhannála, / críoch bhraointe shoineamhail sheang, / sgaoilte um oirearaibh Éireann* (§40 *Iomchair th'atuirse, a Aodh Ruaidh*, P.A. Breatnach 1986), 'Those to whom you are bound by fosterage, your trusted retinue, your *brughaidh*, your womenfolk are scattered around Ireland [by your absence], the sleek provident land of warm waters'. Elsewhere in Bardic poetry, honorands are praised for not raiding or slaying *brughaidh* (Herbert 2012, 467-8).

2e Literally, 'the two borders obeying you'.

2f The initial of relative *tugais* is lenited in 2f and 5h (see Poem 1.15a note). 12f and 13h MS *tucais* may be relative but do not show lenition; this could indicate that they are not to be understood as relative but, as the space above *t* was occupied by a superscript letter, it is impossible to be certain.

2g I take MS *fhia*ch as representing *bhfiach.* While a pl. or sing. pronoun may be used to refer to *cliar* 'poet-band' (*IGT* v, §133; *BST* 220.13-22), *cliar* is not, so far as I know, one of the fem. nouns which can be referred to you using a masc. pronoun in Classical Irish (see *IGT* v, §131) and the lenition of *fiach* in the MS is used to indicate nasalisation. Alternatively, the lenition may be a mistake and a fem. pronoun is intended. See ¶1.2.

3cd Taking *druidid* as 3 pl. historical present, the rest of the couplet can be translated either 'they [your enemies?] pressed against your shield until you brought their tribute[200] back [to Magh Luirg]'. To make sense of *uaim an ath*aidh, I emend MS *uai*m to *uain* (here 'a period of time'?) taking the *m*-stroke in MS *uai*m as an error for an *n*-stroke.[201] *Ath*aid[h] would appear to be the gen. sing. of *athadh* 'interval, space of time'. The whole phrase could be rendered 'for the [whole] length of time'. I have no other example of this phrase. I interpret that 3cd as a reference to Cathal's bravery in entering battle, while 3ef describes how he holds the vanguard on the retreat.[202] That honorands are the first and last into battle is a commonplace of Bardic encomium (see Poem 5.14cd and note).

3e I cannot make sense of the lenition of MS *choir.* An elided 3 sing. possessive pronoun would not make sense here. I therefore take the *spiritus asper* in the MS to be in error.

3ef The celebrand rushes into battle so swiftly that others find it impossible to keep up with him. A similar phrase occurs in *LBranach* ll. 6996-7: *ní bhiadh snámh re hais eathair / a n-ágh lais ag Laighneachuibh*, 'the Leinstermen, coming in to battle with him, could not swim alongside a boat [i.e. the Leinstermen had as much chance of keeping up with him as he charged into battle as of keeping up with a boat at speed]'. I have emended MS *re cois*

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[200] For *cuairt* 'that which is levied on a circuit or military expedition through a country', see *DIL* s.v. 1 *cúairt* I (f).

[201] The two strokes are clearly differentiated by the scribe. See 10h and 14b for other erroneous *m*-strokes.

[202] Note the phrase *sgiath tar lorg* 'shield covering the way', translated as 'retreat', in *do cuiredar na h-Albanuigh sgiath tar lorg orrtha on loch suas docum Chúile O b-Finn*, 'the Albanachs executed a retreat from the lake up to Cul-O'Finn' (*ALC* ii, 438-9).

churaig[*h*] to *re cois gcuraigh.* Examples of the prepositional phrase *re cois* followed by lenition and non-lenition are found in MSS. As acc. sing. *cois* differs from nom. sing. *cos*, I have nasalised the initial of the noun it governs. However, in the only instance known to me where *re cois* causes nasalisation, it is not a set prepositional phrase but rather means 'to [the] foot': *Coimes gud bhois núidhe neimnigh. re cois* ***ng****lúine neimhghil Néill* (*IGT* ii, ex. 1233), 'Your vigorous deadly hand is comparable to the foot at the end of the swarthy knee of Niall'.[203] No instance of lenition or non-lenition after *re* (*le*) *cois* known to me can be confirmed by the evidence of alliteration.

3h *Cruthaighidh* 'creates, forms; proves' seems to mean something like 'stabilises' here. For another example of the idea that the celebrand is or provides the pillar or base supporting and upholding his territory, see Poem 1.46a and 4a below. Cf. also *inneoin fhlaithis fhuinn Uladh / airdrí an chúigidh, Conchabhar* (*O'Reilly poems* 11.27ab), 'the high-king of the province, Conchabhar, is the base of the kingdom of Ulster' and *inneoin chogaidh chrí(th)che Fáil* (*ABM* 262.2a), 'Ireland's anchor [literally 'support'] in war'.

***go hursain*:** literally, 'to the doorpost', in this context 'to the outer-limits (of the territory)'.

4a *Ceap* '(anvil-)block, base' would seem to be synonymous with 3h *bonn* here: more literally, 'it is you who are a fitting base for it [the land]'. After the preposition *do*, *ceap* should assume its dat. form *ciop* (*IGT* i, §§74, 81; ii, §65) but the *comhardadh brisde* rhyme with 4b *is-teach* precludes this. (The problem of nom. *ceap* for acc. *ciop* would be resolved if *do* here is the 2 sing. possessive adjective, but I cannot make sense of the line with this interpretation of *do*. For *díol do*, see *DIL* s.v. *díl* (e).) Similarly in 5e, I interpret MS *na ceap chaisil* as *'na* [*g*]*ceap chaisil* where the lenition of the initial of *chaisil* would seem to confirm my reading of *ceap* (: *chreach*) as dat. sing. in that line (but see 3ef for erroneous lenition of *c*-). Outside of the present poem, I know of no examples of dat. sing. *ceap* to establish whether the poet's usage of nom. for dat. has precedent.

4b The construction *do-bheir is-teach* means 'makes safe, secures, pacifies, subdues' here. See also *Damh-sa as cóir a chur i gcéill, / atá re cur id chaithréim, / gan fher faghla 'ghá foghuil / Banbha as-teagh go ttugobhair*, 'It is right that I make known, I am going to put it in

[203] This half-quatrain from *Táinig an Croibhdhearg go Cruachain* occurs without nasalisation after *re cois* in Quiggin 1912, §11cd.

your "battle-roll", that no raider has raided Ireland since you were brought in [read 'It is right that I make it known, I am going to put it in your "battle-roll" that you pacified Ireland, [so that] not one raider raided her [thereafter]'] (O'Sullivan 1971-2, §25), *Ní raibhe ag cur iona cheann / fan am-soin d'fhearaibh Éireann, / fairche dhaoineach fá ngeal goil, / aoinneach as-teagh ná tug-soin. / Nír fháguibh ar aoi a oirbheirt / Mac Séamais, feidhm fioroirbheirt, / foghluidhe ná creachthóir cruidh / seachnóin collMhuighe Cobhthuigh* (*Butler poems* 15.40-1), 'No man in Ireland, the populous land around which the sun shines, then opposed [Thomas, Earl of Ormond] whom he did not bring to submission. By dint of valour, the son of Séamas did not leave a marauder or plunderer of cattle [unchecked] around hazel-filled Ireland – a truly valorous task' and *Clár Banbha go ttucc as-teagh / oighre Neill na Náoi nGheimheal / go cor maide* ar *chl*ár *cCoph*taigh / *an t*-ár *aigi* ar *allmhorch*aibh (*ABM* 449.26), 'Until the heir of Niall of the Nine Hostages pacified Ireland, until he made it secure [literally 'until he bolted Ireland'], he massacred the foreigners'.

4ef The calm weather which Cathal Mac Diarmada guarantees by his righteous conduct means there is no impediment to his raids by water. See also Poem 2.56cd and note.

4g *Is léir do X* 'is clear to' is the more usual formula (*DIL* s.v. *léir* 1(c)) but *is léir le X* is not uncommon in Bardic poetry: *do-chon*narc *mur [is]* °*lé*ir °*leam* (*ABM* 28.2a), 'I saw clearly', *ar n-aos aithnigh ní* °*léir* °*linn*, 'I can find no-one that I know' (*IBP* 42.2c) and *imirt bhrannaimh is* °*léir* °*linn*, 'I see thee playing chess' (*Magauran* 3.22a).

4h *Ní* seems to mean 'person' here. Cf. 9c where *ní* 'thing' probably also refers to a person.

I do not see how ***a-nuraidh*** 'last year' can be translated literally in this context. Cf. *Céim deacair dul ó a fhalaidh / gan chur [peacaigh] a bpudhair / suairc bhíom fa mbí im dheaghaidh / dleaghair dhíom ní ón uraidh*, ''Tis hard to escape His wrath without the sinner's coming to trouble; let me face hopefully my creditors, I have debts of old standing [more literally, 'I owe something from last year']' (*DiD* 10.12).

5a I have emended *da* to interrogative *gá.* This allows for the elision of *an*, necessary for syllable-count, and makes good sense in this context ('Where is the benchmark that would be tough for your spending / liberality [to beat]'). Cf. the confusion of *g-* and *d-* in 7h. I have emended MS *do bo* to *do budh.* While Classical Irish had *do ba* as a form of the past tense of the copula, it lenites the initial of the following noun (*SNG* IV, §7.27). Lenition may not have

been indicated here because of the superscript letter over MS *cruaid*[*h*], but in 14e *do bo* occurs again and does not lenite the following *t*-initial noun. This suggests that 14e MS *do bo* is a mistake for *do budh*, and the same might be true of *do bo* in the present line. Cf. MS *dāma* for *dámadh* in 2c. However, in 14e the scribe has also neglected to indicate lenition on *tapaid*[*h*] which qualifies a fem. nom. sing. I have emended to *do budh* in both instances but an emendation to *do ba* + lenition might be preferred.

5cd This would appear to describe a feast that took place before the beginning of Lent. I presume a verb of motion is implied here. For the preference of Bardic poets (and the Irish in general) for pork, see *TD* 12 and Quinn 1966, 65-6.

5e *Fa a gcuairt* is an unusual spelling of OIr *imma*(*c*)*cuairt* (*DIL* s.v. 1 *cúairt* II). I have no other example. I take *ceap caisil* to mean 'stone enclosure'. For another example of the phrase from the Seithfín Duanaire, see *cep caisil i*n catha (*ABM* 327.11j), 'the stone enclosure of battle' (a figure for the honorand).

6ab For gen. *muighe*, see Poem 2.37a and note. The plain here could be Magh Luirg or Magh Aoi, the plain of Connacht (see 7g below where the latter is the more likely candidate). For other examples of a pleasant sight (the vista of natural or man-made beauty or the sight of the celebrand) curing illness or melancholy in Bardic poetry, see *Sribh tre tholchaibh táobhghlasa. na orthain d'fhir fhíabhrasa* (*IGT* ii, ex. 1023), 'A stream flowing through green-sloped hills is a charm to cure a man with fever', *Do chiú néall neamhdha ós an raon; / don néall-sa budh neamhghar brón* (*Butler poems* 13.1ab), 'I see a heavenly apparition [i.e. Eibhlín of Desmond] at the end of the road; because of this apparition, sadness will be far away' and *Coscc fiabhrusa clódh cumhadh / a hinneall a hordughadh / cúirt bháinte na ngloinshéd ngeal / coimhéd sláinte na silleadh* (*ABM* 89.5), 'The arrangement and construction [of the house of Teabóid Dillon] prevents fever, reverse sorrow; it is a guarantee of good health to gaze on the warm, white palace of the bright treasures'.

6c Note that *um an* is not reduced to *'mun* in this line. Cf. *im an seang n-orrdhraic ndeas ndonn* (*DiD* 91.33d) from a poem in *deibhidhe* where *im an* is also not reduced to *'mun.* Cp. 7g where *fa an* is realised *fan.*

6cd For another example of the ground sucking up what has fallen on it, see *Ioth an talmhan ar ar thuit / do-chuaidh uain-ne 'n-a éaruic / ó do shúigh fuil na flatha / an úir fhuil mar*

fhiadhracha (*DiD* 86.38), 'After his death, we lost our corn as his honour-price; since the earth sucked up the blood of the prince, it has become overgrown (?) [i.e. a wilderness?]'. I have normalised MS *shuid* to *shúigh* (: 6c *mBúill*).

6ef More literally, 'the quantity of your (nut-)harvests in weirs deprives the crew of a coracle of their speed'. Here as elsewhere in Bardic descriptions of paradisal fertility, the quantity of nuts which fill the rivers makes transport impossible (see McManus 2006, 106). I take MS *carth*aib[h] to be the dat. pl. of *cara* (*cora*) 'a weir' (see *IGT* ii, §4).

7a More literally, 'it has taken from bees their lethargy in making produce'.

7c The word in the MS beginning with *m* is illegible. It makes at least *comhardadh brisde* rhyme with *char* in 7d.

7gh More literally, 'you often went around the plain [of Connacht] where your powerful progress was easy'. 7h MS *go* is probably an error for the possessive adj. *do*. The scribe has apparently corrected *g-* to *d-*. Cf. the confusion of *d* and *g* in 5a. Reading *do* for *go* explains the lenition on the initial of *chu*air*t*. To avoid the metrical fault of *caoiche*, *cuairt* must have different meanings here. I take the first occurrence to mean 'tribute, dues' (see 3d) and the second to mean 'journey'.

8ab This is a reference to an incident in *TBC*. Conchobhar and Celtchar free 160 Ulster women from the captivity of the household of Medb and Ailill during the cattle-raid and kill all 160 of the captors (*TBC 1*, LL. 3512-16; *TBC LL*, ll. 4117-22; *TBC St*, ll. 4041-7). I take this allusion to mean that Cathal Mac Diarmada has taken and is in possession of many hostages. If my interpretation of this allusion is correct, it may be argued that given the fate of the men who captured the Connacht women in *TBC*, this allusion is poorly chosen. However, the Bardic poet was at liberty to tailor or abbreviate an apologue to convey his argument: in not mentioning the later fate of the captors or explicitly comparing Cathal Mac Diarmada to them, he is excluding this comparison from the apologue. For sense and to avoid the metrical fault of *caoiche*, *Conchobhair* in 8b cannot be Conchobar mac Nessa (8a). I interpret *Conchobhar* as meaning a shorthand for the Í Chonchobhair. Cf. the use of Eoghan (= Cinéal Eoghain, Í Néill) and Conall (= Cinéal Conaill, Í Dhomhnaill) in the poetry of Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe (see *Giolla Brighde* Poem 1 note 4a).

The lenition of initial ***Ch**onchobhair* is not to be pronounced (*IGT* i, §51).

8c For other examples of *sidhe seabhaic* (*seabhcamhail*) 'a hawk-like thrust', see *Fa shluagh Balair bedgaigh Lugh / mar sheabhac ar fhud ealtan / cain tighe Té gur thabhaidh / dob é* ***an sidhe seabhcamhail*** (*ABM* 104.25), 'Lugh darted around the host of Balar like a hawk among a flock of birds; until he had levied the tribute of Tara, he moved swiftly', *A cceann rúag don dara ruit / do-bheireadh* ***sidhe seabhuic*** */ lé háongha lé húathadh slúaigh / ag cáomhna Crúachan cladhfhúair* (*ABM* 120.17), 'Seeking onslaughts for the second time (?), he made a swift attack to protect Cruachain of the cold ramps with a single spear and a few men', and *A chú s(h)eilge slóigh Doire / tugais* ***sidhe seabhcuidhe*** */ dob é an fiadhach rechtmur rod / tre fhiallach nertmur námad* (*ABM* 432.24), 'O hunting hound of the host of Doire, you have made a swift attack; it was a fierce, commanding hunt through a mighty band of enemies'.

8gh More literally, 'your raid to plunder An Caladh, wide-ranging the battle-charge', i.e on his expedition to plunder An Caladh, Cathal plundered the territory of the Í Ghadhra more widely. Cf. *Siobhal oidhche nír fhiu libh / d'ionnsoighidh Cille Coinnigh; / do seoladh ruaig leathan laoi / uaid do chreachadh na cunntaoi*, 'Ceall Coinnigh thou didst not think necessary to attack by night; by day-light thou didst lead a wide-extending foray to raid the County' (*AiD* 40.32). An Caladh is probably the Ó Gadhra stronghold on the south shore of Lake Gara in the barony of Coolavin, Co. Sligo (*AC*, 812, 815). To avoid the metrical fault of *caoiche*, *léim* must either have a different meaning in 8g and 8h or be accompanied by *breacadh*. The latter solution seems the most likely: 9ab *léim* : *fhéin* would form *breacadh* with 8gh *léim* : *léim*.

9a I take MS *a tenn*... as the preposition *i* and the acc. sing. of dental-stem *teannta* (*IGT* ii, §7).

9d I am unsure of the identity of this Tadhg. Notable Tadhgs killed by *clann Ruaidhrí* include Tadhg (mac Conchobhair) Mac Diarmada, the son of the king of Magh Luirg whom *clann Ruaidhrí* ousted in 1478 (*ALC* ii, 178-9) and Tadhg (mac Tomaltaigh an Einigh) Mac Diarmada, who was killed by *clann Ruaidhrí* in 1503 (*AFM* v, 1264-5).

9f Hogan identifies an Áth na nDamh in the Aughty Mountains which straddle Counties Clare and Galway (*OG* s.v. *Áth na ndam*), the border between the territory of the Clanricard Burkes, *clann Ruaidhrí*'s allies, and their neighbours, the Í Bhriain of Thomond.

9h Loch Cairrgín is Ardakillen Lough, near the Ó Conchobhair Ruadh stronghold of Tulsk in Co. Roscommon (*OG* s.v. *loch cairrgin*).

10b The initial of *cumhain* could be lenited after future relative *bhus* (see Poem 2.56ef and note). Though the scribe normally indicates the lenition of *c*-, the space for the lenition marker was taken by the *m*-symbol. However, as there are some possible examples of non-lenition in late sixteenth- / seventeenth-century poetry (*an tí bhus °fear °freacnai[gh]the* (§9b *Doirbh riaghladh réime flatha*, RIA 744 (A v 2), 14b), 'the one who is the practised man' and *moladh °fíre bhus °fearr díol*, 'true – and well-rewarded- praises' (*AiD* 58.3c)), I have not indicated lenition here.

10cd More literally, 'it causes, as a good-effect on ... of a sick man (?), battle-bands to be a darkened colour'. The battle-bands presumably have stern expressions (*ar dath an dubhaidh*) because they are pondering plundering. Cf. the use of the verb *dubhaidh* 'makes black, dark' in *Ní chodlaid, ní chaithid proinn / gan luadh gcatha nó comhloinn; / geal a ngríosghruaidheadh do dhubh / síorsmuaineadh cean is cogthadh*, '[The Burkes] sleep not, they eat not a meal, without discussing a battle or an encounter; continual pondering on forays and wars has dimmed the brightness of their glowing cheeks' (*TD* 21.11 and note). Does the sight of the battle-band ready for war have a medicinal effect? Cf. note 6ab.

10h *Sliabh Lughaidh* (: *cumaisc*) seems to be an alternative form of Sliabh Lugha, a territory in the barony of Costello, Co. Mayo and the adjoining area in Co. Roscommon (*AC*, 844). By our period, Sliabh Lugha was ruled by the Meic Goisdealbh (*anglicé* Costello) (*AC* §§1330.3, 1366.6; *AFM* iv, 1150-1). I take the *m*-stroke in MS *leatha*m to be a mistake for an *n*-stroke. Cf. 3c where the same error occurs.

11ab *C(h)l* followed by a suspension stroke seems to indicate dat. / acc. sing. *cloinn* in 11abc. Though *chloinn* : *cloinn* in 11ab would seem to incur the metrical fault of *caoiche*, this may be avoided as it forms *breacadh* with a third instance of *chloinn* in 11c. This *breacadh* may also offset the metrical fault of *droichead uama* in 11c. I have indicated nasalisation on the initials of the adjectives qualifying acc. sing. *chloinn* (nom. *clann*) in my critical edition (*SNG* IV, §3.3). I am unsure of the meaning of the phrase *clann chumaisg* 'family of strife / battle' in 11b. I presume it to mean that they are left in chaos and disorder by the honorand.

11c *ABM* reads *Chonnmail* here but these lines refer to hostilities with the Mac Davids of Clann Chonnmhaigh ('Clanconway') (see ¶5.1.5 above). Clann Chonnmhaigh is a territory in south Roscommon and the northeast Co. Galway, ruled by the Mac David Burkes in our period (*AC*, 820).

11f *Céadbharr* = intensifying *céad-* + *barr* 'tip' = 'vanguard'?

11gh The syntax of these lines is *nocha cosmhail go dtugais spairn budh teó* [*ioná*] *do lá i nGleó an Chairn*, 'it is not likely that you gave a battle that would be fiercer than your fight in the Battle of the Carn'. The verb *ioná* has been omitted. McManus 2009, 92 n. 58 points out that *ioná* could be dropped when the word or phrase which would follow *ioná* in standard syntax is in a separate line. I have emended MS *nocha chosm*ail to *nocha cosmhail*. The negative present indicative form of the copula *nocha* only lenites *f-* (*SNG* IV, §7.27). This is another instance of the incorrect lenition of *c-* in the MS.

Lá often means 'battle' in Bardic poetry (cf. Mod. Ir *bhí an lá leis* 'he was victorious' and English 'he won the day'). See, for example, *Lá a Leithbhior 'nar loiteadhsin, / lá ag Luimneach nó lá ag Gaillimh, / do-géabhtha mná caoine í Chuinn / lá Baoille nó an lá ag Liathdruim*, '[Had Ruadhraighe Ó Domhnaill died] the day in Lifford [read 'in the battle of Lifford'], where he was wounded, the day at Limerick or the day at Galway, women would have been found keening for Conn's descendant, the day of Boyle (also) or the day at Leitrim' (§24 *A bhean fuair faill ar an bhfeart*, Knott 1960). I do not know the location of An Carn or the incident referred to here. An Carn is a very common placename in north Connacht. A location in the lordship of Mac William Burke would make the best sense in context.

12a Í Chinn Chnámha is in the Mac William Burke-dominated barony of Carra, Co. Mayo (*OG* s.v. *Ui Chindchnamha*; O'Donovan 1844, 150-1, 188-9).

12c More literally, 'you scattered / broke the fight of the host of the Burkes'. Cf. (from the Seithfín Duanaire) *lamh ler blodhadh beotroid* (*ABM* 213.25h), 'a hand by which a fierce fight was broken up'. *Bloghaidh troid* probably refers to the breaking up of the ranks of the enemy's army, leaving them vulnerable and ineffective in battle. Cf. *bloghaidh b(h)áire* 'repels a charge' (Poem 2.9d and note).

12d *ABM* mistakenly reads *do chúrs*aig[h] (: 12c *Bhúrcaigh*) as *do chúr*acht, though this does not make *comhardadh brisde* rhyme with 12c *Bhúrcaigh*. I am unsure how to interpret this line. MS *a curaid* could be voc. sing. *a churaidh* 'O hero'. Historically, however, *curaidh* is the dat. / acc. sing. of dental stem *caur*. In EModIr *curaidh* came to be used as a nom. (*DIL* s.v. *caur*) but *IGT* ii §21 gives only nom. *cur* (voc. *a chur*) and makes no mention of a radical *curaidh*.[204] Voc. sing. *curaidh* is attested in a mid-seventeenth century poem in *séadna* (*dán díreach*) where an emendation to historical voc. sing. *cur* is impossible without compromising the syllable-count: *Maith dhamh a Dhonnch*aidh *mhic Cormuic / a* ***churaidh*** *mhir as mor ainm / do theacht* (*slán*) *g*an *lén* [*slán*] *a Sagsuibh / lán do shéan ón ghlasmhuir ghairbh* (*ABM* 168.4), 'Donnchadh son of Cormac, O swift champion whose fame is great, it pleases me that you have returned unharmed, safe and well-favoured out of England over the rough blue sea'. I have interpreted *curaidh* as nom. pl. (cf. 14b) for acc. pl. and taken MS *do chúrs*__[h] to represent the 3 sing. past of *cúrsaighidh* 'chastises, rebukes' (cf. 15e *do spreagais*). The use of the nom. (*curaidh*) for acc. (*curadha*) here could be due to the (3 pl.?) possessive pronoun *a* which separates the object from the verb which governs it. Cf. nom. pl. *óig* for acc. *óga* in *tiomsuighidh bhur n-óig* (: *fóid*) *áille*, 'gather thy splendid warriors' (*TD* 24.28c; see *SNG* IV, §4.8) but note that *dún do leabhair* 'close your books' is marked as faulty in *IGT* i §78.

12e The capture of the battle-standard of the enemy was a highly significant act in late medieval warfare. In the prose tract on their prerogatives, the Meic Dhiarmada claimed the right to the standards captured in the battles in which they fought (*As le Mac Diarmada fós bratacha an áir madh āil leis ē*, 'Further, the battle standards [acquired in the frey] are Mac Diarmada's, if he so wishes') (Ní Shéaghdha 1963, ll. 91-2). For the capture of standards in Bardic poetry, see Herbert 2012, 256-8. For other references to the capture of battle-standards in Gaelic warfare, see *LCS* §47, C. Breatnach 1990, 56 and Falls 1950, 218-20. I take MS *orr*aid[h] (*ABM* reads *hoir*echt (?) but this would not make end-rhyme, as the finals in end-rhyme must be palatal) to be the dat. / acc. sing. of *orra* (a by-form of *urra* (*earra*)) 'nobleman, prince; surety, guarantor; one responsible for, capable of'. I presume that it refers to the standard-bearer here.

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[204] Though nom. *curaidh* is not given in *IGT* ii §21, nom. *brughaidh* (historically the dat. / acc. sing. of dental-stem *briugu*) is given in the word-list beneath the headword of the same entry.

12g Dún na Móna is probably the Ó Ceallaigh colony of Doonamona in the barony of Carra, Co. Mayo, in the lordship of Mac William Burke (*AFM* vi, 1911-13, note *z*). Alternatively, Dún na Móna might be Doonmurray in the parish of Killross, the barony of Tirerrill (*AC*, 828), an area of Co. Sligo dominated by the Meic Dhonnchaidh.

Measgaidh ar X means 'attacks X, harrasses'. In OIr, *mescaid* with a reflexive pronominal infixed object followed by the preposition *for* had the meaning 'attacks' (lit. 'mixes oneself with'), but in EModIr the pronominal object has been dropped (*DIL* s.v. *mescaid* (b)). For other examples, see *Ná meascaidh ar mo mháthair*, 'Do not bother my mother' (Ó Cuív 1973-4, §27a) and *fa dédla an mál ar ar mheasg*, 'bold was the prince whom he attacked' (Carney 1954, §56c).

12h More literally, 'the start of the expedition was not fearful'. I take MS *ona* to represent the adj. *ónna* (*DIL* s.v. *ónna*). The scribe may have omitted the second *n* to emphasise the rhyme with 12g *Móna* or the omission may simply be a slip given that *-n-* and *-nn-* is pronounced the same after a long vowel.

13a I have emended MS *raibh* to Classical Irish conjunct 3 sing. past *raibhe* (*IGT* iii, §7).

***fuighle th'airm*:** I take MS *fuigli* to be the nom. pl. of *fuigheal(l)* 'remnant, residue' (see *IGT* ii, §54; *DIL* s.v. *fuidel*). Cf. *fuidheal(l)* (or *fuidhle*) *áir* 'survivors of a battle': *fuidhle áir na healadhna*, 'the men of art who have survived' (*LBranach* l. 4485 and note). Damian McManus points out to me that a pl. subject is permitted with a single verb here when the conjunction *acht* occurs between the verb and subject. For another example, see *Óm baile ag breith a cheana. ní raibhe acht eich fhoirseadha* (3 sing. *raibhe* (: *baile*), pl. *eich* (: *breith*)) (*IGT* ii, ex. 866).

13b Tulsk is in Co. Roscommon, south-west of Elphin, a stronghold of the Í Chonchobhair Ruadha.

13c I cannot understand MS *oaniair* (: 13d *diaidh*). Taking alliteration and syllable-count into account, it could represent *ón iair* or *ó a-niair* but I cannot make sense of either of these possibilities.

13f Two locations could be meant here: (a) Baile Í Ruairc in the parish of Balla in the Mac William Burke dominated barony of Ceara, Co. Mayo (O'Donovan 1844, 154-5, 479) or (b)

the homestead of Ó Ruairc, the lord of Breifne. The latter is probably more likely, though the poem has mentioned a number of locations in the barony of Ceara already. See ¶5.1.7.

13g *Fása Choilleadh* refers to the district of Castletown in the Ó Conchobhair Sligigh-dominated barony of Carbury, Co. Sligo (*AC*, 829). *OG* (s.v. *Fása Choilleadh*) cites several versions of this placename: *Fása Choillid* (*AC* §1318.3), *Fásadh-coille* (*AU* ii, 430), *Fasa-caille* (*AU* iii, 36), *Fassa Coilleadh* (*AFM* iii, 518) and *Fassa choilleadh* (*AFM* iv, 754).

13h I take this line to mean that the destruction of Fása Choilleadh was so complete that there is no evidence for Cathal Mac Diarmada's raid. Cf. *barr feoir tar gruaidh gallbhaile / ag buain eoil dot oirbhire*, 'a crop of grass over the surface of a foreign home shows your anger [or 'a crop of grass covering [the ruins] of a foreign home obscures knowledge of your anger']' (*DMU* 9.12cd).

14a I take *a deasgaidh* 'its dregs' to mean 'the worst part' here. *Deasgaidh* is the subject of 3 sing. *do bhí*. However, *IGT* ii §180 *deasgaidh* (v.l. *deasga*) is a *plurale tantum* and the verb would be 3 pl. Nonetheless, I see no way to decipher this line without taking *deascaidh* as the subject of the verb. Dat. sing. *deascaidh* is sometimes found in MSS,[205] though metrically there is no reason why it could not be an error for the more common dat. pl. *deasgaibh*.

14b Literally, 'your fight and their champions'. Damian McManus has drawn my attention to the following examples of the syntax of this phrase: *ó ar dteagmháil* ***agus*** *tu-sa*, 'from my coming into contact and [= with] you' (*DiD* 80.15c), *mo shíoth* ***agus*** *Rí an ríchidh*, 'my peace with the Lord' (*Dán Dé* 6.18d), and *Do ghéan a guidhe trém ghaol / ní sgéar* ***agus*** *Muire mhór / mo dheala* ***agus*** *Rí na ríogh / ná tí dhíom cheana do chlódh*, 'I will pray to Mary, trusting in my kinship, and never part from her; may I thus not fail to heal my breach with the Lord' (*Dán Dé* 27.34).

14c MS *glasasaib* is an error for *glasaibh*.

14g *ABM* mistakenly reads *Baili úata.* Ballymote is in the barony of Corran, Co. Sligo, in the lordship of the Meic Dhonnchaidh.

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[205] See, for example, *Ualach cog*aidh *criche Floinn / gé mor do mhac Uí Do*mh*naill / ní tharla dhó da* ***dhesgaidh*** */ nach mó an tarbha tarr*usd*air* (*ABM* 360.16), 'Though the burden of waging war for Ireland was heavy upon the son of Ó Domhnaill, the benefit he derived from it was greater [than the cost]'.

14h *Rút(a)* is an Anglo-Norman loanword meaning 'an armed band' (*DIL* s.v. *rúta*; see Nicholls 2007, 88). For another example of its use in Bardic poetry, see *Cu*air*t an Rúta ó mhuir go muir / mach*aire *Eabha d'*arg*uin* (*ABM* 236.75ab), 'the journey of the battle-band from sea to sea / plundering Machaire Eabha' from a poem to Conn Ó Domhnaill (†1583) by Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird. The word is also found in Elizabethan English texts: in Derricke's *The Image of Irelande* (1581), he refers to a band of Irish kern (*ceithearn*) as a 'rout', 'route' and 'rowt'.

15a *Iarraidh* 'seeks, searches' here implies an expedition to plunder. Cf. *In rī is urlār an tīri / fān damhr*aidh *mir móirshídhe; / cleachtaid soin siobhal i bhfad, / nī fhoil ionadh nach iarrad* [...] *Uath*adh *droibhēl nā diamhuir / nach iarrad re hēnbhliadhain, / bīdh san fhiadh chrīchmhīn a gcuid, / gach sliabh mar fhírthír iarraid* (*Butler poems* 8.48, 51), 'The king is the foundation-stone of the kingdom supporting the swift warriors from a great fairy-mound; they are wont to travel far afield, there is no place that they do not search [for cattle] [...] Few are the wild places and wildernesses that have been left unsearched for more than a year; they will find their portion in the fertile land, they scour every mountain as they would good land' and *Ná fágbhadh fód gan iarraidh / do dhúthaigh Néill Naoighiallaigh; / leasg d'Ó dhaighNéill céim 'n-a gceann / réidh agus aimhréidh Éireann. / Ná hanadh fós go bhféagha / a diamhra 's a droibhéala; / ionghaireadh – cá hinmhe as fhearr? - / siobhlaigheadh imle Éireann*, 'Let him make for [or 'search'] every part of the Land of Niall Naoighiallach; Niall has been too slow in marching to seize the land, rough and smooth alike, of Éire. Let him not rest till he visits all her recesses and wild places; let him march along the borders of Éire and guard them; what fortune could be higher?' (*AiD* 16.18-19).

15b Tír Fhiachrach (Mhuaidhe) is coextensive with the barony of Tireragh, Co. Sligo, a territory dominated by the Í Dhubhda (*AC*, 847).

15c Literally, 'you did not lower your sail'. For other examples of *leagaidh seól*, see *Bhar n-aithne is ceard deacair dún; / dar leam do leagadh do sheól; / más tú an baile 'na mbínn riamh, / caidhe an chliar do chínn ná an ceol?* (*MD* 58, ll. 37-40), 'It's a difficult task for me to recognise you; it seems to me you're done for; if you are the homestead where I was wont to be, where are the poets and music that I used to see?' and *Do bhí gur legadh seol Sémais / súil acu re fholt na ngég / ina dhá rann im thuir taídhen, / fuil Ghall is fuil Ghaídhel nGrég*, 'Until James's sail was lowered [i.e. until he reached the end of his life], those of the blood of

the Gall and of the Grecian Gael, in two divisions about the leader of hosts, looked to the bushy-haired lord' (*Marcher lords* 2.9). For related expressions, see *Ní tsir fher acht d'fhoghairsi / sibh fesda is da fearaibhsi, / gearr ó rug eol oraibhse / - a seol tucc an Temhairse*, 'Though she has not known you long, this Ireland has finished her wandering; you are henceforth one of her husbands, she seeks no man but the choosing of you' (*DMU* 11.23cd) and *Sgol Fhódla ó oirdhiorca a scél / fá throimtheisd tógbhuid a seól; / fada a shlighe riamh 'na raon, / file go hAodh ní iar eól* (*LBranach* ll. 1401-4), 'The poets of Ireland set out [lit. 'raise their sail'] because of the fame of [Aodh Ó Broin's] deeds and his great renown; [though] the way is long, no poet needs to ask for directions to Aodh'.

***Luighne*:** the barony of Leyny in Co. Sligo (*AC*, 835). The Í Eadhra were lords of Luighne.

15d More literally, 'Information concerning the memory of the battle'.

15e I interpret *tre b[h]oing re bhur spairn* as meaning 'as a result of doing battle with you', i.e. 'because [the people of An Choill Ard] faced you in battle'.

15f As nom. sg. *coill* is identical with acc. sg. *coill* it can be treated, for purposes of initial mutation and the inflection of subsequent words, as either a nom. or an acc. sing. as a direct object following the verb which governs it (*do spreagais*). The palatalisation of the final of *aird* (: 15e *spairn*) indicates the latter. I have supplied the necessary nasalisation on the initial both of *coill* and *aird* (*SNG* IV, §3.3). An Choill Ard (anglicised 'Cuillard') is in the parish of Kilronan in the barony of Boyle at the north-eastern tip of the kingdom of Moylurg, an area dominated by the Meic Dhiarmada Ruadha (Placenames Database of Ireland, s.v. *An Choill Ard*). I take *'san ursain* 'in the doorway' to mean 'at the doorstep' or 'on returning home' in this context. The battle-roll has been concerned with places outside of the honorand's native Magh Luirg but at its conclusion mentions a location at the very tip of Magh Luirg itself.

15gh The internal rhyme *agra* : *agra* does not incur the metrical fault of *caoiche* because the words have different meanings, being a verbal noun and 2 sing. present indicative respectively.

16b Lit. 'which [of the raids of 16a] is not a criticism of battle'.

16c *Fád* is used as an alternative form of *fód.* See *Gluaismidne i gceann na Craoibhe / d'fhios an déidghil dreachnaoidhe, / lucht comhmolaidh Fáid na bhFionn, / mar táid ollomhain Éireann* (gen. sing. *Fáid* : *táid*), 'We proceed to the Creeve to seek the white-toothed, bright-faced chieftain, we, the encomium-makers of the Land of the Fair, the poets of Ireland' (*TD* 8.5).

16d The phrase *lámh ag* X *i* Y 'X has power over Y' is found in *DiD* 45.6cd: *san tír dar ghoire do ghrádh / lámh ag rígh oile mon-uar*, 'on the land nearest thy heart another man now rules, alas!'. The *uchtach* 'hill, breast of mountain' here may be the Rock of Loch Cé.

16e Literally, '[let] them be defied to harm you afterwards'. For *slán X fa Y*, 'X's challenge to do Y', see *TD* 17.1 and note.

***'na huchtaigh*:** *h*-mutation on *ā*-stem *uchtach* in the dat. sing. indicates that *'na* contains the fem. possessive adj. *Críoch* is probably the noun whose possession is indicated.

Poem 5 SÍOL FÉILE FUIL DHIARMADA

MS

1.0 The sole MS witness of the present poem is RIA 743 (A iv 3), pp. 618-21.

1.1 According to *RIA Cat.*, p. 2258, A iv 3 is an early seventeenth-century paper MS and appears to be the work of a single hand, though a change of style is noted after p. 814. (I would add that a noticeable change in ink occurs at p.859 and in style after p.861.) Occasional creases make it difficult to make out some letters as well as *puncta*. Transparent paper used in restoration has obscured a number of pages.

1.2 The Bardic Poetry Database (http://bardic.celt.dias.ie) lists 65 identifiable poems in the MS; for twenty-two of these, A iv 3 is the sole MS witness. At present, there are 263 pages in the MS. The first page of the MS is numbered 618. Besides the 617 pages which presumably preceded this page, the earlier pagination of the MS indicates that a number of pages have been lost from within the surviving portion of the MS.

1.3 The MS contains a number of items which concern the Meic Dhiarmada. Besides the present poem, the MS also contains a copy of the poem *A-tá sonn sochar na ríogh* (see Poem 1 ¶4.4, Poem 7 ¶1.3) (pp. 618-23). Beginning at p. 759, there are two poems to Meic Dhiarmada (*Mithidh sin, a mhaca Míleadh* (Ó Macháin 1988, Poem 8) and *Tosach féile fairsinge* (*DiD* 120)). These are followed by a poem composed on the death of Domhnall Ó Conchobhair Sligigh, the father-in-law of the honorand of the present poem (*ABM* 428).

1.4 For a diplomatic edition of this text, see *ABM* 427.

THE POET

2.1 The poem is ascribed to Brian Dorcha Ó hUiginn in the MS (*brían dorcha ó huiginn* cecinit). I know of no other poems by him. 'Brien Dorrogh O'Higgen, kerne' of Teaghteampla (= Templehouse, barony of Leyney, Co. Sligo) is mentioned in a general pardon of James I (*TD* ii, 308).[206]

[206] It is interesting to find a poet described as a 'kerne'. Evidently, members of poetic families did become involved in military affairs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. S.a. 1589, *AFM* vi, 1880-1 mentions *domhnall o dálaigh duine uasal eisidhe agá mbaoí cendus coda do na saighdiuiribh sin*, 'Donnell O'Daly, a gentleman who had the command of a party of the soldiers [of the Burkes]'. In a late sixteenth- / early

2.2 He seems to have had at least three sons. In RIA 540c (C iv 1), the poem *Gabh mo shuirghe, a ua Éamainn* (Carney 1979, 266-75), addressed to Féidhlim Mac Dubhghaill, is ascribed to Tomás (mac Briain Dorcha) Ó hUiginn[207] and the poem *Iad féin mhóras Clann Cholla* (*ABM* 277), also addressed to Féidhlim Mág Dubhghaill, is ascribed to Fearghal Óg (mac Briain Dorcha) Ó hUiginn.[208] There is also a fragmentary poem in the Rutledge MS (Bibliothèque Nationale Paris 25,889, p. 242; NLI Positive 465; see Vendryes 1931, §96) which is attributed to *Mathuin Mhac Brin Durcha Uígh Uiginn* (= Mathghamhain mac Briain Dorcha Í Uiginn).[209]

PATRON

3.0 The following poem was composed for Brian Mac Diarmada (†1592) (§§1, 4, 14, 39), the son of Ruaidhrí (§8) and Sadhbh Burke (§§7 and 12).

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seventeenth-century *crosántacht*, mention is made of *buidhen ré dán* 'a band of poets' who went to a Dublin merchant *do cheannach airm agus éadaigh*, 'to buy ammunitions and armour' (*LBranach* 58). Eoghan Mac an Bhaird was Mac Diarmada's steward (*maor*) and was killed in battle in 1566 (*ALC* ii, 392-3). The son of Tadhg *Dall* Ó hUiginn, a prosperous landowner in Co. Sligo, became a sheriff (O'Dowd 1991, 58).

[207] Carney (1946-50 and 1955, 259-60) argues that this poet may be the author of *Féach féin an obair-se, a Aodh.* See also poems to Féidhlim Mac Dubhghaill (†1643), Maghnas Ó Domhnaill (†1600) and Uilliam Ó Maoil Mhuaidh (†1659) (*ABM* 120, 341 and 371), to Oilill Ó hEadhra (*O'Hara* 31), and a poem to Teabóid Dillon attributed to Tomás Ruadh Ó hUiginn (RIA 744 (A v 2)).

[208] For a poem by the same poet to Éamann Óg Mág Dubhghaill, see *ABM* 454. For a poem on St Patrick's Purgatory, see Leslie 1932, 179-80.

These two brothers (Tomás and Fearghal Óg) are the subject of an interesting short piece in RIA MS B iv 1, 126a: *Ni he tómás o huigin*n. / *maith thuigim* ar *a dhántaibh* / *dáoi dúir noigeadh nemglan.* / acht *fearghal og a brá*tair. / *A bprós ⁊ a mhiod*arracht [read *miodarracht*?]. / *da gcuir*eadh ar *fh*ear*ghal dólás* / *adeir an taois ealadhan.* / *go bfuil an* [read *'na*?] *ollamh tómás*, 'It is not Tómás Ó hUiginn (well I know from his poems) who is the dense dunce who writes imperfect poems, but Fearghal Óg his brother. In prose and verse, even if it upsets Fearghal, the poets say that Tómás is the *ollamh*'. Regrettably, I was only able to consult a photostat of the MS and my transcription may not be entirely reliable.

[209] Not to be confused with Mathghamhain mac Maoil Mhuire, the father of Tadhg *Dall* Ó hUiginn (*TD* ii, p. 317). Mathghamhain mac Briain Dorcha may be the author of a poem to Féidhlim Ó Broin (†1630) (*LBranach* 50) and of *Do cheinneochain comann Gall* to Teabóid Dillon (RIA 744 (A v 2)). *Geall re heighreacht eangnamh ríoghdhamhna*, a poem for Teabóid *na Long* Burke (†1629) found in RIA 744 (A v 2), was composed by a Mathghamhain Ó hUiginn; this may be Mathghamhain mac Maoil Mhuire (*AiD* i, xxv-vi) but could also be by Mathghamhain mac Briain Dorcha.Two religious poems are ascribed *inter alios* to a Mathghamhain Ó hUiginn (*AiD* 75-6).

3.1 I know of no other Bardic poem for Brian Mac Diarmada.[210] Brian Mac Diarmada is mentioned only twice in *AFM*: in 1585, he is enumerated among the Gaels who went to Dublin on the occasion of a parliament, and his death is noted s.a. 1592 (*AFM* v, 1830-33; vi, 1908-9). Thankfully, *ALC*, the annals which he commissioned and in whose compilation he took an active role (see Walsh 1940 and Simms 2009, 25-8), has a wealth of information on his life. He also makes several appearances in English government documents from the period.

Early life

3.2 Brian was the son of Ruaidhrí Mac Diarmada, who was half-king of Magh Luirg from 1534 to 1549 and full-king to 1568 (see Mac Dermot 1996, 133-46). His mother was Sadhbh, the daughter of Riocard Óg Clanricard Burke, who died in 1542 (*ALC* ii, 333-4). He first appears in *ALC* in 1546 as one of the hostages returned to Magh Luirg by Uilleag Clanricard Burke for a ransom of 160 marks (*ALC* ii, 348-9).[211]

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[210] Colm Ó Lochlainn (1939, 3) suggested that he might be the Brian mentioned after An Calbhach Ó Conchobhair Sligigh, Brian's friend and brother-in-law, in Tadhg (mac Dáire) Mac Bruaideadha's poem *A mhacaoimh shéanas mo sheirc*, in which the poet lists the nobles in Connacht whom he can no longer visit. The nobles he names (termed §4 *mh'aos ionmhaine*, 'my dear friends') were presumably patrons or one-time patrons of the poet's. An Calbhach was dead at the time the poet wrote (§6), meaning the poem must have been composed after 1581. The reference to Brian (§7), whoever he may be, seems to suggest that he too was dead: *Do beanadh dhíom dul go Brian / ní mó mhairius Mac Uilliam / ná an lámh ó mbrégainn crodh conn / ní fhédaim dol go Domhnall*, ''Tis not left to me to visit Brian; neither is MacWilliam alive, nor the hand from whom I used to cajole the riches of chieftains: I cannot go to Donall'. If Brian of the poem is dead, then he cannot be identified with Brian Mac Diarmada who died chief of the name and would be so styled, as Mac William is. Ó Lochlainn suggests that Brian and Domhnall were still alive at the time the poet composed the poem and that '[t]he idea is perhaps that a visit to either [Brian or Domhnall] was rendered impossible by Calvach's death' (Ó Lochlainn 1939, 3). I see no reason to believe that the Brian of the poem or Domhnall were alive at the time of its composition and do not believe that Brian Mac Diarmada can plausibly be identified with the former.

[211] Cunningham and Gillespie 2004, 57 suggest that Brian was taken prisoner during Clanricard's raid into Roscommon in 1542. This raid was committed by Uilleag *na gCeann*, the predecessor of the Uilleag Burke (son of Riocard Óg) who was chief in 1546 when Brian Mac Diarmada was ransomed. According to *ALC*, Uilleag *na gCeann* had been invited into Roscommon in 1542 by the sons of Tadhg Mac Diarmada, who included Brian's father Ruaidhrí (*ALC* ii, 333-4). Hostages may have been given to (rather than seized by) Clanricard during the 1542 raid or earlier as a guarantee of good behaviour from his vassals and been inherited by Uilleag, the son of

Hostility with local Gaelicised Norman families

3.3.1 In 1547, Siurtán Buidhe Mac Goisdealbh (one of the Costellos of west Roscommon, east Mayo) invaded Magh Luirg with eighteen mercenaries, seeking to regain stolen goods (*diarradh gada*). He was confronted by Brian and six of his people (*ALC* ii, 350-1). This is the first evidence of a feud between the Costellos and Brian Mac Diarmada that would last until Siurtán Buidhe's death in 1561 (*ALC* ii, 362-3, 364-5, 372-3, 376-7). Unsurprisingly, Siurtán Buidhe allied himself to *clann Eóghain*, a rival faction of Meic Dhiarmada (*ALC* ii, 364-5).

3.3.2 In 1548, Brian and his brother Maol Ruanaidh formed part of a coalition led by Diarmaid Ó Conchobhair Donn against another Gaelicised Norman family, to the south-east of the Meic Ghoisdealbh, Clann Mhuiris (= the Prendergasts in the barony of Clanmorris, Co. Mayo) (*ALC* ii, 350-1).

Conflict with the Í Cheallaigh

3.4 The sons of Ruaidhrí Mac Diarmada appear in 1547 allied with Mac Davids of Clanconway (south Roscommon, east Galway) against the Í Cheallaigh in the same region (*ALC* ii, 350-1). Hostility with the Í Cheallaigh forms a major part of the narrative of Brian's early decades. In 1553, he raided the descendants of Laoiseach Mac Dubhghaill (*ALC* ii, 362-3); this Laoiseach's son later appears as Ó Ceallaigh's constable and it is probable that Laoiseach was also in the employ of the Í Cheallaigh (*ALC* ii, 370-1). Brian and his brother Cormac invaded Ó Ceallaigh territory again in 1555 and Cormac died shortly after of a fever (*ALC* ii, 366-7). Brian, his father and his uncle Tomaltach invaded once more in 1556 in a force led by Ó Conchobhair Donn (*ALC* ii, 370-1). In 1557, Brian's father Ruaidhrí was captured and sent to the Í Cheallaigh; Ó Conchobhair Donn, Mac David and their galloglasses were able to pursue Ruaidhrí's captors and besiege the castle where he was held. A ransom of three hostages was given for the release of the captured chief lest he be burnt alive in the siege (*ALC* ii, 372-3).[212] Almost certainly in revenge, Brian and his father invaded and burnt the territory of the Í Cheallaigh the following year (*ALC* ii, 374-5). Brian made further attacks with Ó Conchobhair Donn on Ó Ceallaigh territory in 1559 and 1565 (*ALC* ii,

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Riocard Óg, when he came to power in 1544. As a son of Riocard Óg, Uilleag Burke, the reigning Clanricard in 1546, was a brother of Sadhbh and uncle of Brian Mac Diarmada.

[212] *ALC* remarks *ni dérnadh a n-deredh aimsire tóraighecht budh ferr iná an tóraighecht sin*, 'and there was no pursuit performed in later times better than that pursuit'.

374-5, 388-9). In 1561, the Í Cheallaigh and the Í Chonchobhair Ruadha (and presumably the Í Fhlannagáin of Elphin) were victims of Ruaidhrí Mac Diarmada's impressive raiding-campaign from Tóchar Choille an Chairn in the barony of Athlone (*OG* s.v.) to Elphin in Roscommon which began in Michaelmas and did not end until Mayday (*ALC* ii, 380-1). Father and son raided the Í Cheallaigh yet again in 1566 (*ALC* ii, 390-3).

Conflict with the Meic Dhonnchaidh

3.5 Brian also made frequent assaults into the barony of Corann in Sligo. In 1551, he attacked the territory of Meic Dhonnchaidh an Chorainn with the help of his brothers, Maol Ruanaidh and Cormac. His invasion was complicated by a fever which left him bed-ridden, but his followers managed to launch seven cattle-raids during his illness. He retired from the Corann after a profitable expedition with a ransom of 100 marks for the return of a town (and presumably a mill) (*Muilenn Adam*) that he had captured (*ALC* ii, 358-9). He returned with his father to plunder the stronghold of Teach a' Teampla in 1559 (*ALC* ii, 374-5). In 1561 and 1564, he led his own expeditions against Mac Donnchaidh an Chorainn and in 1561 participated in an attack on Ballymote with his cousins (*ALC* ii, 378-9, 386-7).

Brian and the domination of Airteach

3.6 No doubt one of the focal points of tensions between Brian and the Meic Dhonnchaidh was the territory of Airteach, which lay between the traditional lordships of both families and which both claimed as their subject territory. In 1563, during the reign of Ruaidhrí Mac Diarmada, the sons of Oilibhéaras Burke attacked Airteach (= parishes of Tibohine and Kilnamanagh in the barony of Frenchpark, Co. Roscommon), taking a thousand cows and attacking Brian's followers (*muintir*) (*ALC* ii, 384-5). In 1565, Brian began to build the castle of Dún Gar in Airteach with the consent, so says *ALC*, of the chief of Airteach, Mac Diarmada Gall (*ALC* ii, 388-9); he commissioned work on its bawn (*obair badhdhuin*) in the late 1570s (*ALC* ii, 420-3). In 1584 and 1590, two of his sons, Maol Ruanaidh and Ruaidhrí, were pardoned in Airteach; on the second occasion, they were pardoned at Dún Gar (*Fiants* ii, §4357; iii, §4357). In addition to this strong military presence, he leased the friary of 'Clonshanmoill' (= Clonshanville), in the parish of Tibohine in 1582 (*Fiants* ii, §3970; Mac Dermot 1996, 300-1).[213]

[213] In 1543, in the wake of the dissolution of the monasteries, his father was granted the half-townland of Clonshanville (*lethbhaile Chluana senmaoil*) and the half-townland of Kilnamanagh (*lethbhaile Chille na*

Brian and the Í Chonchobhair Shligigh

3.7 Our first evidence for his association with the Í Chonchobhair Shligigh comes in 1552 when he, with his father and brothers, supported Domhnall Ó Conchobhair Sligigh against a rival, Ruaidhrí Ó Conchobhair Sligigh, who in turn was supported by their enemies, *clann Eóghain* and Mac Donnchaidh an Chorainn (*ALC* ii, 360-1). Brian and his uncle Tomaltach defeated Ruaidhrí Ó Conchobhair and Mac Donnchaidh an Chorainn in a battle in 1559 (*ALC* ii, 374-5). In 1577, Ó Conchobhair Sligigh left Brian to assemble the forces of Connacht to capture the fort of Bun Drobhaois(e) from Ó Domhnaill and *tanic O Conchobair Sligigh ocus mac Uilliam Burc chuca annsin, ocus maithi Connacht uile acht O Ruairc amháin, ocus a coimchinél*, 'O'Conchobhair Sligigh, and Mac William Burk, came to them then, and all the nobles of Connacht, exept O'Ruairc alone, and his kindred' (*ALC* ii, 414-17). He maintained a close relationship with Domhnall Ó Conchobhair Sligigh; as will be shown below, the two co-operated closely together under Nicholas Malby. Brian appears to have been very close to An Calbhach, Domhnall's son: he composed a moving obit on his friend's death in 1581, in which he wrote *do chomhroinn se mo chridhe fein na da chuid*, 'it has divided my own heart in two parts', and in which he described An Calbhach as 'my comrade and companion, and the person who was the choicest and dearest to me in the world' (*a ndeoigh mo cheile ocus mo companaigh, ocus an ti ba tocha ocus do ba tarisi lem ar bith*) (*ALC* ii, 434-7).[214] In 1582, Brian married Domhnall's daughter, the late An Calbhach's sister, Meadhbh, and the two gave a wedding feast on the Rock, and for a year celebrated their union by dispensing cattle and valuables to any from Ireland or Scotland who came to the Rock to seek them (*ALC* ii, 446-9).[215]

Brian in Leitrim

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manach) (*ALC* ii, 338-9). According to *ALC*, Ruaidhrí returned his own half-townland (*a lethbhaile fein*) to the monastery, a policy that many Anglo-Irish and Gaelic landlords sympathetic to the religious orders followed (*Med. rel. houses*, 10). Cloonshanville was leased to Aodh Ó Domhnaill in 1577. The lands were leased to the mayor of Galway in 1578 and the friary and its appurtenances were then leased to Brian (*Med. rel. houses*, 223).

[214] For some remarks on this obit, see Cunningham and Gillespie 2004, 165-6. They suggest An Calbhach and Brian may have been foster-brothers. There is, however, no direct evidence for this and Brian does not mention such a relationship in the obit which seems odd considering the other terms he uses to describe his friend (*céile*, *compánach*).

Brian also seems to have leased some territory in Tír Thuathail (north of the Boyle) from 'Mallachie al*ias* Melaghlin McManus' as a deed between them is mentioned in a 1603 inquisition (RIA MS 14 F 10, 172).

[215] Brian had children before this union. See Poem 7 ¶3.1.

3.8 Brian was also active in Leitrim: he attacked the descendants of Conchobhar Mág Raghnaill in 1554 (*ALC* ii, 364-5) and two years later formed part of a coalition led by Ó Conchobhair Donn which invaded the territory of Brian Ó Ruairc (*ALC* ii, 370-1).

Support for Ó Conchobhair Donn

3.9.0 Generally speaking, as will be seen from the account of Brian's career thus far, he and his family were allied to Ó Conchobhair Donn and opposed to Ó Conchobhair Ruadh.

3.9.1 In 1564, Ó Conchobhair Donn's stronghold at Roscommon was captured by Ó Conchobhair Ruadh's supporters. Brian and his cousins laid an ambush outside of the town. When Ó Conchobhair Ruadh's son, Conchobhar, came out of the town, he was set upon. He fled to the nearby monastery and barricaded himself into the belfry. He was eventually captured and beheaded along with his followers, and ten of their horses were taken by the victorious Meic Dhiarmada (*ALC* ii, 386-7).

3.9.2 Brian feuded with a branch of the Í Chonchobhair Ruadha descended from Feidhlimidh Fionn Ó Conchobhair Ruadh: in 1560, they made a large cattle-raid on him (*ALC* ii, 376-7) and the following year he and his cousins killed one of their number at Tulsk (*ALC* ii, 378-9).

Fortress-building and the feud with the Í Fhlannagáin

3. 10.1 In 1549, Brian and his brother Maol Ruanaidh and their father assisted in the construction of a castle at Léim na Giorra (see Mac Dermot 1996, 441, 453-4) for another branch of the Meic Dhiarmada (*ALC* ii, 356-7).[216] In 1552, Ruaidhrí Mac Diarmada's sons helped demolish the fortress at Béal na Muilneadh and kill the garrison who held it (*ALC* ii, 358-61); Béal na Muilneadh appears to have been in the territory of the Meic Bhranáin, near Strokestown in Co. Roscommon, to the west of the territory of the Í Fhlannagáin (*AC* §1411.28). In 1554 he began the construction of a fortress at Baile na hUamha (= Cavetown in the parish of Estersnow, Co. Roscommon) (*ALC* ii, 364-7), another stronghold which bordered the territory of the Í Fhlannagáin.This policy of incastellation may hint at the Meic Dhiarmada's ambition to dominate the Í Fhlannagáin, vassals of the Í Chonchobhair Ruadha, and help explain the hostility between the two families.

[216] One of this branch of the Meic Dhiarmada, the descendants of Maol Eachlainn Donn, was killed by Ó Flannagáin in 1554 (*ALC* ii, 354-7).

3.10.2 In 1554, Ó Flannagáin attacked a party of Brian's followers, taking his dishes and backgammon board (*taipliss*). He and his uncle Tomaltach and the descendants of Mág Raghnaill's daughter (see Poem 4 ¶3.1.0, 3.3) went in pursuit. In revenge for the theft of the backgammon board (*a ndíghuil na taiplissi*), they took 240 cows from Béal Átha Iomdhain on the river Suck, which was probably an Ó Ceallaigh stronghold at this time. In the same year, the Í Fhlannagáin preyed An Pearsún Mac Muirgheasa, who was under the protection of Ó Conchobhair Donn, and killed two members of the Meic Dhiarmada allied to Brian and his father (*ALC* ii, 364-7). In 1555, Ó Flannagáin engaged the help of mercenaries and Ó Fearghail Buidhe of Westmeath to attack Ruaidhrí; the invading force was defeated with Brian's help and was pushed back to the home territory of the Í Fhlannagáin (*ALC* ii, 366-7). In 1560, Brian attacked the Í Fhlannagáin again, taking cows and seven of their horses (*ALC* ii, 376-7). In 1567, Ruaidhrí was captured by the Í Fhlannagáin (*ALC* ii, 394-5).[217] He was taken to Ó Conchobhair Ruadh and then to Murchadh Ó Fearghail, the head of Clann Amhlaoibh in Longford.[218] In response to the capture of his father, Brian devastated the territory of the Í Chonchobhair Ruadha and the Í Fhlannagáin and enlisted the support of Brian (mac Briain) Ó Ruairc. The two launched joint military actions[219] but do not seem to have been able to mount an invasion to rescue Ruaidhrí by force. He was eventually ransomed for 300 cows and a peace treaty; Brian's annalist cheekily remarks *do budh dairnéis na gCluainti fein leth an fuasluicthi sin*, 'the half of this ransom was of the cattle of the Cluainte [i.e. of cattle plundered from the Í Chonchobhair Ruadha]' (*ALC* ii, 394-7). A late example of hostility between Brian and the Í Fhlannagáin may be documented in 1577 (after the lacuna in *ALC*). After Cathal Óg, the brother of Domhnall Ó Conchobhair Sligigh, with a contingent of Scots mercenaries, pursued a force led by Ó Conchobhair Donn (see ¶3.10 below for his shifting loyalties) and Ó Conchobhair Ruadh, through the Curlews, Magh Luirg and Tulsk, the two parties did battle: *ALC* records that Ruaidhrí Glas, the son of Brian

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[217] The annalist emphasises that the earlier capture of Ruaidhrí Mac Diarmada was treacherous act by mentioning that it was Brian Ó Conchobhair, an ally of Ruaidhrí's, that seized him (*ALC* ii, 372-3). On this occasion, the annalist reports that some believed Mac Diarmada was captured during a truce (*aderaid aroile gurab ar sith do rinneadh an gniomsin*) (*ALC* ii, 394-5).

[218] In a letter of 31 May 1567, Thomas Lancaster wrote to William Cecil that Mac Diarmada had been taken by Ó Conchobhair Ruadh and that the latter was expected in Drogheda within three or four days, perhaps to explain his actions (*CSPI*[2] 1566-7, §431).

[219] They restore cattle stolen from Ó Birn of Roscommon by Ó Raghallaigh of Cavan. Brian's father had close connections with the Í Bhirn, having been foster-brother to Maol Eachlainn Ó Birn (*ALC* ii, 292-3).

Caoch, the son of Ruaidhrí Glas, was slain by Brian, the son of Ó Flannagáin (*ALC* ii, 414-15). The names of two of Brian Mac Diarmada's standard-bearers are known: Conn, the son of Brian Caoch, and Art, the son of Ruaidhrí Glas (*ALC* ii, 368-9, 492-3). It is likely that the Ruaidhrí Glas killed by Brian Ó Flannagáin in 1577 was related to these standard-bearers and that Brian's forces or his allies made up part of the army of Cathal Óg Ó Conchobhair Sligigh, on this occasion.

Civil war in Magh Luirg

3.11 In 1565, *ALC* declares that Ruaidhrí Mac Diarmada and his kinsmen dominated the majority of Connacht (*ro bhói nert clainni Taidhg Mic Diarmada ar fedh urmhóir Chonnacht*) from Athenry in Co. Galway to the river Drowes, between Leitrim and Donegal because of their strength in horses, armour, men, cattle and the power of their allies (*diomad a nech ocus a néidigh, a ndoine ocus a nindile, ocus do treissi a gcarad*) (*ALC* ii, 388-9). However true this statement was, the descendants of Tadhg faced stout opposition within Magh Luirg from *clann Eóghain*, the descendants of the chief who died in 1534. The murder of Brian's brother Maol Ruanaidh by *clann Eóghain* in 1553 occasioned a reluctant peace between the two factions (*ALC* ii, 362-3). The truce broke down in 1555, and Brian took an active part in the ensuing hostilities, much of which centred around the disputed monastery of Boyle (*ALC* ii, 366-7). In 1562, *clann Eóghain* assembled a force of Mac Domhnaill and Mac Suibhne galloglasses and redshanks who burnt and plundered Ruaidhrí Mac Diarmada and his adherents for eight days. The Rock proved to be a secure refuge. Ruaidhrí employed his own force of galloglasses and, with the help of Brian and Brian's uncle Tomaltach, *clann Eóghain* were defeated and the monastery of Boyle seized (*ALC* ii, 382-5). In 1567, *clann Eóghain* murdered Ruaidhrí Mac Diarmada's servant, Ó Láimhín (*ALC* ii, 394-7). The following year, Ruaidhrí Mac Diarmada died and he was succeeded as chief of Magh Luirg by Toirdhealbhach Mac Diarmada of *clann Eóghain*, who in turn was succeeded in 1576 by his brother, Tadhg (*ALC* ii, 396-405).[220]

Opposition

3.12 Now in power, *clann Eóghain* faced a redoubtable insurgency led by Brian and his kin. In 1570, open war broke out between the two factions. *Clann Eóghain* employed a force of Scottish redshanks and banished Brian's family, the descendants of Ruaidhrí Mac Diarmada

[220] The obit of Ruaidhrí Mac Diarmada in *ALC* is the subject of Chapter 6 in Cunningham and Gillespie 2004.

(*clann Ruaidhrí*), into Clann Chonnmhaigh and Tír Mhaine, the south of Co. Roscommon and the east of Co. Galway. Brian and his cousins launched a counter-attack the very day *clann Eóghain*'s contract with the Scots expired (*ALC* ii, 406-8). The next year, Brian's brother Diarmaid and his cousin Tomaltach Óg were captured by their long-time ally, Diarmaid Ó Conchobhair Donn, who had switched sides without their knowledge. Tomaltach Óg managed to escape and Diarmaid was ransomed, but Brian's stud and some of his herds (*cuid dá chaoraigheacht*) were taken by Scots in Ó Conchobhair's employ. *ALC* reports that Brian had taken ill and was bed-ridden during these troubling events (*ina luidhi a tinnes ar an bhfedh sin uile*) but, when he recovered, he in turn took horses and cattle from Ó Conchobhair and killed some of his people. In a manner reminiscent of his father's raiding campaign of 1561, he and his cousins established a base (*foslongport*) around Ráth Bhréanainn in the parish of Roscommon and launched cattle-raids on their enemies. The abbot of Boyle and Mac Donnchaidh an Chorainn were attacked that year (*ALC* ii, 408-13).

The superior of the Holy Trinity Abbey

3.13 Brian's father Ruaidhrí had been abbot of the Premonstratensian canons on Holy Trinity Island in Loch Cé. He was probably not in holy orders but rather a secular head of the community. Brian also came to hold this position of superior of the monastery (*uachtaran na mainisdrech*) by 1577 and commissioned work on the roof of the monastery (*cend mainisdreach na Trinoide*) (Cunningham and Gillespie 2004, 175-6; *ALC* ii, 420-1, 422-3).

Co-operation with the English administration

3.14.1 While in opposition, Brian cultivated a relationship with the local English administration, an influential potential backer for a would-be chief.[221] In March 1569, 'Brien M'Dermody, of Mollorig' and his brother 'Diermod' were pardoned (*Fiants* ii, §1289). In 1571, *ALC* reports that *clann Eóghain* enlisted the support of Ó Domhnaill's followers in an attack on Brian's base in Clann Fhaghartaigh (near Castlereagh in Co. Roscommon? (*OG* s.v. *cenél fogartaigh*)) in which they took 2000 cows and a large number of horses.[222] Brian sent messengers to Edward Fitton, the governor of Connacht, to complain. Brian and his cousins were sent to reconnoitre *clann Eóghain* and their Scots mercenaries before meeting again

[221] Frustratingly, there is a lacuna in *ALC* from 1571-77.

[222] The State Papers (but not the annals) record an earlier attack by Ó Domhnaill on Mac Diarmada (Brian's father Ruaidhrí), Ó Conchobhair Sligigh and Ó Dubhda in 1566 (*CSPI*[2] 1566-7, §§549, 549.1, 552, 558.2).

with the governor. They then led the governor's forces into Mac Diarmada territory and attacked the monastery of Boyle (*ALC* ii, 412-13).

3.14.2 In June 1571, 'Brian M'Dermoud, gent.' was granted 'the office of seneschal of the barony of Moylurge, in the province of Connaught'. He was to hold the position 'during good behaviour' and was entitled to all the profits belonging to the office. As seneschal, he had the power to assemble the residents of the Barony against 'malefactors and their adherents, rebels, vagabonds, rhymers, Irish harpers, and idle men and women' and to hold a court baron (*Fiants* ii, §1817). In 1572, he passed on intelligence concerning the activities of Clanricard and Ó Ruairc (and the threat the latter posed to Brian himself) to the English authorities; this accusation formed part of a dossier of accusations of treason against Clanricard (*CSPI*[2] 1571-5, §§324 and 343.2).

3.14.3 In 1577, he and Ó Conchobhair Sligigh met Nicholas Malby, Fitton's successor as governor of Connacht (*tigerna Chonnacht ó Ghalloib*), and sought additional troops from the governor to take the stronghold of Bun Drobhaois(e) on the river Drowes from Ó Domhnaill. According to *ALC*, Ó Conchobhair Sligigh left Brian in charge of assembling a force of Connacht nobles to take on the northern chief. The castle was taken without difficulty and left in Ó Conchobhair Sligigh's hands (*ALC* ii, 414-15). In the same year, Brian gave his castle at Baile na hUamha to Malby on loan (*ar iasacht*). Malby left a garrison there under the command of Eóin *Odhar* Mág Néill to wage war against the Scots mercenaries (*ALC* ii, 416-19). In 1578, Brian and Ó Conchobhair Sligigh spent five weeks in Dublin and were well-received by the council (*onoir mor dfhaghail doibh o chomhairle na hErenn*) (*ALC* ii, 422-3). He was one of those appointed a justice and commissioner in the province of Connacht and Thomond in 1580 (*Fiants* ii, §3667). John Newton, writing to Nicholas Malby in September of that year, reported the opinion of Hoibeard *Buidhe* Mac David, whose territory had been raided by the rebel Brian Ó Ruairc, that Malby could trust no one in the entire country except Hoibeard Buidhe himself, Brian Mac Diarmada and Brian's cousin, Tomaltach Óg (PRO SP 63/76, f. 4).

3.14.4 In 1579, Brian and his allies were raided by the sons of Donnchadh Mág Uidhir and the very Scots whom Eóin *Odhar* Mág Néill had been sent to fight. Worse still, in the same year, Eóin *Odhar* fell at the hands of *clann Eóghain* (*ALC* ii, 424-5). In 1580, Brian was attacked again by Ó Ruairc and led a retaliatory raid against Ó Ruairc's territory (*tigerntus*). Brian's son Cathal *Dubh* took Loch an Scuir in Leitrim, killing a Mág Raghnaill in the

process, and Brian raided the Méig Raghnaill that year and killed another member of the family in 1582 (*ALC* ii, 432-3, 452-3).

The Road to Power

3.14.5 In 1577, *ALC* describes Brian as *tigerna na carrge*, i.e. the lord of the Rock of Loch Cé (*ALC* ii, 420-1)[223] and in 1578, *ALC* glosses the list of his building projects, including the start of construction of a royal residence on the Rock (*rightegh mor na carrge do tinnsgna*) with the comment that Brian was neither lord nor *tánaiste* at the time (*ni roibhe tigernus na taniuistecht* [sic] *aige an uair sin*) (*ALC* ii, 422-3). PRO SP 63/59 f. 181 contains an abstract of rents due to the governor of Connacht drawn up in 1577. 'Brien m^{c} Dermott & Mc Dermott' appear to be jointly responsible for providing the rents, military bands and labourers due to the governor from 'the Country of Moyloreg': there may have been co-operation between Brian and his rival Tadhg, the reigning chief, in Magh Luirg by this time (perhaps at Malby's insistence) or the abstract of the agreement may simply represent the total dues from a partitioned Magh Luirg. It is clear either way that Brian Mac Diarmada was evidently exercising considerable power within his home territory at this time.

3.14.6 In 1582, *ALC* state succinctly *Orláim moighi luirg do tabairt to Brian mac Ruaidhri Mic Diarmada*, 'The possession of [or 'authority over'] Magh-Luirg was given this year to Brian, son of Ruaidhri Mac Diarmada' (*ALC* ii, 456-7): the wording is odd and perhaps deliberately vague. According to *AFM* v, 1826ff, he was one of the Gaels who went to Dublin on the proclamation of a parliament (*foccra parlimenti*) in 1585.[224] The Four Masters v, 1830-3 describe him as *fer ionait mec diarmatta mhaighe luircc* 'a deputy for Mac Dermot of Moylurg', explaining that the incumbent was too old to attend (*óir baí mac diarmatta fein .i. Tadhcc mac eocchain ina shenóir chianaosda*). While Tadhg Mac Diarmada would certainly be an old man by this period, the explanation for Brian's presence as a representative of Magh Luirg is not convincing: it seems rather unlikely that Tadhg would deputise his rival and send him to a gathering of influential Gaelic and English figures when his own son,

[223] It is unclear what the significance of this title is. The English State Papers suggest a partition of the lordship and it seems that this title was not synonymous with chief of Magh Luirg but rather acknowledged (or claimed) a degree of sovereignty for the magnate who was in possession of Loch Cé.

[224] He, like the majority of Gaelic nobles who went to Dublin in the same year, was not a member of the parliament (*AFM* v, 1832, note z). *ALC* describe the parliament itself as *acta pairlimint*, indicating a misunderstanding of the terminology of the assembly Brian himself attended (*ALC* ii, 466-7; Cunningham and Gillespie 2004, 183).

Conchobhar Óg (see Poem 6 ¶3), held the office of *tánaiste* under him (see below). *AFM* has very little to say on Meic Dhiarmada affairs in the final decades of the sixteenth century and may possibly have misunderstood (or even, for propriety's sake, misrepresented) the situation within Magh Luirg. It is possible that in 1582, Brian had secured recognition from the English government as chief of the name at the expense of the aged Tadhg whose family had proved troublesome to the English. In the Composition of Connacht later that year,[225] he is styled 'Bryen m^{c} Dermot of the Carrick chiefe of his name' and is consistently treated as such in the indenture of 'Maghery Connaught' (*Compossicion*, 155-66).[226] It seems, however, that his position of authority in Magh Luirg continued to be somewhat anomalous even after Tadhg Mac Diarmada's death in 1585: 'Conor oge m^{c} Dermot', the son of the chief Tadhg (†1585), was in possession, under the terms of the Composition, of the 'cowrin taneste' [= *cuibhreann tánaisde*], i.e. the lands of the office of *tánaisde* or heir-apparent, a position he presumably held under his father, but not under Brian (*Compossicion*, 155, 158).[227]

Bingham's Governorship

3.15 Nicholas Malby died suddenly in 1584 (*ALC* ii, 458-9).[228] He was succeeded by Richard Bingham as governor (*tigerna ar Connachtuip*). Bingham arrested Aodh (mac Diarmada) Ó

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[225] For the accounts of this event in the annals, see *AFM* v, 1840-3 and *ALC* ii, 466-7.

[226] See especially, 'AND that also Bryen m^{c} Dermode aforesaid for his better Maintenance of liveing and in recompense of such customary duties exaccions and cuttings as he pretended to have of m^{c} Dermode Roe and other freeholders of the said Barronie of Boyle, shall have Receive and take by letters patent from the queenes Matie to him and his heires not only the castles and landes [as belong to the name and calling of m^{c} Dermode but also all such other castles and landes] as he is not iustly seised of as his inheritance to run in succession from him to his heires by curse and order of the lawes of England and 4 qrs f the aforesaid landes freely exonerated and discharged of and from this composiccion, as a demaine to his castle of Carrick m^{c} Dermode aforesaid, and shall hold the same of the queenes Matie her heires and successors...' (*Compossicion*, 162).

[227] The *cuibhreann tánaisde* may be the same as the *fearann tánaisdeachta* in the north of Magh Luirg which is mentioned in 1530 (*AC* §1530.4; *ALC* ii, 270-1).

[228] His obit in *ALC* is the subject of another study (Chapter 7) in Cunningham and Gillespie 2004. In this essay, Cunningham and Gillespie observe that the attention paid to Malby's building works is symptomatic of the ambiguity with which he is regarded by the annalist and may hint at the dead governor's civic-spirited industry (ibid., 187-8). I would also add that attention is drawn four times in *ALC* to Brian Mac Diarmada's own building works (*ALC* ii, 364-7, 390-3, 420-1, 422-3) and to an instance where he assisted in the building of fortifications for other nobles (*ALC* ii, 356-7); as one deeply involved in the construction industry in sixteenth-century Roscommon, it is only natural that attention would be drawn in his annals to an acquaintance's notable construction projects.

Conchobhair Donn, on his arrival and Ó Conchobhair Sligigh, Brian and his cousin Tomaltach Óg had to pay £3000 as bonds for his keeping the peace (*a mbannaidhib re hanamain a síth do*) (*ALC* ii, 458-61). At this point, *ALC* complain of the conquest of Connacht and the injustices committed upon the native Irish by the foreigners (*ALC* ii, 460-3). In 1585, the governor of Connacht (*in guibhernoir .i. tigerna Connacht*) Richard Bingham, with the crew of two boats, was entertained on the Rock (*ALC* ii, 464-5), but the exact purpose of the visit is not hinted at. In 1589, Ó Conchobhair Ruadh, Brian's cousin Tomaltach Óg and the father of his recently-deceased standard-bearer were taken prisoner by the English.[229] In the same year, *ALC* remarks that the harshness of Richard Bingham had driven the Í Chonchobhair Shligigh to rebel. The conduct of the Binghams was sufficiently alarming to bring the Lord Deputy into Connacht that year (*ALC* ii, 492-3).[230]

Annexation and Imprisonment

3.16.1 I know of no evidence that Brian Mac Diarmada entered into rebellion at any point against the English government,[231] though *ALC* records strong anti-Bingham feeling (see *ALC* ii, 498-9, 510-11). Nonetheless, in 1590, Aodh Ó Conchobhair Donn, newly freed from English captivity with Brian's help, assisted by John Bingham, the hated brother of governor Richard, captured Brian in treachery (*go fealltach*) and sent him to the stronghold of Roscommon. They also moved that night against Tomaltach Óg, Brian's cousin, and attacked Airteach, where Brian held sway, killing a member of the Meic an Fhileadh family.[232] They also attacked the descendants of An Pearsún Mac Muirgheasa and took Brian's castle at Dún Gar, leaving it with an English garrison (*ALC* ii, 512-13).

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[229] Brian secured Tomaltach Óg's release in 1589 (*ALC* ii, 502-3).

[230] A scribal note in *ALC*, s.a. 1515, indicates that Brian spent some time in Athlone, the seat of English government in the region, in 1588 (*ALC* ii, 224-5, n. 2). The scribe mentions that he wrote on the feast of Saint Brendan, which fell during Fitzwilliam's earlier visit to Connacht, leading Walsh to suggest that Brian may have gone to Athlone to meet him (Walsh 1940, 116-17).

[231] In its summary of Richard Bingham's petition for the lease of Boyle Abbey in March 1585, *CSPI* ii, 555 records Bingham as claiming that 'the M'Dermots' were 'very bad neighbours' (i.e. dangerous rebels). The original document (PRO SP 63/115, f. 53) specifies that the Meic Dhiarmada in question were 'a sept' of the Meic Dhiarmada around the Curlews near Boyle. These are *clann Eóghain*, the dynastic rivals of Brian Mac Diarmada's branch of the family. See also *CSPI*^{2} 1569-71, §§635 and 662.2, *CSPI*^{2} 1571-5, §§157, 193, 204 and 645, *CSPI* iv, 253 and 324, and *ALC* ii, 492-5, 496-7.

[232] The Meic an Fhileadh family had a hand in the compilation of *ALC* (Walsh 1940, 117).

3.16.2 It is tempting to think that Brian may have been arrested simply in order to allow for the smooth annexation of his fortress in Dún Gar. Bingham's predecessor Malby had left a garrison in another of his fortresses in 1577 and had pursued a policy of incastellation in the region (*ALC* ii, 416-19, 456-7). In the same year as Brian's castle of Dún Gar was seized, Ó Birn's castle was also captured and garrisoned by the English (*ALC* ii, 512-13). Bingham may have wished to place Brian's stronghold in English hands and had the Gaelic chief captured to prevent any resistance.

3.16.3 In captivity, Brian worked on his annals: *Mesi Brian do sgribh sin an mairt roime cedaoine in bhraith, ocus me a laim a ros Chomain a prithsun an feth sin fath broid, a cedaoine in luaithrid go roighe sin*, 'I, Brian, wrote that, the Tuesday before Spy-Wednesday, and I in confinement in Ros-Comain, in prison, during that period, from Ash-Wednesday to that time' (*ALC* ii, 512-13, n. 4).[233] Whatever offence he had committed or was accused of committing, Brian Mac Diarmada received a pardon in 1591 (*Fiants* iii, §5600).

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[233] It is suggested on the Bardic Poetry Database (bardic.celt.dias.ie) that Brian may be the author of a short aphoristic poem beginning *Clú ní cealg, meanma ní maoin*. This poem was added to the bottom of p.3 of RIA MS D iv 2, a fifteenth-century MS, in a later (seventeenth-century?) hand and crossed out:

Clú ní ceal<a>g, mean<a>ma ni maoin. sealbh ⁊ saibris dibh rug.

tnuth ag triath libh ata mór. riar do [the *do* is inserted above the line] *dhamh ni he thór tug.*

It is also found on a scrap of folio (p. 260) bound with RIA MS 23 K 32 beneath what could be an ascription:

...rían mac díarmata ... r t...an ... ng an brían ... ... si line ní l..aidhim...sin.

Clú ni cealg, me<n>ma ni máoin

sealbh ⁊ saidhbhres díbh rug

tnúth ag tríath ribh ata mór

ríar do dhámh ní ...hé [*a* is deleted with dots] *hór tug.*

'Fame is no deceit, good heart is not wealth; it [providing for poet-bands?] has taken your lands and possessions from you; the jealousy a lord has for you is great – it is not your gold that provided for your poet-bands'.

This seems to be a laudatory verse praising a patron's generosity and contrasting the lasting benefits of fame with the transient benefits of wealth. Given the subject matter, it seems highly unlikely that Brian Mac Diarmada was the author.

Below this, in another (later?) hand and in slightly fainter ink, is written:

...Inghen i fialán ón mbothaigh

ní hí do chotaigh sinne

*a*cht *i...gen fhial í uigin*n

*d...ibhghion*n *is cillamhuighe*

'The daughter of Ó Fialán from Bothach [Co. Fermanagh, see *OG* s.v. *botha*], it is not she who provided for us, but the generous daughter of Ó hUiginn [and?] Duibhgeann from (?) Cill a' Mhuighe'.

Death

3.17 *AFM* notes the death in November 1592 of Brian Mac Diarmada (styled *Mac diarmada maighe luircc*). The annalists remark *ro ba móide dadhbhar éccaoine écc an fhir sin gan a chosmailes do beith do chloinn Maolruanaidh do ghébhadh cendus dia eisi*, 'and the death of this man was the more to be lamented, because there was no other like him of the Clan-Mulroney to succeed him in the chieftainship' (*AFM* vi, 1908-9). See Poem 7 ¶3.1 for the minority of his son Brian Óg.

ARGUMENT

4. 1 A central theme of the poem, introduced in the first line, is the generosity of Brian and his retinue to poets (§§10-13,15, 22, 26, 34-5). Indeed, Brian's generosity is so great that others of his family can afford to be stingy without fear of damaging their reputations (§§22, 24, 26). If Brian is an enthusiastic patron of poets, however, he is also an intimidating one because of his own erudition (§§9, 28). Thanks to Brian and his followers, the country is secure, prosperous and fertile (§§7-8, 15-16, 32-3, 36).[234] In these ways, Brian is presented as the ideal king. His noble ancestry, victories in battle, fame and generosity give him a good claim to be king of Ireland (§§17-19, 22, 23, 38-9). He is already a *de facto* king, leading other would-be kings into battle; he ranks higher than the *de jure* king (§§25, 29).

4.2 From the first quatrain, praise for the primary honorand (Brian) is intermingled with praise for other Meic Dhiarmada. See, for example, the switch of focus from §4, which is concerned exclusively with Brian, to §5, which mixes praise for Brian with praise for his retinue, or §37 which praises the warlike prowess of the battleband without reference to Brian. Indeed, an argument which recurs in the poem is Brian as an ideal military leader: he is portrayed drinking with his soldiers (§§6, 12, 35)[235] and ensuring that other magnates

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[234] The reference to the fertility enjoyed along the river Finn in §31 is tantamount to a territorial claim over the Meic Dhonnchaidh of Sligo.

[235] One of these battle-bands is from Munster (§12). This could be a reference to southern allies but also hints at the honorand's Munster heritage. §11 describes Mac Diarmada as a descendant of Éibhear, an ancestor associated with southern families, though some, including Brian's enemies the Í Fhlannagáin in Roscommon, could also claim descent from Éibhear. (As descendants of Cormac Cas, the son of Sadhbh, the daughter of Conn Céadchathach, and of Oilill Ólum, the Í Fhlannagáin could also claim to be descendants of Conn. See *ABM* 493.) I know of no claim of a descent from Éibhear in another poem addressed to a Mac Diarmada but Brian was probably in a position to make the claim through his Burke mother: the Clanricard Burkes often married Í Bhriain (McKenna 1929, 330). Brian's Ó Briain ancestry might explain why the annals he

(presumably his alehouse companions) secure their inheritance (§§30, 39). In turn, they are impatient that Brian should be king (§§13-14, 21, 23). The attention paid in this poem to Brian's kinsmen (presumably his uncle and cousins, mentioned so often in ¶3 above) is a reminder of their importance in his agitation to obtain the chieftainship: Brian could not possibly hope to maintain or improve his position without them; it was only natural that he would poetry addressed to him should reflect their close relationship..

DATE

5.1 The first clue in dating this poem is that Brian is not styled Mac Diarmada; the poem cannot, therefore, have been composed after he became chief of his name. However, in the unprecedented political environment of Tudor Magh Luirg, it is unclear at what point a Bardic poet could have begun to address Brian as Mac Diarmada. *ALC* record that he was given the lordship in 1582 but it is unclear whether this was by traditional election or by the governor of Connacht and whether thereby Brian assumed the title of Mac Diarmada. Between 1582 and the end of *ALC*, he is not styled Mac Diarmada once in his own annals, though the list of chiefs made in 1584 shows that Brian obviously regarded himself as the ruler of Magh Luirg at that time (*ALC* ii, 460-3). It seems likely that he would not have called himself Mac Diarmada until the death of Tadhg Mac Diarmada in 1585.

5.2 The poem was probably composed during the reign of one of the two members of *clann Eóghain* who succeeded Brian's father as kings of Magh Luirg, i.e. between 1568 and 1585 (see Mac Dermot 1996, 148, 158): reference is made to a nominal king in §25 who may be the reigning rival Mac Diarmada. Brian's supporters are pictured as eager to install him as king but, while his eventual election is imminent, it is very much in the future tense (§§20, 26, 38). Competition with another branch of the Meic Dhiarmada might also help explain the poet's insistence that Brian and his backers are pre-eminent among their own family (see §§10cd and 22cd).

5.3 It is possible that 25cd refers to Brian's role in mustering an invasion force for Ó Conchobhair Sligigh in 1577 (¶3.7) but the reference is too vague to be certain.

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commissioned begin in 1014 with an account of the great battle of Clontarf, fought by the eponymous ancestor of the Í Bhriain, Brian Bóroimhe.

5.4 In summary, the present poem was probably composed after the death of Brian's father Ruaidhrí in 1568, at a time when Brian's rival Toirdhealbhach (king from 1568 to 1576) or his successor Tadhg (who became king in 1576) had already become king.

METRE

6.0 The poem is in *casbhairdne* metre and meets the requirements for *dán díreach.*

6.1 In *casbhairdne*, the stanza can often consist of more than the usual two couplets; in the present poem, however, the rhyming scheme changes after each quatrain.

6.2.1 The internal rhymes in the first half-quatrain (*seóladh*) need not be perfect in *casbhairdne* (*dán díreach*), and, in the present poem (in contrast to other poems composed in the same metre), they rarely are. See note 31a and note 34b.

6.2.2 Three instances occur, all in the *seóladh*, where a word rhymes with itself in the same meaning (the metrical fault of *caoiche*): 1ab *fuil* : *fuil*, 19ab *ceó* : *ceó* and 23ab *ceart* (MS *cúirt*; see note 23a) : *ceart*.[236] Perhaps, as the requirement for rhyme was less strict in the *seóladh*, the prohibition of *caoiche* was similarly more relaxed.[237]

6.3 There is a *dúnadh* (39d *chomaoin-**se*** (MS *-si*), 1a ***Síol***).

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[236] In 24ab *díon* : *dhíon*, the words are probably sufficiently different in meaning here ('(act of) protecting' and 'canopy'). There is also *breacadh* of the *amas* type in 24cd (ua / ú / u : ua / ú / u).

[237] Cf. another poem in *casbhairdne* (*dán díreach*) (*DMU* 4) in which there are three apparent instances of *caoiche* without *breacadh*, all of which occur in the *seóladh*: *Brath lendáin ac **Leic** Lughaidh / don **Leic** ní lendán folaigh; / Ráth Da Thí do dhruim dlighidh / rí chinidh Chuinn dá cobhair*, 'Leac Lughaidh has found out her lover; he is not a hidden lover to her. The king of the Ulstermen comes to her help rightfully' (§1); *Fuair tar cách **clú** ar nár cinneadh / mur as gnáth **clú** na cColladh, / ní d'fhuaire fán trian tallan / triall andamh uaidhe ar ollamh*, 'He has, beyond all others, unsurprassed fame, as the fame of the Maguires usually is; it is a sign of their lack of interest in any other land that it is seldom that an *ollamh* leaves him' (§6); *Grís 'na **ndiaigh** um Chlár Connla / an táin **a ndiaigh** a ndiomdha; / sléchtain dóib ar fedh bhfedhma / fóir iomdha as-teagh ní thiobhra*, 'When the anger of the host has been aroused, there are embers in their trail around Ireland; to submit to them in time of battle will not save a numerous band [or 'submission to them will not bring the numerous band in (i.e. cause them to return home)?]' (§40).

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

RIA A iv 3

1 Síol féile fuil D<h>iarmada.

fuil nach frémha póirbheaga

slat chumhra ós cloin*n* díarmada,

c*r*oin*n* dán hubhla a nóirlega

Critical Edition

1 Síol féile fuil Dhiarmada,

fuil nach fréamha póirbheaga;

slat chumhra ós chloinn Diarmada,

croinn dan hubhla a n-óirleaga.

1 The descendants of Diarmaid are a generous race, a race whose various lines have multiplied; there is a fragrant sapling over the descendants of Diarmaid, trees which bring forth golden treasure in place of apples.

2 Cía haca *acht* dóigh deagdháimhe,

slata póir na pailmréimhe

ni goire dféin fhion*n*bhúille,

béim oile iná a naimhr*éidh*e

2 Cia haca acht dóigh deaghdháimhe

slata póir na pailm[fh]réimhe?;

ní goire d'fhéin fhionnBhúille,

béim oile ioná a n-aimhréidhe.

2 Which of the saplings sprung from the seed of the palm-tree is other than an easy target for a noble poet-band?; no insult is easier for the warrior-band of fair Boyle to bear than [the poets'] unruliness.

3 Déis mheasda an fhóid éirion*n*aigh,	3 D'éis mheasda an fhóid Éireannaigh,
leanta deól gach fhíorollaimh	leanta d'eól gach fhíorollaimh:
an lá as f<h>err fíadh féilim*idh*,	an lá is fhearr fiadh Féilimidh,
an geall ría*mh* ag rioghorr*aidh*	an geall riamh ag ríoghorraidh.

3 The knowledge of every true *ollamh* after [he has] examined the land of Ireland should be heeded: when Ireland is at its best, a royal chief is supreme.

4 Tearc da mh*éid* clú cuirf*idh*ear,	4 Tearc dá mhéid clú cuirfidhear
nach tt*éid* anú a nea*m*thoradh	nach téid a-nú i neamhthoradh;
ní fh*éd* clíar é dathmhol*adh*,	ní fhéad cliar é d'athmholadh
ar br*í*an dá mbé ag b*r*eathnoghadh	ar Brian dá mbé ag breathnoghadh.

4 Rare is any reputation spread, however great, that is not eclipsed; the poets cannot praise it if they are gazing on Brian.

5 Nír mhó déicsibh óirleaga,	5 Níor mhó d'éigsibh óirleaga,
dhóibh do réidh*igh* ríognoda[238]	dhóibh do réidhigh ríoghnoda;
meic ríogh f*r*éimhi díarm*a*da,	meic ríogh fhréimhe Diarmada,
as díobh féini a bfíorbho<ga>	is díobh féine a bhfíorbhoga.

5 Poets were not satisfied with golden treasures: [Brian Mac Diarmada also] explained difficult manuscript-contractions to them; [meanwhile,] *meic ríogh* descended from Diarmaid are truly generous on their own account.

6 Béim dhó iomad ógb*aidh*i,	6 Béim dhó iomad ógbhaidhe
tighi óil dá néignighe	tighe óil dá n-éignighe;
ni gheibh fíon dá úaign*igh*i,	ní gheabh fhíon dá uaignighe
g*an* líon cean fán gc*éid*bhl*eidh*i	gan líon cean fan gcéidbhleidhe.

6 If too many warriors storm drinking halls, he is to be blamed; however solitary, he will never take wine unless there is a raiding party gathered [with him] around the first goblet.

[238] There is a black dot over the *d*, but it seems to be a stain on the page rather than a *punctum*.

7 M*ac* sadbha a nu*air* io*m*mbúal*aidh*	7 Mac Sadhbha i n-uair iombualaidh
banbha úaidh g*an* uilldíoghai*n*	Banbha uaidh gan uillíoghain;
f*r*ioth rí do ráth fhin*n*éimhir,	fríoth rí do ráth fhinnÉimhir
dá m*adh* gnáth í ag uirríog*aibh*	dá madh gnáth í ag uirríoghaibh.

7 When the son of Sadhbh goes into battle, he cures Ireland's wounds; [even] if Ireland is normally held by sub-kings, a [true] king has [now] been found for her.

8 Oid*r*i rúaid*r*i rioghbhuachail,[239]	8 Oidhre Ruaidhrí ríobhuachail
núaig*r*is doirre démhúch*aidh*	nuaighrís doirre déamhúchaidh;
cead suai*n* ag síol sáoirfhiach*aidh*,	cead suain ag síol saoirFhiachaidh,
síodh úaidh in g*ach* éndúth*aigh*	síodh uaidh in gach éandúthaigh.

8 The heir of Ruaidhrí, the royal shepherd, extinguishes the first sparks of aggression; the descendants of noble Fiachaidh may sleep [soundly] because he has brought about peace in every country.

[239] There is a faint stroke on the left-hand side of the *c* giving the letter the appearance of a *t*.

9 Léghaidh litre ríleabh*ar*,	9 Léaghaidh litre ríleabhair,
tfil*idh* déis a ceódhub*aidh*	t'fhilidh d'éis a gceódhubhaidh;
ceist c*r*úaidh rea*m*pa réidhig*idh*,	ceisd chruaidh reampa réidhighidh,
ag búai*n* d*ear*gtha a deór*adh*ibh	ag buain deargtha a deóradhaibh.

9 After your poets have been utterly confounded, you read the words of a royal book and unravel a difficult question for them, causing the poets to blush.

10 Níor dhligh clíar na cáoirleaga,	10 Níor dhligh cliar na caoirleaga
dár *íar*r sin na síodhluga[240]	dar iarr sin na síodhluga;
do chúaidh tar c*r*ú díarm*a*da,	do-chuaidh tar crú Diarmada
a gclú an úair dob fhíorbhuga	a gclú an uair dob fhíorbhuga.

10 [The] poet-band was not entitled to the red gems for which it sought out the fairy dwellings [of the honorand and his retinue]; their fame surpassed that of [the other] descendants of Diarmaid even when the [latter] were at their most generous.

[240] There is a spot over the *s* in the MS but it does not seem to be a *punctum*.

11 Bliadhai*n* tar chách cuin*n*eóbhaigh,	11 Bliadhain tar chách cuinneóbhaidh
ríag*ail* na mná mallaoid*idh*	riaghail na mná mallaoighidh;
teisd chléiri ar fhuil fhin*n*eimhir,	teisd chléire ar fhuil fhinnÉimhir
do chuir fhéile i nandáoinibh	do chuir fhéile i n-andaoinibh.

11 For a year more than everyone else, the guest who is slow to move on observes the injunction placed on the woman; the testimony of the poets regarding the descendants of fair Éimhear has made even ignoble churls generous.

12 Líon corma ó chlíaigh ghealchúirt*igh*,	12 Líon corma ó Chliaigh ghealchúirtigh
fíadh conla is dá chaithlíontuibh	fiadh Conla is dá chaithlíontaibh;
g*earr* sgís fhl*eidh*e an l*eath*bhúrc*aigh*,	gearr sgís fhleidhe an leathBhúrcaigh –
na bleidhe arís aithlíontuir.	na bleidhe ar-ís aithlíontair.

12 [The] drinking party from Cliú of white palaces is one of the battle-bands of the land of Conla [in his house]; short is the pause in the feast of the half-Burke – the goblets are filled again!

13 Geall ag tír le tig*ear*na,	13 Geall ag tír le tighearna,
ní f*earr* righ na rodhamhna	ní fearr rí 'na radhamhna;
úa taidhg ar tí a ttogharma,	ua Taidhg ar tí a dtogharma,
a mbí g*an* aird anamhna	a mbí gan aird anamhna.

13 A country with a lord is superior, a king should not remain a great candidate for kingship; the grandson of Tadhg is about to summon all who are not inclined to wait [to make him king].

14 Láoich úallcha ch*r*an*n* gc*r*úaidhleabh*ar*,	14 Laoich uallcha chrann gcruaidhleabhar,
mall slúag*adh* a sírdheibh*eadh*	mall sluaghadh a sírdheibheadh;
tús glíadh nír áil déindligh*eadh*,	tús gliadh níor ál d'éindligheadh –
b*r*ían ón ágh na fhírd*eireadh*	Brian ón ágh 'na fhírdheireadh.

14 The proud warriors with long hard spears, the host are slow to leave a prolonged battle; Brian would not wish that his sole prerogative should be to be first into battle – he [is] last out of the fray [as well].

15 Fir chle*cht*as dáil d<h>*eir*gdheighsh*éad*,	15 Fir chleachtas dáil dheirgdheighshéad,
san ráith ben*n*aigh bhuirdghilód	'san ráith bheannaigh bhuirdghil-eód;
rí g*an* fhi*us* ar ardghairéd,	rí gan fhios ar ardghairéad
lé a mbí i lios an luirgn*igh*ód	le a mbí i lios an luirgnigh-eód.

15 [There are] men who are wont to bestow precious red treasures in that gabled rath with white tables; because of the men in the liss of that long-legged man [Brian Mac Diarmada], a king [has no need to] frequent a tall watchtower.

16 Riaghail rígh na t*arr*ngu*r*a,	16 Riaghail ríogh na tarngara
láoich nach i*arr*aid omnadha	laoich nach iarraid omnadha;
tighi róid fhuin*n* f<h>ion*n*logha,	tighe róid fhuinn fhionnLogha
móid í chuin*n* a gcomhladha	móid í Chuinn a gcomhladha.

16 [Such is] the rule of the prophesied king that warriors do not look for [their] spears; for the houses on the highway, the oath of the descendant of Conn is their protective door.

17 Gnáth leis díol ré deighfh*ear*uibh,	17 Gnáth leis diall re deighfhearaibh –
do b*r*ían do bheir baramhuil	do Bhrian do-bheir baramhail;
nírbh é dóigh mhúir mu*readaigh*,	níorbh é dáigh mhúir Mhuireadhaigh
ar bhúill madh áil anamhai*n*	ar Bhúill madh áil anamhain.

17 He takes after noble ancestors; [the sovereignty figure] can find the likes of Brian [in his pedigree]; he would not be fit to be the lord of the Fort of Muireadhach, if he was content with [merely] the [lordship of] Boyle.

18 D*fear* than*m*a da shíorghnáth*aigh*,	18 D'fhior th'anma (do shíorghnáthaigh
banbha ní bean rédhnuach*air*	Banbha) ní bean réadhnuachair;
crodh cáigh ar do chiúinbhréithir,	crodh cáigh ar do chiúinbhréithir
ar gcor an áigh dénbhuchuil	ar gcor an áigh d'éanbhu[a]chail.

18 [Though] she has always consorted with him, Banbha is not an easy wife for a man of your fame; after the battle was won by a single shepherd, the cattle of all are totally in your power.

19 Ceó ar dho bl*oid*h nír br*eath*naig*eadh*,	19 Ceó ar do bhloidh níor breathnaigheadh,
ní fhuil ceó le gceilf*idh*ior	ní fhoil ceó le gceilfidhear;
g*r*íos thoinigh ag athghlan*adh*,	gríos th'oinigh ag athghlanadh
m*ar* b<h>íos doig<h>ir dheightein*eadh*	mar bhíos doighir dheightheineadh.

19 No smoke has ever been seen [dimming] your fame, there is no smoke which can obscure it; the flame of your hospitality clears it away again, like the blaze of a great fire.

20 Geill cáigh r*éd* chois cenguilt*ir*,	20 Géill cháigh red chois ceangailtir
tar ch*r*ois a*n* chláir *chon*n*acht*uigh	tar chrois an chláir Chonnachtaigh;
ní ró *acht* ai*n*m dot iomu*r*c*aidh*,	ní ró acht ainm dot iomarcaidh
a ló an ch*air*n do *chon*n*acht*uibh	i ló an Chairn do Chonnachtaibh.

20 Everyone's hostages are bound in your presence despite [the resistance of the inhabitants of] the plain of Connacht; the Connachtmen will win only your excess-fame in the battle of An Carn.

21 Sloig<h> c*r*uachna is íad inshiob<h>ail,	21 Slóigh Cruachna is iad inshiobhail
síad ret fhuag*r*a ag anam*ain*	siad ret fhuagra ag anamhain;
<t>ug snaid*m ar* s<h>íol mu*readaigh*,	tug snaidhm ar síol Muireadhaigh
ag g*air*m ríogh nach rabhabh*air*,	ag gairm ríogh nach rabhabhair.

21 The hosts of Cruacha, ready to march, wait for your proclamation [as king]; it has perplexed the descendants of Muireadhach that you have not been inaugurated.

22 Nós iongn*adh* ag áoidhe<d>*aib*.	22 Nós iongnadh ag aoidheadhaibh
más cóir diomdha ar dháilemhain	más cóir diomdha ar dháileamhain:
geall cáigh ag crú ríoghlug*aidh*.	geall cáigh ag crú ríoghLughaidh,
gíodh clú dháibh ar dháiliobhair	giodh clú dháibh ar dháileabhair.

22 If it is proper to be dissatisfied with the dispenser, it is a bizarre habit on the part of guests: the descendants of royal Lughaidh excel all others, even though they are famous on account of all that you [Brian] have [single-handedly] dispensed.

23 Ni[241] cúirt súd is sobháthaidh,	23 Ní ceart (?) súd is sobháthaidh
do ch*ear*t ar chúig deighíath*aibh*	do cheart ar chúig deighiathaibh;
denamh righ ort dainfhíachuibh,	déanamh ríogh ort d'ainfhiachaibh
do lo*cht* ar shíl sheinfiach*aidh*	do locht ar shíol sheinFhiachaidh.

23 Your right to the five noble lands [Ireland] is not a right that can easily be extinguished; that you are solemnly obliged to become king is your [only] complaint against the descendants of ancient Fiachaidh.

24 Tú ag díon do ghég ngeiniol*aigh*,	24 Tú ag díon do ghéag ngeinealaigh
mar ghéig fá dhíon duilliobh*air*	mar ghéig fa dhíon duilleabhair;
ced c*r*úais ag crú mu*readaigh*,	cead cruais ag crú Muireadhaigh –
gúais dá gclú do chuiriobhair	guais dá gclú do chuireabhair.

24 You protect your kin [so that they are] like a branch beneath a canopy of leaves; the descendants of Muireadhach [Muilleathan] can afford to be stingy – you have banished all danger to their fame!

[241] The accent mark which I have represented here as being over the *u* in *cúirt* extends over the *i* in *ni* also and *ní* might (as in *ABM*) be preferred to my unaccented reading.

25 Úait síos atá an tig*ear*na,	25 Uait síos a-tá an tighearna
fá mbíd cách ag comhumhla	fa mbíd cách ag comhumhla;
fada ó fúair t*r*í togharma	fada ó fuair trí togharma
rí do chúaidh léd chomhardha	rí do-chuaidh led chomhardha.

25 The king to whom others submit is himself under you; it has been a long time since a king required three summonses to march under your standard.

26 Líon corma ar gach corrthul*aigh*,	26 Líon corma ar gach corrthulaigh
gé bhíos co*mh*gha i gcuir*m*thighibh	gé bhíos comhgha i gcuirmthighibh;
sibh an u*air* dob ionchuir*idh*,	sibh an uair dob ionchuiridh,
úaibh i ttigh ní tuillfidhir.	uaibh i dtigh ní tuillfidhir.

26 There are people drinking on every round mound, though ale-houses are secure; once you are in a position to hold a feast, no-one can find room in a [drinking-]house because of you.

27 Síol gc*r*éidhi an bhaoíll b<h>in*n*eal*taigh*,	27 Síol gCréidhe ón Bhaoill bhinnealtaigh
éinfh*ear* dhíobh ní dio*m*mol*tair*	éinfhear dhíobh ní diomoltair;
dion béime an chláir *chon*na*cht*uigh,	díon béime an chláir Chonnachtaigh
a ndáil tfhéile diomarc*aidh*	a ndáil t'fhéile d'iomarcaidh.

27 Not so much as one man of the descendants of Créidhe from the Boyle, which abounds in melodious birds, is satirised; all that your generosity has doled out in excess [of what would be expected] protects the [whole] plain of Connacht from being criticised.

28 Fóir ch*r*úach*an* déis thoilea*mh*na,	28 Fóir Chruachan d'éis th'oileamhna
úamhan déicsibh deaghullmha	uamhan d'éigsibh deaghullmha;
lu*cht* eagna ó thoigh thoghar*m*a,	lucht eagna ó thoigh thogharma
amoigh deagla heal*adh*na	a-moigh d'eagla th'ealadhna.

28 Well-trained poets fear the land of Cruacha after staying with you; the learned [linger] outside of the house of assembly because of their fear of your erudition.

29 Tú as rí do f*r*eimh f*ear*adhaigh,
déis na gc*r*íoch do chomhfhog*ail*
fir íartha mhná mu*readaigh*,
lá clíachda fád chomhaduibh.

29 Tú is rí do fhréimh Fhearadhaigh
d'éis na gcríoch do chomhfhoghail;
fir iarrtha mhná Muireadhaigh
lá cliachdha fad chomhadhaibh.

29 Having plundered the territories, you are king of the descendants of Fearadhach; the men who seek the wife of Muireadhach submit to you on the day of battle.

30 Fáth reachta do ríoghthasa
bláth ar fh*eadh*uibh urchasa
sibh ar tí an chláir c*r*úachnasa,
gach rí a ndáil a duthchasa

30 Fáth reachta do ríoghtha-sa
bláth ar fheadhaibh úrchasa;
sibh ar tí an chláir Chruachna-sa
gach rí i ndáil a dhúthchasa.

30 The bloom on the fresh and branching woods is a prophet of your inauguration; as you approach the plain of Cruacha, every king advances towards his patrimony.

31 Gabhtu*r* ar úir íaran*n*a,	31 Gabhthar ar úir iaranna
fúibh ós cl*eath*uibh cnódhon*n*a	fúibh ós chleathaibh cnódhonna;
fágbhaid barr c*r*áobh ciúi*n*fhion*n*a,	fágbhaid barr craobh ciúinFhionna
don táobh thall do thóran*n*a	don taobh thall do thóranna.

31 Under your reign, iron plough-shares are taken to soil covered by trees brown with nuts; the mast of the trees of the tranquil river Fionn is carried beyond your borders.

32 Gan egla an úir úaigneasa,	32 Gan eagla i n-uair uaigneasa
úaid a bf*eadaibh* fódghlasa	uaid i bhfeadhaibh fódghlasa;
gabhal fá c*r*aoibh c*éid*mhéasa,	gobhal fa chraoibh chéidmheasa
fan mbáoill dom*an* tógrasa	fan mBaoill d'omhan t'[fh]ógra-sa.

32 No-one is afraid when alone in [the] woods that grow from verdant soil; in expectation of your being proclaimed, every tree-bough throughout Boyle is [weighed down] by a branch bearing a great crop.

33 Rod saor úait gach énchon*air*,	33 Ród saor uait gach éanchonair –
ní gúais táobh da tt*r*íallf*aidhir*	ní guais taobh dá dtriallfaidhir;
cía an tái*n* do gheab gnáithshlig*idh*,	cia an táin do gheabh ghnáithshlighidh?
cain ar f*ear* na fhiarf*aighidh.*	cáin ar fhear 'na fhiarfaighidh.

33 Every path is a secure highway thanks to you – whatever way one journeys is free of danger. [Before now] who would drive his cattle along the common highway? The man who harrasses them is fined for it.

34 *Ar* chuiltibh chloch nó*m*rada,	34 Ar chuiltibh chloch n-ómrada
sgol a thighi [242]	sgol a thighe [... ... ...]
fúair fáilti ag f*r*eimh díarm*a*da,	fuair fáilte ag fréimh Diarmada
cáinti n*ach* éir déinleaba	cáinte nach éir d'éinleaba.

34 On quilts covered in amber jewels, the poets of his house... ; the satirist who does not give up any bed [he is given] has been welcomed by the descendants of Diarmaid.

[242] The scribe has left a blank space to the end of the line.

35 Ól corma gu*r* c*r*íochnaigh*eadh*,	35 Ól corma gur críochnaigheadh
folch*adh* (?) róid na ráthmhuig*eadh*	folchar róid na ráthmhuigheadh;
bría*n* fá fhíon ni hi*arr*f*aidhear*,	Brian fa fhíon ní hiarrfaidhear
g*an* líon glíadh do ghnáthmu*rear*	gan líon gliadh do ghnáthmhuirear.

35 The roads of the rath-filled valleys are packed until the drinking of ale [in Brian's house] comes to an end; come time for a wine-feast, Brian will not be found without [his] usual retinue of warriors.

36 Gar tád do mhuigh mu*readaigh*,	36 Gar táth do mhuigh Mhuireadhaigh –
do sguir cách da gcomhfhal*aidh*	do sguir cách dá gcomhfhalaidh;
lu*cht* adhbhair fhóid f*ear*adh*aigh*,	lucht adhbhair fhóid Fhearadhaigh
dar*m*uibh ar chóig comhadhuibh	d'armaibh ar chóig comhadhaibh.

36 The plain of Muireadhach will soon be united – everyone has abandoned their mutual enmity; the wealthy of the land of Fearadhach are like weapons with which to secure the five *comhadha* [the submission of the five provinces].

37 Líon glíadh ón bhúill bhailbheas*aigh*,	37 Líon gliadh ón Bhúill bhailbheasaigh
c*r*ioch na ndíaidh fa dhon*n*lasuir	críoch 'na ndiaidh fa dhonnlasair;
réidh *acht* a nam imriosain,	réidh acht i n-am imreasain,
fá réir an chlan*n* chon*n*lasai*n*	fa [a] réir an chlann Chonnla-sain.

37 A country is left in flames by a troop of warriors from the Boyle of smooth-flowing rapids; [the country] is under the sway of these descendants of Connla [who are] pleasant except in battle.

38 Ni docra díol deighfhéichimh,	38 Ní docra díol deighfhéichimh,
comhtha na gcríoch c*r*uin*n*eóch*aidh*	comhtha na gcríoch cruineóchaidh;
cr*éad* teasda ó shiol sheinfhíachaidh,	créad teasda ó shíol sheinFhiachaidh?
ag<h> síodh feasda fuireóch*aidh*	ag síodh feasda fuireóchaidh.

38 It is no hardship to pay a good creditor; he will gather up the submissions of the territories. What [more] do the descendants of ancient Fiachaidh want? Henceforth, they will be at peace.

39 Rug dáoinleith an iomáinsi,	39 Rug d'aoinleith an iomáin-se,
gaoidhil tug fá th*r*omsháoirsi	Gaoidhil tug fa thromshaoirse;
te*ar*c fíadh na bfuil aindísli,	tearc fiadh 'na bhfuil aindísle,
bría*n* do chuir an chomáoinsi	Brian do chuir an chomaoin-se.

39 He has won the day, he has set the Gaels free at great cost, there are few lands plagued by dispossession – it is Brian who has left them in his debt in this way.

NOTES

1 I take Diarmaid here to be Diarmaid (*a quo* Meic Dhiarmada), lord of Magh Luirg who died in 1159. *AFM* describe him as *cend comhairle, céille, ⁊ dégh-impidhe choiccidh Connacht*, 'head of the counsel, wisdom, and good supplication of the province of Connaught' (*AFM* ii, 1132). He is consistently associated with generosity in the present poem (§§1, 5, 10, 33).

1a More literally, 'the blood of Diarmaid is the seed of hospitality'. Cf. *síol féile síol seinEochaigh. / Éire a dhíol do dheghithir* which Greene renders 'The race of noble Eochaidh are the race of hospitality; Ireland is the good land they deserve' (*DMU* 21.7cd).

The MS may indicate lenition on the initial of *Diarmaid* but the realisation of the lenition of *d-* is prevented by *-l.* Likewise in 15a.

1b More literally, 'blood / race that is not branches of little seed'.

1c I take the fragrant sapling to be the primary honorand, Brian Mac Diarmada. For an example of the image used of the Meic Shuibhne, see *DiD* 102.5c: *slata cumhraidhe Crú Airt*, 'the fragrant branches of Art's field'.

I have lenited the initial of ***cloinn*** after the preposition *ós* but note the spellings *ós cionn*, *ós comhair* which are 'very common even in good MSS.' (*TD* i, xcix).

1d I have taken the 3 pl. possessive adj. as referring to the Meic Dhiarmada themselves, but, as the poet-band is introduced in 2a and the golden treasure is intended for the poets (see 5a where *óirleaga* occurs again), it might be interpreted as referring to the poets. The Meic Dhiarmada acquire and distribute treasure as naturally as an apple-tree produces its fruit. See 5a where these treasures are given to poets. Cf. *Ar bhás peacaigh san tír thoir / bíodh an Coimdhe dom chobhoir / 's an ógh naomh buime na mbocht / craobh darab duille an diadhacht*, 'From a sinner's death here [lit.'in the eastern land', i.e. Scotland] may the Lord save me, and the holy Virgin nurse of the poor, the branch which bore the God-head' (*AiD* 53.24). For an image of a tree with golden apples in the Tracts, see *Cnúas cumhra nar chóir do bhoing. dob ubhla óir ha hubhaill .l.* (*IGT* ii, ex. 1646), 'A fragrant crop that it was not right to pick, its apples were golden apples'. For the apple-tree as a kenning, see Ó Raghallaigh 2010, §22a and note.

***óirleaga*:** acc. pl. of *ór* 'gold' + *leag* '(precious) stone' (*IGT* ii, §39; *DIL* s.v. 1 *lía*; Bergin 1938, 217-18). *Óirleaga* occurs again in 5a and the compound *caoirleag* 'red gem' (*caor-*

'(berry-)red', or perhaps '(precious) stone',[243] + *leag*) is found at 10a. Note also the following in a Bardic poem to the honorand's son Brian Óg: *Méin a chéile ag cloin ndhiarmoda; / croín chiabhlaga don. fheile is áonleabuígh* [read *aoinleaba*] / *mic ríoghdha* [read *mic ríogh*] *is uighdur.* [read *ughdair*] *dhon fhíalbhuga; / síol ndhiarmada nach. cúdug* [read *cumhdaigh*] *cáorlíaga* [read *caoirleaga* for rhyme with *aoinleaba*] (§1 *Méin a chéile ag cloin nDhiarmoda*, Bibliothèque Nationale Paris MS 25, 889, p. 207), 'The descendants of Diarmaid have a common outlook; the descendants of Diarmaid who do not store up purple jewels are trees with languid locks who are the only shelter for generosity, princes and masters of generosity'.

2a For *dóigh* 'a likely mark, a likely subject for conquest', see *TD* 16.5 and note.

2b The figurative palm-tree denotes excellence. For examples where the palm-tree functions as a figure for the celebrand and his family, see *médughadh d'ainm a fine / pailm gégumhal Gairidhe* (*ABM* 132.17cd), 'the humble branching palmtree of Gairidhe increases the fame of his kindred' and *croinn fpailme fpartais Adhaimh* (*ABM* 301.5a), '[Síol Ír] are the palm-trees of the garden of Adam'.

2c I take *goire* to be the comparative form of *gar* 'easy, convenient, pleasant' (*DIL* 1 gar I (c)).

2cd The Meic Dhiarmada would normally be eager to prosecute any slight against them but indulge the poets 'whose arrogance is regularly represented as being essential to the poetic ethos' (P.A. Breatnach 1983, 39-40).

3cd More literally, 'when Ireland is at its best, a royal chief has the palm', i.e. Ireland's prosperity depends upon a strong ruler, identified and praised by poets. A similar phrase is

[243] In his moving elegy *Déanam cunntas a Chathail*, Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn recalls the gifts that Tadhg Ó Conchobhair Sligigh used to give him: *Ochán! och! do-geibhthi an ghroigh, / 'san chaor bhuadha ód bhais leabhair; / 'san bheann órdhaidhe 'san fhail, / a cheann mórmhaighe Murbhaigh*, 'Alas, alas, one would get mares and the precious stone from thy slender hand, and the gilded horn and the ring, thou chieftain of the great plain of Murbhach' (*TD* 14.13). A compound similar to *caoirliag* is found in an EModIr version of *Eachtra mac nEachach Muighmheadhóin* in *LCAB* (p. 4) when Sovereignty is transformed from a hideous hag to a beautiful maiden: *Táinic dealbh agus dersgnadh fuirre gur bho samhail re gríostaitneamh gréine nó re corcairliag ar lasadh gach ball gach alt agus gach áighe dhi*, 'Her appearance changed so that every part of her body was like the shining of the sun or a red gem burning bright'.

found in *ABM* 372.2cd: *lór an tríath a-ta fá a ccenn / an lá dob ffearr fiadh na bFionn*, 'Fit is the king who rules them when Ireland is at its best'.

For ***fiadh Féilimidh*** 'Ireland', see: *A mheanma ar shíodh ní shaoilim / go ndearna díon an bhánfhuinn; / go rug Niall Óg ar Éirinn / fiadh Féilim 'n-a fhód fhábhoill*, 'He will never, I know, think of peace till he has saved the fair land; until he shall have taken [or 'until he has taken'] power in Éire, Féilim's Land exists only as a phantasy [or 'Féilim's land (Ireland) will remain a scene of warfare (literally 'a trembling sod')]' (*AiD* 15.34) and *an molann Fiadh Feidhlimidh / triall romhall an Raghnallaigh* (*LBranach* 14, ll. 1191-2), 'is Ireland grateful for the slow progress of the man from Gabhal Raghnaill?'. Greene translates *Fiadh Féilimidh* as 'Ulster' in the following example: *Cú Chondacht co ccaollongaibh, / fá chlú troda tréinfhillidh; / ní ghabh acht giall óirerraidh / dá gcar co Fiadh Féilimidh*, 'Cú Chonnacht with slender ships returns strongly with fame of battle; he takes only a goldclad hostage, sending them to Ulster'. However, the previous quatrain states that Ulster warriors have left Ireland (*fian Emhna 'na n-aoidheadhaibh, ... a n-iath Gall ó Ghaoidhealaibh*), so a translation of *Fiadh Féilimidh* as 'Ireland' would be entirely plausible (*DMU* 11.27-8). For the phrases *Fonn Féilim* and *Clár Féilim* 'Ireland', see *TD* 10.33, 15.9 and Knott's note in *TD* ii, 336. These poetical names probably reference the high-king Féilimidh Reachtmhar, the father of Conn Céadchathach (who is named as an ancestor of Brian in §16). Cf. from other poems to Meic Dhiarmada: *an chlannsa is d'fhuil Fhéilim iad*, 'these two youths of Féilim's blood' (*AiD* 31.1d) and *ua Féilim leomhan na leacht* (§3c *Do leónadh Éire i nÁth Luain*, *FFC*, 283-293), '[Brian Óg Mac Diarmada was] the descendant of Féilim, the lion of feats'.

4a I have not indicated lenition on the initial of the passive voice of future tense *cuirfidhear* in the relative clause, though there is some metrical evidence that lenition can sometimes occur in this position (*SNG* IV, §7.32). I have translated the future passive as a present passive for felicity of expression in English here, at 19b, 33b and 35c: the preponderance of future passives at the ends of lines in the present poem probably owes a great deal to the necessity of providing trisyllabic final words in this metre.

4b The nasalisation after *nach* in the MS is not Classical and is not retained in the critical edition (*SNG* IV, §3.3).

4d Note the eye-rhyme *breathnoghadh* : 4b *neamhthoradh.*

5b I take *ríoghnoda* lit. 'royal (written-)marks / contractions' to mean 'great [i.e. 'important'?] MS abbreviations'. Cf. praise of Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir (†1589): *ceisd chruaidh róibh nár réidhigheadh / co fóill d'uain nír iarabhoir*, 'you did not yet ask time for a hard question which had not been explained to you before' (*DMU* 9.20cd), *tucc sé umhla d'fhileadhaibh / cidh é as ullmha a n-ealadhain*, 'he was obedient to poets although he is the readiest in learning' and *luas Í Cholla ar caoillínibh / cruas a rolla réigheobhaigh*, 'His [Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir speed in reading narrow lines will simplify the difficulty of his genealogy' (*DMU* 21.5cd and .35cd), while Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa goes so far as to describe Mág Uidhir as one of his teachers in poetry (*DMU* 23.23-4). The literacy of Dáibhí Barry Mór (†1617) is lauded by Dáibhí Ó Bruadair in *Teallach coisreagtha críoch Bharrach*: *Saoi an gach foghluim file* air *eagnamh / é ide*r *leabhruibh* (*ABM* 461.24ab), 'a master of every branch of learning, a poet for wisdom [who spends time] among books'. Cf. §9 and Poem 7.33b and note.

5cd More literally, 'The *meic ríogh* of the progeny of Diarmaid, it is from themselves their true generosity [comes]'. For the *meic ríogh*, high ranking aristocrats who were not themselves likely to attain to the kingship and so might seek glory outside of their home territory, forming part of the retinue of a more powerful magnate and playing an important military role in his military operations, see Herbert 2012, 123-131.

5c Lenition (through *sléagar* or after nom. pl. *meic*) is required on MS *fréimhi* for alliteration with *ríogh.*

5d For *féine*, an alternative form of the adjective *féin*, see *sguir dod choimhreacht re hÍbh Créidhe / ná cuir t'oidhreacht **féine** i bhfad* (*Créidhe* : *féine*) (*AiD* 31.29cd), *mar do bheinn **féine** i n-idh iarainn / déine ná sin iarraim ort* (*féine* : *déine*) (*AiD* 22.10cd), and *uait **féine** i ndiaidh do dhoibheart / biaidh Éire gan aoghaireacht* (*féine* : *Éire*), 'Owing to thy crimes Eire shall be left unshepherded by thee' (*DiD* 97.27cd).

***bhfíorbhoga*:** *IGT* iv §55 gives only *buga* and *buige* as forms of the abstract noun from *bog* 'generous'. The spelling of the MS (*boga*), however, creates eye-rhyme with 5b *ríoghnoda.* A crease in the page here obscures the text and gives rise to *ABM*'s reading of *bfíorbhod* for *bfíorbhogo.*

6c I have emended MS *-gheibh* (present indicative) to *-gheabh* (future indicative) for perfect rhyme with *gcean* in 6d (*IGT* iii, §22) and translated accordingly.

It is necessary to lenite the initial of acc. sing. ***fíon*** for alliteration with *uaignighe*, though as the acc. sing. of *fíon* is identical with the nom. sing. this lenition is not obligatory for grammar (*SNG* IV, §3.2(a)).

6d *ABM* incorrectly reads the final of 6d as *gcé*[i]d*bh[i]*li(dh).

7 Ireland is healed by her true spouse who achieves superiority through victory in battle. For the honorand as a physician healing Ireland's wounds, see Poem 6.

7a The doubling of *m* in the MS here is may be another instance of eye-rhyme as the finals of the other lines of this quatrain also have doubled liquids (*ll*, *nn*, *rr*).

7b More literally, 'Ireland is without a wound because of him / it [Brian Mac Diarmada / the battle]'. I interpret MS *uilldíoghain* as the acc. sing. of *n*-stem *uilldíogha*. *-lld-* must be realised as *-ll-* for perfect rhyme with *uirríoghaibh* and *uaithne shlán* with the other finals. I can find no other example in Bardic poetry of *uilldíogha*. *IGT* ii §6 and *DIL* give only *uillíogha* (analysed by Stokes as *oll* 'great' + *ídu* 'pain') (*DIL* s.v. *uillíga*; *Lexique* s.v. *uillíga*), 'pain of a wound, scar'. It seems that *uilldíogha* is a hypercorrect spelling (*ld* and *ll* are often used interchangeably in MSS) and that *uillíogha* is meant here. I have therefore emended MS *uilldíoghain* to *uillíoghain*.

7c I take *ráth Éimhir* to be a metonym for the kingship of Ireland as a whole. For examples of the phrases *fód Éimhir*, *fiadh Éimhir*, *adhbha Éimhir* and *bean Éimhir* 'Ireland' from poems to another northern chief, Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir (†1589), see *ABM* 397.12d, 14d, *DMU* 11.3c and 18.18d.

8a For *uaithne shlán* end-rhyme, I have emended *rīo**ghbh**uachail* to *rio**bh**uachail* (: *déa**mh**úchaidh* : *saoir**F**hiachaidh* : *éa**nd**úthaigh*). It is unclear whether Brian's father Ruaidhrí or Brian himself is the royal shepherd (*ríobhuachail*) here. As *buachail* has gen.

sing. *buachail* (as well as *buachala*)[244] this may be a genitive of apposition qualifying Ruaidhrí, but, as this quatrain describes the vigilant *reacht ríogh* of the honorand, it probably refers to Brian. The image of the chief or warrior as a shepherd guarding his people and his country is common in Bardic poetry. See Simms 1990, 614 and Hoyne 2011, 40d and note.

8b *nuaighrís*: more literally, 'new flame'. The origin and nature of the aggression signified are not made clear, but obviously refer to any (external or internal?) threat to the stability and security of the lordship.

Déamhúchaidh 'smothers' is a compound of *dé* 'smoke' and *múchaidh* 'extinguishes'. I know of no other example of this compound but trisyllabic compounds abound in this metre to provide final words of the necessary length for each of the lines (cf. 9b *ceódhubhaidh*).

8c *Síol Fiachaidh* are probably the Meic Dhiarmada but possibly also the Irish more generally. See also 38c. The Fiachaidh in question may be the high-king Fiachaidh Fionnolaidh. For the descent of the Meic Dhiarmada from Fiachaidh Fionnolaidh, the son of Fearadhach, the father of Tuathal Teachtmhar and great-grandfather of Conn, see *LMG* i, §§106.2-6. The reference serves to connect Brian to a line of famous kings of Ireland. The Í Fhiachaidh in a poem to Tomaltach *an Einigh* Mac Diarmada signify the Í Chonchobhair, a family with whom the Meic Dhiarmada shared a common origin: *Go reacfa riu ríghe an Chúigidh / do cheann cunnraidh ná cuir díot; / is adhbhar leisge d'fhuil Fhiachaidh / a bhfuil eisde d'fhiachaibh d'íoc*, 'Shirk not thy part of the bargain (O Aodh), and continue to let Fiachaidh's race have the kingship of the Province on payment; they like not what they have to pay for it' (*AiD* 31.12 and note). See also §§23 and 37 in the present poem. Elsewhere, Fiachaidh is associated with kingship, for example *Do-dhén senchus ar fhuil Fhiachaidh / aicme do fhás ó fhuil ríogh / leannáin Banbha da ttrágh tuile / calma a n-ágh gach duine dhíobh* (*ABM* 186.1), 'I will recite the lore of the blood of Fiachaidh: those who sprang from the blood of kings are the lovers of Ireland who have caused the tide to recede; every one of them is brave in battle'.

8cd For the image of the country sleeping peacefully in the reign of the honorand, see Poem 3.26b and note.

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[244] *IGT* ii §111 expresses some disapproval of gen. sing. *buachala* owing to its supposed ugliness (*munab grána mac an bhúachala*) (Ó Cuív 1973, 25)!

9a I have emended **MS *ríleabh*ar** to *ríleabhair*: the finals of words participating in end-rhyme must be of the same quality in this metre.

9b I have nasalised the initial of *ceódhubhaidh* after the 3 pl. possessive adj. *Ceódhubhadh* is a compound of *ceó* 'mist < confusion' and *dubhadh* 'darkening, eclipse'.

9d *deóradhaibh*: dat. pl. of *deóradh* 'exile', here a peripatetic poet. For another example, see *Lucht eóluis a gclú do chor, / iomdha dhíobh ag díol deóradh / lé crú Luighdheach go leagar / foidhleach clú nár chuireadar* (*LBranach*, ll. 409-12), 'Many of the guides are paying poets to spread their fame so that the Í Bhroin can win the fame that they have not yet claimed'.

10 The Meic Dhiarmada indulge the poets' every demand no matter how unwarranted and earn renown through their liberality.

10b *síodhluga*: *síodh* 'fairy mound' + acc. pl. *luga* '(dwelling-)place'. Similar phrases are used of the residences of Gaelic aristocracy elsewhere in Bardic poetry (see Poem 1.45 and note). The noun spelt *lug* here is normally spelt *log* or *lag* (see *IGT* ii, §69); the spelling in *-u-* (in unstressed position) may be for eye-rhyme with 10d *fhíorbhuga*.

11ab This refers to the story of the hag who visited the Rock of Loch Cé and enjoyed its hospitality for a year without being challenged (see *DiD* 120, *Scottish Verse* 19, *TD* 34.37-8). The woman in question was cursed in Eamhain and barred from Tír Tairrngire until she had spent a year a house without being challenged to identify herself and her business (*gan neach ann dom fhiafraighe / ar feadh an dá mhíos dhéag-sain*),[245] a feat she could only accomplish on the Rock. Outside of the praise-poetry of the Meic Dhiarmada, it is told in a fifteenth-century poem to Eóin Mac Griogóir (*Scottish Verse* 19) and in a *crosántacht* for Maol Ruanaidh Ó Cearbhaill (†1532) (*TD* 34, after §37).[246]

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[245] Cf. *rún ar fher ní hiarrfuidher / ad dhún ar feadh fionchuiridh*, 'no man will be asked his purpose in your palace during a wine-feast' (*DMU* 21.18cd).

[246] John O'Donovan recorded a folktale on the origin of Loch Cé in the nineteenth century which bears some resemblance to the story of the enchanted hag. (For a completely different story on the origin of Loch Cé, see *Metr. Dind.* iii, 400-3, 551; Stokes 1893, 492-3; *ALC* i, xxxvi-xxxix). According to the folk-tale, the lake is named after a woman named Cé (or Céibh), the daughter of Manannán. She was of the giants of Céis Chorainn in Sligo. Under enchantment, she became deformed and went insane. She wandered to Loch Cé and took up

11b *Mallaoighidh* literally 'slow guest' is the subject of 3 sing. *cuinneóbhaidh* and therefore cannot be a pl. noun as it would be according to the declensional pattern outlined in *IGT* ii, §21. But nom. sing. *aoighidh* is attested in Bardic poetry: *Beag an bhreith bheirios* ***aoighidh*** */ ag dul uaithe a n-iolmhaoinibh; / ní hé donnadh a ghruaidh ghil / a bhfuair t'ollamh ó inghin* [the editor recommends reading *ót inghin*] (*LBranach*, ll. 437-40), 'A guest [i.e. a visiting poet] thinks nothing of it if he goes from her with many riches; the pale cheek of your poet was not made to blush by [your] daughter'.

11d A similar phrase occurs in *DMU* 21.12cd: *dáil cruidh fhréimhe Raghallaigh / do chuir fhéile a n-anorraidh*, 'such is the dispensing of wealth by the race of Raghallach that it caused a stranger [or 'commoner'] to be generous'.

12ab i.e. his feasts are attended by parties from as far afield as Munster? Cf. (from a poem to the northern chief, Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir) *Mac Con Chonnacht mheic mheic Briain / aitheónaidh fear a finnChliaigh / 'na cheinnbhile os cionn bhur gcath, / a dheirbhfine fhionn Eachach*, 'A man from fair Cliu shall recognise the son of great Cú Chonnacht, son of Brian's son, as chieftain over your battalions, O fair kindred of Eachaidh' (*TD* 9.55 and note).

12a The lenition of the initial of *ghealchúirtigh* is not to be pronounced after homorganic *-gh* (*IGT* i, §51).

Fiadh Conla is probably a poetic name for Ireland (cf. *bean Chonnla* and *clár Connla* 'Ireland' (*DMU* 4.2d and 5.17c)).

12b Following *IGT* ii §96, where *líon* is listed, the dat. pl. of compound *caithlíon* 'battalion' should be *caithlíonaibh.* See also *i n-aithlíonaibh* (: *flaithríoghaibh*) (*AiD* 76.4bd). *-líon**t**aibh* is, however, required for rhyme here (perfect rhyme with 12d, *uaithne shlán* with 12ac) with *-líon**t**air*, etc. I know of no metrically confirmed example of dat. pl. (-)*líontaibh*, but see *líontuibh* (the dat. pl. of *líon* 'net' rather than *líon* 'company'), without metrical confirmation in a poem in *óglách*as (*ABM* 20.12a).

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residence at Rockingham (Caladh na Cairrge). There a family of the Keeltys looked after her for twelve months. She was under a taboo not to remain in a place where her disfigurement was mentioned. As a reward, she gave the family the blessing that none of its number would drown in the lake. She then returned to Céis but only Oisín mac Finn would show kindness to her. The following day she became a beautiful woman and took Oisín to Tír na hÓige (*ALC* i, xxxv-vi).

12c Brian Mac Diarmada's mother was a Burke and it is probably through her he claimed descent from Í Bhriain (see §11 and the reference to Cliú in 12a).

13b I take MS *rīgh* to be a scribal error for nom. sing. *rí*, which I have adopted in my critical edition. (For the common confusion of *rí* and *rígh* in the post-Classical period, see Poem 1.27c).

***radhamhna*:** literally, 'great potential-king'. The intensifying prefix *ra-* is used here to make the noun trisyllabic. I have emended MS *ro-* to the variant *ra-* for perfect rhyme with 13d ***a**namhna.*

13c For Tadhg Mac Diarmada (†1499), Brian's grandfather, see Mac Dermot 1996, 125 and Poem 7.3b and note.

14c I have emended MS *áil* to *ál* for perfect rhyme with *ágh* in 14d. For *ál*, see *nírbh* ***ál*** (: *slán*) *linn gan dol fa dhoirr* (*IGT* ii, ex. 1002), 'I did not feel like remaining calm' and *madh* ***ál*** (: *grádh*) *t'eagna d'ullmhachadh* (*MD* 68.1cd), 'if you wish to enlighten your mind' and 17cd *áil* : *dáigh.*

14cd Examples of the motif of the honorand as the first into and last from a battle are not uncommon in Bardic poetry: *Tus ruagtha ni deach*aidh *dhe / de*iredh *deabhtha ag mac Móire* (*ABM* 333.12ab), '[Domhnall Mac Domhnaill] has never failed to be first into battle; the son of Máire is the last out of the fray', *Deireadh feadhna ag fágbháil tachair, / tosach inn gá abhra dhubh, / tús do iarr ar a fhear comtha / is Niall i dteagh ndorcha ag dul*, 'The rear of the troop is the place of dark-browed Niall when leaving a fight, the vanguard his place during it; he always asked his companions to let him go first into any dark house' (*Magauran* 32.29) and *Deireadh i gclódh tús ag tocht - / síol gConuill na gcolg n-éadrocht - / i gcrích námhad do-ní sibh, / a rí Fánad, dá bhflaithibh*, 'The rear in defeat [or 'retreat'], the van in an onslaught, thou, O lord of Fanad, dost form for the chiefs of Conall's glittering-bladed line in the country of the foe' (*TD* 27.17). The right of Mac Diarmada to be first into battle and the last to leave it is articulated in the poem on the Rights of Mac Diarmada (Ní Shéaghdha 1963), a copy of which follows the present poem in the MS: *Tosach troda a ttráth sluag*haid*h / ag fear ion*aid *Mhaol Ruadhn*aigh*; / deire teannta a' teacht a ttír / ag rígh Cruachna ón gcaoimhrígh*, 'At the time of hosting, the deputy [read 'successor'] of Maol Ruanaidh, king

of Cruachain, is allowed by the fair king [of Connaught] to be in the van going in to a fight and in the rear of a battle when retiring' (Ní Shéaghdha 1963, §10). Simms 1990, 608-9 has shown that the motif is not simply a literary conceit: on a cattle raid, the cavalry were first into enemy territory and the last to withdraw; besides the evidence of poetry, the annals record the deaths of many nobles at the rear of a raiding party defending the stolen cattle or at vanguard of their raiding parties, recovering lost herds.

15ab The *ráth* and *lios* refer to the residence of Brian Mac Diarmada. Cf. Tadhg *Dall* Ó hUiginn's description of Mág Uidhir's residence of Inis Ceithleann where the hospitality of Mág Uidhir's kin is similarly noted: *Fuaras maithe mhaicne Cholla / san chúirt daoinigh ag dáil shéad, / lucht foilgheasa sgéal do sgaoileadh / fréamh gcoibhneasa Ghaoidheal nGréag*, 'I found the nobles of the race of Colla in the thronged court distributing treasure, and those who exposed the recondities of the genealogy of the Grecian Gaels' (*TD* 11.14).

15b I have emended MS *-ód* to *-eód* after a palatal final consonant here and in 15d (*SNG* IV, §9.4).

15cd A similar image of a secure land without any need for keeping watch is painted in *TD* 10.21: *Gan fhear faghla ná faire / ar feadh Banbha do-bheire; / cách ribh ag breith a bhuidhe - / gan duine ar breith fir eile*, 'Thou causest all Banbha to be without either reaver or watchman; all are thanking thee that no one is at the mercy of another'.

15d *luirgneach*: The long-legged man here is presumably Brian Mac Diarmada. For the adj. (normally found in compounds meaning '-shinned'), see *DIL* s.v. *luirgnech* and *Dinneen* s.v. *loirgneach*. For substantive *luirgneach* in Bardic poetry, used of a woman, see *DG* 97.2b: *a luirgneach lom*, 'O woman who bares her calves'.

16 Brian Mac Diarmada is the prophesied messianic king. For the figure of An Tairngeartach in Bardic poetry, see Ó Buachalla 1989, especially pp.206-8 and 216-19, and Ó Buachalla 1983, especially pp.74-5. See also *BAR* §17. Brian's descent from the great king, Conn Céadchathach, is pointedly mentioned in the final line of a quatrain in which he is presented fulfilling the functions of a vigorous and powerful protector of his people. The use of *fonn*

Logha, 'the Land of Lugh' as a poetical name for Ireland[247] may also be significant: Lugh and Conn encounter one another in *Baile in Scáil* when Lugh appears to Conn after Conn becomes king to recount the length of the new king's reign and those that will follow after him (Murray 2004).

16a I have been unable to find another example of *tar(r)ngara* in Bardic poetry. *IGT* ii §3 and iii §65 give *tairngeire*, *tairngire* and *tarngaire*, but neither of these would make end-rhyme. The double-*r* in MS *tarrngara* emphasises middle-quantity.

16b Under the reign of the prophesied king, warriors have no reason to take up arms. Cf. *Gan arm do bhuain d'aidhlinn fan fhior / iar n-uaim na bhfonn / gan iarnach an gcéin bhias ar ann / do char do chronn*, 'When he has united the lands, weapons will no longer be taken off the arms-rack during his reign, nor will steel point be put on spear-shaft on the day of tillage' (McKenna 1952, §35; McManus 2006, 80).

16c More literally, 'the oath of the descendant of Conn is their doors, the houses on the highway of the land of Lugh'. The houses on the highway were presumably most vulnerable to attack but the promise of Brian to protect them means they have no need for their own defences. Cf. *Móid Chon Chonnacht dá gcomhdha / 'na gCollaibh ar gcor bhfeadhma; / léigthear géill a bhfear bhfaghla / ar feadh Banbha ó fhéin Eamhna*, 'Cú Chonnacht's vow protects them when they have served like the Collas; the pledges of their fighting men are released through Banbha by the warriors of Eamhain' (*TD* 10.41). The idea seems to be that once the raiding men have proven their loyalty to Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir, they do not need to rely on their hostages to keep them safe from attacks by their neighbours, as Mág Uidhir will protect them. See also Poem 2.18.

17a Literally, 'Brian resembles the noble men'. The idea is that Brian, like his ancestors, seeks the kingship of Ireland. Hence the sovereignty figure recognises him in 17b. See also the next quatrain.

17a I have emended MS *díol* to *diall* for sense.

[247] For another example of the phrase, see McKernan 1947-8, §57. For *Fód Logha*, *Iath Logha*, *Clár Logha* 'Ireland', see *TD* 16.44, 21.35 and *DMU* 23.29.

17cd A similar phrase occurs in *ABM* 463.14: *Ní b*udh *ionchuir ar mac M*airgr*eig / mu*r *mhéid mhenma* / dá *n-anadh le cách do cho*mh*dha* / *g*an *tath Temhra*, 'the son of Mairghréag would not be as happy if he stayed to protect everyone and didn't bring Tara under his sway [more literally, 'without uniting Tara']'.

17c I have emended MS *dóigh* to *dáigh* for perfect rhyme with *áil* in 17d. I have interpreted *dáigh* above as 'a fit match for' or 'a suitable person for' (see *Dinneen* s.v. *dóigh*). This line could also be translated as 'he would not be the hope of Ireland'. For a similar construction, see *géis gheal nach dóigh deighfhir, / bean leinibh 'n-a hóigh iodhain*, 'this bright swan, ever pure virgin [the Virgin Mary] and yet spouse of her Son is a maid to whom no man could dare aspire' (*AiD* 87.3cd) and cf. the phrase *a aonbhrath Múir Mhuireadhaigh*, 'thou only hope of Muireadhach's rampart [= Ireland]' (*TD* 14.35d). Muireadhach Muilleathan, the progenitor of the Í Chonchobhair and Meic Dhiarmada, is mentioned in §§21 and 24, and it is possible that *Múr Muireadhaigh* represents Connacht here, but it is probably a poetic name for Ireland (see *DMU* 20.20a for another example of the phrase). See 29c and note below. I have lenited the initial of *Muireadhaigh* after gen. sing. masc. *o*-stem *Mhúir* but see McKenna 1941-2, 53 for non-lenition in this circumstance.

18a More literally, 'for a man of your fame (with whom Banbha has always consorted) [she] is not an easy wife', i.e. Mac Diarmada (like all previous mates of Banbha, kings of Ireland) has earned great renown and been selected by the sovereignty figure as her husband, a demanding duty. I have emended MS *d*fear to *d'fhior*, the dat. sing. of *fear* in Classical Irish. *D'fhior* does not make perfect rhyme with 18b *bean*, but perfect rhymes are not required in the *seóladh* in *casbhairdne*. (MS *d*fear cannot represent the 2 sing. possessive adj. + *fear* as the 2 sing. possessive adj. occurs again in the same noun-phrase (***th** 'anma*).)

18c More literally, 'the cattle of all [are held] as you quietly command'. I take *ar bhréithir X* to mean 'on the order of X' (cf. English 'on X's word': 'the gentlemen of the Brenny ... are all upon Philip O'Reilly's word' (*O'Reilly poems*, p. 183)). Cf. *ar focal X* in *Iomdha críoch do creachadh lais / nach maoidhim ar mac Séamais, / gur chuir triath na ngéirreann nglan / iath Éireann ar a fhocal* (*Butler poems* 16.44), 'Many lands were plundered by the son of James which I do not list, so that the lord of the polished sharp spears brought Ireland to obedience' and *Foirgnemh súd nach sár*aigh*ther / do dhún boirdgheal bélchorcra, / barr gach aoinfhir uarobhair / Gaoidhil and ar h'énfhocal*, 'That is a building which is not

excelled, your whitetabled palace where mouths are red; you have surpassed everyone, the Irish are there at your bidding' (*DMU* 20.13abcd). For other examples of *focal* and *briathar* in the sense of 'order, command', see *Gidh bé trath fá ttiobhra a fhocal / d'ógb*aidh *Banbha bráonuighe / dar leó féin ní dóigh na dreagain / dóibh ní heaguil áonduine* (*ABM* 455.12), 'Whenever he gives the word to the soldiers of dewy Ireland [to attack], they think nothing of facing dragons, they fear no-one', *Lór le fear má fuair do bhriathar, / beag 'na dheaghaidh do dhíol port*, 'A word from thee is enough for a man, after that little doth he reck what place thou choose (?)' (*TD* 29.18ab) and *ar nisrelic a nomhan dóibhsidhe techt tar breithir no tar erfhuagra a fflatha uair ro forchongair forra airisiomh isin loghphort* [...], 'for fear did not allow these to transgress the word or the warning of their prince, for he ordered them to remain in the encampments [...]' (*BAR* i, 74-5).

18d MS *-bhuchuil* is a scribal error for *-bhuachail* (: *-nuachair*). The shepherd is Brian Mac Diarmada. See 8a above for *buachail* 'shepherd' used of a chieftain or warrior.

19 The honorand's fame is imagined here as a fire that is not allowed to go down and be obscured by its own smoke. Cf. *Urusa a congbháil gan cheo / an ghnaoi as teine bheo bhithbheo; / sí gan cheo bhíos do bhunadh / is gríos beo dá beathughadh / ... / Connudh nach leigeann í as / a bha 's a eich 's a ionnmhas; / a chrodh uadh ag gach ollamh / ar son duan an deaghconnadh*, 'That popularity, that ever-living flame, is easy to keep bright-flaming; it has no smoke dimming it; live embers ever feed it... The firewood keeping it alight is his cattle and steeds and treasure; the kine given each poet by him for poems is that good firewood' (*Magauran* 30.5, 7). See also Poem 7 note 5d.

19b I have emended MS *fhuil* to variant *fhoil* (see *IGT* iii, §7) for rhyme with *bhloidh*.

19d Nom. sing. *doighir* is listed in *IGT* ii §150.

20b For *cros* 'prohibition, hindrance', see *DIL* s.v. *cros* (d). For another example of the phrase *tar chrois* 'despite the opposition of', see *Gabhuimsi tar crois cléire / leatsa, a Fhéilim, d'éinchéile*, 'I take you despite clerical ordinance [or 'despite other poets'?] to be my sole spouse' (cited in Breatnach 1983, 43).

20cd Cf. 27cd for a similar idea to that expressed in 20cd.

20d I do not know what battle is referred to here. A mid-sixteenth century poem to Cian Ó hEadhra mentions a battle at An Carn: *Sé ag banfháidh dá bhreithniughadh / gur fhéil d'fhagháil athchomhadh, / lá in Chairn a gcéill cuirfidhear, / a fhéil re hainm d'athrughadh*, 'It was said by a prophetess that the Féil by a change of name would be a gale day to renew sorrow; the battle of the Carn will ever be remembered' (*O'Hara* 1a.9) which I would translate 'When a prophetess examined the matter, she determined that it was a feastday[248] to collect new concessions [tokens of submission]; this was put into effect in the battle of An Carn; the feastday on which [the battle] fell has been altered by fame [i.e. is now remembered for that battle]'.

21 Cruachain is, of course, a metonym for Connacht. See also §§28 and 30. The *síol Muireadhaigh* were the Í Chonchobhair and Meic Dhiarmada with their off-shoots, such as the Meic Dhonnchaidh. See Poem 3.9, 13, and also *DiD* 92.25 where Conchobhar Óg Mac Diarmada is described as *codhnach clann Muireadhaigh*, 'the chief of Clann Muireadhaigh [read 'chief of the families descended from Muireadhach']'. Brian is presented as protector of the Síol Muireadhaigh again in §24.

21b *Fuagra* can mean 'summons (to battle)' and also 'the announcement or proclamation of a (new) king' (the latter synonymous with the *gairm* 'call' of 21d) (*DIL* s.v. *fócrae* (b) and (f)).

21c It is unclear to me if the scribe has indicated lenition of the initial of ***Síol***, but a non-lenited initial after *ar* (OIr *for*) is required for alliteration with ***sn****aidhm.*

22d More literally, 'that you were not at an inauguration [lit. 'a king-proclaiming']'.

22ab In other words, difficult to satisfy as the poet-visitors may be, they have no legitimate cause to criticise their generous host.

22b For the contradictory position of the Grammatical Tracts on the lenition or non-lenition of the initial of a noun whose acc. sing. differs from the nom. sing after the preposition *ar*, see McManus 1996, 171.

[248] A reference to on one of the quarter days, each of which coincided with a religious festival, on which rents fell due?

22c I take it that the Meic Dhiarmada are signified by *crú Lughaidh* and that Brian is addressed in the 2 pl. in 22d. For the argument made in 22cd, see 24cd and §27. The Lughaidh in question may be the mythological king of Ireland, Lughaidh Riabh nDearg, the father of Criomhthann and friend of Cú Chulainn; Brian's son Brian Óg is referred to as 'the one who maintains the descendants of Criomhthann' (*chothuighe ó gCriomthainn*) in Poem 7.30. For similar phrases, see *Ar dteacht Chormaic le cloinn Luighdheach / locadh Briain is beag do chroid*, 'When Cormac [Ó hEadhra] joined the race of Lughaidh [in battle] few believed Brian would flinch' (*TD* 29.8) and *Tar cheann a bhreith d'aitheas áidh, / le Feardiadh, deaghmhac Damháin, / ursa catha crú Lughaidh, / ní racha ós clú Chonchubhair*, 'Not withstanding what was won of valiant renown by Feardiadh, the brave son of Damhan, yet he exceeds not Conchobhar [Ó hEidirsceoil] in fame, the battle-pillar of Lughaidh's race' (*Adhbhar beadhgtha bás déisi*, O'Donovan 1849, 370-83). Prefixed *río-* 'king-' may serve to emphasise the honorand's descent from kings as well as supplying the necessary trisyllabic end-word.

23a MS *cúirt* does not make even *amas*rhyme with *cheart* in 23b. I can suggest no other emendation besides reading *ceart* for MS *cúirt*.

23d For *síol Fiachaidh*, see 8c and note.

24a Literally, 'you protect your genealogical branches'.

24cd Should any of the honorand's kin prove to be less than models of hospitality, the reputation of the entire family will not suffer for this as the lavishness of Brian's hospitality is ample compensation. Cf. 22cd and §27. The same idea is found in *O'Hara* 8.57: *Lorg a sleachta lé leantoir; / fuair teisd as a toirbheartoibh, / bean do-chóidh tar crú Suibhne; / clú cáigh ar a comairghe*, 'She follows the example of her race, and has won glory by giving gifts, this lady who surpasses the stock of Suibhne; the reputation of them all depends on her [or 'is under her protection']'.

25ab Note the similar phrasing in *Gé táid do thoil tigherna / dá bhfuil cách ag comhumhla, / beag orra síodh soshnadhma / síol cColla is dá ccomharrdha*, 'Although they obey a lord to

whom all are obedient, they litle desire an easily won peace – it is the characteristic of the Maguires' (*DMU* 21.9).

25b *Cách* is a collective noun and therefore can be the subject of a verb in 3 sing. or 3 pl. (*SNG* IV, §7.30).

25cd More literally, 'it is a long time since a king who accompanied your standard received three summonses'. For a similar picture of an honorand receiving a prompt and submissive reply from other magnates, see *Gerr ōn uair – do iompō soin - / nach biadh, a chuilén confuigh, / sluadh Gall is t'eagla orra / god fhreag*ra *a n-a*m *urrama*, 'It is not long – that has changed, fierce whelp – since for fear of you a host of aliens were obeying you in time of deference' (§9 *Saoth liom do chor, a Cholla*, Black 1973). Probably coincidentally, the phrases *na trí togharma* and *an treas toghairm* occur in accounts of Judgement Day in Bardic religious poetry (see *DiD* 27.7d and *Dán Dé* 14.9).

25d For *comhardha* (*comhartha*) in the meaning '(battle-)standard',[249] see *Leoman buidhe i srol uaine, comharda na Craobh Ruaidhe / mar do bhaoi ag Concobhar caidh, / ata ag Congal d'a Congmhail* [read *congmháil*], 'A yellow Lion on green satin, the insignia of the Craebh Ruadh, such as the noble Conchobhar bore, is now held up by Congal' (O'Donovan 1842, 288-9) and *do-chiú a chomhardha catha / ós rodhamhna an ríoghfhlatha*, 'I see his battle banner over the prince of the kingdom' (*DiD* 85.21cd).

26 So many people attempt to attend Brian's feasts that crowds are turned away and must assemble to drink on hills.[250]

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[249] The death of Brian Mac Diarmada's standard-bearer (*fer brattaighe Bríain Mic Diarmada*), Conn mac Briain Chaoich, is noted in *ALC* ii, 368-9, s.a. 1565, and another standard-bearer, Art mac Ruaidhrí Ghlais died in 1589 (*ALC* ii, 492-3).

[250] For images of drinking on hillsides, see *D'éigsibh ar tolchaibh tionōil / d'ēis inghine Oilionáir / fear beóchroidhe nír bhraith sinn / nár chaith eōlchoire a inntinn* (*Butler poems* 4.29), 'Among the poets on the hills of assembly on account of the daughter of Oilionár, I could not find a living soul whose heart was not satisfied' and *Fíon da dháil a dábhchoibh corra / cách 'na ttoirrchim* ar *taobh cnuic / triallaid sreabha innsi hEalga / fledha millsi dearga dhuit*, 'Wine is dispensed from swollen vats leaving people in a drunken slumber on the hillside; the rivers of Ireland transport your red wines to you' (McManus 2006, 77 n. 35). In the poem *Suirgheach Cruacha re clú Taidhg* (*ABM* 439.16-17ab), guests at the feast of Tadhg Ó Conchobhair find themselves lying on a hillside under different circumstances: *Líon gliadh dán cáomhthaigh a gcuilg / iad*

26b More literally, 'though there is protection in ale-houses', i.e. it is not because his residence might be vulnerable to attack that the crowds not admitted to Brian's drinking-house are not congregating on hilltops.

26cd More literally, 'there will be no room because of you in a [drinking-]house when you would be able to hold a feast'.

27a For Créidhe, see Poem 2.10e. For the nasalisation in *Síol gCréidhe*, see *SNG* IV, §3.3.

Baoill (*Búill*), *An Bhaoill* (*Bhúill*) is normally feminine though **MS *an Bhaoíll*** would be a gen. sing. masc. See (from a fragmentary poem in the Book of O'Hara) *(tearmon) eaglas buighne Bhaoill* (: *saoir*) (*O'Hara* 37.19) where *Bhaoill* appears to be in the gen.: 'the sanctuary of the churches of the host of Boyle'. The overwhelming evidence that (*An*) *B(h)aoill* is feminine has led me to emend MS *an Bhaíll* to dat. sing. *ón Bhaoill.*

28a I take *fóir* here to be *DIL* 1 *fóir.*

Oileamhain, used literally of 'fosterage', could mean either 'education' or 'entertainment, accommodation, hospitality' here ('after you have educated them', i.e. after you have brought your intellect to bear on their efforts, or 'after you have entertained them'); the latter sense is more likely but the poet may have intended the word to be ambiguous. For *oileamhain* 'entertaining, see *'na lucht oileamhna aoigheadh*, 'as entertainers of guests' (*TD* 5.4d), *do-roinneas damhna diomdha / ar tosach rem thighearna, / 's rem lucht oileamhna* [...], 'to my lord at first, and also to those who entertained me, I gave reasons for displeasure [...]' (*TD* 15.4) and *Leannán oileamhna an uird chrábhaigh / cliath ar ndréa*cht*bhoth* (*ABM* 242.44ab), '[Mairgréag Burke is] the darling who provides for the poetic order, the protector [lit. 'fence, door'] of our poetic huts'.**28c** For another example of the phrase *teach togharma* 'house of assembly', see *Síol Uidhir fhóid seinEmhna / bruighin dóibh as doshnadhma; / terc troigh gan fher n-ealadhna / ar feadh 'na thoigh togharmae*, 'The Maguires of the land of old Ulster, it is hard for them to protect their palace; there is hardly a foot of the assembly hall without a poet' (*DMU* 21.15).

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d'aontoil ó fhíon lét f[h]e[i]rg / *giobhbé fl*edh *do thighi a Thaidhg / fer 's gach aird a lighi ós leirg*, 'Warriors whose swords are their companions give up drinking wine because of your anger [i.e. to do battle against you]; regardless of the feast in your house, O Tadhg, men from all over are lying on a hillside'. But, though Tadhg has abandoned his feast, he continues to act like a cup-bearer: *Th'air*m *dháibh do dáil*eadh *'na gcioth / mar [budh] dháilimh ag dáil dheoch*, 'Like a cup-bearer dispensing drink, [you had] an abundance of your weapons doled out to them'.

29a For the descent of the Meic Dhiarmada from the high-king Fearadhach, see note 8c.

29c The wife of Muireadhach is a personification of the sovereignty of Ireland. For another example, see *ABM* 449.6: *Séd suirghe* ar *ndul a deab*aidh / *d'Ó Néill ó mhnaoi Mhuir*eadh*aigh* / *tuc dá dhíol an séd mur sin* / *na bíodh 'na éd* ar *Eamhain*, 'When he has come from battle, the wife of Muireadhach [= sovereignty of Ireland] gave Ó Néill a token of her affection; she gave the token in this way as payment – may Eamhain [= sovereignty of the Ó Néill lordship] not be jealous on account of it'. I have normalised the spelling of MS *íartha* to historical *iarrtha*. The ungrammatical lenition of *mhná* (see *IGT* i §157) is an example of *sléagar* (Mac Cárthaigh 2012). See also 5c and note ***fhr**éimhe* and 34a ***ch**loch*.

29d For *cliachdha*, gen. sing. of *cliathach*, see *DIL* s.v. *clíathach*.

For ***fa chomhadhaibh*** in this meaning, see *ISP*, p. 37 §2 and note, where the alternative dat. pl. *chomhthaibh* is employed (see *IGT* ii, §§2 and 4). See also the discussion at note 36cd below.

30-1 For the fertility of the land in the reign of the just lord, see McManus 2006, 89-112. This example is cited at pp.109-10 ex. 153 where McManus draws attention to the seeming contradiction of newly-blossoming trees yielding their fruit, suggestive of an early harvest. For other examples of the 'prophets' of nature that proclaim the rightful king, see McManus 2006, 100 ex. 119, 103 ex. 130, and 109 ex. 152, and also 32c in the present poem.

30a *ABM* reads *reactha*. While the *punctum* does rest over the *t*, *reachta* makes more sense in this context and was probably intended by the scribe. See McManus ex. 153 cited in note 30-1 above.

30c I have lenited the initial of *Cruachna* after gen. sing. masc. *Chláir*, but see McKenna 1941-2, 53.

30cd Like the fertility of 30ab, this half-quatrain expresses another symptom of the righteous kingship Brian will bring about when he is made king at Cruachain, 'the idea being that everyone in [possession of] his own hereditary land reflects the king's law and order and the success of his reign' (McManus 2008, 161 n. 4). For further examples of this notion in Bardic poetry, see *"Beanfa tú re tionól Bréifneach / Banbha Cuinn do chlannaibh cniocht; / nī rí neach ar a nī fēine / gu ndeach, a rī Fhēile, ar h'iocht."* (*O'Reilly poems* 34.14), 'With the

mustering of the men of Bréifne, you will take Ireland from the children of knights [i.e. colonists]; no man is a king of his patrimony until he submits to you, O king of Féil' and *Dá ró Tadhg i dtréan Bhanbha / biaidh ar-ís 'n-a n-athardha / gach aoinneach san riocht reimhe / do shliocht daoineach Deirgtheine*, 'When Tadhg comes to rule Banbha, of Deirgtheine's numerous race each one shall have his old standing again in his own land' (*DiD* 97.44). Conversely, the death of a king gives rise to dispossession: *Bás d'Ēirinn ionnarbadh cáigh; / iar dtērnamh d'Aodh san Easbāinn / do-chuaidh a mbrīogh uili as, / gan dhuine dhīobh 'na dhūthchas*, 'The banishment of all means death to Ireland. After Hugh's death in Spain all their strength has departed; not one of them (is) in his native place' (§5 *Teasda Éire san Easbáinn*, P.A. Breatnach 1973-4).

31a MS *ga**bht**[h]ur* could be emended to variant *ge**abhthair* (*IGT* iii, §23) for perfect rhyme with *chle**athaibh* in 31b but rhymes in the *seóladh* do not need to be perfect (cf. the *amus* rhyme in 6ab *iomad* : *tighe*). See *Duanaireacht* §31.

31ab More literally, 'iron[-ploughs] are taken to soil over nut-brown trees under you'. I take it that this is a reference to trees bent over with the weight of their fruit. Cf. *An bairrísli do bhí a coill. do-ní aindísle d'íaruinn*, 'the lowness of the trees laden with fruit causes the iron[-plough] to be abandoned (?)' (*IGT* ii, ex. 172). Alternatively, perhaps the preposition *ós* here indicates that the ploughing takes place on a hillside: 'The exceptional productivity of the land [under the just king] is brought into focus with images of the mountainsides being brought into tillage' (McManus 2006, 99-100).

31cd *Ciúin* 'quiet, tranquil' + gen. sing. *Fionna.* I assume that *Fionna* here is an alternative form of gen. sing. *Finne.* For another possible example of gen. sing. *Fionna* (= the river Finn), see *An ghrían a n-aghuidh fhionna* [read *Fhionna*?]. *do aghuin fhíadh n-Oiliolla .l.*, 'the sun's assault on the river Finn has warmed Tirerrill (?)' (*BST* 187.16). Hogan has *Finn* = the river Finn, which flows into Ballysadare Bay at Buninna (= Bun Finne), Co. Sligo (*OG*, s.v. *Finn*). This river is not named in the 1995 Ordnance Survey but there is a townland called Drumfin (= Droim Fionna / Finne?), to the northeast of Ballymote in Sligo, beside a river which joins the Arrow / Unshin River and flows into Ballysadare Bay; the stream flows through Tirerrill and Corann. I interpret this half-quatrain to mean that the territory of the Meic Dhonnchaidh, over which the poet claims his patron has lordship, enjoys fertility (*barr*) and cosmic harmony (manifested in the tranquillity of the river (see McManus 2006, 90-1)),

because of the honorand's righteousness. The river then carries its crop into the territory of Mac Diarmada's ally, Ó Conchobhair Sligigh.

As *barr* is a collective noun, either 3 sing. *fágbhaidh* or 3 pl. *fágbhaid* is permissible here. I take MS *barr cráobh ciúinfhionna* to be a single noun-phrase 'the crop of the trees of the tranquil river Finn'. Nasalisation of the initial of *ciúinFhionna* would be expected after gen. pl. *craobh* but see *TD* i, cv for non-nasalisation of the initial of a proper noun after the gen. pl.

32ab For the safety the populace enjoys in the reign of the just lord, see the following quatrain.

32a I have emended MS *úir* to *uair* for sense.

32b *ABM* incorrectly reads *úaidh* for MS *úaid* here.

32c I have emended MS *gabhal* to the variant form *gobhal* (*IGT* ii §192) for perfect rhyme with *omhan*.

MS céid*mhéasa*: I have emended MS *céidmhéasa* to *céidmheasa* for *uaithne shlán* with the finals of of *acd*. The prefix *céid-* here could mean 'first' or 'great' (see C. O'Rahilly 1977, 191-3); I have translated the latter but the former might refer to the remarkable fertility of the land under Brian, that even a young tree could produce a crop that would strain its branches.

32d While *omhan* normally means 'fear', it must mean something like 'anticipation' or 'expectation' in this context.

33c I have lenited the initial of MS *gnáithshlig*idh, the acc. sing. of *slighe*, the direct object of *do gheabh* (see *SNG* IV, §3.2(a)), because it differs from the nom. sing.

33cd More literally, 'What cattle-party took the common highway? A man is fined for challenging them'. In other words, the main highway can be used when moving cattle without fear of their being taken, thanks to the honorand's vigilant pursuit of wrongdoers. It is a feature of the reign of the righteous king that travellers have nothing to fear from highway bandits: in *Rug cobhair ar Chonnallchaibh*, the poet reports a prophecy that no woman will

be interfered with (the verb *fiafraighidh* is similarly employed in this sense in both the present poem and *Rug cobhair ar Chonnallchaibh*) during the reign of the Earl of Tír Chonaill (*Bean fan ógmhac Aodha-san / feadh Fodla ni fiafroighthear*), a prophecy that recalls the paradisal condition of Ireland under the reign of Brian Bóraimhe described in *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh.* Similarly, in a poem to Toirdhealbhach Luineach Ó Néill, a golden ring is left on the highway (*ar an slighidh móir*)[251] without being stolen for a year *le cruas riaghla fhear nUladh* 'such is the rigor of the law amongst the men of Ulster' (McManus' translation), while wealthy women from all over Ireland travel through Ulster, on their own, unmolested (McManus 2006, 75-7, 84-5 n. 45; *ABM* 407; *TD* 7).

33d I have emended lenited the initial of MS *f*ear for alliteration with *fhiarfaighidh*. I take it that the 3 sing. possessive adj. in *'na fhiafraighidh* refers to the agent of the verbal noun, i.e. the man who commits the act of questioning travellers. Alternatively, MS *fhiarf*aighidh could be emended to *fiarfaighidh*, taking MS *na* as *'na* (elided preposition i^n + the fem. sing. possessive adj. from *táin*, the object of the verbal noun).

34a I know of no other example of the adj. *ómrada* 'amber(-coloured)' in Classical Irish. For *ómra* (*omra*), a late English loan-word, see *DIL* s.v. *omra. Ómradha* (*ómra* + *-dha*) would be the expected form of the adj. but the unaspirated *d* of the adjectival ending (gen. pl. *ómradh* + *-dha*?; cf. *fileadha, fileata* (*SNG* IV, §5.1)) is confirmed by *uaithne shlán* end-rhyme here.

34b The line is fragmentary but refers to the poets (*sgol* can mean either 'a school of poets' or 'poets' (*TD* i, xxiii n.1)) in the celebrand's house. Cf. *iomdha sgol isin tigh thíar ar son sibh aga sírríar .l.* 'there are many poets in the western house because you are ever tending to them' (*BST* 208.10). ***Thighe*** does not rhyme with 34a ***chuiltibh*** (*Duanaireacht* §31) but I cannot suggest an emendation to resolve this difficulty.

34d Even a *cáinte* who will abuse hospitality (one who will not willingly give up his accommodation) is welcomed at the court of Brian Mac Diarmada. A *cáinte* 'satirist' appears to have been a less prestigious poet. For information on *cáinte* in the earlier period, see Kelly 2009, 49-51, and McCone 1990, 200ff. For references to patronage of *cáinte* in Bardic poetry, see *Mág Uidhir* 20.21, *O'Hara* 1a.7, *LBranach* 25, ll. 2729-32 and *Scottish Verse*

[251] *Slighe mhór* is probably synonymous with the *gnáithshlighe* (33c) of the present poem.

2.21. For Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe's disapproval of the patronage of *cáinte*, see *Giolla Brighde* 21.26-7 and Simms 1994, 25-6 and 35 n. 22.

IGT ii §4 gives ***leaba*** as a dental stem (dat. sing. *leabaidh*) but distinguishes this declension of the noun as the form which has a distinctive acc. sing. (*as a téid a réim*) and also states that *leaba* and other nouns can be declined as vowel-stems (*d'úathadh ⁊ d'illradh dá n-imarcaidh*) (see McManus 1996, 169). The dat. sing. of vowel-stem *leaba* is confirmed here by *uaithne shlán* end-rhyme. For another example, see *nó slios seada an chogthaigh ón Chruachanráith / ar leaba luacharbhláith i bhfolchaibh nó i bhféithiomghaoith* (*seada* : *leaba*), '[often was] the shapely body of the warrior from Ráth Chruachan laid on fresh rush-bed in ambush or neath the wild win' (*DiD* 83.9cd).

35ab *ABM* hesitantly suggests expanding the MS contraction as *folch*aidh, 3 sing. present indicative. This is not possible grammatically: for sense, *róid*, taken as the nom. pl. of masc. *o*-stem *ród*, cannot be the subject of an active verb ('the roads of the rath-filled valleys conceal the drinking of ale until it has run out'); but neither can pl. *róid* be the object of the verb with *ól corma* as the subject ('the drinking of ale until it has run out has concealed the roads...') because such a sentence would require acc. pl. *róda*. An emendation to *róda* would leave the line hypersyllabic. *Róid* could be interpreted as a sing. gen. and the MS contraction expanded as *folch*adh, the verbal noun from *folchaidh* 'conceals' ('the drinking of ale until it is finished is the concealing [i.e. causes the concealment of] the road of the rath-filled valleys'). Against the latter emendation, gen. pl. *-mhuigheadh* ('of valleys') suggests that MS *róid* is to be read as nom. pl. The *punctum* over the suspension stroke may be an error and the contraction could represent the ending of the passive present indicative *-a(i)r.*[252] This seems to give the best sense and grammar: 'the roads of the rath-filled valleys are concealed [so many are the people taking to them on their way to Brian's house]'.

[252] Present indicative passive *folchar* is given as *.c. do chanamuin* 'correct by usage' in *IGT* iii §52 and is cited as an exception (with *ceannchar*, the present indicative passive of *ceannaighidh*) to the rule that the verbs enumerated in *IGT* iii §52 do not syncopate before a consonant (*síneadh ⁊ casadh aca re hucht guthaidhe ⁊ síneadh re hucht consaine, acht ceandchar [.c. ó chanamhain E] mar tá folchar ó neminnscne. [coll go n-uathadh ar gcasadh an chennuigh dá n-iomarcaidh E]*, 'syncope is optional before a vowel but does not occur before a consonant, but see present indicative passive *ceannchar* which is correct by virtue of usage, and *folchar*. Syncopated forms of the verb *ceannaighidh* have *-ch-* as well'). See McManus 1996, 168-9.

35b MS *-**mui**geadh* can be emended to *-**mhoi**gheadh* (as in *IGT* ii, §31) without difficulty (the vocalisation *-oi-* might have been rendered *-ui-* to give eye-rhyme with 35d *-**mhui**rear*) but rhyming examples of forms of *magh* declined in *-ui-* are found in Bardic poetry (Poem 2.37a and note).

35c For *fa fhíon* 'engaged in drinking wine', see *A láibh aonaigh nó fa fhíon / a bheith a n-onóir airdríogh / um chlár seang lionnghlas Lughaidh / geall re hionnmhus d'ollamhuin*, 'To be honoured by his prince on meeting-days or at wine-feasts counts for an *ollamh* as wealth all through the graceful blue-laked Land of Lughaidh' (§2 *Ionnmhas ollaimh onóir ríogh*, McKenna 1952a). For similar expressions (*fa mhiodh, fa chuirm*), see *Magauran* 14.31, 35.

36a I interpet **MS *tád*** as *táth* 'union' or 'healing' (see *DIL* s.v. *táth* I (a) and (b)) or possibly *tádh. DIL* s.v. *táth* gives two possible examples of *tágh* as a variant form of *táth*, possibly representing historical *tádh* (see *DIL* s.v. *tádhaid*). MS *tád* might be an error for *táth* which would make perfect rhyme with 36b *cách* (though perfect rhyme is not required in the *seóladh* in this metre). It is often difficult to distinguish between this scribe's *t* and *d* and a reading of *tát*[*h*] is not impossible. Without a solid attestation of *tádh*, I have emended MS *tád* to *táth.*

***do mhuigh Mhuireadhaigh*:** The usage of Magh Muireadhaigh in other poems would suggest that it is a poetic name for Ireland (see *DMU* 20.20a). McKenna suggested (*AiD* ii, 343) that Magh Muireadhaigh might represent only Magh Aoi in Connacht. See also O'Donovan 1844, 178-9: *Do chloind Chuind mhóir, mic Fheidlim, / gasraid Cruachna, an chláir leibinn; / ni dilmain duine ó'n fheadhain, / rigraid muige Muireadhaigh*, which the editor translates as 'Of the race of great Con, son of Feidhlim, are the people of Cruachan of the level plain; no man of the tribe is fruitless (or unmarried), the kings of the plain of Muireadhach'. O'Donovan suggests (note c) that Magh Muireadhaigh is another name for Magh Aoi or Machaire Connacht in Roscommon, the territory of the Í Chonchobhair and Meic Dhiarmada. But Magh Muireadhaigh seems to be synonymous with 36c Fód Fearadhaigh which is almost certainly a Bardic name for Ireland (see note 36c (i) below). *IGT* ii §31 gives only dat. *moigh* but for the vocalisation *-ui-*, see Poem 2.37a and note.

36c *Fód Fearadhaigh* is a Bardic name for Ireland. See note 29a. Cf. *TD* 9.13, *DMU* 9.9 and 23 (where Greene, I think incorrectly, translates this phrase as 'Ulster'). I have lenited the initial of *Fearadhaigh* after gen. sing. *fóid*, but see note 30c above.

36cd More literally, 'The people of means of the land of Fearadhach are [like] weapons for which the five submissions[253] [are given]'. For *lucht adhbhair*, see *TD* 19.15 and note. For the 'five submissions', see *Brath lendáin ac Leic Lughaidh* (*DMU* 4) where Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird urges Mág Uidhir to desist from raiding: *anta dó ar na cóic comhaibh / gér mhó foghail Fhóid Fhuinidh*, 'he should remain on the five tributes, though the plunder of Ireland would be greater' (*DMU* 4.39cd), i.e. the political submission of the provinces is to be preferred to plundering at will. See also *Ní fada ón Fhódla a táth a dtuaidheamhain*, 'Ireland will soon be united from the North': *Beid ag a fhréimh um Ráth bhFearadhaigh / géill dá leanamhain iar gcách do chomhfhoghail / tathamh ar thonnaibh an fhóid fhuineadhaigh; / (orraidh) Í Mhuireadhaigh re cóig comhadhaibh*, 'His scion shall have, all through Fearadhach's Fort hostages following him – his foes being routed, peace over the surface of the western land, and the princes of Muireadhach's scion guarding his five districts (?) [read 'the calm of the waves [i.e. *fir flaithemon*] of the western land is the mandate of the descendant of Muireadhach to the five submissions [of the provinces of Ireland]'] (*DiD* 109.6). As the tranquility of nature demonstrates the right of the honorand to be acknowledged king by all five provinces in *DiD* 109,[254] in the present poem the celebrand has ensured a tranquil political landscape conducive to economic growth; the increase in the standard of living guarantees the validity of his claim to kingship. Indeed, the fact that the wealth generated under the strong rule of the honorand is presented as a substitute for weapons, weapons that obtain *comha* 'tribute given as an alternative to doing battle', implies that the union predicted in 36a will be brought about bloodlessly (a sentiment with which 36b is in full accord). A similar situation is described in *TD* 10.35-6: *Na dreagain ó iath Oiligh / níorbh eagail lé Fiadh bhFuinidh; / cóig rígh do chuir fa chomhaidh, / gan tír d'fhoghail d'fhuil Uidhir. / Gearr gur cabhradh iath uatha, / siad ar n-adhnadh gach iatha; / tug 'na suidhe cóig críocha / móid shíotha fhuile Fhiacha*, 'The champions of Oileach's land were

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[253] *Comha*, which signifies, and I have translated as, 'submission', is defined by *DIL* (s.v. *coma*) as 'in military contexts of something offered as an alternative to battle'.

[254] Chancery-terminology is used to make the same point in *TD* 10.33cd: *na croinn ísle, an tonn thírim, / sgríbhinn dhísle ar Fhonn Fhéilim*, 'the low bending trunks, the shallow wave, are charters of ownership on Féilim's land'.

not dreaded by the western country [i.e. Ireland]; without the wasting of any territory Odhar's blood subdued five kings. When they had enkindled every land it was not long till a country was succoured by them; the peaceful humour of Fiacha's blood pacified five territories', i.e. the five kings were subdued, not by violence, but by the benefits of the magnanimous rule of the mighty Méig Uidhir.[255] See §§38-9.

37a For the quietening of rapids under the just lord's reign, see Hoyne 2011, §10c and note.

37b Images of a country in flames after an expedition by the celebrand(s) are very common in Bardic poetry. For a similarly-worded example, see *tig iadh fa dhonnloisi ad dheoigh / trian eoil nach ormhaise uaidh*, 'a country lies under a dark glow after you, so that even a familiar district cannot be found on account of it' (*DMU* 13.16cd).

37c The contrast between the pleasant disposition of the honorand(s) in peacetime or while at a feast is frequently contrasted with his / their ferocity in battle in Bardic poetry. See, for example *Níor fhás d'Éirinn neach is féile, / neach is séimhe séaghainne, / neach is borba a n-am fhoghla / ná an triath cobharthach créachtfhuilteach* (*Butler poems* 16.20abcd), 'there was never in Ireland one more generous, one gentler or more excellent, one more furious come time for plunder, than the messianic bloody-wounded lord', *ní doiligh co huair n-ágha / brágha tsluaigh Oirir Énda*, 'the warrior of the host of Ireland is not difficult until the hour of battle' (*DMU* 4.13cd), *Lámh úr do chinn ar chríochuibh, / a lúdh in gach feidhm féch*aid*h; / lámh nach cruaidh acht a gcliathuibh, / lámh Fhiach*aid*h fuair a féchain* (*LBranach*, ll. 2844-7), 'A vigorous hand which has triumphed over countries, its vigour has been tested in battle; a hand that is not cruel except in battle, Fiachaidh's hand has been well tested' and *gnúis ghruadhnocht go bhfáilte ag fleidh / is láinte a ghruamdhacht gaisgidh*, 'barehead he smiles at banquet but fierce his frown in fight' (*DiD* 102.40cd).

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[255] The final quatrain of *DMU* 4 (immediately following the half-quatrain just discussed) is also relevant: *Grís 'na ndiaigh um Chlár Connla / an táin a ndiaigh a ndiomdha; / sléchtain dóibh ar fedh bhfedhma / fóir iomdha as-teagh ní thiobhra*. This verse might be paraphrased as 'you get more bees with honey'. Greene translates, 'When the anger of the host has been roused, there are embers in their trail around Ireland; to submit to them in time of battle will not save a numerous band'. I would emend Greene's translation of the second half-quatrain to the following: '[though] they submit for the length of the battle, [this action] does not secure the loyalty of a numerous warband'. (For *do-bheir isteach*, 'to bring in; to secure domination over, to secure the submission of', see Poem 4.4b and note).

***imreasain*:** *Imreasan* has both masc. and fem. forms; it is here declined as an *o*-stem (*IGT* ii, §§10 and 17).

37d MS *fá* = *fo* + *a* 'his', 'these descendants of Connla obey him [i.e. Brian]'. The descendants of Connla here are the adherents of Brian Mac Diarmada. I am unsure of the identity of Connla but see *TD* 6.15 note and *O'Reilly poems*, p. 293. For other examples of *clann Chonnla*, see *LBranach*, l. 391, and Hoyne 2011, §27.

38ab *Deighfhéicheamh* could mean 'a good chief / patron' as well as 'a good claimant / creditor' (see *DIL* s.v. *féchem* (b) and (c)). (The subject of 3 sing. future indicative *cruineochaidh* in 37b could be 37c *síol seinFhiachaidh* but I take it to be the primary honorand, Brian). The idea seems to be that Brian will only seek what is his due (the submission of Ireland) for the many benefits he brings to the people of Ireland and that once he has obtained that he will cease his raiding; for that reason, he is a good lender, not an extortionate one. See §39.

38b *IGT* iii §106 gives forms of the verb in *-nn-* (as in MS *cruinneóch*aidh) and *-n-* (*cruinnechadh, cruinechadh*). The latter variant (*cruineóchaidh*) is required here for perfect end-rhyme with *fuireochaidh*, and *uaithne shlán* with the other finals, in accordance with Mac Cárthaigh 2007.

39a More literally, 'he has brought the tussle to one side'. Cf. *O'Hara* 8.29ab and Hoyne 2011, §36d.[256]

39b Literally, 'he has brought the Gaels under a heavy / burdensome peace'. I presume that this is a reference to the *quid pro quo* of freedom for submission.

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[256] In Hoyne 2011, §36d, I misinterpreted this phrase, rendering *go reich an iomáin d'éantaobh* 'until superiority is won' as *go reich a n-iomáin d'éantaobh*, 'until they [i.e. the English] are driven to one side.' For a particularly clear example of the phrase, see *Cia thagras Eire re hAodh / téid an imbert ann d'entaobh / cách da tagra ni thiocfa / ger ghnáth agra oidhriochta* (*ABM* 101.1), 'Who contends with Aodh for Ireland? The game has been won. No-one will emerge to contend for it, though disputes over inheritance were the norm'. I hope to provide a full list of other corrections to Hoyne 2011 at a future date.

39c *Aindísle* could be rendered 'disloyalty [against Mac Diarmada]' but I think it more likely that it signifies unlawful dispossession (the antonym of *dílse* (*DIL* s.v.)). See 30cd and note.

Poem 6 NÍ GNÁTH LIAIGH GAN LUACH SAOTHAIR

MSS

1.0 I know of five copies of the present poem, presented here in order of the date of writing, from earliest to latest.

1.1.1 RIA 23 M 23 (henceforth M) is described in Poem 1 ¶1.1.2. It omits §45 but has three quatrains not found in other witnesses (§§9, 30, 42). 6cd appears as 7cd and 7cd as 6cd in this MS but this is a mistake as the lines make poor sense in that order. The paper pages (pp.77-80) on which the present poem and a list of Mac Diarmada chiefs are found is not the work of the main scribe of the MS (*RIA Cat.*, 340). The text has been re-inked, possibly by the main scribe, and is very difficult to read. Nonetheless, it is possible to make out the original scribe's handwriting on pp. 78 and 80. On the basis of a comparison of the paper and handwriting of this scribe with a fragment in RIA 24 P 9, I would identify the scribe of our text as Doiminic Ó Duibhgeannáin, the early eighteenth-century scribe who transcribed a fragment of Poem 2 ¶1.1.2.

1.1.2 For NLI G 18 (henceforth G), an early eighteenth-century MS copy of *An Leabhar Muimhneach* which contains important Mac Diarmada material, see Poem 1 ¶1.1.3. The text of the present poem is found on f. 150a and 150b of the MS.

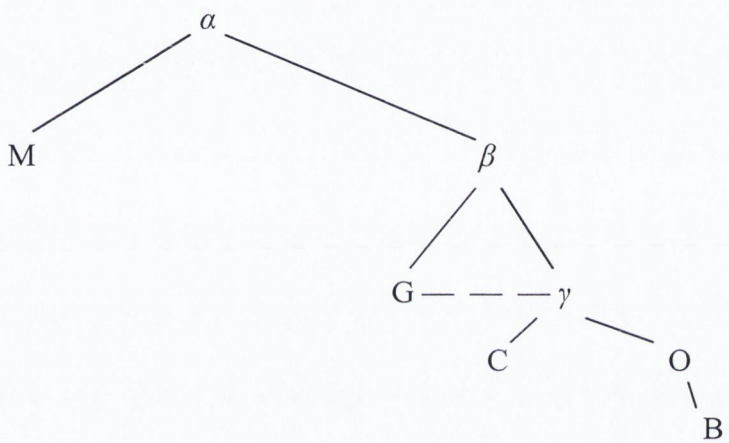
1.1.3 RIA 23 C 21 (henceforth C) is an early nineteenth-century MS transcribed by Eóghan Caomhánach in Limerick and Tipperary (*RIA Cat.*, 2067). Unsurprisingly given its late date, it has many non-historical accent-marks (16d *lúighne*, 19a *túirseacha* etc.) and non-historical lenition (29b *codhl*adh) and *l* and *n* are often doubled (7c *craobhgeall*a, 45a *ghloinn* etc.). As in many other late MSS, the *ar*-symbol is used for *air* and a dotted suspension stroke is often used to indicate a single vowel. The text of the present poem is found on pp. 10-14 of the MS.

1.1.4 RIA 23 O 73 (henceforth O) was written by Tomás Ó hIceadha in Waterford and Tipperary during 1814-30. The text of the present poem is found on pp. 160-2 of the MS. For observations on its orthography, see ¶1.1.5 below.

1.1.5 RIA 23 B 24 (henceforth B) was written by Peter O Hanly in Tipperary *c.* 1829. The text of the present poem is found on pp. 414-20. OB have some non-historical accent-marks

(14b *Conchúbhar*, 23d *ní fhúigbhe* etc.) and *air*, *aig* and *uim* are written for the preposition *ar*, *ag* and *um*. *Ô* is often written for *ó* in OB.[257]

1.2 GCOB, the four MSS produced by Munster scribes, represent a common MS tradition, to judge by their shared errors; M, the sole MS of Connacht provenance, is independent of GCOB.[258] We therefore have two independent witnesses to the present poem: GCOB and M. G is not the direct source of COB.[259] (I do not rule out the possibility that G is the ultimate source of COB.) COB generally agree quite closely with one another,[260] but OB sometimes disagree with C.[261] The readings of OB are almost always identical,[262] but O is not a copy of B (see 26d) and is probably the source of B. I propose the following stemma:



1.3 Though the text of M is longer and has some superior readings, I take G as my main-text, as M's text is often illegible and, at best, extremely difficult to read. As such, M is too unclear to provide a reliable text.

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[257] The orthographical features mentioned in the descriptions of the MSS (except the doubling of liquids in C) are not counted as variant readings in the edition.

[258] See, for example, 2d, 14cd, 18b, 20b, 39b, 40b and 44d. Note also 45d omitted in M where GCOB all contain an obvious error.

[259] See, for example, 44b.

[260] See, for example, 1a, 2c, 3a, 5c, 8b, 14b, 16c, 18b, 21c, 23c, 27a, 33a, and particularly 40c and 41c. In COB, the present poem is preceded by Laoiseach Mac an Bhaird's *Do-bhéaram seal re saobhnós* and in CO it is followed by Maol Domhnaigh Ó Muirgheasáin's *Gnáith féile ag fagháil innmhe.*

[261] See, for example, 1c, 7a, 10b, 11d, 13b, 23b, 24b, 26d, and 45b.

[262] There are some minor differences between OB (see, for example, 1b, 18d, 19d, 22c, 26d, 35d, 36d and 44b), which I suggest are emendations or cosmetic alterations made by the scribe of B. In one case (26d), the scribe of B has omitted a compounded word found in O.

1.4 A diplomatic edition of the text of G has been published in *ABM* 366.

POET

2 The poem is attributed to Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa (c. 1568 – 1612) in GCOB (G *eoch*aidh *ua heogh*usa, C *eoch*aidh *ó haogusa*, OB *eoch*aidh *ô heogh*usa). Ó hEóghusa was a famous and skilled poet and a substantial corpus of his work has survived in MS. He was *ollamh flatha* or court-poet to three successive Mág Uidhir lords of Fermanagh, including the famous rebel leader Aodh (†1600), with whom he appears to have enjoyed a close but sometimes strained relationship. He wrote three other poems to Conchobhar Mac Diarmada, the patron of the present poem (see ¶5 below). For accounts of his life and work, see Carney 1967 and P.A. Breatnach 1993a.[263]

PATRON

3.0 The present poem is addressed to Conchobhar Mac Diarmada (§§9, 14 and 25), who was chief of his name (§§10, 17, 22 and 39)

Early Life

3.1.0 As a descendant of Eóghan Mac Diarmada (†1553), Conchobhar (Óg) belonged to the branch of the Meic Dhiarmada known as *clann* or *sliocht Eóghain*. *Sliocht Eóghain*, with a power-base around Boyle Monastery, opposed rival kinsmen, led initially by Ruaidhrí Mac Diarmada (†1568), whose influence was centred on the Rock of Loch Cé. On the latter's death, *sliocht Eóghain* seized the kingship and two of their number, Conchobhar's uncle Toirdhealbhach and then his father Tadhg,[264] reigned in turn until 1585, facing opposition from Ruaidhrí's son Brian (†1592), the honorand of Poem 5, who was backed by the English administration (Cunningham and Gillespie 2003, 172; Poem 5 ¶3.11-12, 14).

3.1.1 Conchobhar, resident at Aghacarra, Co. Roscommon, was pardoned on 7 June 1585 (OS) (*Fiants* §4702). He appears again on 3 October 1585 (OS) as a signatory of the

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[263] Because of the poet's habit of recycling and reusing quatrains of his poems (see McManus 2005a, 160-1), a habit that was probably as much practiced by other poets whose work is less amply attested and in which therefore this habit is less or not apparent, I draw attention in the notes to lines from the present poem which reappear or are reworked in his other poems.

[264] 'We believe that [his mother Aibhilín] was a Maguire' (Mac Dermot 1996, 168): no evidence is produced for this statement, though it is a tantalising suggestion given Conchobhar's ties with the Méig Uidhir and with Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa.

Composition of Connacht, 'of the Tanest', i.e. in possession of the 'cowrin taneste' in Aghacarra, the land allotted to the *tánaiste* or successor-designate to the kingship, a position he was almost certainly given in the reign of his father (Freeman 1936, 154-5, 158, 160, 163). On 23 November 1590 (OS) he and his wife 'Margaret ny Knowgher [= Ní Chonchobhair]'[265] were pardoned (*Fiants* §5497).[266]

Shifting Loyalties

3.2.1 Conchobhar emerges in the State Papers as a prominent rebel in 1593, at a time when the English were already a formidable presence in Roscommon and the surrounding area (see §§15-16 of the present poem for references to foreign bases): the governor of Connacht, Richard Bingham, who had made *sliocht Eóghain*'s monastery of Boyle an English garrison, expected that 'Tyrone's northern friends' would despatch Scottish mercenaries to Brian Óg Ó Ruairc and Conchobhar that year. The 'northern friends' probably included Aodh Mág Uidhir, chief of Fermanagh, who described Conchobhar as one of his 'partakers or helpers against the Binghams' (*CSPI* v, 125, 128).

3.2.2 In March 1595, he was assisting Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill in his cattle-raid in Connacht (*AFM* vi, 1960-5). In December that year, he was made Mac Diarmada, i.e. given the chieftainship of Magh Luirg, by Ó Domhnaill, who also took hostages (*AFM* vi, 1990-1; *BAR* §63; P.A. Breatnach 2002 §1595.9; *CSPI* v, 447, 499-501, 522). On 6 March 1596 (OS), the Meic Dhiarmada formed part of a rebel force that sought unsuccessfully to prevent the victualling by Richard Bingham of the English garrison at Ballymote (*CSPI* v, 499-501) and accompanied Ó Domhnaill to his meeting with John Norreys, the English army commander, near Ballinrobe, Co. Mayo (*AFM* vi, 1998-2001; *BAR* §66; P.A. Breatnach 2002 §1596.11; Byrne 1903, 95). That same year, he and other Connacht chiefs resisted overtures from the English officials John Norreys and Geoffrey Fenton (*CSPI* v, 533), though when a ceasefire was arranged they adhered to it (*CSPI* vi, 81).

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[265] Mairghréag was the daughter of the lord of Carbury, Co. Sligo, Domhnall Ó Conchobhair Sligigh and his wife Mór inghean Í Ruairc (*ABM* 338.47; *DiD* 68.40-2; *DiD* 92.47-8). Perhaps on account of his marriage to one of the Í Chonchobhair Shligigh, in *Neimhchionntach mise, a mhic Thaidhg*, Ó hEóghusa addresses Conchobhar as *a bharánda sluaigh Sligigh* 'O warrant of Sligo's host' (*AiD* 34.7). For a Bardic poem by Ó hEóghusa to Domhnall Ó Conchobhair, see *ABM* 255.

[266] A 'Cornlie ny Rorke' in Aghacarra was also pardoned, suggesting the intimate connections between Conchobhar and the Í Ruairc. Brian Óg Ó Ruairc was Aodh Mág Uidhir's brother-in-law and seems to have exercised considerable influence on him (*CSPI* vii, 130).

3.2.3 In the volatile political and military situation in northern Connacht in the 1590s, Conchobhar sided with the lord who could best support and protect him or who could most compel him to obedience. Encouraged by the English-backed Donnchadh Ó Conchobhair Sligigh, Conchobhar made peace with the English administration; he was even ready to make the journey to Dublin to complain about the conduct of the hated governor Bingham who had recently been removed from office. But the pledges given by Conchobhar to the English were not particularly valuable; when Ó Domhnaill and Teabóid Mac William Burke formed an alliance and Conchobhar faced the threat (or the opportunity) of two powerful rebel magnates to his north and south, he returned to the rebel fold. Early in 1597, John Norreys held out hope that Conchobhar would submit again if the local English forces were strong enough. Perhaps pre-empting this next defection, Ó Domhnaill imprisoned him (*AFM* vi, 2000-3; *BAR* §§69, 73; *CSPI* vi, 91-2, 104-6, 168-9, 197, 215, 228). But when the rebel situation in west Connacht deteriorated, Ó Domhnaill re-established Conchobhar in Magh Luirg to bolster the cause, taking as hostages Conchobhar's 'only son'[267] and 'a principal follower' to ensure his future obedience (*AFM* vi, 2010-13; *CSPI* vi, 452-3; vii, 65, 129).[268] Even Ó Domhnaill's hostages could not guarantee loyalty, however: in the winter of 1597/8, Conchobhar was once again in contact with the English, with Donnchadh Ó Conchobhair Sligigh as his intermediary (*CSPI* vi, 482; vii, 25-6).[269] In response, Ó Domhnaill hanged the two hostages (*CSPI* vii, 65). Despite this drastic retribution, Conchobhar switched sides one last time in late 1598: when Conyers Clifford, who succeeded Bingham as governor of Connacht, was in a strong position he could count on Conchobhar's support, but when Clifford's grip on the

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[267] Mac Dermot 1996, 174 states that at this time Conchobhar in fact had five sons, three of whom were illegitimate. Conchobhar's eldest legitimate son Eóghan (b. 1592) became a ward of court and was sent to Trinity College (ibid. 168-9, 359-60). His mother Mairghréag inghean Í Chonchobhair Shligigh was described in an inquisition of 1606 as the widow and legitimate wife of Conchobhar (*vidua erat & legitima uxor antedict Cornelii*) (RIA MS 14 F 10, 204).

[268] In a report given by Ó Domhnaill and Ó Ruairc's confessor to the Spanish government a few months after the events, the victory of those two lords in an encounter with the English near Galway on 13 February 1596/1597 occasioned the conversion three days later of six Gaelic chiefs (though seven are then listed) who had been 'on the English side' to the rebel cause (Hume 1899, 617-19). The editor suggests that 'Macdam', a lord of eight leagues, might be a corruption for Mac Diarmada. (In the preceding note, he makes the ridiculous statement that Ó Conchobhair Ruadh was 'one of the chiefs of the McDermots'!)

[269] Conchobhar, and another former prisoner of Ó Domhnaill's, Aodh Ó Conchobhair Donn, even advised Clifford on the best time to invade Ó Domhnaill's lordship of Tír Chonaill. They recommended March, sowing-time.

region weakened in late 1598 Conchobhar inevitably gravitated to Ó Domhnaill (*CSPI* vii, 315).

On campaign with Ó Domhnaill

3.3 In 1599 and 1600, Conchobhar accompanied Ó Domhnaill in marches south to attack Clanricard and Thomond (*AFM* vi, 2192-2201; *BAR* §§106, 135; P.A. Breatnach 2002 §§1599.19-23, 1600.27-32). In August 1599, Governor Clifford, a far more popular figure than his predecessor, was killed in the Battle of the Curlews. No source records the participation of Conchobhar though it is likely given the location. Conchobhar arranged for the burial of the headless body of the governor on Holy Trinity Island in Loch Cé and sent a note in Latin to inform the constable of Boyle of his interment (*AFM* vi, 2132-7). On 10 August 1601 (OS), Conchobhar formed part of an army led by Ó Domhnaill which fought a two hour running skirmish with an English force near Elphin (*CSPI* x, 38) and later that year he fought with Ó Domhnaill at Kinsale (*AFM* vi, 2274-5; Byrne 1903, 144).

3.4 In the summer of 1602, the greatest of the Meic Dhiarmada's strongholds in the Curlew Mountains was overcome (*CSPI* x, 419)[270] and early in 1603 they surrendered to the English (*CSPI* x, 553).

Death

3.5 Conchobhar's fate after Kinsale is unknown.[271] It is likely that he died in October 1603. Brian Óg Mac Diarmada, the son of the English-backed Brian who died in October 1592, reigned for thirty three years and three months according to his obit in *ALC* ii 516-18 and died at the age of fifty three in January 1636/7 (OS). This could mean that he succeeded Conchobhar in October 1603 (see Walsh 1947, 20), presumably the time of Conchobhar's death, when Brian Óg would have been eighteen and four months old.

ARGUMENT

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[270] Rebel cattle were still being kept in 'Mulorghe' (= Magh Luirg?) at this time (*CSPI* x, 420).

[271] The Four Masters' observation (*AFM* vi, 1908-9) that there was no-one like Brian senior to succeed him at his death in 1592 is probably a comment on Brian Óg's minority rather than on an inter-regnum. If Brian Óg was regarded as his father's successor even as a minor, it might explain why Conchobhar did not simply have himself proclaimed Mac Diarmada after Brian senior's death in 1592 rather than waiting for Ó Domhnaill's intervention in 1595. Fear of the English could hardly have motivated him to delay as he was in action against them within only a few months of Brian senior's death.

4.1 The central argument of the present poem is that Conchobhar Mac Diarmada is Magh Luirg's physician: he has cured it of its wounds and has earned his due, the kingship (§§1-2, 22). The extent of Magh Luirg's infirmity is described (§§2-6). The illness is identified with the English occupation (§7). Conchobhar Mac Diarmada is the physician capable of curing this affliction by rooting out the English (§§8-20);[272] this martial medicine is harsh but necessary (§§12, 14, 21).[273] Mac Diarmada has not only cured Magh Luirg and earned the concomitant fee, but the task of ridding Magh Luirg of the English was so taxing no-one

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[272] This poem can profitably be compared with another by the same poet, *Suirgheach sin, a Éire ógh* (*ABM* 441; Carney 1967, 18-20; McManus 2006, 61-3). The female sovereignty figure in both poems is deformed and is restored to her proper state by the ministrations of the honorand who assumes the kingship. Though the idea that Aodh Mág Uidhir is the land's physician is not the central motif of the poem, he is described as a physician both explicitly and implicitly in *Suirgheach sin, a Éire ógh*: *Ni fu*air *Éire an f[h]ochain tigh / céile mu*r *Áodh Mhag Uidhir / námha an fhuin*n *leighis a luit / ó reimhis Chuin*n *no Cormaic* [...] *Cuirf*idh *a ccruth nár sáoil*edh / *buime altruim f[h]ion*n*Ghaoidheal / tír chédgon*ach *na ccúan tte / b*údh *céd*f*odh*ach *úadh Eire* [...] *Doirrseóir dhúinti a doirsedh báis / éinliaigh fhóir*ith*(i)n[i] a húathbháis / breac óireithreach ón Bhoin*n *bhin*n / *is dóigh fhóir*ith*(i)*neac*[h] d'Éirim*n (*ABM* 441.44, 46, 59), 'Ireland of the thick corn on the blade has not had a spouse like Aodh Mág Uidhir since Conn or Cormac – the enemy of the land and the one who cures its wound [...] The nurse of the fair Gaels will transform the severely wounded land of the warm havens in a way no-one could imagine – it will be unmistakable [...] [Aodh Mág Uidhir] holds the dread passes [by which enemies enter his land], [he is] the sole physician who can help its horror, [he is] the gold-finned trout from the melodious Boyne and Ireland's hope of rescue'. Cf. from Ó hEóghusa's elegy for the same *An áonu*air *dob f[h]oigsi dhi / a hothras d'f[h]aghail sláinti / tug an chin*n*eamhuin cneidh dtin*n / *ar treibh finn*f*eadh*aigh *bFeilim* (*ABM* 229.16), 'When it was most likely that [Ireland's] illness would be cured, Fate gave bright-wooded Ireland a terrible wound'.

For examples of the portrayal of the honorand as a physician outside of Ó hEóghusa's oeuvre, see *A luibh leighis Leithi Cuinn, / a leag lōghmhar ō Liathdruim, / a shlat a criaidh Banbha Breagh, / a liaigh chabhra Mac Mīlead*h (*O'Reilly poems* 19.27), 'O healing herb of Leath Cuinn, O precious stone from Liathdruim, O sapling from the soil of Brian's Banbha, O physician to aid the Irish' and *a liaigh cabhra chneadh nduilidh* (*ABM* 165.6c), 'O physician who heals nasty wounds'.

It is worth noting that in religious poetry Christ is described as a spiritual healer (see, for example, *DiD* 13) and, indeed, it would be worth investigating whether the portrayal of Christ as a physician influenced secular panegyric.

[273] The idea that the honorand must damage or destroy his land in order to heal it has been met with already in the quotation in the previous footnote from *Suirgheach sin, a Éire ógh*: *námha an fhuinn leighis* [*leigheas*?] *a luit*, 'the enemy of the land, the one who heals its wound'. Cf. *Do leasaigh an lámh do luit / críoch Luighne re linn Chormaic*, 'The hand which had harmed repaired the land of Leyney in the days of Cormac [Ó hEaghra]' (*TD* 32.78ab).

would envy him his prize (§§23-5);[274] he has endured a rough life in the open on campaign with little sleep (§§26-30).[275] Throughout his description of the sorry state of the sovereignty figure and later in the poem, the poet makes clear that the worst of the crisis is over. Not only does the poem open with discussion of payment for services rendered but, throughout the description of the dark days before Mac Diarmada tackled the English invaders and afterwards, Magh Luirg is described in terms which indicate that the proper order has already been restored, that the just king is now in control, and that nature and the elements are responding in an appropriate fashion to his just reign (see McManus 2006): hills and river-banks are green with foliage and white with mast (3c, 6c, 7c, 8c *et passim*), the sun is shining, the weather is clement and the land is warm (3c, 5c, 11c *et passim*), corn is plentiful (20c), the sea and the Boyle are calm (8c, 26c); even the Boyne, suggesting perhaps English colony (see 30c and note), is tranquil (43c) in the reign of Conchobhar Mac Diarmada! In support of the poet's observation that Gaelic custom has always been to award the kingship to the man capable of protecting his territory, the poet recounts an apologue concerning Cú Chulainn's defence of Ulster against the four provinces of Ireland, and argues that Mac Diarmada would receive half of the Meic Dhiarmada's land if he was properly rewarded for his actions in the field (§§31-40). The poem concludes with four quatrains of laudatory images describing Mac Diarmada (§§41-4) and a duty quatrain to Aodh Mág Uidhir (§45).[276]

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[274] Cf. the argument of Ó hEóghusa's *Díol fuatha flaitheas Éireann* (*ABM* 173) 'The lordship of Ireland is something worth detesting' in which the poet describes the onerous duties of being king. Damian McManus points out to me that this idea, that the early stages of kingship are difficult, is a common theme of Bardic panegyric, often introduced in the opening line of a poem (*Mairg danab oighreacht Éire* 'Woe is he who inherits [the kingship] of Ireland' and *Mairg fríoth le furtacht Éireann* 'Woe is he who is charged with defending Ireland' are other examples).

[275] Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird gives an even longer description of Mac Diarmada's time spent on campaign in *Mithidh sin a mhaca Míleadh* (*ABM* 338.10-23; Ó Macháin 1988, Poem 8.10-23). The description of *Brislech Mór Maige Muirtheimne*, the occasion of the apologue in the present poem, also describes the sleeplessness endured by Cú Chulainn (*TBC 1* ll. 2148ff.; *TBC LU* ll. 2099ff.; *TBC St* ll. 2190ff). For descriptions of the Spartan conditions endured by warriors in Bardic poetry, see for example *DiD* 96.11-16 and *LBranach* 51, ll. 4858-61, 4862-5, 4906-9. Ó hEóghusa's *Fúar liom an adhaigh-si dh'Aodh* (*IBP* 29) and *Fada óm inntinn a hamharc* (*ABM* 228) are superb examples of that poet's artistry in which he describes the Spartan life endured by his patrons on campaign. The hardships of Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill's campaigns are also described in similar terms in *BAR* §153 (cf. *AFM* vi, 2220-1). Bardic motifs concerning the Spartan life of the warrior are the subject of Chapter 4 of Herbert 2012 to which the reader is directed for more examples and discussion.

[276] For Ó hEóghusa's duty quatrains to Aodh Mág Uidhir (†1600), see P.A. Breatnach 1993.

Apologue

4.2.1 In §§31-40, Ó hEóghusa employs an apologue to demonstrate that kingship is awarded to the man who can protect his territory: the pupils of Cathbhaidh, the Ulster Cycle druid, determined that Cú Chulainn had earned half of Ulster through his stand against the armies of Ireland at Magh Muirtheimhne.[277] Accordingly, Mac Diarmada, like Cú Chulainn, deserves half of Connacht, which is more than he presently holds (see §§39-40).

4.2.2 Cú Chulainn's defence of Ulster is employed as an apologue in six other poems catalogued in the Bardic Poetry Database.[278] None make mention of the judgement of the school of Cathbhaidh[279] and I have been unable to identify the source of the tale.[280]

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[277] In his praise-poem to Conchobhar, Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird employs the apologue of Conn's victory over Eóghan at Magh Léana to parallel Conchobhar's triumph against the odds over the English and to demonstrate that right always prevails over wrong, themes which are also present in Ó hEóghusa's apologue (see 34ab): *Téd a n-agh*aidh *Eóghai*n *Taidhligh* / *tríath Éirio*nn *le húathadh sl*úaigh / *go slios brúigh le*cht*Mhuighi Léna* / *ner*t*ruire mhúir Énna d'úaim* [...] *Gach drong ré ndént*ar *an égcóir* / ar *an ea*cht-*soin d'iúl na súadh* / *ní bhí orra dhíobh ré deabh*aidh / *orra do shíor ber*air *búaidh* (*ABM* 338.26, 35), 'The lord of Ireland [Conn] proceeded to the brink of tomb-covered Magh Léana against Eóghan Taidhleach with a small host to secure the submission of the mighty lord of the fort of Éanna [...] Likewise according to the lore of the sages, every group which commits a crime is never equal to the battle – they are always defeated'.

[278] These are *DiD* 96, *LBranach* 51, *ABM* 95, 133, 316 and 405. With the exception of the early fifteenth-century *Foraire Uladh ar Aodh* (*DiD* 96) (which obviously influenced Ó hEóghusa's *Bíodh aire ag Ultaibh ar Aodh* (*DiD* 75)), these are all late sixteenth- / early seventeenth-century compositions. The relatively unusual compound *frosmhagh* which occurs in *DiD* 96.29 is also used in *ABM* 95.22 and *ABM* 133.3, suggesting that they may have been influenced by the earlier poem. See also note 1 for a parallel between *ABM* 133 and the present poem.

[279] The idea that Cú Chulainn was rewarded with lordship for defending Ulster from the men of Ireland would not have been germane to the argument of *DiD* 96.21-30. Mág Aonghusa's defence of his maternal kin, the Í Néill, is compared to the selfless defence of Ulster by Cú Chulainn who was of the Ulaidh through his mother: *Níor luigh ar leith a mháthar,* / *do-ní seacha soláthar;* / *níor shanntuigh an frosmhagh fionn* / *ag cosnamh alltair Éirionn*, '[Cú Chulainn] did not oppress his mother's people, he victualled himself elsewhere; he did not covet the bright dewy plain as he contended with the rest of Ireland' (*DiD* 96.29). If the poet was aware of the tradition preserved by Ó hEóghusa in our poem, he may simply have elected not to emphasise it for the sake of his political argument.

In *ABM* 95, Dún Dealgan and Magh Muirtheimhne are spoken of as Cú Chulainn's *sealbha* 'possessions': *Sealbha an Chon-sa cúis dein*mne / *Dun Dealgan Magh Muirrtheimhne* / *fá rodhocair coi*m*si a ccor* / *doirrsi anacail Uladh* (*ABM* 95.26; cf. §38 of the present poem), 'Dún Dealgan and Magh Muirtheimhne were the possessions of this Cú (a cause of hardship); it was too hard to overcome the doors that protected

DATE

5.1 Besides the present poem, there are four other extant poems addressed to Conchobhar Mac Diarmada, all of which can be assigned an approximate date.

5.2.0 Three of these poems are also by Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa.

5.2.1 In *Fód codarsna críoch Bhanbha* (*DiD* 92), Ó hEóghusa urges Conchobhar (as he is not called Mac Diarmada the poem must predate his inauguration in 1595) not to destroy castles and fortifications in his war against the English, as these will have to be re-built or repaired (*DiD* 92.13-18). In a beautiful apologue, he urges Conchobhar to restrain himself by comparing him to Cú Chulainn, who did not understand the frailty of his own body until he was overcome after defending Ulster from the four provinces of Ireland (*DiD* 92.26-42). The context for this poem seems clear: as early as 1593 (see ¶3.2.1 above), Conchobhar was in an alliance with Mág Uidhir; some time before 1595, Mág Uidhir must have sent Ó hEóghusa to Magh Luirg to urge him to adopt a more sensible military strategy, lest it damage the rebel cause in the future. There may be an echo of this concern in §15 of the present poem.

5.2.2 Conchobhar may have taken offence at Ó hEóghusa's 'mixture of praise and criticism' (Carney 1967, 27; Ó Macháin 1988, 522) because Ó hEóghusa addresses another poem to him (*Neimhchionntach mise, a mhic Thaidhg*) in which he defends himself from the accusation that he had insulted Conchobhar's honour (*AiD* 34.17); Ó hEóghusa does remind Conchobhar of the haughty temperament of the bards (*AiD* 34.6-8), but it would seem that a

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Ulster'. Damian McManus has pointed out to me that reference is made in *Táin Bó Flidais*,a *réamhscéal* of *TBC*, to Cú Chulainn's lordship: *is de sin luid Flidais la Fergus dochom a chrích bunaid co ngab rígi blogi do Ultaib .i. Mag Murthemni cosinni baí i lláim Con Culaind meic Sual*taim (*LU*, ll. 1632-4), 'It is because of that that Flidhais went with Fergus to his native land and took the kingship of a portion of Ulster, that is, Magh Muirtheimhne together with that which was held by Cú Chulainn son of Súaltam'.

[280] Cathbhaidh's pupils give their judgement after Cú Chulainn's defence of Magh Muirtheimhne (§36). In *TBC*, Cú Chulainn presents himself to the women of Ulster and to the poets (*do* [...] *fhiledaib 7 áes dána*) after *Brislech Mór Maige Muirtheimne* (*TBC 1*, ll. 2121-438; *TBC LL*, ll. 2072-426; *TBC St*, ll. 2159-432). Ó hEóghusa may be referring to a tradition that the pupils of Cathbhaidh rewarded Cú Chulainn with some degree of sovereignty at that time, or possibly even inventing the story.

poem or other public utterance by Ó hEóghusa, rather than his unruly conduct, gave rise to the quarrel.[281]

5.2.3 Ó hEóghusa's *An tú ar gcéadaithne a Charrag?* (*DiD* 68) is a description of the dilapidated state of the ancestral caput of the Meic Dhiarmada on Loch Cé. This poem was probably composed around March 1596 when the Rock was lost to the English (Cronin 1980, 117-18); certainly, it must have been composed after 1595. I argue (Poem 7 ¶5.0) that, in describing the former glory of the Rock, Ó hEóghusa is announcing (or urging) its refurbishment and reoccupation by the Meic Dhiarmada. It is interesting that Ó hEóghusa concerns himself again in this poem with Conchobhar's castellation policy.

5.3 The fourth poem addressed to Conchobhar, *Mithidh sin, a mhaca Míleadh* (*ABM* 338; Ó Macháin 1988 Poem 8), is attributed to Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird whose primary patrons were the Í Dhomhnaill of Tír Chonaill. This poem announces the victory of the rebels in Connacht and the debt owed to Conchobhar by the Gaels. On the basis of a supplementary quatrain to the deceased Aodh Mág Aonghusa (†January 1596), its editor suggests that it was composed around 1596 (Ó Macháin 1988, 524). However, in §7 of Mac an Bhaird's poem he states that Conchobhar has harassed *Goill Mhuighi Máoin*, i.e. the English of Magh Maoin (or Maonmhagh), an area around Loughrea in Co. Galway (*OG* s.v. *Mag Main*) in Clanricard's territory; this is probably a reference to the marches into south Connacht in 1599/1600 (see ¶3.3 above).

5.4 Turning to the present poem, it was composed after Conchobhar's inauguration in late 1595 (see 10b, 17b, 22a and 39b). As it contains no references or epithets to suggest that the honorand has seen action far afield from his native Roscommon (see §§15-16), it was probably composed before Mac Diarmada began to campaign abroad with Ó Domhnaill. I would suggest that the poem was composed around the time of Conchobhar's inauguration. His installation as chief would be a fitting occasion to reflect on the wretched state of the land before his coming to power and the transformation brought about by his rule. The argument that the protector of the land deserves to rule it would naturally be emphasised after a lord who had distinguished himself militarily came to power.

METRE

[281] Carney dates this poem to March 1600 (1967, 28) but it must predate 1595 as Conchobhar is not styled Mac Diarmada.

6.0 The metre is *deibhidhe* and the poem for the most part fulfils the requirements of strict *dán díreach* (there is no alliteration in 14b where the text may have been corrupted in the course of transmission).

6.1 I have noticed five instances of *breacadh*: 1acd (*liaigh* : *liaigh liaigh* : *ndiaidh*), 2cd (*lógh lór* : *lógh*), 12bcd (*tí* : *sí* : *î*), 24abc (*fiú* : *fiú* : *fiú*) and 30bcd (*fhuair* : *bhruaigh* : *uain*).[282]

6.2 For the quick succession of kennings that concludes the poem, see Poem 1 ¶4.0.[283]

6.3 Both the final supplementary quatrain to Aodh Mág Uidhir (§45) and the penultimate quatrain, which concludes the praise-poem proper to Conchobhar Mac Diarmada (§44), form *dúnta* with the opening line of the poem (45d *ainmhíne* (1a ***ní***), 44d *éig**nigh*** (***ní gn**áth*)).[284]

[282] It is tempting given that the subject of the passive verb is sometimes acc. in the present poem (see note 8cd) to emend 27a *taobh* to acc. sing. fem. *taoibh* for *breacadh* with 27c *chraoibh* and 27d *caoin*, but this would have no MS authority.

[283] For another example of Ó hEóghusa's use of this literary device (followed by the duty quatrain to Aodh Mág Uidhir), see *ABM* 153.38-43.

[284] A *dúnadh* is also marked in error in G at 40d.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

NLI G 18	Critical Edition
1 Ní gnath liaig g*an* luach saoth*air*.	1 Ní gnáth liaigh gan luach saothair
foireas cách a cceadshaogh*aibh*	fhóireas cách ó a gcéadshaothaibh;
ní hopthar liaig na liaig[285] cháir.	ní opthair liaigh 'na liaigh cháir
a niag fort*aigh* a neasláin	i ndiaigh fhortaigh an easláin.

1a C gnaith, OB gnáith; **1b** C fhoi*r*eas, OB fhóireas; M ó gcedsaothaibh, C a cc*éad*saogh*aibh*, O a cc*éad*shaogh, B a ccéad-shaoth; **1c** OB hiopth*ar*; M i*n*a; **1d** C a ndíaigh fortaig an an easláin; OB a ndiaigh fhortaig a nesláin

1 It is not customary to deny the physician the payment due for [his] labour healing all [his patients] of their many afflictions; a physician who is a true healer is not refused [payment] after healing the patient.

2 Dlighi*dh* gach[286] aoinliaig dothar.	2 Dlighidh gach aoinliaigh d'othar
déis a chrea*cht* d*o* chneasadhadh	d'éis a chréacht do chneasachadh
an luach saothair as leor lais.	an lógh saothair is lór leis
do lo traothadh a tin*n*dais	do lógh traothaidh a theinneis.

2a OB dlighen*n*; **2b** M cneasoch*adh*, COB chneasoghadh ; **2c** luach] M <logh>; O lór; COB leis; **2d** lo] M l...g, COB ló; O traoth*aidh*, B traotha; M tein*n*eis, C teinis

2 After he has healed his wounds and caused his illness to abate, every physician is entitled to receive due payment for his work from a patient.

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[285] Following this word, *na* is written again and marked for deletion with dots.

[286] The scribe has deleted the letters *lia* after this word.

3 Cuige atáim da thairraing soin.	3 Chuige a-táim dá tharraing soin:
riogha*cht* mhaicne mhaoil ruadhn*aidh*	ríoghdhacht mhaicne Mhaoil Ruanaidh,
clar sleasbhainte na síogh nglas.	clár sleasbháinte na síodh nglas,
do líon deaslainte is dfiabhras	do líon d'easláinte is d'fhiabhras.

3a C táim; da] M <g>a; COB th*arr*aing; **3b** M rigda*cht*, C righea*cht*; C m<ao>lruadhne, O maolruan*aidh*, B maolruana; **3c** B cláir; CO siodh, B síodh; **3d** C deasláin*n*te; C dfabhras

3 This is what I am adverting to: the kingdom of the descendants of Maol Ruanaidh, [that] warm white-sloped plain of the green mounds, was overcome by illness and fever.

4 Ar tochradh tug an fáilte.	4 Ar tochrádh tug a fáilte,
do thuit do thaoibh a heasláinte	do thuit do thaoibh easláinte
a duire slím fiarglan fuilt.	a doire slim fiarghlan fuilt,
do siabhr*adh* rin*n* a radhairc	do siabhradh rinn a radhairc.

4a M thochradh, C torcr*adh*, B tocra; O tuc; an] MCOB a; M fhailte; **4b** thuit] M tug; M thaobh; a heasláinte] MCOB easláinte; **4c** MB doire; B foilt; **4d** OB shiabhr*adh*, C rin

4 [She] abandoned joy for affliction; her smooth, twisting, beautiful, leaf-covered trees fell because of illness; she was left blind.

5 Ar ccúl do chuaidh a tuigse.	5 Ar gcúl do-chuaidh a tuigse,
ríogha*cht* a cóig ceadf*aidh*si	ríoghdhacht a cóig gcéadfaidh-se;
eang chleathlán fa ngríanghlas goil.	eang chleathlán fa ngrianlas goil
le fiabras seachráin saobhthais	le fiabhras seachrán saobhthair.

5b M rig*dacht* do choig, C cóigh cheadfaidhse; **5c** M cleathban; M fa g*r*ianlas ga<i>l, CO fa ngrianghoil ghlais, B fá ghrian-ghoil ghlais; **5d** M saoth*air*[287] (?)

5 She lost her mind, the command of her five senses; the wood-covered land around which a sunbeam shines bright is deranged by a disorienting fever.

6 Ní bhfuair furta*cht* le fada.	6 Ní uair furtacht re fada;
ata ar chrích chlan*n* ndiarmada	a-tá ar chrích chlann nDiarmada,
eang sgothghlas na cceadfiodh ccorr.	eang sgothghlas na gcéidfhiodh gcorr,
othr*us* as éigion dfulong	othras is éigean d'fhulong.

6a bhfuair] C fhu*ar*; OB forta*cht*; le] M re; **6b** C críoch; **6c** *6cd and 7cd are reversed in M. I give the appropriate readings under each verse*[288]; C sgoithghlas; COB ccéidfhiodh; **6cd** O éigion*n*; B d'fullaing

6 She was a long time without succour; the territory of the descendants of Diarmaid [= the Meic Dhiarmada], the land of green shoots and great tapering trees, was in the grip of an illness that must be endured.

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[287] An un-dotted suspension-stroke.

[288] 7cd may have become attached to 6ab in the course of transmission due to the close proximity of 6a *furta*cht and 7d *furtacht*, with 6cd being transposed to the place of 7cd.

7 Críoch bhuille na mbruach mbainte.	7 Críoch Bhúille na mbruach mbáinte
trean gall dob í a heasláinte	tréan Gall dob í a heasláinte;
fuin*n* craoibhgheala na cciogh no*cht*.	fuinn chraoibhgheala na gcíogh nocht
nior ghníomh aoinl*eagh*a dfurto*cht*	níor ghníomh aoinleagha d'fhurtacht.

7a OB *m*buille, mbruach] *m*brec; **7b** trean gall] B tre a ngall; dob í] COB do bhí; **7c** MOB foin*n*, C fuin; C craobhgeall*a*[289]; B ccíoch; **7d** nior] M ni; OB aoinliaigh; M a fu*r*ta*cht*, B dfurta*cht*

7 The illness that afflicted the land of the Boyle of the warm, white banks was the oppression of the foreigners; not one physician was able to cure the bare-hilled country filled with white-branched trees.

8 Frioth léisi da lu*cht* páirte.	8 Fríoth léise dá lucht páirte
liaig fhóirfeas a heasláinte	liaigh fhóirfeas a heasláinte,
tír sgothróisgeal fa ttraigh ton*n*.	tír sgothroisgheal fa dtrágh tonn,
lai*mh* a hothroischneadh daltrom	lámh a hothroischneadh d'altrom.

8b fhóirfeas] C soireas, OB fhóirios; **8c** M <s>gothr*us*gheal, C sgaithroisgeal; M tt*r*agh, C traigh; O tton*n*; **8d** MC lamh, OB lámh; M hotrusc<ne>dh

8 [The] country white with woods in bloom around which the sea recedes has discovered a physician among her courtiers who will cure her illness, a hand to nurse her wounds.

[289] A dotted suspension stroke indicating a vowel?

[290][9 Da leighes <ó> l<ot> da...ar	9 Do leigheas ó lot Danar
an tirsi ata ag *con*chobh*ar*	an tír-se a-tá ag Conchobhar;
ceird is in*n*le<a*n*>tha don fhior	ceird is inleanta don fhior
<seilg> a him<i>rgha din*n*riodh]	seilg a himirgha (?) d'innreadh.

9 Conchobhar has cured the land he possesses of the wound of the foreigners; he should continue to pursue the rooting out of her colonists (?).

10 Tar guais a galair fada.	10 Tar guais a galair fhada
frith le ag deaghm*a*c diarmada	fríoth lé ag deaghMhac Diarmada,
tulcha sleasfoirfe na sean.	tolcha sleasfhoirfe na sean,
orth chneasaighte a céadchneadh	ortha chneasaighthe a céidchneadh.

10a M tair; OB ghuais; **10b** le ag] M leó ag, C lag, OB liaig; **10c** M tol*chu*, C tolca, OB tolcha; C sean*n*; **10d** M orrtha cneasoighte a *céid*chneadh, C orta cn*eas*(?)loidhthe a cleidhchnead, O ortha cnaoidhthe a cléidhchn*eadh*, B ortha cnaoidhthe a clé-chn*eadh*

10 Despite the peril of her long illness, [the land of] the smooth-sided hills of the ancestors, has received from noble Mac Diarmada the charm that healed her many wounds.

[290] This quatrain is only found in M.

11 Imcreachadh dfaghail sláinte.	11 Imchreachadh d'fhagháil sláinte
frith le ní a los miopháirte	fríoth lé – ní a los míopháirte;
crioch na ngeileas ttairmsigh tte.	críoch na ngeileas dtairmshídh dte,
leighis ainmhín uirthe	a leigheas ainmhín uirthe.

11a C dfaigháil; **11c** C tt*ar*msíghe; **11d** leighis] M ... leighes, C a leagheos, OB a liaighios; *after* leighes M *reads* a...<fh>...*air*se

11 In order to heal her, every part of her was raided – it was not done out of malice; the land of the warm bright melodious waterfalls was treated with harsh medicine.

12 Creachloisgthear coirp na nothar.	12 Creachloisgthear cuirp na n-othar
ar tí a ccorp do cneasaghadh	ar tí a gcréacht do chneasachadh;
an tsearbhdheoch así as sláinte.	an tsheirbhdheoch i[s] sí is sláine
ge ni*mh*neach í ar anbhaile	giodh neimhneach í ar anbháile.

12a M creachloisgear; M cuirp; **12b** ccorp] M gc*recht*; M chnesoch*adh*; **12c** MO tseirbhdeoch, C tseirbhdheóch; M slaine; **12d** M ge] gidh; OB neimhnech

12 In order to heal their wounds, the patients' bodies are plundered and burnt; the bitter drink is the healthiest, even though, taken in large quantities, it is poisonous.

13 Do rin*n*e le ro ceana.	13 Do-rinne le ró ceana
leighis di dail deaghleagha	leigheas dí (dáil deighleagha)
do bhrígh easrain an óigfhir.	do bhrígh easráin an óigfhir
don tír easláin orcoidig	don tír easláin urchóidigh.

13a M do rigne, COB do rin*edh*; **13b** M leiges, C leighios, OB liaighios; dail] OB dfaghail; deaghleagha] C deighleagha, OB deighliaighis; **13c** an] COB ón; **13d** OB ealain; orcoidig] M urchói<d>igh, C urchódig, OB urchóidigh

13 By dint of great affection, the young man healed the sickly, injured land – the act of a good physician – through his suffering.

14 Leighios tin*n* tug o thoradh.	14 Leigheas tinn tug ó a thoradh;
mor la tug con*chu*bhar	mór lá do-ug Conchobhar
fuil a chnis na ttiri*m*cheat*aibh* te.	fuil chniocht 'na dtirmcheathaibh té –
slius an imchreach*aidh* uirthe	sliocht a n-inchreachaidh uirthe.

14a OB liaighios; B tein*n*; *C tu*c; o] M ... a, OB ô; **14b** tug] M dho..., CB do tug, O do th*u*c; **14c** M fuil chnio*cht* fan dtir*m*cheath*aib*[*h*] dte, C fuil cnis na dt*ir*mceatha te, OB fuil cnis na dtirimchetha tte; **14d** M slio*cht*; MC increach*aidh*, O inch*r*eacha, B a n-inchreacha

14 On many occasions, Conchobhar caused the blood of knights to rain down in warm arid showers – that is what comes to them for violating her: he brought about a harsh cure as a result of it.

15 Da leighios do loisg ath*aidh*.	15 Dá leigheas do loisg athaidh
na bruine a mbuill bansgath*aigh*	na bruine um Búill mbraonsgathaigh,
foghluidh caomhn*us* cuirte caidh.	foghlaidh chaomhnas cúirte cáigh,
sna dúinte u*m* caomhros comain	's na dúinte um chaomhRos Comáin.

15a OB liaighios; **15b** bruine] M bruige, C bruin*n*e, OB b*r*oin*n*e; M um buill; O *m*boill, B mbaill; M mbraonsgath*aigh*; **15c** O foghluigh; M cáigh; **15d** B dúnta; u*m*] M im; C caomhrós chu*m*ain

15 In order to heal [the land], the plunderer who preserves the palaces of all was engaged for a time razing the embankments around dewy-blossomed Boyle and the fortifications around beautiful Roscommon.

16 Do loisg*eadh* a lis chorra.	16 Do loisgeadh a lis chorra
do hadhn*adh* a hithlana	do hadhnadh a hiothlanna;
im seanchruachain níor shámh dhi.	im sheanChruachain níor sháimh dhi
s laimh re[291] leathbhruach luighne	's láimh re leathbhruachaibh Luighne.

16a M leasa corra; **16b** M hiotlan*n*a; **16c** COB seanchrúachán; M saim; C dí, OB di; **16d** re] CO le; leathbhruach] MCOB leathb<*r*u>ach*aibh*

16 Her round ramparts were razed, her enclosures were set alight; she was not at peace around ancient Cruachain and along the borders of Luighne.

[291] The scribe first wrote *le* but deleted it.

17 Ba minic tolcha troda.	17 Fa minic tolcha troda
tus maidhne o m*ac* diarmada	tús maidne ó Mhac Diarmada
na neanchorcair o fuil gall.	'na n-éanchorcair ó fhuil Gall
s guin *ar* sheamcorp*aibh* saorclan*n*	's guin ar séamhchorpaibh saorchlann.

17a ba] M fa, C bo mhinic, O b*adh* mhinic, B budh mhinic; **17b** MOB maidne; **17c** M henchorchair; M *reads* troda *after* fhuil; **17d** C seimchorpaibh, OB séimhchorpaibh; M shaorchl*ann*, C saorchlan

17 Often have the mounds where battle is done been left a single red mass with the blood of foreigners and the smooth bodies of nobles been left wounded at the break of dawn by Mac Diarmada.

18 Minic tug ag traot*adh* gall.	18 Minic tug ag traothadh Gall
fir ag cách i ccuirte*ibh* ea*ch*tra*nn*	fir ag caoi i gcúirtibh eachtrann
s mna ag fiorfog*ail* a bhfolt nglan.	's mná ag fíorfhoghail a bhfolt nglan
os riogon*aibh* a co*r*p ccuradh	ós ríoghonaibh corp gcuradh.

18a C traoc*adh*; **18b** cách] M caoi; M gcuir<t>ibh; i ccuirte*ibh*] C iocuirt*ibh*, O iocuirtheadh, B íocuirtheadh; C ea*ch*train; **18c** CO fiorfon*n*radh, B fíor-fhion*n*radh; **18d** a] *om. in* MCOB; O ríogana

18 By his triumphs over foreigners, [Mac Diarmada] has often caused men to weep in the mansions of the foreigners, and women, looking upon the terrible wounds on warriors' bodies, to actually tear out their beautiful hair [with grief].

19 Garrtha tuirseacha tin*n*e.	19 Gáirthe tuirseacha tinne
minic tug tuar in*n*tin*n*e	minic tug – tuar inntinne –
idir ton*n*lasradh treabh corr.	idir thonnlasraigh treabh gcorr
ag lon*n*gasraidhe fe*ar* nea*ch*tron*n*	ag lonnghasraidh fhear n-eachtronn.

19a M g*air*the; **19c** M eid*ir*; C conl*a*srait, O ton*n*lasraidh, B ton*n*-lasrach; M gorr, OB corr; **19d** M lonnghasruid, CO lon*n*las*raidh*, B lán*n*-lasrach; COB bhfe*ar*; nea*ch*tron*n*] C néirean*n*

19 He has often caused furious foreign warriors to send up mournful pained cries from amidst the raging inferno consuming peaked houses – an act not to be ignored.

20 Mar sin do leighiseadh leis.	20 Mar sin do leighiseadh lais
foirche bhuille an bruaigh féarghlais	fairche Bhúille an bhruaigh fhéarghlais;
do rug ciaidh don ithbean*aigh* feil.	rug ciaigh don ithbheannaigh fhéil –
liaigh[292] dob inchean*aigh* eisein	liaigh is incheannaigh eiséin.

20a M leighios*adh*, OB liaighis*eadh*, B liaighiosadh; MCOB lais; **20b** M fairche, bruach fírghlais; **20c** B ciadh; do] *om. in* COB; MCOB itbhen*n*aigh fhéil; **20d** dob] M is; MCOB inchen*n*aigh; B é sion

20 And so he healed the land of the Boyle of the grass-green bank; he took away the sorrow of the noble land of ripe corn – he is a physician who has earned his payment.

[292] The letters *db* have been crossed out after this word.

21 Le saothar ndoil*igh* ndocrach.	21 Le saothar ndoiligh ndocrach,
le leighis ngrin*n* nguaso*cht*ach	le leigheas ngrinn nguasachtach,
fuair an geigeal trai*cht*the thais.	fuair an ghéigeal tráichtthe thais
sláinte o eigion a hothrais	sláinte ó éigean a hothrais.

21b le] B re; MC leighios, OB liaighios; **21c** C geig-geal, O gheigeal, B ghéiggheal; M t*rai*ch*t*te, COB traiste; M dtais, COB tais ; **21d** O éigion*n*, B éigeon*n*

21 Through [Mac Diarmada's] hard and strenuous labour, through [his] potent, dangerous cure, the smooth land, white with [blooming] branches, whose beaches are warm, recovered from the peril of her illness.

22 Mac Diarmda[293] ga daim ris.	22 Mac Diarmada (gá dám ris?)
ni *m*maite do a luach[294] leighis	ní maite dó a luach leighis
<d>fiath an bruaigh lighghil lainte.	d'iath an bhruaigh lígghil láinte
far dhíbir uaidh deaslainte[295]	far dhíbir uaidh d'easláinte.

22a MOB diarmada, C dh*ear*mo*d*a; M dtam, C táim, OB ttái*m*; **22b** MC maite, OB maithte; M dhó; OB liaighis; **22c** M diath, CB dfiaith; M bhruaich; MCO líghil, B lí-gheal; **22d** far] M or; C úaite; C easlaine, OB easlainte

22 In short, on account of all the illness he has banished from it, the land of the warm white-stone riverbank should not withhold Mac Diarmada's payment for curing it.

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[293] This word was inserted by the scribe above the line.

[294] After *luach*, the word *saothair* was written and deleted.

[295] This is followed by the catchword *luach*.

23 Luach nach iongantach don fhior.	23 Luach nach iongantach don fhior
sealbh ceanus criche a shinnsior	sealbh cheannais chríche a shinsear;
an eang linnte tonnbhog the.	an eang linnte dtonnbhog dte,
[296]formad uimpe ní fhuigbe	formad impe ní fhuighbhe.

23b MCOB cennais; criche] OB cróch; M shinsear, OB shínsior; **23c** C linte; M thonnbhog; COB the] de; **23d** M impe

23 The lordship of the land of his ancestors is no more than [this] man deserves, [but] he will not be envied on account of the land of warm calm pools.

24 Fiu a ttarla do da ttocar.	24 Fiú a dtarla dó dá dochar,
fiu ar chleacht danbuain[297] diomach<u>r	fiú ar chleacht d'anbhuain d'iomachar,
fiu a dheighbhearta dearbh an dail.	fiú a dheighbhearta (dearbh an dáil),
sealbh na hoighreachta dfagháil	sealbh na heighreachta d'fhagháil.

24a CO ttarla(*idh*?), B ttárlaidh; do] M dhó; da] O dhá, B dá; MCO dochar, B dhochar; **24b** M danbhuan; MOB diomchur; **24c** M doighbert...; **24d** M hoighreacht; M dfhagáil; OB dfaghail

24 The hardship he experienced on her account, the suffering it was his wont to bear, his noble deeds (sound the judgement!) are sufficient to earn him the possession of his patrimony.

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[296] At the beginning of this line, the scribe mistakenly repeated the first two words of 22d (*far dhibir*) but then deleted them.

[297] A *b* with a suspension stroke was deleted after this word.

25 Fa mhadh loirg lor do phughair.	25 Fa Mhagh Luirg (lór do phudhar)
fiu gach olc fuair conchubhar	fiú gach olc uair Conchobhar,
crioch na múr ttreadars*aidh* tte.	críoch na múr dtréadarsaidh dte,
tnúth gu*r*b eagcosm*ail* impe	tnúdh gurbh éagcosmhail impe.

25a C fa] sa; B lu*ir*g; M phudh*ar*; C leor do phú*ir*; **25b** B oilc; **25c** crioch] M tír; **25d** tnúth] M trén, COB tnudh; O uimpe

25 Conchobhar experienced such tribulations (ample the hardship!) throughout Magh Luirg, the land of the warm forts of ancient dynasties, so that it would be unlikely anyone would envy [him] on her account.

26 Minic do bhí ar beag ccodail.	26 Minic do bhí ar beag gcodail
o iarnóin go hadhmhadain	ó iarnóin go hadhmhadain
a ttruaill uir ghairbheid*idh* ghlais.	i dtruaill úir ghairbhéididh ghlais
fan mbuill bhfáingheigil bfearthais	fan mBúill bhfainnghéigil bhféarthais.

26a COB bheag; C ccodáil; **26b** C hadm*a*dán; **26c** a] *om. in* M; C g*ar*bheide, O gh*air*bhéide, B gharbhéide; **26d** MO bfain*n*gheigil, B bhfáin] *om.*; B ghéig-ghil; bfearthais] M bfer *followed by a suspension stroke with* tais *written in the margin after* 26b, C úrtais, OB bhfurthais

26 He often had little sleep, from evening to dawn, wearing a bright grey suit of rough armour around the sluggish Boyle of white tree-branches and dewy grass.

27 Minic do sinti an taobh tais.	27 Minic do síntí an taobh tais
deir*eadh* laoi laimh re seaghais	deireadh laoi láimh re Seaghais
gan suanleaptha gan craoibh cceoil.	gan shuainleaptha, gan chraoibh gceóil,
re chaoin fhuairsnea*cht*a a*n* aitheoir	re caoin fhuairshneachta an ai"eóir.

27a M sínte, C sirthi, OB sírthí; 27b OB feaghais; **27c** C suanleap*a* (?), B ceoil; **27d** MC caoin; a*n*] *om. in* M; aitheoir] M aieoir *is written in the margin after* 28b, C aidheo*ir*, O aedheo*ir*, B aedhoir

27 He often laid his gentle side down on a smooth layer of cold snow in the open-air near the Curlews Mountains at the end of the day, without a bed to sleep in, without [the accompaniment of] a musical instrument.

28 Minic fuair mu*r* ceol ccod*ail.*	28 Minic fuair mar cheol gcodail
eimhghe ban ar breacmad*ain*	éighmhe ban ar breacmhadain
ar bhru eas ngeagtanamh nglan.	ar bhrú eas ngéagthamhan nglan
ar ccrea*cht*nug*adh* cneas ccur*adh*	ar gcréachtnaghadh cneas gcuradh.

28a M cheol codail, C ceol cog*aidh* (?), OB cheol coda; **28b** C éimhe, OB eighmhe; C breacmhadon, OB bhrecmhaidion; **28c** MC brú; eas ngeagtanamh nglan] M ...ng...gh thaman <nglain>; B ngeug-tana; **28d** B ccreu*cht*nadh; cneas] *om. in* C, OB ccnes

28 As music to lull him to sleep, he often listened to the cries made by women in the early morning on the bank of a waterfall surrounded by beautiful branching trees upon [seeing] the wounds on the flesh of champions.

29 Ní ar dearg*adh* leaptha luighe.	29 Ní ar déarghadh leaptha luighe
ní ar codl*adh* na ar comhnuighe	ná ar codladh ná ar comhnaidhe
an teigne on[298] mbuill mbreicmeir.	an t-éigne ón Bhúill bhreicmhín mhir
d*o* shúir seintir a shein*n*seir	do thúir sheintír a sheinsir.

29a C dh*ear*ga, OB dh*ear*gadh; M luide; **29b** ní] MC na; M chodl*adh*, OB chodla; M chomhnuidhe, OB chomhnuighe; **29c** MO bhuill breicmín mhir, B mbuill mbreicmhín mh*ir*, C don bhuill bhreicmhín mheir; **29d** M do tuir seintire a shin*n*sir, C do fu*ar* seint*ir* a sheinseir, OB do fu*air* seint*ír* a shínsir

29 It was not through luxurious bedding or sleeping or tarrying that the salmon from the shimmering, calm, merry Boyle won the ancient land of his ancestor.

[299][30 I ng...s troda ni bhfuair oi<g>re diarm*a*da.	30 Dheig... acht ria... goil i ng[uai]s troda
d<h>eig.[300] <a*cht*> ría...g<oi>l	ní fhuair oighre Diarmada
o shlogh faobu*r*the bhruach bregh.	ó shlógh faobhairthe bhruaigh Bhreagh
uain na haonoidh<*ch*i> dfhaois*a*m]	uain na haonoidhche d'fhaoiseamh.

30 [...] in peril of combat, the heir of Diarmaid could not get a night's peace from the host of the border of Breagha whose blades are hot.

[298] The scribe has deleted the word *mbreic* here.

[299] This quatrain is only found in M. It is very difficult to make out.

[300] It is unclear to me whether there are superscript letters over the *g*.

31 Seanbhreath riamh o re na sean.	31 Seinbhreath riamh ó ré na sean
idir uaislibh m*a*c mil*eadh*	idir uaislibh mac Míleadh:
riogha*cht* do chion*n* a cosnaimh.	"ríoghdhacht do chionn a cosnaimh"
san mhíonghort fhion*n* eadachsoin	'san mhíonghort fhionn Eachach-soin.

31a seanbhreath] M mur sin, C séinbhreith, O seinbhreith; CO rae; **31b** M eid*ir*; O mhic, B mic; C mil*eadh*a; **31c** C rio*cht*; CB cion; C easnaimh; **31d** M dionghort; M each*ach*soin, O eudachsoin, B éadachsoin

31 Since the time of the ancestors, the ancient judgement among the nobles of the sons of Míl in the fair plain of Eachaidh has been 'a man is awarded a kingdom for protecting it'.

32 Gar bheag da dhearb*adh* sin.	32 Gár bheag dúnn dá dhearbhadh sin,
breath na bfil*eadh* uair eigin	breath na bhfileadh uair éigin,
bas crea*cht*dom*ain* o thoig truim.	bas chréachtdomhain ó thoigh Thruim,
re coin ceadfud*aigh* culuin*n*	re Coin gcéadfadhaigh gCuluinn.

32a M dhún*n*; OB g*ár*; O soin, B san; **32b** C bfil*eadh*a; **32c** bas] M bos, OB bás; **32d** re] M le; M gcedfadh*aigh* gcul*ainn*; C culuin

32 The judgement of the poets long ago concerning intrepid Cú Chulainn, the deep-wounded hand from *teach Truim*, confirms that - no small proof.

33 Fa buaigh iortha an tiath ultach.	33 Fa buaidheartha an t-iath Ultach,
go ttrasda teidhm diogaltach	go dtrásda (teidhm díoghaltach),
clar sean na srollpob*a*l sliom.	clár sean na sróllphobal sliom,
o mhorchog*adh* fhear neirion*n*	ó mhórchogadh fhear nÉirionn.

33a M ba bua<id>*ear*tha, C fa bhúadh orta, O fá buaidh, B fá bhuaidh; OB triaith; CO ulltac; **33c** C sein; **33d** B mhór-cogaibh; OB bhf*ear*

33 The land of Ulster, the ancient plain of the smooth satin tents, was harrassed from a great war by the men of Ireland before that – a vengeful calamity!

34 Uath*adh* re hagh*aidh* gach uilc.	34 Uathadh re haghaidh gach uilc
do bhiodh cú na ccleas nordhruic	do bhíodh Cú na gcleas n-orrdhairc,
searc da ceadobair nir cheis.	(searc dá céadobair, níor cheis)
nir fheadodu*r* tea*cht* taireis	níor fhéadadair teacht taireis.

34a B oilc; **34b** OB bhí; M norrdhuirc, C nordhu*ir*c, O nordheirc, B n-oirdheirc; **34c** C na céudob*ar*; OB cceudob*air*; **34d** C feadam*ar*, OB fheudam*air*; M tairis, O t*ar*éis, B tairéis

34 The Hound of the famous deeds was alone in opposing every wrong, [and yet] they [the men of Ireland] could not get past him; he did not complain [for] he enjoyed the burdensome task [of protecting Ulster].

35 Coimead mna ar a m*ac* o*cht*a.	35 Coimhéad mná ar a mac ochta
f*eadh* gab*aidh* no guaso*cht*a	feadh gábhaidh nó guasachta
da leathbruac*aibh* fa díon di.	dá leathbhruachaibh (fa díon di)
do niog creachbuaic cuailgni	do-níodh creachbhuachail Cuailghne.

35a M coi<mhe>d, OB coimheud; C mhach; OB u*cht*a; **35b** COB gabha; C gúasoga; **35c** C leathbhruach; OB fá; **35d** M do niodh, C do gniod, O do ghniodh, B do gniodh; M c*r*eachbhuachail, C creachbhuacail, O crechbhuachail, B creachabhuacha; C chuailgne

35 In danger and peril, the cowherd of Cuailghne its [i.e.Ulster's] borders like a mother would protect her darling son – he was its defence.

36 Da measud eigis ul*adh*.	36 Dá measad éigis Uladh
do chion*n* ultach dangal	do chionn Ultach d'anaghal
gu*r* breath claon ar car din*n*me	gur bhreath chlaon a char d'innmhe
a ttaobh re m*a*dh moirshimhne	i dtaobh re Magh Muirtheimhne.

36a MOB do mhesad; B éigeas; ul*adh*] C ule, O ula; **36b** C cion; CO ulltac; M danagal, O dánghala, B danghaladh; **36c** ar car] M a char; MB dinmhe; **36d** M magh mu*r*teimhne, B magh mór mhuirtheimne

36 As a result of which, the learned men of Ulster resolved that, on account of the protection he gave to the Ulstermen, it would be an unjust judgement if he received only Magh Muirtheimhne as his allotment of wealth.

37 Leath ul*adh* niorb folair lin*n*.

ar sgol catf*aidh* a ccoitchin*n*

snadm a ccor a cconmhail sigh.

a norlaimh con an chleitin

37 "Leath Uladh níorbh fholáir linn,"

ar sgol Chathbhaidh i gcoitchinn,

"snadhm a gcor i gcongmháil sídh,

i n-orláimh Con an chleitín."

37a O ula; MOB ful*air*; **37b** M chathf*aidh*, C ccaithfaidh, O ccathfaidh, B ccathfadh; a] *om. in* C; B ccoitchin; **37c** M cuir, OB ccorr; M *con*g... sídh, OB ccongmháil siodh; **37d** a n-] *om. in* C, OB *air*; M nurlaimh, B fhórláimh

37 "We do not think that it would be excessive," the students of Cathbhaidh said as one, "to bind half of Ulster to keep the peace [and for] Cú an chleitín to rule it."

38 Do bhi an traigh mu*r* ta aniogh.

biaidh go brath do bhreith chatf*aidh* gaoidhiol

ní shloini*m* gi be re mbain.

oirroim don te le ttoilltair

38 Do bhí an tráith-sin mar tá a-niogh:

biaidh go bráth do bhreith Gaoidheal –

ní shloinnim gi-bé re mbean –

oirrim don té le dtuilltear.

38a traigh] MCOB traithsin; M ata niodh, C at<a>, B aniugh; **38b** C biad, O biadh; CB bh*r*eath; chatf*aidh*] *om. in* M, B Chathfadh; **38c** M sloin*n*im, OB shloin*n*im; M gidh le be le mbean, OB gidh be re a *m*bean, C re a *m*bean; **38d** M orr<u*m*>, CO oirri*m*, B oirim; MOB dtuillter, CO le a ttuillt*ear*, B re a ttuilltear

38 It is now as it was then: the one who merits it will always be held in high esteem in the judgement of the Gaels – I will not specify who this relates to.

39 Mo ina an roin*n* rainic cuige.	39 Mó ioná an roinn ráinic chuga
do dhligh*eadh* (?) m*a*c diarmada	do dhligh deaghMhac Diarmada
dfiadh bean*n*bán na ngeigeas nglan.	d'fhiadh beannbhán na ngéigeas nglan
do sheanradh eigeas ul*adh*	do sheanrádh éigeas Uladh.

39a C rain*igh*, OB ráin*igh*; cuige] M c...ga; **39b** M do dl*igh* deghm*a*c diarm*a*da, C dlighe, OB dhligh, OB di*ar*moide; **39c** dfiadh] M d...ath; C bheanbhán; M neageas, C neigeas, OB néigeas; **39d** M shearadh, C sean*n*rádh; C ull*adh*

39 According to the ancient utterance of the poets of Ulster, noble Mac Diarmada is entitled to a greater share of the white-peaked land of beautiful winding waterfalls than the share that has come to him [so far].

40 Roin*n* leithe a los a dochair.	40 Roinn leithe a los a dochair
da meas<d>aoi a bhfuair dandochar	dá measdaoi a n-uair d'anfhochain
tig do ceartroin*n* chuige.	tig do cheartroinn chroinn chuga
do cloin*n* dearmhoill diarmada[301]	do chloinn dearcmhoill Diarmada.

40a M ar lor a doch*air*, CO dochar; **40b** dandochar] M don fhochai<n>; **40c** C croin*n*, OB chroin*n*; M cuga; **40d** do] M ó; M clainn, MCOB dercmoill

40 If the suffering he experienced was assessed as part of a proper division [of territory], [Conchobhar Mac Diarmada] would be granted half [of the land] of the noble-eyed Meic Dhiarmada on account of all he endured for it.

[301] Beneath this the scribe has written *NÍ = GNAITH = COGA = GAN = COINSGLEO –*

41 Cliath dhuinte dhor*us* mbaogh*a*l.	41 Cliath dhúinte dhoras mbaoghail
muir anf*aidh* nach iontaob*aidh*.	muir anfaidh nach iontaobhaidh,
cosg tath*aimh* gasr*aidh* gall.	cosg tathaimh ghasraidhe Gall,
natuir amsoine df[302]olung	nathair amhsaine d'fhulang.

41a C cliaith dunta dor*us*, B cliaithe dúinte doruis mbaoghail, O dúinte dor*us*, M dor*us* mbaog*ail* (?); **41b** OB múi*r*; CB anfadh; COB iontaobh; **41c** tathaimh] COB catha; MC gasr*aidh*e, O gasra; **41d** COB nathu*r*; CO dfulang, M ...fhulang; M <amh>ruine, B amhsain*n*e

41 The man who holds the dangerous gap against the enemy, a stormy sea that should not be attempted, the one who deprives foreign warriors of sleep, the champion who endures life in the field.

[303][42 Fr<a>... seabhai<c> ag soig*i*n cealg[304]	42 Fra[och] seabhaic ag soighin cealg,
gruaidh luisc*e*ch n*ar* l<is> dib*ear*g	gruaidh loisgeach nár lis (?) díbhearg,
brods*adh* e*cht*...[305]bhag<a>r na nolc	brosdadh éachtbhagair na n-olc,
mosgl*adh céad*cog*aidh con*n*acht*]	mosgladh céadchogaidh Chonnacht.

42 ... of a hawk pursuing evil deeds, the ruddy cheek that no marauders..., one who inspires the rooting out of injustice by martial deeds, one who incites Connacht to a great war.

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[302] A *ceann fa eite* symbol occurs after *df* and *amhsoine dfolung* is written in the line above.

[303] Only found in M.

[304] *Cealg* is written twice but the scribe has marked the first for deletion.

[305] An ink-blot and small hole in the MS.

43 Leoghan morchlan maol ruadhna.	43 Leóghan mórchlann Maoil Ruanaidh,
fail oirtha[306] go niolbhuadh*aibh*	fail órtha go n-iolbhuadhaibh,
eigne tea*cht*ton*n* boin*n*e breadh.	éigne téachttonn Bóinne Breagh,
céadcholl choige na ninghean	céadcholl óighe na n-inghean.

43a M leom*an* morclan*n* clan*n* maol r*uanaidh*, OB leomh*an*; **43b** M órtha, C ortha, OB orra; B n-iolbhuaidhibh; **43c** tea*cht*ton*n*] M te*cht*, C teaston*n*; MC breagh; **43d** choige] M óighe, B choigeadh; C in*n*ghean

43 The lion of the mighty descendants of Maol Ruanaidh, the golden ring with many wonderful properties, the salmon of the calm waves of the Boyne of Breagha, the man who deflowers virgins.

44 Fear linghthe laithr*each* troda.	44 Fear lingthe láithreach troda,
braithre phréimhe diarmada	brath ríogh fhréimhe Diarmada,
comhuirle ionrúin gach fir.	comhairle ionrúin gach fhir,
rioghmhaighre ó fion*n*bhuill éign*igh*	romhaighre ó fhionnBhúill éignigh.

44a C lin*n*gthe, OB lingte; M ...aithr*e*ch; **44b** M brath rig freimhe diarm*a*da, CO braith ríogh freimhe di*ar*m*a*da, B braithreagh freimhe di*ar*moda; **44d** M romaigri on; OB éigne. *The text in* M *concludes with the* dúnadh NI-GNAT

44 The man who charges headlong into battlefields, the Meic Dhiarmada's choice for the kingship, every man's trusted counsellor, the great salmon from the fair salmon-filled Boyle.

[306] The letters *tha* are added above the line.

45 Fada dlighim da dreich ghloin.	45 Fada dhlighim dá dhreich ghil
coimhniog*adh* aodh meg udhoir	cuimhneaghadh Aoidh Mhéig Uidhir,
iarsma chur*adh* chuain ile	iarsma churadh chuain Íle,
sduagh buille is ai*n*m<i*n*>i =...= ne	sduaigh Uladh is ainmhíne.

45 *This stanza is omitted in M.* **45a** C dlíghe imda; C ghloinn; **45b** O coimhniogh; C uidhoír, OB aodhaine guidoir; **45c** COB cur*adh* cuain; **45d** CO sdúadh, B sduaidh; B builе; C aimhine,[307] O ainmhíne, an-mhíne

45 For a long time, it has been my duty to the bright countenance of Aodh Mág Uidhir to remember him, the descendant of champions from the bay of Islay, the fiercest hero of Ulster.

[307] The text in C concludes with the word *fo*irceann 'end'.

NOTES

1a G and C have historical *gnáth* as the form of the singular predicative adj. while the later MSS have *gnáith. Gnáith* occurs as a variant of *gnáth* in Modern Irish, possibly through confusion with *gnáith*, the attributive gen. of *o*-stem *gnáth* (see *DIL* s.v. *gnáth* II (a); Black 1978-81, note 1a). I know of no rhyming example of *gnáith* in Classical Modern Irish that could confirm its use as an adj. by Bardic poets.

1b Following M, I take it that the preposition *ó* has been omitted before the 3 pl. possessive adj. in the other MSS (see *DIL* s.v. *fóirid*). In M's case, the possessive adj. has been elided. For another example of *fóiridh ar X ó Y* 'saves X from Y' in Bardic poetry, see *tú fhóirfeas ar fhiadh mBanbha / ó mhóircheas fhian n-allmhardha*, 'thou wilt rescue the country of Banbha from the great oppression of the foreign hosts' (*TD* 21.18cd).

For end-rhyme and sense, I follow M in reading ***gcéadshaothaibh*** for G *ccēadshaogh*aibh (*ABM* mistakenly reads *cceadshaoth*aibh). I take *céad-* here to be an intensifying prefix (see C. O'Rahilly 1977, 191-3). See 10d for the phrase *céidchneadh* (gen. pl.) 'many wounds'.

1c More literally, 'a physician when he is a proper physician is not refused'.

For rhyme with 1d *fhortaigh*, I have emended ***ní hopthar*** to *ní opthair* (*SNG* IV, §7.3). The negative particle *ní* properly causes lenition. *H*-mutation is sometimes found after *ní* (see *DIL* s.v. 3 *ní*; cf. *ní háiréamhthair* (*DiD* 31.14b)), presumably through analogy with the negative copula *ní*. I have not retained *h*-mutation in my critical edition, though it occurs in all MSS.

The initial of *cáir*, qualifying dat. sing. *liaigh*, is lenited after homorganic *-gh* though it is to be pronounced unlenited (*IGT* i, §51). Cf. 45a *dhrei**ch gh**loin.* See also 5c *eang **ch**leathlán*, 6b *chrích **ch**lann*, and 41a *cli**ath dh**úinte.*

1d G *niag* represents *ndiaigh* (: 1c *liaigh liaigh*, forming *breacadh taidhbhse* to compensate for the repetition of *liaigh* in 1c; further *breacadh* with 1a *liaigh*).

Following OB, I have lenited the initial of ***fortaigh*** after the compound preposition *i ndiaidh* for alliteration with *easláin.* I presume *fortaigh* is the gen. sing. of *o*-stem *fortach. Fortach*, a variant of *fortacht* 'aiding, succouring; help' (see Dinneen s.v. *fortacht*) is not given in *IGT* and I know of no other example of the noun in Bardic poetry.

2a For the independent 3 sing. present indicative *dlighidh*, OB have *dligheann*, historically the dependent form. In independent position -(*e*)*ann* is attested from the fifteenth century in prose-texts but does not seem to have been permitted in Classical Irish (*SNG* IV, §7.3).

2b I have followed M in reading *chneasachadh* (normalised spelling; M *cneas**och**adh* COB *chneas**oghadh* form eye-rhyme with 2a ***o**thar*) for G *chneasadhadh* (COB *chneasoghadh*). *Cneasachadh*, a variant of *cneasaghadh* (see *IGT* iii, §106), is required for end-rhyme with 2a *othar*. The same reading is required in 12ab.

2cd 2d *ló* (GCOB) most likely represents *lógh*, a variant of *luach* (*DIL* s.v. *lóg*). Note the partially illegible variant of M. For rhyme with 2d *lógh*, Classical *lór* (as in O) must be read for 2c *leor*. In M, 2c *luach* appears as *lōgh*. I have preferred M's reading in this regard in my critical edition as 2c *lógh* 2c *lór* : 2d *lógh* forms *breacadh taidhbhse*. However, as 2c *lógh* is in *urlann*-position, and as such does not have to participate in rhyme, GCOB *luach* is metrical.

G *traothadh* must be read *traothaidh* for grammar and rhyme with 2c *saothair*. G's reading of 2c *tinndais* is incorrect and must be emended to *tinneis* or *teinneis* (*IGT* ii, §38), while COB ***leis*** must be read for 2d *lais* for end-rhyme (*BST* 194.15).

3a Following COB (illegible in M), I have read *tharraing* for G *thairraing* (*IGT* ii, §§11, 13). Cf. Ó hEóghusa's *tríd a-táim dá tharraing sin(*n*) (si)* (§3a *Ní dearbhthar cara go cás*, RIA 744 (A v 2), 1a). For *a-táim*, see note 22a.

3b M differs from the other MSS in reading *ríoghdhacht* for *ríoghacht* here and in 5b. In the sense 'kingdom, kingship', *ríoghacht* is the more correct form historically, with *ríoghdhacht* a secondary form based on the adj. derivative *ríoghdha* 'kingly'. *Ríoghdhacht* is attested in the Grammatical Tracts (*Fíorbhochd an fhoghbháil inmhe. ríoghdhacht chonnláin cheithirne* (*fíorbhochd* : *ríoghdhacht*) (*IGT* ii, ex. 589), 'The lordship (?) of a kern-band is a miserable source of wealth'), and *ríoghacht* is also found in rhyming position in Bardic poetry, including in a poem attributed in most MSS to Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa, in another to Giolla Brighde Ó hEóghusa (*No*cht*fuidh a ghéugrath caillgeal cráoibhs[h]eunta* [read *-sheanda* for end-rhyme?] / *cédbhláth náoidhenta ar do mhailgibh míonacla* / *da rois urra do chaithmhe 's do cao*mh*anta* / *gach áonsompla sun*n*a b*udh *raibhthe rí*ogh*a*chta (*míonacla* : *ríoghachta*) (*ABM* 498.21), 'O branching hazel-white fort of ancient branches, your smooth slopes will

burst fresh and mighty into bloom; if you receive a lord who can spend and defend you, every such manifestation will proclaim [his] kingship'). In both instances cited above *ríogh(dh)acht* seems to mean 'lordship, kingship'. Modern Irish distinguishes semantically between *ríocht* (> *ríoghacht*) 'kingdom' and *ríogacht* (> *ríoghdhacht*?) 'kingliness, regality' (*FGB* s.v.), but I have not noticed a semantic distinction in Classical Irish. In 31c, all of the MSS read *ríoghacht* but an emendation to *ríoghdhacht*, clearly in the sense 'kingship' rather than 'kingliness' is required for rhyme with 31d *mhíonghort.* I adopt M's reading here and in 5b.

G ***Ruadhnaidh*** is an example of a mis-spelling of *Ruanaidh* which is sometimes found in later MSS (cf. M *ag fear ionaid Mhaol Ruadhnaigh* (Ní Shéaghdha 1963, §10b)). Cf. 43a *Ruadhna.*The descendants of Maol Ruanaidh are the Meic Dhiarmada.

3c Following the other MSS and the spelling of the Grammatical Tracts (*IGT* ii, §§39, 46), I have *síodh* for G *síogh* in my critical edition. See also 11c and 37c.

4a The initial of *tochrádh* is lenited after *ar* 'in exchange for' (governing the acc.?) in M but not in the other MSS. In 26a, acc. *ar* lenites the following noun in COB but lenition is not marked in GM. See also 29ab. In 28b, *ar* governing the dat. lenites in OB but not in GMC. See also 17d and note, and 28c. For lenition or non-lenition after *ar*, see Poem 1 note 31-5.

***a fáilte*:** I have followed the other MSS in reading the possessive adj. *a* where G has the article *an.* The possessive adj. reads better than the article here. Non-lenition after *a* in COB suggests that this is the 3 sing. fem. possessive (indicating possession by fem. *ríogh(dh)acht* or the sovereignty figure?). Note likewise the 3 sing. fem. possessive adj. in 4c. The lenition after *a* in M is probably a mistake.

4b M reads *tug* for *thuit* here, influenced probably by 4a *tug*, but this reading gives poor sense.

GCOB *taoibh* represents the dat. sing. of fem. *taobh* while M *taobh* is the masc. variant (*IGT* ii, §§ 38-9).

G *a heasláinte*: Following the other MSS, I have omitted the 3 fem. possessive adj. in G to allow for the correct syllable-count.

4c I have followed MB in reading GCO *duire* as *doire* (*DIL* s.v. *doire*).

4d I take *do siabhradh* as the passive preterite of *siabhraidh* and therefore have not followed OB in leniting the initial of *siabhradh. Siabhraidh* 'distorts, transforms (by enchantment), bewitches' has the meaning 'obscures' or 'blinds' here.[308] As the first example cited in the footnote demonstrates, blindness is a symptom of grief and when applied to the sovereignty figure indicates the disorder and distress of the land after the death of its lord or protector: *Tré oighidh áos a feithmhe / táir comas a ccéimeighthe / ré a linn dab annamh a hairc / do dalladh rinn a radhairc* (*ABM* 63.3), 'Because of the deaths of the people who protected [the land] (it is possible to enumerate them (?)), she has been left blind – while they were alive, her afflictions were few'.[309]

5b I take the phrase *ríoghdhacht a cóig* [*g*]*céadfaidhse*, literally 'the kingship / kingdom of her five senses', to mean 'the command of her five senses'. M reads 2 sing. possessive adj. *do* for 3 sing. fem. *a* but I cannot make sense of this reading.

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[308] Cf. *Níor chronuigheas go hecc Airt / siabhradh ar rinn mo radhairc / ni fan amharc a-taim tinn / slan gan (gan) radha(i)rc da roicinn* (*ABM* 217.14), 'Not until Art's death had I any reason to complain about my eyesight being impaired; if blindness were my only cause of complaint, I would not be pained by the loss of my sight', (the following is from another poem by Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa) *Ó chlachaibh ceangail gach cuaigh / 's ó lasruibh a heirreadh n-óir / is fatha siabhraidh lé súil / datha an dúin niamhghlain am nóin* (*LBranach*, ll. 4406-9), 'What with [glittering of] the gems on every drinking-cup and the flashes of light on gold armour, the colours to be seen in the glimmering fort in the evening are dazzling', and *Aroile óglaoch douí treimsi ⁊ athaidh imchian daimsir a nesláini corparrdha rér gabhadh a chosa ⁊ a lámha ⁊ agár siabhradh a ruisg ⁊ a radhairc ⁊ aga ndechaidh a éistecht asa chlúasaibh ⁊ peacadh marbhtha mínádurrdha aga dhénamh aige doghnáth* [...], 'A certain youth had been for long space and period of time in bodily sickness, by which his hands and feet had been seized, and which obscured his eyesight, and whereby his hearing had gone from his ears; and he habitually committed a deadly unnatural sin [...]' (Gwynn 1911, 88-9).

In the following quatrains from the famous *Féach féin an obair-se, a Aodh*, there could be some word-play based on two of the meanings of *siabhraidh*, 'beguiles' and 'blinds': *Ní hionann mé is mná málla / mhealltaoi, a óig andána; / mo shiabhradh ní dáigh dhuibhse, / a ghrianghal sháimh shamhraidh-se* (*DG* 41, ll. 73-6; Gwynn 1921-3, ll. 73-6), 'I am not the same as the demure ladies you are wont to seduce, O bold youth; it would be no trouble for you to seduce me [or 'to dazzle / blind'], O delightful summer sunbeam'.

[309] Though Magh Luirg's illness is diagnosed in §7 as the English conquest, the symptoms manifested by the land under foreign occupation in the present poem and after the death of its protectors (as in *ABM* 63) are identical: the land usurped by foreigners is a land without a king or warrior who can protect it, and the land without king or protector is a land vulnerable to attack by outsiders; Magh Luirg's difficulty prior to Conchobhar's coming to power was twofold – the occupation by the English and the absence of a warrior-king powerful enough to supplant them (§7).

-dh- is de-aspirated and de-voiced before *-s-* in *céadfai**dh**se* (: 5b *tui**g**se*) (see *IGT* i, §30ff). The gen. pl. of *céadfa(i)dh* is *céadfadh* (*IGT* ii, §§12, 42) but the 3 sing. fem. *nota augentes* -*se* palatalises a preceding broad consonant (*SNG* IV, §9.5)

5c M *fa* [*n*]*grianlas* appears to represent the 3 sing. present indicative conjunct form of compound *grianlasaidh* (*grian* 'sun' + *lasaidh* 'shines'), while G *fa ngríanghlas* [read *fan gríanghlas*] represents the preposition *fa* + predicative compound adj. *grianghlas* 'sunny bright'. Cf. the same poet's *rosc glainshliom fá ngrianlas síon, / nách aingheann fhiabhrus airdríogh* (*LBranach* 59, ll. 5908-9), 'the clear smooth eye because of whom the weather is sunny ['shines sunnily'], who does not ease the fever of a high-king [i.e. who inflames him with desire]'[310]. Given this example, I have preferred M's reading, though both are grammatical and metrical.

For ***goil***, a variant of *gal* 'heat (of the sun)', see *IGT* ii, §14.

5d Against all the MSS, I have emended *seachráin* to *seachrán* for rhyme with 5c *cleathlán.* For the gen. sing. without palatalisation of polysyllabic *o*-stem nouns ending in a long vowel + *-l* / *-r* / *-n*, see *SNG* IV, §4.12. *Seachrán* is used in the sense of 'disorientation' in a medical text on fevers (*DIL* s.v. *sechrán* (c)).

I have emended GCOB *saobhthais*, M *saoth*air (?) to ***saobhthair*** (*ABM* mistakenly reads *saobhthair*) for rhyme with 5c *ghoil.* Though I have translated this verb in the past tense, grammatically it is present indicative passive.

6a I have followed C in reading Classical *ní uair* for G *ní bhfuair* (see *SNG* IV, §3.3). The same reading is required for alliteration in 30b.

Both ***furtacht*** (GMC) and *fortacht* (OB) are permitted in Classical Irish (*IGT* ii, §25).

I have followed M in reading more common (and historical) *re fada* for GCOB *le fada* (*DIL* s.v. *fir* IX). Cf. *re hathaidh* (*IGT* ii, ex. 1884) and *re headh* (*BST* 192.4).

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[310] Cf. Ó hEóghusa's description of Róis inghean Í Thuathail: *Galar éga na n-óigfhear, / luibh íce na n-urchóideadh, / gnúis dealbhdha na ngaisdeadh* [read *ngaisceadh*?] *ngráidh / lé laisgthear meanma macáimh* (*LBranach* 60, ll. 6062-5), 'The fatal illness afflicting young men, the herb that heals the wicked, the beautiful visage of knight-feats, who inflames the mind of a young man'.

6cd Note the eye-rhyme of 6c *gcorr* : 6d *d'fhulong* (middle quantity) and of 6c *cceadfhiodh* (*céad* + *fiodh* (*IGT* ii, §71), normalised to *gcéidfhiodh*) : 6d *éigion.*[311]

7a OB *na mbrec* ('The land of the Boyle of the white, warm trout') is probably an error for *na mbruach* ('... of the white, warm peaks'), as in the other MSS. The ungrammatical nasalisation of the initial of *Búille* in both MSS might have arisen through the influence of the nasalisation of *mbrec.*

7c GCOB *fuinn*, rather than M *foinn*, represents the Classical nom. pl. of *fonn* 'land' according to *IGT* ii, §67.

7d *níor ghníomh aoinleagha*: lit. 'it was not the deed of one / a single physician'. Cf. the phrase *níor ghníomh éinfhir* in another poem by Ó hEóghusa: *San tír a ttarla* [read *ó dtarla*?] *an marcach / tig slúagh doil*igh *dioghalt*ach / *nír ghío*mh [read *ghníomh*][312] *éinfhir co*m*dha a ccen / [do] deinimh fóghla is airgn*edh (*ABM* 140.8), 'There came into the land from which the horseman came a troublesome, vengeful host, plundering and marauding – it was beyond the capacity of any one man [lit. 'it was not the deed of a single man'] to protect the cattle they took in plunder'.

M has two significant variants here. It reads (historical) present indicative *ní* for past ***níor*** and *a* for the preposition *do* (GOB *d'*, C *t'* (*sic*)) in ***d'fhurtacht.*** Alliteration suggests that *a* must be an error or an unhistorical spelling of *do*. The 3 sing. fem. possessive adj. (referring to *críoch*) or the 3 pl. (referring to *fuinn*) would not lenite the initial of *furtacht.*

8a *dá lucht páirte*: 'of those who are partial to her / affectionate towards her; her partisans', presumably 'candidates for kingship' here. For *páirt*, see *DIL* s.v. 1 *pairt* (d) and Dinneen s.v.

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[311] See also 7cd *nocht* : *furto*cht, 8cd *tonn* : *altrom* (middle quantity), *sgothróisgeal* (read *sgothroisgheal*) : *othroischneadh*, 9cd *fhior* : *d'im*n*riodh* (in M), 19cd *corr* : *ea*cht*ron*n (middle quantity), 21ab *ndoc*[*h*]*rach* : *nguaso*cht*ach*, 23ab *fhior* : *shinn*s*ior*, 25ab *phughair* [read *phudhar*] : *Conchubhar*, 32cd *T*[*h*]*ruim* : [*g*]*Culuinn* (middle quantity), 33cd *sliom* : *neirionn* (middle quantity), 34ab *uilc* : *n-ordhruic* [read *n-ordhuirc*], 34cd *ceadobair* : *fheadodu*[*i*]r, 35ab *o*cht*a* : *guaso*cht*a*, 35cd *di* : *cuailgni*, 38ab *a-niogh* : *gaoidhiol.* In 29ab, note also the spelling *comhnuighe* (normalised to *comhnaidhe* (see *IGT* ii, ex. 1320, iii, ex. 814)) : *luighe.*

[312] The MS (BOCD, f. 217 v) reads *gníomh.*

8b COB have relative present indicative *fhóireas* for GM relative future indicative *fhóirfeas* but as G and M, representatives of two independent MS traditions, agree in reading *fhóirfeas*, I have retained the relative future in my critical edition.

8cd In 8c, MCOB have nom. *lámh* for acc. sing. *láimh* as in G. *Lámh* does not rhyme with 8d *dtráigh*, the 3 sing. conjunct present indicative of *tráighidh*. In M *dtráigh* appears as *ttrāgh* (from the variant *trághaidh*). The subject of a passive verb (8a *fríoth*) can be either nom. or acc. sing. in Classical Irish, though the nom. is by far the most common (see Hoyne 2011, note 3b and O'Rahilly 1941, 247).[313] Metrically and grammatically, either 8c *lámh* : 8d *dtrágh* or 8c *láimh* : 8d *dtráigh* is possible. I have adopted the former, as the subject of the passive verb is rarely acc., and as *tráighidh* is the more common form of the verb in Mod. Ir. a scribal emendation of *dtrágh* to *dtráigh* (Dinneen s.v. *tráighim*, *FGB* s.v. *tráigh*[1]) seems plausible.

8c The accent mark over G *scothróisg*[*h*]*eal* (: *othroischneadh*) is in error. *Sgothroisgheal* = *sgoth* 'flower, blossom' + *ros* 'wood' + *geal* 'white'.

8d For another example of Ó hEóghusa's use of the compound *othroischneadh*, see *neimh othruischneadh a bhfill féin / do fhill orthaibh-sean ainn-séin* (*LBranach* 60, ll. 6036-7), 'the wounding venom of their misdeed rebounded on them then'.

9ab More literally, 'the land that Conchobhar possesses, he has cured from the wound of the foreigners'.

9a In the context, it seems likely that MS *da...ar* represents *Danar* (: *Conchobhar*).

9c The double-*n* in ***inn****leanta* probably emphasises middle quantity (see *SNG* IV, §2.2(b)).

9d MS *imirgha* (read *imirghe* 'band of emigrants, wandering troop'?) does not rhyme with 9c *innleanta* but I can suggest no emendation to resolve this difficulty. Gen. *imdheargtha* '(cause of) shame, outrage' could be read ('[Mac Diarmada] had to root out the cause of her [Magh Luirg's] shame') but this would obviously be without MS authority; the rhyme

[313] For an example of the subject of a passive verb in the acc. from a poem by Ó hEóghusa, see *fa chríoch dtaoibhghil gcnuaistigh gCuinn / ní gluaistir aoinshleigh d'ealchuing* (acc. sing. *aoinshleigh* (nom. *aoinshleagh*) : *dtaoibghil*), 'through the fair thick-fruited Land of Conn no lance is being taken from its shelf' (*DiD* 75.38cd).

imdheargtha : *inleanta* is, however, found in another poem by Ó hEóghusa addressed to our honorand: *ní fhuil lí mh'imdheargtha ort / ní ní as inleanta a n-éabhort*, 'the mark of my scorching is not on thee; my words are not a thing to be punished' (*AiD* 34.16cd).

10a For lenition and non-lenition after *tar* (G *tar guais*, OB *tar ghuais*), see Poem 3 note 1d.

10b For G *lé*, 3 sing. fem. preposition pronoun indicating that fem. *tír* (9b) or the feminine sovereignty figure is the agent of the passive verb, M has *leó*, indicating the agency of the hills (10c *tolcha*). However, as the 3 sing. fem. adj. is found in 10a and 10d in both MSS (*a galair*, *a céidchneadh*), I have preferred G's reading.

10c I have followed all the other MSS in reading *tolcha* (*IGT* ii, §190), rather than G *tulcha*, for rhyme with 10d *ortha* (G *orth* (sic)).

***sleasfhoirfe*:** *Foirfe*, rather than historical *foirbhthe*, is the spelling in all MSS. I know of no example of the spelling *foirfe* in the citations in the Grammatical Tracts as against two examples of the historical spelling (*innramha rígh ro-fhoirbhthe* (*IGT* ii, ex. 868) and *foirbhthi óg a hairrdheana* (*IGT* ii, ex. 2071)). However, *an fhoirfe* and *an fhoirp*[*h*]*e* are given in *IGT* iv, §123 as forms of the abstract noun and I have retained the MS spelling in normalised form.

10d OB read *cnaoidhthe* for *chneasaighthe* but this does not rhyme with 10c *sleasfhoirfe* and makes poor sense ('the withered charm'). A suspension stroke after *cn-* (as in C) may have been mis-expanded in their exemplar(s). In addition, COB read *clé*(*dh*)- 'left; evil' as the first element of the compound *céidchneadh* (G *céadchneadh* (sic)) but the reading of GM seems more plausible (cf. *céad-* in 1b and see note on *céad-* there).

11a *imchreachadh*: the intensifying prefix *im-* + the verbal noun *creachadh* 'plundering'.

11c I take *tairms*[*h*]*ídh* (: *ainmhín*) to be a compound of *tairm* 'noise' + attributive gen. sing. *sídh* 'pertaining to the fairies; enchanting, delightful' (*DIL* s.v. 1 *síd* I (b)). I know of no other example of this compound.

11d I have also followed MCOB in inserting the 3 sing. fem. possessive adj. before *leigheas* (M *leighi*[*o*]*s*). This is omitted in G but is required for syllable-count.

12a Carney was no doubt thinking of this stanza when he wrote (1967, 27), summarising the present poem, '[Mac Diarmada] has cauterised her and administered a bitter draught which should lead to health'. *Loisgidh* does seem to have the sense 'cauterises' (see Céitinn's *tuigeadh an duine gurab liaigh Dia 7 gurab leigheas an buaidhreadh ré sláinte d'fhagháil, nach pian ré damnadh. Ar mbeith dhuit fá leigheas* ***loisgthear*** *thú, gearrthar thú, éighmhe tú. ní éisteann an liaigh do réir do thoile, acht do réir do shláinte*, 'Understand that God is a physician and that tribulation is the medicine through which healing is obtained, not the pain through which one is damned. When you receive medical treatment, you are burnt [cauterised], you are cut open, you scream. The physician does not do as you wish, but as your health requires'.[314] However, *creachloisgidh* is a *dvandva* compound meaning 'to plunder and burn' and I do not think that 'cauterises' can be understood here. The patients here are more likely the various territories that suffer foreign rule. For other examples of *creachloisgidh*, see *'Adeirtheá ris – rádh go ngomh - / "Mór th'fholta re cath Cruachan / Dámadh leathbhrosdadh é ort, / adlé creachlosgadh Connacht."* ' 'You used to say to him (a bitter saying): "Your grievances against Cruachain's host are great. Even a petty provocation against you warrants the ransacking of Connacht"' ' (§28 *Cionnas do fhúigfinnse Aodh?*, P.A. Breatnach 1989,) and *Téid Muiredach fecht and budh tuaidh ocus creachloisccid crīoch Cairbrighe co léir*, 'Da geht Muireadhach einmal nach Norden und verheert das ganze Gebiet von Cairbreach' (Lehmacher 1923, 221). The passive present indicative of *loisgidh* appears without *-th-* in M. Cf. 5d M *saobh*air (?) (an undotted suspension stroke) for *saobhthair*. I know of no example of *loisgear* confirmed by rhyme.

***cuirp*:** I have followed M in reading Classical *cuirp* (*IGT* ii, §67) rather than G *coirp*.

12b For gen. pl. *gcorp* 'bodies' in G, M reads gen. pl. *gcrēcht* 'wounds'. Given the use of *cuirp* already in 12a, M's reading is probably superior. In addition, it seems more likely that the process of *cneasachadh* 'healing' would refer to wounds, rather than to bodies.

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[314] Translating *intelligent homo medicum esse Deum et tribulationem medicamentum esse ad salute, non poenam ad damnationem. Sub medicamento* ***ureris****, secaris, clamas: non audit medicus ad voluntatem, sed audit ad sanitatem* (Bergin 1931, ll. 8184-91).

12c *an tseirbhdheoch*: Cf. *Óir, tar ceann go mbí an bormont searbh, measaid na leagha bhíos fír-eólach gurab folláin é* (Bergin 1931, ll. 8196-7), 'For, though wormwood is bitter, truly knowledgeable physicians think it is healthy'.

For rhyme with 12d *anbháile*, I have followed M in reading *sláine*, the comparative form of *slán*, rather than G *sláinte* to. Confusion may have arisen in the course of transmission as abstract *sláine* 'health' is synonymous with *sláinte.*

12cd The rhyme of 12c *sí* (°*sláinte*) : 12d *í* is not an example of *caoiche* (the metrical fault of rhyming a word with itself) as the rhyming of different forms of the same pronoun with one another (e.g. *tú* : *thú*, *í* : *sí*, etc. (see *SNG* IV, §9.1)) is permitted by *BST* 227.11-12 and *IGT* v §116. Nonetheless, 12b *tí* : 12c *sí* : 12d *í* form *breacadh*, often employed to compensate for *caoiche*, though this is a common ornamentation in our poem. Cf. *"As a teisd do tréigeadh* ***í*** */ gus an uair-si" ar in t-airdrí; / "fachain ualladh* [editor recommends reading *uallaigh*] ***í*** *d'fhagháil, /* ***sí*** *dob uamhain d'iongabháil"* (*LBranach* 61, ll. 6130-3), '"Because of her reputation, she has been forsaken until now," said the high-king. "To possess her would be a heavy burden; she is a nightmare to manage"' where Ó hEóghusa again has extraneous *breacadh* involving *sí* : *í* and on this occasion *í* again.

12d I have followed M in reading *giodh* rather than G *gē*, on the evidence of *IGT* i §16 which states that *giodh* (*gé* + present subjunctive of copula?) is to be used with pronouns, adjectives and nouns, while the conjunction *gé* is to be used before verbs. However, the usage of the Tracts does not always conform to this teaching.[315]

I have followed OB in readinghistorical ***neimhneach*** (: 12c *tsheirbhdheoch* (GB *tshearbhdheoch* (sic))[316] for GMC *nimhneach.*

13a Both G *do rinne* and M *do rig*[*h*]*ne* are acceptable forms of the 3 sing. past tense of *do-ní* (*IGT* iii, §1). COB have passive *do-rin*[*n*]*eadh* but this is probably a hypercorrect spelling of *do-rinne.* The subject is Mac Diarmada, the *óigfhear* of 13c.

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[315] For exceptions, see ***Ge*** *fada thi a fhogha on fhir* (*BST* 10a.42) and ***Gé*** *mór ccnó do chuir na rap* (*IGT* ii, ex. 1520).

[316] The accent-mark over *-dheoch* in C is incorrect as the *-eo-* in *deoch* is short (see *IGT* i, §146; ii, §165), as demonstrated by the rhyme of *tsheirbhdheoch* : *neimhneach* here.

13b *di*: *BST* 193.19 recognises both a long and short form (*di dí*) of this prepositional pronoun (see also L. Breatnach 2003, 134-5) but in none of the MSS is it marked long here. In 22b and 24a, the prepositional pronoun *do* ('to him') is not marked long in GCOB but is accented in M. Like *di* / *dí*, both *do* and *dó* are apparently permissible in Classical Irish (*BST* 193.19). However, I know of no rhyming examples to confirm the teaching of *BST* in this regard and I have marked the 3 sing. prepositional pronoun *di* and *do* long throughout the thesis. See also 24a.

The prepositional pronoun *dí* and the prepositional phrase *don tír* in 13d are co-referential. The occurence of the preposition and the prepositional pronoun one immediately after the other in this circumstance is forbidden in the Tracts, but does not seem to be forbidden when the two are in separate couplets, as they are in the present quatrain (McManus 2005a, 163-5). Cf. Poem 1.23.

13c For the meaning of *easrán* 'dispersion (cf. Sc. G. *easran* (Dwelly, s.v.)); suffering, tribulation', see *DiD* 73.11d and note. For Classical Irish examples, see *Cuin benfas d'ar n-esrán inn. an ghealchas chnesbhán chúilfhind* (*IGT* ii, ex. 1050), 'When will the fair, pale-skinned lady with the curly, blond hair save me from my tribulation', *Dá leonadh a fhlaith ngoile / dá bhuaidreadh a mbanchoire / dá chúis daghra leasChláir Luirc / dá dhamhna an easráin d'adhuint*, '[The deaths of Ó Caoimh and Ó Dálaigh were] a double ruin of its valiant princes, a double sorrowing of their women, a double disaster for the good Field of Lorc, a double cause of the enkindling of broils [or 'giving rise to tribulation'?]' (*DiD* 73.11), and (from a later poem with an apologue about Cú Chulainn's defence of Ulster) *A cáomhna as adhbhar úamhain / re hiomad a hanúaluigh / críoch na ráthchloch sleasbhán sliom / lathroch easrán na hÉirionn* (*ABM* 95.3), 'To protect the smooth white-sloped land of stone raths, the site of the troubles of Ireland, is a cause of dread because of the great burden it entails'.[317] For two examples from Ó hEóghusa's poetry, see *budh leo neart féirInnsi Fáil / reacht don Éirinnsi easráin* (§22cd *Máthair chogaidh críoch Bhanbha*, *FFC*, 269-78), '[the English] conquered grassy Inis Fáil and ruled over dolorous Ireland' and *Cáoinfid rígh(the) a rinn treasa / tuir f(h)uiling a flaithesa / a teasbháil nir cuir 'na ccionn / gur mhuigh ar easráin* [acc. sing. fem. or nom. pl. for acc. pl.?] *Éirionn* (*ABM* 229.25), 'Kings will lament [the loss of] the warrior who was foremost in the fray [lit. 'their apex of battle'], the pillar upholding

[317] Note also the adj. *easránach* in 6b of the same poem: *a n-íoc a holc n-easránach* 'in retribution of its terrible troubles'.

their lordship; until he vanquished the sorrows of Ireland had been overcome, he did not add his own death to them [i.e. that litany of sorrows]'.

13d MCOB have *urchóidigh* for G *orchóidigh.* As *IGT* ii, §13 gives only *urchóid* as the form of the noun, *urchóideach* would be the expected radical form of the adj. However, a mid-seventeenth-century poem has a rhyming instances of the noun in *or-* (*bheithre ré horchóidibh eang / cheithre hollchóigidh Éirean*n (*horchóidibh* : *hollchóigidh*) (*ABM* 133.24cd)) and it is possible that the variant in *or-* might have been permissible in earlier verse. Nonetheless, as the other MSS are unanimous in reading Classical *ur-*, I have preferred that form in my critical edition.

14a GC have *o* and OB have *ô* (= *ó*) without the 3 sing. possessive adj. *a* which is found in M but for sense I have inserted it in my critical edition.

14b This line lacks a syllable in G. I have emended *tug* to variant *do-ug* (note the partially illegible reading of M which may show unhistorical lenition of the preverb). COB *do thug* would also give the correct number of syllables but *do thug* is not given as an acceptable form of the past tense of *do-bheir* in *IGT* iii §1.

This line does not alliterate in any MS. *Mór lá* 'many days / battles' could be emended to *mór n-uair* or *mór n-eacht* for alliteration with *do-°ug* but such an emendation would be without MS authority.

14cd It is difficult to make sense of 14d GCOB *slius* ('side, flank'?) in this context. Furthermore, the phrase *fuil chnis* ('blood from the skin'?) in COB 14c is unmetrical (*chnis* must rhyme with *slius*) and an emendation of *slius* to *slis* (nom. pl. of *slios*?) would make no better sense. *Fuil a chnis* is both hypersyllabic and unmetrical but gives better sense ('Conchobhar sheds blood from his wounds'). M's reading of *sliocht* and *chniocht* respectively makes better sense and fulfils the requirements of internal rhyme. In the course of transmission, the *sed*-symbol and / or *s* + *us*-compendium may have been mistranscribed (see Hoyne 2011 note 4b) giving rise to the corrupt readings of GCOB.

14c *tirmcheathaibh*: I have followed MC in reading *tirm-* rather than variant *tirim-* (GOB) (see *IGT* ii, §118 and *BST* 198.38) for internal rhyme with 14d ***inchr****eachaidh* and syllable-count.

The initial of ***té*** (MS te) is nasalised in MOB, either through analogy with the nasalisation of the initial of *dtirmcheathaibh* after the 3 pl. possessive adj. or in the mistaken belief that it qualified a noun in the gen. pl. Following *IGT* ii §82, we would expect disyllabic *tée* qualifying a dat. pl., but the syllable-count precludes this.

14d G has *imchreach*aidh against MC which read *inchreachaidh* and OB which read *inchreacha*[*idh*]. In this context, 'fault / crime' makes better sense than 'raiding' but G could be translated 'the evidence that they were utterly pillaged is visible in [Magh Luirg]'. Reading *inchreachaidh*, the line could be interpreted in several ways. It might be translated as 'the evidence of their fault is upon her' (i.e. the punishment doled out by Mac Diarmada has left its mark on the landscape?) or 'the evidence of their crime against her' (i.e. the defeat of the English at the hands of Mac Diarmada proves their unrighteousness), as well the interpretation adopted in the translation above, 'the consequence of their crime against her' (i.e. the slaying of the English knights by Mac Diarmada was their just desserts).

15 This and the next quatrain mention English fortifications at Boyle, presumably the annexed monastery, Roscommon, Rathcroghan and 'adjacent to the borders of Leyney', presumably a reference to the English garrisons in Sligo. Cf. *AFM*'s description (redacted from *BAR* §39) of the English force in north Connacht in March 1595: *Baí cetus Sir Risderd bingam gobernóir choiccidh connacht i Ross comáin, drong mhór ele do ghallaibh i mainistir manach fil for bru buille, drong eile hi ttuillscce in ettirmedhon maighe hai fri ráith cruachan anoir ttuaith. Drong isin bport nua (dún ro chlaidhsiot na goill badhéin) etir loch cé, ⁊ loch narbhach. Drong i mbaile an mhótaigh, ⁊ drong mhór ele hi slicceach*, 'In the first place, Sir Richard Bingham, the Governor of the province of Connaught, was [stationed] at Roscommon; another large party of the English [was stationed] in a monastery which is [situated] on the bank of the Boyle; another in Tulsk, in the very centre of Moy-Ai, to the north-east of Rathcroghan; another in the [new] fort, a fortress erected by the English themselves between Lough Key and Lough Arrow; another at Ballymote; and a great party at Sligo' (*AFM* vi, 1960-1).

15b G *bruine*: The form and meaning of this noun are uncertain. C has *bruinne* and OB have *broinne*, while M has *bruige*. *DIL* (s.v. *braine*) has *bruine* (*broine*) meaning 'top (of a fort), front, outer edge, rim; vanguard, troop' and notes it is sometimes confused with *bruinne* 'chest; centre, etc.' I suggest *bruine* (acc. pl. here) means 'embankment' or 'outer defences'

in this context. This interpretation is supported by the observation of 15c that Mac Diarmada preserves *cúirte* 'courts, manors, palaces' ('tower-houses'?) in his rampages and by the evidence of 16ab where Mac Diarmada is portrayed burning *lis* 'ramparts' and *iothlanna* 'enclosures' but the burning of castles or towers is (pointedly?) not mentioned. It is interesting in the light of the argument of another of Ó hEóghusa's poems to Mac Diarmada (*DiD* 92) that he is described destroying (presumably English-occupied) embankments and fortifications but sparing *cúirte* in the present poem. See ¶5.2.1 above. M *bruige* would seem to be a corrupt form of *brugh* (OIr *bruig*) 'hostel, mansion' (nom. / acc. pl. *brogha*, *bragha*). This reading does not appear likely as it would be difficult to reconcile the image of Mac Diarmada burning *brugha* with Ó hEóghusa's observation in 15c.

***um Búill*:** I have preferred M's reading of *um Búill* to *i mBúill* (GCOB) for sense. The initial of the adj. qualifying acc. sing. *Búill* can be lenited or nasalised, as the nom. sing. and the acc. sing. are identical (Ó Riain 2008, 40 note 3a). Note also the parallel use of *um* in 15d which suggests that the *bruine* of 15a and the *dúinte* of 15d are to be taken together as objects of 15a *do loisg* rather than 15c *chaomhnas*.

The adj. in GCOB is *bhánsgathaigh* 'white-blossomed' while M has *mbraonsgath*aigh 'dewy-blossomed'. I have preferred M's reading as it seems more likely that scribal innovation would supplement *bán-* for *braon-* than *vice versa*.

16a For GCOB *lis* (*o*-stem nom. pl.), M has the variant *u*-stem pl. form *leasa* (see *IGT* ii, §§70, 95) and maintains the correct syllable count through the omission of the 3 sing. fem. possessive adj. Given the presence of *a* in 16b, however, GCOB's reading allows for a parallelism between 16a and 16b which I think is more likely to represent the original. Cf. *ABM* 255.10 cited in note 16b below.

16b I have emended M in reading *iothlanna* (: 16a *chorra*) for G *i*[*o*]*thlana.*

Ó hEóghusa used this same line in his negative description of the devastation of Sligo before Domhnall Ó Conchobhair Sligigh's rise to power: *Do tresgradh a tuir chorra / do hadhnadh a hiothlonna / do bhán glaise a griamhadh* [read *grianmhagh*?] *slim* [read *sliom*?] / *do siabhradh maise a maoilinn* [read *maoilionn*?] (*ABM* 255.10), 'Its pointed towers were torn down, its enclosures were raised, the green of its smooth sunny plains faded away, the beauty of its peaks was ruined'.

16c I have followed M in reading *sáimh* rather than GCOB *sámh*[318] for rhyme with 16d *láimh.* Alternatively, against all the MSS, 16d *láimh* could be emended to *lámh* to rhyme with G *sámh.*[319] I have preferred the reading of historical *re* (GMB) to *le* (CO) as there is no example of *lá(i)mh le* in the Grammatical Tracts.

Cruachain[320] is the royal site of Rathcroghan, Co. Roscommon.

16d For grammar and rhyme with 16d *sheanChruachain*, I follow MCOB in reading acc. pl. *leathbhruachaibh* rather than G *leathbhruach.*

Luighne is the barony of Leyney, Co. Sligo, traditionally the lordship of Ó hEaghra (*AC*, 835).

17a I have preferred M *fa* to G *ba*. *Fa* is the only form of the past tense of the copula that is monosyllabic (*SNG* IV, §7.27). An emendation to *do ba* or *do budh* would leave the line hypersyllabic. See also 33a where G reads *fa* and M *ba* and 35c where all MSS read *fa* or *fá.*

For the ***tulach*** 'mound' as a site of battles, see Poem 4.1d and note.

17b *tús maidne*: More literally, 'at the beginning of morning'. *ABM* mistakenly reads G *maidhne* (an unhistorical spelling of *maidne*; see Poem 7.6a and note) as *maidhme. Madan*

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[318] For *sámh*, see *fonn sámh na seanaibhneadh dte - / ós chlár leabhairgheal Luighne* (*sámh* : *chlár*), '[Tadhg ruled] the bright, spreading plain of Leyney, restful land of ancient, warm rivers' (*TD* 32.54cd). For *sáimh*, see *díochur forlann an soirbh sáimh / doirbh a chomhlann i ccomhdháil* (*sáimh* : *ccomhdháil*), 'this bright gentle warrior can dispel trouble, and terrible is his conflict in contention' (*O'Hara* 26.29cd).

[319] Dat. sing. *láimh* is an example of *réim chanúna* (*BST* 216.19ff). For other examples of *láimh re*, see *Buinne lindghlan láimh re leas. gá theas ní háil indladh as* (*láimh* : *áil*) (*IGT* ii, ex. 1671), 'Because of its heat it would be better not to wash oneself in the clear-pooled stream beside the rampart' and *Ionad cluithe láimh re loch. le a mhuiche do thráigh turloch* (*láimh* : *thráigh*), '(There was) a playground beside the lake owing to the early time the flooded land had dried' (*BST* 235.10 / 17a.45-6).

For examples of *lámh re*, see *imramh na longrámh lámh ris. an sál lomnán do loingis* (*lámh* : *sál*) (*IGT* ii, ex. 1370, iii, ex. 851), 'the rowing of ships' oars beside it (?), the sea full of ships' and *lám re heala mBaei dá mbeath. do-geaba neach gnaei nó guth* (*IGT* iii, ex. 262), 'if he (?) were beside the swan of Baoi he (?) would receive kindness or a rebuke'.

[320] For nom. *Cruachain*, see *Tuigthe dhamh gé deirim sain / do nós bhan nach bí Cruachain*, 'Yet, though I say this, I must remember that [Cruachain] is not like other women' (*DiD* 92.20ab), another poem by Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa to Conchobhar Mac Diarmada, where *sain* : *Cruachain* form *rinn* : *airdrinn* rhyme.

(*maidean*) often has the sense 'battle' (see *DIL* 2 *matan*). For some other references to early morning engagements in Bardic poetry, see *Bentar fúacht maidne do Murchad / ré smúal baili bidhbadh* (*ABM* 67.45), 'Murchadh is warmed in the cold morning air by the fire consuming [his] enemy's homestead', *Bristear le Conn na gciabh lag / cath na maidne ar Mhogh Nuadhad*, 'The battle of the morn is won by Conn, sleek of hair' (*TD* 2.33ab), and *Do airgis ar n-éirghe maidne, / a Mhac Uilliam, a fholt fann, / an chríoch ó Áth Féan go fairrge / nír thráth éan i n-airde ann*, 'One morn too, before even the birds awoke, thou, O [Mac] Uilliam of the wavy hair, thou didst raid the land from Áth Féan to the sea' (*AiD* 38.31).

17c *n-éanchorcair*: M incorrectly has *h*-mutation for nasalisation. For the noun *corcair*, see *IGT* ii, §185.

M adds *troda* after *fhuil* but this would make the line hypersyllabic.

17d For alliteration with *saorchlann*, I have not retained the lenition of the initial of *séamhcorpaibh* in G. See note 4a above. In M, alliteration is created by leniting the initial of *saorchlann* but this is ungrammatical after the dat. pl. in constructions where *sléagar* does not apply (McKenna 1941-2, 55).

18 For another description by Ó hEóghusa of the grief caused to womenfolk by his honorand, see *Goradh bruidhne fhaghladh uaibh / ar cuimhne ac an mbanntrocht biaidh; / do lúdh gá maoidhimh ac mnáibh, / gáir caoinidh fa dhún ad dhiaigh*, 'Women will remember how you burned the palace of enemies; women proclaim your vigour, there is a wail of weeping around a castle after you' (*DMU* 13.10).

18b I have preferred M's readings of *caoi* 'weeping' to GCOB *cách* 'everyone' which makes no sense in this context. M's reading evokes the impact of Mac Diarmada's martial prowess on both men (18b *fir*) and women (18c *mná*) as both sexes are portrayed in the act of grieving fallen English warriors. Note that nom. pl. *fir* rather than acc. *fiora* here: the nom. for acc. is permitted here as the relevant noun is separated from the verb which governs it and forms part of a verbal noun phrase (*SNG* IV, §§4.4, 4.8). For another example of the image of men weeping for their war-dead, see Aonghas Ó Dálaigh's poem on the execution of Fiachaidh mac Aodha Í Bhroin: *Scél fa mbíd curaidh ag caoi, / boill lúthmhara an laoich ón Ghleann / roinnte ar sparra chruaidhbheann chlach / d'éis claochluighthe a ndath 's a ndealbh*

(*LBranach*, ll. 4058-61), 'The [image of the] precious limbs of the hero of the Glen placed on the city-gates after his shape and form were undone causes warriors to weep'.

18c For *fiorfhoghail*, CO read *fiorfonnr*adh and B reads *fiorfhionnradh*, neither of which rhyme with 18d *ríoghonaibh. Fíorfhoghail a bhfolt nglan* (more literally 'intense pillaiging / pulling out of their beautiful hair') is a symptom of the women's grieving. (One of the meanings of *foghail* given by Dinneen (s.v.) is 'vexation, grief', while Dwelly also defines *foghail* as 'sorrow, grief, vexation').

18d For syllable-count, I have followed the other MSS and omitted the possessive adj. *a* in G.

ABM mistakenly reads *ccorp* for *corp.*

19a I know of no rhyming example of *gár(r)tha* (see GCOB) in Bardic poetry. According to *IGT* ii, §14, the pl. of *gáir* is *gáire.* However, nom. / acc. pl. *gáirthe* (as in M) is confirmed by rhyme in the compound *iolghairthe* three times in the Grammatical Tracts (*IGT* ii, examples 203, 1983, iii examples 788-9). I have adopted *gáirthe* in my critical edition.

19b *tuar inntinne*: I am unsure how to translate this phrase, which I take to be a cheville. As well as the translation I have suggested above (more literally 'something that warrants attention'), it could be rendered 'food for thought / something to be reflected upon' or 'a cause for rejoicing'. Cf. the phrase *an t-adhbhar inntinni* in *Sruth Féile na bfinnshreabh gciúin / do-chluinfi, budh ceól taidhiúir, / ag labhradh, lór a binni, / mór an t-adhbhar inntinni*, 'The River Feale of gentle bright streams he shall hear speaking, it will be a sweet strain, sufficient its melody, a great reason for gaiety' (*IBP* 11.47).

19c For grammar, I have followed MOB in nasalising the initial of *corr* after gen. pl. *treabh.*

19cd G *lonnghasraidhe* leaves 19d a syllable overlong and does not rhyme with 19c G *tonnlasradh.* For grammar and syllable-count, *lonnghasraidhe* must be read *lonnghasraidh* as in the other MSS (see *IGT* ii, §§12-14). For grammar and rhyme with *-ghasraidh*, *-lasradh* must be read as *-lasraigh*, the dat. / acc. of *lasrach* (*IGT* ii, §12) as in O. If *idir* governs the acc. in Classical Irish, nasalisation might be expected on the initial of gen. pl. *treabh* as it qualifies an acc. sing. (*-lasraigh*) which differs from the nom. sing. But as nasalisation is not indicated in any MS and as I am unsure of what case *idir* takes in Classical Irish, I have not supplied it in my critical edition.

19d I have lenited the initial of MS *fear* for alliteration with *n-eachtronn* after dat. sing. *lonnghasraidh.*

20a M has *do leighiosadh* in place of G *do leighiseadh.* Though *leigheasaidh* is a common variant of historical *leighisidh* in Mod. Ir. (Dinneen s.v. *leigheasaim*), I know of no metrically confirmed example in Classical Irish (see also *DIL* s.v. *leigisid*).

I have emended **G *leis*** to variant *lais* (*BST* 194.15) as in the other MSS for rhyme with 20b *fhéarghlais.*

20b G *foirche*: I have only one rhyming example of this unusual form of the noun *fairche* (M's reading), from a mid-seventeenth-century poem: *Inis Fernmhoighe in fheóir thigh / tathruidh Colla cruth fáoil*idh / *a chlaochladh choidhche as an ccruth / foirche na n-áolchlar n-amhlach* (*choidhche* : *foirche*) (*ABM* 363.22), 'Handsome Colla transformed forever the land of beautiful limestone plains, Inis Fhearnmhoighe of the dense grass'. However, as *choidhche* could be emended to *chaidhche*, this example is insufficient to prove the existence of *foirche* as an alternative form of *fairche.* I have adopted M's better attested reading in my critical edition.

For *fhéarghlais* 'grass-green', M reads *firghlais* 'truly green', but the reading of GCOB seems more probable.

20c The verbal particle *do* found in M is incorrect with *rug* (OIr. *ro-ucc*), the past tense of *beiridh* (*IGT* iii, §13). It must be omitted (as in the other MSS) for syllable-count.

As acc. sing. ***ciaigh*** is not identical with radical *ceó* (*IGT* ii, §97) and is not preceded by the article, its initial should be lenited, according to the teaching of *IGT* i, §§77-80 (see *SNG* IV, §3.2(a)). Lenition is not indicated in any of the MSS, perhaps because of *cadad* (*-g c-*) (*IGT* i, §§50-2).

***ithbheannaigh*:** dat. sing. of the compound *ioth-* 'corn' + fem. substantive of the adj. *beannach* 'pointed'.

20d More literally, 'he is a physician who should be paid'. For sense, I have preferred M's reading of the present indicative of the copula *is* for past tense *dob* in G.

21c *Géigeal* (: *éigean*) is a compound of *géag* 'branch, limb' + the substantivised adj. *geal* 'bright, white'. For another use of fem. substantive *geal* referring to a country, see *Ag mac Taidhg san tír chorcra / a-tá deighréim dreganta / san sgaithghil ghoirmshenta ghloin / aithghin loinnghrema an leog*ain (*ABM* 282.17), 'The rule of the son of Tadhg in the land purple [with blooming flowers?] is just and fierce; the likes of the valorous domination of the lion [the subject of the poem's apologue] is to be found in the beautiful bright, blooming, green, ancient land'.

The compound ***tráichtthe*** (*trácht* 'beach' + *te* 'warm') rhymes as *tráichte* (: 21d *sláinte*). A misreading of the *sed*-conjunction probably gave rise to the variant readings of COB.

I do not understand why the initial of ***tais***, qualifying nom. *géigeal* (a substantivised adjectival compound, presumably fem.; cf. 20c fem. *ithbheannach*), is nasalised in M. Perhaps it was felt to qualify *tráichtthe* which was taken as gen. pl.

22a 1 sing. present indicative *a-táim* does not feature in *IGT* iii §7's treatment of the verb *a-tá* but examples of this form are found elsewhere in Bardic poetry.[321] M meanwhile reads 1 pl. *d(t)ām*. Though both readings are grammatical and fulfil all metrical requirements, I have preferred M's reading, as the less likely to be a scribal emendation. After the interrogative pronoun *gá*, forms of *a-tá* can alliterate with *d-* or *t-*. Here *dám* alliterates with *Diarmada.*

22b G m*maite* is an error for *maite.*

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[321] See *Do-bhér anmanna oile / ortsa, a í Bhriain Bhóroimhe; / dot ainm baiste atáim re treall / a ghaiste áigh na hÉireann* (*atáim* : *áigh*), 'I will call thee by other names, thou descendant of Brian Bóramha; for a space I have been using thy baptismal name, O noose of Ireland's valour' (*IBP* 24.12), *Gibé talamh i dtéid mé, / madh cian misi ó mhac Gráinne, / mian mo thoile amháin an mac, / atáim ó chroidhe ag Cormac* (*amháin* : *atáim*) (*LCAB* 13, ll. 57-60), 'Wherever on earth I am, however far from the son of Gráinne, [he] is my heart's desire; through love, I belong to Cormac' and *Ní feas daoibh, ní [diongna] ribh, / aitheonaidh tú uair éigin, / a sgiaith chagaidh Chláir Banbha, / má táim abaidh n-ealadhna* (*Chláir* : *táim*), 'Thou knowest it not, thou marvellest not at it; yet, O battle-shield of Banbha's Plain, thou shalt one day acknowledge it, if I am ripe of skill' (*AiD* 46.2).

22c *d'iath*: As I have not found a metrically confirmed instance of *fiath* in Bardic poetry,[322] I have followed M in emending G *f[h]iath* to *iath*. *Fiath* is not attested in the Grammatical Tracts and probably represents a late variant of *iath* or *fiadh* in the sense 'land'. See also 39c.

***lígghil*:** MCOB read *líghil* (or a variant thereof) 'beautiful white' but this would not rhyme with 22d *dhíbir*. G *líghghil* (rhyming as *lígil*) satisfies the requirements of rhyme but the first element of the compound is obscure to me. I take it as an error for *líg-* (palatalised *líog* 'stone' (*IGT* ii, §39)) and have emended G accordingly in my critical edition. For another example of the compound *líggeal* in a poem by Ó hEóghusa to Conchobhar Mac Diarmada, see *Ráth Meadhbha na múr líggeal / fiú a bhfuair d'ulc dá himdhídean / do bhiodhbhaidh Bruighne na bhFionn / cuimhne ar dhiomdhaidh nach dligheann* (*líggeal* : *himdhídean*), 'All the sufferings he [Conchobhar Mac Diarmada] bore guarding Meadhbh's fair-stoned Fort from the foes of the Castle of the Fair Ones merit that ill-will be not felt for him [by Cruachain]' (*DiD* 92.22).

22d M reads *ōr* (preposition *ó* (here 'because of') + *ar* 'all that') for GCOB *far* (*fa* 'on account of' + *ar*).

23ab More literally, 'the possession of the headship of the land of his ancestors is not an unusual payment for the man'.

23b OB read ***cróch*** for *chríche* but I cannot make any sense of that reading in this context and it leaves the line a syllable short.

23cd The idea seems to be that, considering the difficulties Mac Diarmada experienced (these are described in more detail in the following quatrains) to obtain his reward (the lordship of Magh Luirg), no-one else would oppose him and seek the same honour.

23c I have emended G *an eang linnte tonnbhog* (M *thonnbhog*) *the* (note COB's reading of *de*) 'the warm warm-pooled soft-waved land' to *an eang linnte dtonnbhog dte* 'the land of warm soft-waved pools' for sense.

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[322] Examples of *fhiath* do occur alliterating with a vowel (e.g. *nach d'f[h]iath F[h]uin*idh (*ABM* 463.22d)) but these are not evidence of the existence of *fiath* as an emendation to *iath* is possible in those cases.

23d I have followed M and emended G *uimpe* to variant *impe* (*BST* 194.8-9) for rhyme with 23c *linnte.* Cf. the rhyme *linnte* : *impe* in another of Ó hEóghusa's poems: *Gid be tairgfes a tab[h]ac[h] / caithfid[h] sé seal urcradhach / crioch linnte do c[h]osain Conn / ar tosaig[h] impe d'f[h]ulong* (*ABM* 173.6), 'Whoever wishes to exercise lordship over the warm-pooled land which Conn protected must first suffer a while, full of troubles, on its account'.

24a The two earliest MSS, M and G, read *dtarla* (nasalised after the relative particle *a* 'all that'). C reads *ttarl*a, the final *a* being indicated by a dotted suspension stroke, used commonly in this MS to indicate a single vowel. I have not observed this usage in O and the suspension stroke in O is probably to be expanded in the usual way, agreeing with the *plene* reading *ttárlaidh* in B. *Tarla* is treated as the 3 sing. past tense of *teagaimh* (*do-eagaimh*) in *IGT* iii §2. *Tarlaidh* is not given as a variant of *tarla* in *IGT* iii (see also *BST* 229.22).[323]

***dá*:** I take GMC *da* to represent *do* + *a* 'her' (cf. O's reading; but B has the 3 sing. masc. possessive adj.). Alternatively (as recommended in *ABM* 366 note 23a), GMC *da* could be interpreted as *do* (cf. 36a where the verbal particle *da* is written *do*, but only in MC), the initial of *dochar* could be lenited, and the line translated '[on account of] the difficulty he experienced, he deserves...' However, as both M and GCOB, two independent transmission traditions, read *da* or *dá*, I am reluctant to accept *ABM*'s emendation.

24b MOB read the variant *iomchar* (*IGT* ii, §17; iii, §52) for MC *iomachar* (*IGT* ii, §11; iii, §56) but the latter is required for end-rhyme and syllable-count.

24d I have emended MS *oighre*acht*a* to variant *eighreachta* (*IGT* ii, §26) for rhyme with 24c *dheighbhearta.* M *doighb*[*h*]ear*t*[*a*] for *deighbhearta* may have been a deliberate scribal corruption to supply a rhyme with *oighreachta.*

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[323] The following early-seventeenth century example of *tarlaidh* is in fact an example of 1 sing. *tarladh*: *Cuirim dhíom fa ndlighionn me / acht do rádh-sa a rí Eirne / ó tharlaidh ag car chuige / adhraidh dhamh as dóchaidhe* (*tharlaidh* : *adhraidh*), 'I make no demand of what I have a right to, depending only on thy word, O king of Erne, since thou hast set about it, honour (?) for me is the more likely' (§23 *Diomdhach me don mhacdhacht ríogh*, *BAR* ii, 104-10). The editor Paul Walsh has emended MS *adhradh* to *adhraidh* for rhyme with *tharlaidh* but *adhraidh* is unattested as a nom. sing. Instead read *tharladh* for *tharlaidh*: 'since I have set about it, honour for me is the more likely'.

25a I take *fa* to mean 'throughout, around' here, though it could also mean 'because of'. See also 26d.

I have emended **MS *phudhair*** to variant *phudhar* (as in M) (see *IGT* ii, §§17, 37) for end-rhyme.

25b I have emended MS *fu*air to *uair* for alliteration with *olc*.

25c M reads the synonym *tír* for GCOB *críoch*.

25d I have followed COB in emending G *tnūth* 'envy' to variant *tnúdh* (*IGT* ii, §§39, 46) for rhyme with 25c *múr*. M reads *trén* 'strength, dominion' but *tréan* does not rhyme with 25c *múr*.

26 This is a reference to the honorand's night-time attacks. See Herbert 2013, 330-3.

26d I have preferred MO's reading of *bhfainnghéigil* to G *bhfáinghēigil* (note also the readings of CB) for sense and rhyme with 26c *ghairbhéididh*. It would appear that an *n*-stroke in G's exemplar was misinterpreted as an accent-mark.

For ***bhféarthais***, C has *úrthais* while OB has *bhfurthais*. The former would not alliterate with *bhfainnghéigil* and the latter is obscure.

27a Either *do sínte* or *do síntí* are possible as forms of passive past habitual *sínidh* (*SNG* IV, §7.5). G *do sinti* could represent either but M has the former. C *do sirthi* (cf. OB *do sírthí*) 'was traversed, sought, searched' makes no sense here.

27c *gan shuainleaptha*: the acc. pl. of *suan* 'sleep' + *leaba*(*idh*) 'bed' (*IGT* ii, §§4, 189), literally 'without sleeping-beds', i.e. the comforts of his palace.

27d I have not retained the lenition of *chaoin* in G as an elided 3 sing. masc. possessive adj. makes no sense here.

ABM 366 note 26c recommends reading *taoibh* 'side' for **G *chaoin*** 'smooth side' but I do not think this emendation is necessary.

The *-th-* of G and the *-dh-* of COB, both absent in M, are used to signify hiatus in the gen. sing. of disyllabic ***ai"eór*** 'air, sky' (*IGT* ii, §35). I know of no example of where the hiatus markers *-th-* and *-dh-* rhyme and have not retained them in my critical edition.

28b I have preferred OB's historical spelling of *éighmhe* (*IGT* ii, §101) for *éimhghe* in my critical edition.

28c I have followed M in reading *t[h]amhan* 'trunk of a tree, stem' for G *tanam.*

28d Literally, 'after the wounding of the flesh of champions'.

29a *Déarghadh* 'making a bed, bed-clothes' conveys the same notion here as 27c *suainleaptha*: the luxuries of life in the palace contrasted with the hardships of campaign.

29b I follow all the other MSS in reading G *ní* as *ná* for sense.

29c G lacks a syllable and *mbreicmeir* does not rhyme with 29d *sheintír*. From the variant readings, it appears that *bhreicmhín* and *mhir* have been conflated in G. I have followed MCO in leniting *breicmhín* and the adjectives which qualify it after *ó* (governing the dat.) + *an* (C reads *don* 'of the' for *ón*) (see *BST* 193).

29d M reads *do thúir* for G *do shúir*. Confusion between these two verbs is understandable given that they are homophones in the past tense and also overlap semantically (*súiridh* 'seeks, searches', *túiridh* 'seeks, searches, examines; merits, deserves'). In the present context, the second meaning of *túiridh* would make better sense. M's is also to be preferred in order to avoid the metrical fault of *droichead uama*, in which all the stressed words of a line begin with the same consonant, an unavoidable occurrence if G's reading is adopted.[324]

COB's reading of ***do fuair*** can be dismissed as it does not rhyme with 29c *Bhúill.*

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[324] For another example of the confusion of *do shúir* and *do thúir*, see §14cd of *Cia meise, a mheic an Chalbhaigh?* (P. A. Breatnach 1990): *a ghruaidh sholas do shúir tol, / a dhoras rúin na ríoghan*, which the editor translates as 'bright cheek that love has pursued, secret door of the queens'. There are two witnesses to the poem. TCD 1280, whose version of this line is in other respects quite corrupt, has *do thūir* for *do shúir* (emended from Brussels Bibliothèque Royale 6121-3 *do sur*). Though *do thúir* and *do shúir* are both metrical, the former could be preferred for sense ('bright cheek who has earned affection').

M *seintīre* does not rhyme with 29c *bhreicmhín* and cannot be adopted in the critical edition. I have lenited the initial of *seintír* direct object of *do thúir*, for alliteration with *sheinsir* (see *SNG* IV, §3.2(a)).

30ab The text which stands as 30b in the transcription has not been re-inked but is still difficult to make out. As the text of 30ab stands in the MS, it is unmetrical. In my critical edition, I have redivided the lines based on the end-rhyme of *troda* and *Diarmada.* I cannot make sense of *d<h>eig.* <acht> *ría...g<oi>l.*

30c *faobhairthe*: For the heat of weapons in battle, see Poem 2 note 30c.

MS *bhruach*: I have emended MS *bhruach* to gen. sing. *bhruaigh* (*IGT* ii, §75) for rhyme with 30d *uain.* Note also the *breacadh* this rhyming-pair forms with 30b *fhuair.*

Breagha refers to the Leinster territory between the Boyne and Liffey (*AC*, 810). 'The host from the Breagha-border [or 'coast']' is presumably the English army.

31a *seinbhreath*: For *seinbhreath*, M reads *mur sin* ('ever so since the times of the ancestors'), but the reading of the other MSS seems more likely to be the original. G has the historical form of nom. *breath* (McManus 2008, note 17), while COB have the dat. / acc. form *breith*. CO have palatilised *sein-* to agree with the quality of the initial of *breath* with which it is compounded.

31c *ríoghacht*: See note 3b.

31d For GCOB *mhíonghort*, M has *díonghort* 'protected field'. Given that the present quatrain is concerned with the idea that one earns lordship by protecting one's territory, M's reading may be better, though I have no other example of the compound.

***Eachach-soin*:** I cannot understand GO *eadachsoin* CB *éadachsoin* in this context. M's reading of *Eachach* is to be preferred. *Gort Eachach* would seem to be a poetical name for Ireland (cf. *Clár Eachaidh* in *DMU* 2.27). The Eochu intended is probably Eochaidh (Eochaidh) Muighmheadhón (see Poem 1.8b note for *Eochaidh* (*Eachaidh*)), ancestor of the Meic Dhiarmada (see Poem 3.4a and note). Note the rhyme of *-chs-* in *Eachach-soin* with *-sn-* in 31c *cosnaimh* (see *IGT* i, §30ff).

32a The text of GCOB lacks alliteration and is a syllable short. Supplying M *dhúnn* resolves both difficulties. Cf. from other poems by our poet, *Gár bheag dhúinn dá dhearbhadh sin* (*LBranach* 59, l. 5742) and *gár bheg dháoibh da d*erbadh *sin* (*ABM* 153.9a).

32c For G *bas*, M reads the variant *bos* (see *IGT* ii, §39). COB *bás* 'death' does not make sense in this context. *Chréa**chtd**omhain* rhymes as *chréa**cht**omhain* (: 32d *gcéa**df**adhaigh*). In *DiD* 92, Ó hEóghusa describes Conchobhar Mac Diarmada as *glac as créachtdomhain ó chath* 'a palm deeply wounded from battle' (my translation).[325]

For ***teach Truim*** (= Tara?), see *TD* 4.35 and note. I have lenited the initial of *Truim* (unlenited in all MSS, M reads *truim*) after dat. sing. masc. *thoigh*, but see McKenna 1941-2, 55.

32d Only in M are the initials of *céadfadhaigh* and *Culuinn* nasalised, though nasalisation would be expected as they qualify a noun in the acc. sing. (after *re* (M *le*)) where the acc. sing. differs from the nom. I have adopted nasalisation in my edition.

33d Cf. a similar line in Ó hEóghusa's praise-poem for Eóghan Óg Mac Suibhne: *'s ar mhórcog*adh *fhe*ar *nÉrion*n (*ABM* 399.11d).

34b I have preferred MCOB *or(r)dhuirc* (: 34a *uilc*) to G *ordhruic* in my critical edition.[326]

34c I take *céad-* here to be an intensifying prefix (see C. O'Rahilly 1977, 191-3). Neither G or M lenited the initial of *céadobair*, perhaps because the possessive adj. in *dá* is fem. sing. referring to *cú*, though the prepositional pronoun in 34d is masc. sing. I take the 3 sing. fem. possessive adj. as referring to the territory itself (cf. 35c *dá, dí*), 'love for the onorous task on her behalf'. Cf. the use of 24a *dá*. C reads [']*na* without leniting *céad-*. The possessive adj. in *dá* is treated as 3 pl. (referring to the men of Ireland?) in OB. This line could more literally be

[325] McKenna takes this to mean 'whose hand has deeply wounded [Cruachain] by fighting'.

[326] *IGT* ii §170 permits *urrdraic, urrdairc, uirrdhreic, uirrdhearc, orrdraic, orrdairc, oirrdhreic* and *oirrdhearc*. The *rr* (cp. OIr *airdirc*) emphasises middle quantity.

translated, 'he did not complain, [because of his] love for the burdensome task of [protecting] her'.

34d I have emended *fhēadodur* to *fhéadadair* (see *SNG* IV, §7.16) for rhyme with 34c *céadobair*. COB have corrupt 1 pl. *do fhéadama(i)r* but this makes poor sense her and does not rhyme.

35a *Mac ochta* could also be taken as 'fosterson' here (*FGB* s.v. *mac*). For a similarly homely image used in a military context, cf. Ó hEóghusa's *Nár dhóigh deibhiodh a ndiaidh chen / bró sgiath ar deiriodh ac dol; / tú is foide ar an áth do an / mur oide ag car sgáth sgol*, 'A phalanx of shields guards the rear, so that it is not likely that there will be haste to recover booty from you; you remained longest on the ford, like a teacher protecting the pupils' (*DMU* 13.13).

35c *dá leathbhruachaibh*: *Leathbhruach* could literally be taken to mean 'one of two edges / margins / banks / shores / borders', though it is doubtful that its literal meaning need be understood in the context of the borders of a territory. *Leath-* is frequently compounded with *bord* and other synonyms of *bruach* (*DIL* s.v. *leth* Compds. A (d)).

35d *do-níodh*: I have followed M's reading here. GCO read *do-ghníodh*, though *IGT* iii condemns forms of *do-ní* in *g-*. As there are only three known metrically-confirmed instances of the use of *do-ghní* in Bardic poetry (see McManus 2005a, 153-4) and alliteration is no guide to which form is correct here, I have preferred the reading of the much better attested form of the verb.

G *creachbuaic* is a mistake for *creachbhuachail* (: *leathbhuachaibh*) (MCO).

I have emended **MS *Cuailgni*** to *Cuailghni* (*IGT* ii, §175), though I know of no example of that spelling in MS.

36a I take G *da measud* to be the preposition *do* (*de*) + relative particle + the dependent 3 pl. historical present indicative of *measaidh*, a relative construction with *coimhéad mná ar a mac ochta* as the antecedent. See Poem 7.5a and note.

36b I have emended G *angal* to M *anag*[*h*]*al* (*IGT* ii, §17) for rhyme with 36a *Uladh* and syllable-count.

36c GCOB read *ar cur* but I cannot make sense of this reading. I have adopted M's reading of *a char*, the 3 sing. masc. possessive adjective referring to Cú Chulainn.

36d G *madh moirshimhne* is a mistake for *Magh Muirtheimhne*, no doubt occasioned by the fact that the scribe would have pronounced *-th-* and *-sh-* the same.

37a For GC *foláir*, MOB have variant *fuláir* (*IGT* ii, §149).

37b For Cathbhaidh's druidic school, see *TBC 1* ll. 611-12, *TBC LL* ll. 922-3 and *TBS St* ll. 956-8. Spellings of *Cathbhaidh* (gen. *Cathbhadha* or *Cathbhaidh*) in *-f-* and *-bh-* are found in *IGT* ii, §§111, 198, orthographical variants of a homophonic consonant cluster. For the non-lenition in G, see McKenna 1941-2, 52. I do not understand why the initial of *Cathbhaidh* is nasalised in COB.

37c M has gen. sing. *cuir* put gen. pl. ***cor*** is required for rhyme with 37d *Chon.*

I have emended G *conmhail* to ***congmháil*** (*IGT* ii, §148, iii, §68). As the vocalisation in *-u-* is not given in *IGT*, M's reading of *urláimh* in 37d cannot be adopted in the critical edition as it would not rhyme with *congmháil.*

38a G *an traigh* is an error for *an tráith-sin* (MCOB). The latter reading is required for sense. MC *mar a-tá* must be read as *mar tá* (as in GOB) for syllable-count (see Poem 1.17a and note) if G's reading of *an traigh* for *an tráith-sin* is rejected.

38b *Chathfaidh* has been written in error in GCOB. It must be deleted for sense and syllable-count. *ABM* recommends deleting *Gaoidhiol*, which it reads as the first word of 38c (36c in *ABM*) but the evidence of M and the end-rhyme *a-niogh* : *Gaoidhiol* necessitate the deletion of *Chathfaidh*.

38c I have preferred *shloinnim* (MOB) to G *shloini*m for sense and rhyme with 38d *oirrim* (G *oirroim* (sic)) (see *IGT* ii, §§13, 42).

***gi-bé*:** On the basis of *IGT* i §16 (see note 12d above) and *BST* 67a, G *gi bé* is to be preferred to GOB *gidh bé* (M mistakenly has *gidh le be*) as *bé* is the conjunct form of the present indicative of *a-tá*, but despite *IGT* i's teaching in this regard, *IGT* v §24 has *gidh bé.*

38cd I have emended G *mbain* to *mbean*, conjunct 3 sing. present indicative of *beanaidh* with nasalisation after *re* + elided relative particle . (M has *le* for *re*, though *beanaidh re* 'concerns' is the historical form of the idiom (*DIL* s.v. *benaid*)). The form of G *ttoilltair* probably arose as an attempt to create end-rhyme with corrupt 38c *mbain* and should be emended to *dtuilltear* (or *dtoilltear* (see *IGT* iii, §§72-3)) as in the other MSS.

39a I have adopted M's reading of variant *chuga* (*BST* 194.6) for rhyme with 39b *Diarmada.* (In OB, *Diarmada* has been altered to *Diarmoide* to create end-rhyme.) The same emendation is required again in 40c.

39b *ABM* recommends reading G *do dhligh*_h as *do dhlighfeadh*, i.e. 3 sing. secondary future of *dlighidh.* This is problematic, however, as *Mac* in a chief's title is normally a stressed word (*Duanaireacht*, §18 (c)). As the text stands, *Mac*, though the penultimate stressed word, does not alliterate and the apparent alliteration of *do* °*dhligh*_h and °*Diarmada* is blocked by the intervening stressed word (*Mac*). The readings of OB (and possibly C) also suggest reading *do dhligh.* The problems of alliteration and syllable-count are resolved by adopting M's reading of *deaghMhac* for *Mac.*

39c *ngéigeas*: MCOB read *n-éigeas* here, through confusion with 39d *éigeas.*

39d The initial of *Uladh* should be nasalised after gen. pl. *éigeas* for grammar but see *TD* i, cv for non-nasalisation of the initial of a proper noun after the gen. pl. As none of the MSS indicate nasalisation (but see note 39c above), I have not supplied it in my critical edition.

40a *Roinn leithe*: This phrase could be an echo of the fourteenth-century poem on the Mac Diarmada claim to half of Connacht (Poem 1) which begins *Roinn leithe ar cóigeadh Connacht.*

***a dochair*:** See 24a and 43c.

40ab G *d'andochar* does not rhyme with 40a *dochair*. Gen. sing. *dochair* would be expected after *i los* in 40a (*ar lór* 'on account of the greatness of' in M) and even if *dochair* were emended to gen. pl. *dochar* (as in OB), G's reading of *andochar* would still be suspect on the grounds of *caoiche*: *andochar* is no more than *dochar* with the intensifying prefix *an-* and as such *dochar* would appear to rhyme with itself. Therefore I have adopted M's reading *don fhochain*, which I interpret as an error for *d'anfhochain*. Cf. the poet's use of *anachain* in *Beag leis iomdha 'n-a aghaidh / nó bheith d'fhéin ar aonaraidh / d'éis a dtug d'anachain air / ar fhud gcladhachaidh Chobhthaigh* (*anachain* : *gcladhachaidh*), 'Little recks he of numbers against him, or of being left with a single squire of all his host owing to the loss he has brought on it [or 'has inflicted on himself'?] throughout Cobhthach's famous Plain' (*DiD* 75.13) and *Dáilfiod duit – bidh díol cubhuidh - / sgoth mo cheirde, a Chonchubhuir, / mar dhíol im anachuin ort, / a ghríobh chladhachuidh Chonnocht* (*anachuin* : *chladhachuidh*), 'I will bestow on thee, O Conchobhar, the choice of my art; 'twill be fair payment in amends of my wrong to thee, O griffin of well-furrowed Connachta' (*AiD* 34.21).

I have emended **MS *a bhfuair*** to variant *a n-uair* (*IGT* iii, §22) for alliteration.

40c I follow COB in inserting *chroinn* for internal rhyme with 40d *chloinn* and for syllable-count. For two other (late sixteenth- / early-seventeenth century) examples of the phrase *ceartroinn chroinn* 'proper division by lot (?)' see *Rug meise, a mheic an Chalbhaigh, / ainnséin ó na hollamhnaibh / tú do bhríogh ceartroinne croinn, / a dhíon deaghcloinne Domhnaill*, 'Then did I, O son of An Calbhach, win you from the master-poets, O guardian of the good race of Domhnall, through a fair lottery' (§12 *Cia meise, a mheic an Chalbhaigh?*, P.A. Breatnach 1990) and *Nír bheg leó a llos a neirt / cuid a sen don eing orrderc / móide a mbrigh do chertroinn chroinn / do bíodh ag deghcloinn Dubhgoill* (*ABM* 454.20), 'They are satisfied with, on account of their power, their ancestors' share of the illustrious land (greater their strength for it!) which the noble family held as a result of a proper division [of territory] by lot (?)'. For the division of land among a kin-group in later medieval Gaelic Ireland, see Nicholls 2003, 69-72. For the use of casting lots in determining inheritance or kingship, see Kelly 2009, 208-9. See also Poem 4.1a and note. The idea that the honorand is receiving his portion of territory as a result of a lottery is, however, problematic: the argument of the poem is that he has earned his share by his actions in the field; it is unclear how lot-casting could be relevant in this scenario. Perhaps *ceartroinn chroinn*, originally referring to a lottery, is to be understood as a set-phrase simply meaning 'proper division'. It would be tempting to

interpret *croinn* here as a variant of *cruinn* 'precise', but the grammar of the first cited example of *ceartroinn chroinn* precludes this possibility.

40d I have preferred GCOB's reading of partitive *do* here, though M's reading of *ó* would also make good sense (cf. OIr *do-m-icc ó* 'I get from' (*DIL* s.v. *do-icc*)).

G *dearmhoill* is a mistake for *dearcmhoill* (: 40c *ceartroinn*) (MCOB).

The scribe appears to have marked a *dúnadh* here in G but *Diarmada* could form a ***dúnadh*** with 1a *Ní gnáth.* In addition, with the exception of *ní gnáth*, the rest of the words written by the scribe to mark the supposed *dúnadh* do not appear in the present poem and may belong to a different composition.

41a Literally, 'the palisade that closes the gap [or 'breach'] of danger', i.e. the one who eliminates the danger of an enemy attack. In *Mithidh sin a mhaca Míleadh*, Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird describes our honorand as a *cliath chogaidh* 'defence in war' protecting his neighbours: *Cóir a bhuidhe do breith ris-[s]ion / rí Mhoighi Luirg na lerg tte / go dol agaibh ar íath nÉimhir / clíath chog*aidh *do dhéinimh dhe* (*ABM* 338.6), 'It is right to be grateful to him, the king of Magh Luirg of the warm slopes, for making of himself a wartime defence until such time as you [too] venture around Ireland [opposing the English]'.[327]

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[327] For other examples of this figure, see *Cliath is dlūith ar dhoirsibh gleóidh / as cliath chog*aid*h re crū Néill* (*O'Reilly poems* 6.6ab), 'The palisade protecting the descendants of Niall in war [i.e. Pilip Ó Raghallaigh] is a palisade that has sealed the breaches of war tightly shut', *Ní bhí anbhuain i nUltaibh / ná coimhéirghe i gConnachtaibh / nach é triath an Tobair Ghil / as cliath chogaidh dá chairdibh* (*DiD* 82.37), 'There is no strife in Ulster or rising in Connacht in which the lord of An Tobar Geal is not a palisade protecting his friends in war', *Ingealtach mhoighe is mara / post córa clíath chosnamha / taisdealach dan cubhaidh cion / gasisgeadach brugh*aid[h] *breitemh* (*ABM* 294.10), 'One who preys on land and sea, a pillar of righteousness, a protective palisade, a well-travelled man who deserves affection, a champion, a hospitaller and a judge', and *clíath chatha mhac nDíolmhaineach* (*ABM* 455.4b), 'a palisade protecting the youths of the Dillons in battle'. The same idea is expressed in the following verses by Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa: *Doirseoir na ndorus ngábhaidh* (§48a *Máthair chogaidh críoch Bhanbha*, *FFC*, 269-78), '[Teabóid Burke is] the one who closes [lit. 'the doorman'] of the doors [apertures] of danger', *lámh dhúnta a ndoras gabh*aidh (*ABM* 174.15a), '[Seaán Ó Dochartaigh is] the hand that closes the doors of danger' and *Ó Doch*artaigh *Dúin Eamhna / ní hosgailt*er *éinbhe*árna / *dá ionnramh nách iadhann féin / 'mun ngrianfhonn sriobhghlan soiléir. / Iomdha doras baoghl*ach *báis / iomdha be*árna *dob fháth uathbháis / do dhúin ré creachfhoghluibh cáigh / 'mun neath*ardhuibh [read *n-eathardhuibh*?] *n-úir n-ionghnáith* (*ABM* 174.17-18), 'No gap is opened at the bidding of Ó Dochartaigh of Dún Eamhna around the

***dúinte*:** *IGT* ii §48 authorises three gen. sing. forms of the verbal noun *dúnadh*: *dúinte* (GMOB), *dúnta* (C) and *dúnaidh.*

***dhoras*:** The initial of *dhoras* is lenited only in G. *IGT* i §157 seems to prohibit the lenition of the initial of a noun or adj. qualifying a syncopated gen. sing. such as *dúinte*, but *sléagar* could explain the ungrammatical lenition in G (*SNG* IV, §§3.2 (e), (f); Mac Cárthaigh 2012).

***mbaoghail*:** For rhyme with 41b *iontaobhaidh*, I have emended G gen. pl. *mbaoghal* to gen. sing. *mbaoghail.*

41c *cosg tathaimh*: COB *catha* for *tathaimh* does not rhyme with 41d *nathair.* The idea of the honorand keeping his enemies awake at night is found in other texts also. In *BAR*, fear of Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill leaves the English sleepless every night (*BAR* §143; cf. *AFM* vi, 2208-11). In *Suirgheach sin, a Éire ógh*, Ó hEóghusa describes Aodh Mág Uidhir as *cosg tathaimh thíre na bFhion*n (*ABM* 441.57c), 'the one who keeps Ireland awake'.

For syllable-count and rhyme with 41d *amhsaine*, I have followed MC in reading *gasraidhe* for G *gasraidh.*

41d *amhsaine*: M reads *amhruine* (sic). This noun obviously relates to *amhsa* 'hired military service' and *amhas* 'a mercenary', but is to be understand as 'military activity' or 'time on campaign' with no suggestion of mercenary employment. Cf. Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa's *An*n*amh* fú*air ni fios me*ar*bfaill / neach da uaisle d'Eirion*n*chaibh / ceann*as *gasraidhe bfhe*ar

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clear, sunny land of bright streams that he does not close. Many is the dangerous deadly opening, many the dreaded gap that he has closed by plundering all around the bright, delightful land, black with boats (?)'. See also the following reference to the Nine Years War from the prose preamble to the Book of O'Hara (*O'Hara*, p. 10): *Is d'uaisle fos Chorm*eic *I Eadhra tea*chta *o(?)cuigeadh Ol nÉagma*cht *a n-éinchleith chogoidh do cho*ngno*m*h *ris O Néill agas ris O Do*mh*noill do chomhdha a dhuithche ar Ghalloibh agas ar gh*radh *a an*m*a* agus *a choguis*, 'It was owing to his nobility, too, that Cormac Ó hEadhra [(†1612)] left the Province of Ol nÉagmacht in a war-league [literally 'in a single partition of war'] to aid Ó Néill and Ó Domhnaill in defending his country against the Goill and to satisfy his soul and his conscience'. (With the benefit of high resolution images of NLI G 1303, p. v on ISOS (http://www.isos.dias.ie, accessed 2 Sept. 2012), I read *te*chd *a ccóigEd* (NLI G 1303, v). 'Left the Province...' in McKenna's translation should, therefore, be emended to 'came into the Province...' McKenna's transcript of the quoted passage also omits the second accent-mark of *éincl**é**ith chogoid* and the nasalisation of *ris o **n**do*m*hnoill*, while *chomhdha* in the edition represents MS *chog* with a superscript *dh* followed by *a*.) For the gap in Bardic poetry, see Herbert 2012, 355ff and for the honorand as *doirseóir catha* 'the doorman of battle', see ibid., 456-62.

bFháil / gan seal n-amhsaine d'fagail (*ABM* 81.34), 'Seldom has any Irishman, however noble, obtained the lordship over the warriors of Ireland without spending a while on campaign – this information is accurate', where *amhsaine* could hardly be translated as 'mercenary service'.

I have followed M in reading Classical *d'fhulang* (see *IGT* ii, §17, iii, §52) for **G *d'fholang***.

42a I cannot make out the first word of this line. I suggest reading *fraoch seabhaic*, 'a hero's [lit. 'a hawk's] fury seeking out treacheries'.

42b I have emended MS *luiscech* to *loisgeach* (*DIL* s.v. *loiscech*). I know of no other example of the former spelling.

I do not understand **MS *nár lis***. Perhaps we should read *nár ling*, 'whom no marauders ever attacked' or *nár loit*, 'whom no raid harmed'.

42c I have emended MS *brods*adh to *brosdadh.*

***éachtbhagair*:** I take *bagar* here to mean 'driving (out)'. For this sense of *bagar*, see *FGB* s.v. *bagair* 4. For another example of its use in this sense by our poet, see *Iomdha ag ógbaidh na n-arm sen / fotrom(h) sroil sesdan mileadh / bagor cean* con*gair anradh / comghair gredh is giollan*radh (*ABM* 126.6), 'Often with the warriors of the ancient weapons is there the rustle of precious cloth, the clamour of champions, the driving of cattle taken in plunder, contests among warriors, horses and youths'.

43a Both the spellings *leoghan* (GC) and *leomhan* (MOB) are found in MSS. *DIL* (s.v. *léo*) cites no example of the spelling in *-gh-*. This noun is not treated of in the Tracts, so far as I know, and I cannot therefore determine which form, if either, was preferred by the Bardic grammarians.

43b I have followed M in reading *órtha* for sense.

43c I take *téachttonn* (note the corrupt variants) to be gen. pl. but have not supplied nasalisation on the initial of *Bóinne.* For the absence of nasalisation, see note 39d.

I have preferred MC ***Breagh*** to G *Breadh.*

43d *Fíoruaim* is required in the final line of each quatrain, a requirement not met in G as the text stands. G *choige* is an error for *óighe* (see M's reading). *Céadcholl* could more literally be translated 'the first spoiling' (see *DIL* s.v. 2 *coll* (a), (c)). Cf. *crechtóir óghachta inghen* (BOCD, f. 349r), 'the plunderer of maidens' virginity' from Ó hEóghusa's praise-poem for Teabóid na Long Burke (*Máthair chogaidh críoch Bhanbha*)[328] and *a fhoghluigh óghdhachta mná* (*ABM* 344.40a), 'O plunderer of a woman's virginity' from Ó hEóghusa's *Mór an t-ainm ollamh flatha.*

44a As the initial of *troda* is not nasalised in the MSS, *láithreach* is probably gen. sing. (*IGT* ii, §§162-3, 185).

44b G *braithre* is a mistake for *brath ríogh* (M's reading), while G *phreimhe* must be rejected in favour of *fhréimhe* (the lenition here is another example of *sléagar*) (see MCOB's unlenited readings) to alliterate with *ríogh.* For the meaning of *brath ríogh* 'one it is hoped will be king', see two poems by Ó hEóghusa to Aodh Mág Uidhir: *An connradh do cheangail mé / re brath ríogh rátha Bóinne, / biaidh mo dhán dá char i gcéill / nach budh nár damh nó dóiséin*, 'The contract I made with the king-in-prospect of the rath of the Boyne will be made manifest in my art, so that it will not be a source of shame to me or to him' (§12 *Connradh do cheanglas re hAodh*, P.A. Breatnach 1993) and *Tú a ndóigh do dhíon a ratha / tú a-mháin a mbrath ríoghfhlatha / tú a n-echtpost ar bru berna / tú cédchosg a ccinnemhna* (*ABM* 637.39), 'You are the one they look to to protect their prosperity, you alone are the one they hope will become king, you are the hero who holds back the enemy at the breach, you are their best defence against calamity'. The kingship here signifies more than the headship of the honorand's family. At the time of the composition of the last-cited poem, Aodh Mág Uidhir was chief of his name (*a Mhég Uidhir* (.5b) and *a rí f[h]réimhe hUidhir*, 'O king of the Méig Uidhir' (.33b)).

44d I have emended G *rīoghmhaighre* 'royal salmon' to *romhaighre* 'great (as in M) for rhyme with 44c *comhairle.* Cf. the same rhyme in another poem by Ó hEóghusa: *a post*

[328] This line, properly 49d of the poem, is clearly visible in BOCD but was omitted by Tomás Ó Raghallaigh in his 1938 edition of *Máthair chogaidh críoch Bhanbha*, even though he had the use of BOCD in preparing it (*FFC*, 269-78). See McManus 2008, 134-5 for another example of Ó Raghallaigh's editorial *modus operandi* with regard to 'indecent or obscene' material.

*comh*air*le chláir Bhregh / a rómhaigre láir lin*nedh (*ABM* 344.38cd), 'O trusted counsellor of the plain of Breagha, O mighty salmon on the beds of pools'.

45ab I know of no other example of the spelling *Udhoir* for the personal name in the surname *Mág Uidhir.* I take it as an error or emendation for rhyme with 45a *ghloin.* For end-rhyme with *Uidhir*, I suggest reading the near-synonym *ghil* for *ghloin* in 45a. Confusion of *geal* and *glan* is not uncommon in MSS.

45b *Aodha* is the expected gen. of *Aodh* (*IGT* i, §132), but, though the gen. is required here for grammar, such an emendation would leave the line a syllable overlong. This could be compensated for by emending MS *coimhniog*[*h*]*adh* (emended to *cuimhneaghadh* (*IGT* iii, §106)), the verbal noun of *cuimhnighidh*, to *cuimhne.* (*Cuimhne* is given in *IGT* iii, §83 as part of a list of ordinary nouns that function as verbal nouns (*persana oibrigthi gan dénmas neith*)). However, a simpler emendation (suggested in *ABM* 366.42b) would be to read MS *Aodh* as *Aoidh.* Despite the teaching of *IGT* i, gen. sing. *Aoidh* is attested in Bardic poetry. For other examples from Ó hEóghusa's poems, see *Iomdha ó chuairt Aoidh Mhéig Uidhir* (*IBP* 29.19a) and *a bratach Ao[i]dh Mhe[i]g Uidhir* (*ABM* 126.31b) where *Aodha* for *Aoidh* would leave the line hypersyllabic and *go bás Áo[i]dh(a) mhic* Con Con*n*acht (*ABM* 229.17b) where (as *ABM* recommends) *Aodha* must be emended to *Aoidh* for syllable-count. Against an emendation to *Aoidh*, however, it must be noted that I know of no rhyming example of gen. sing. *Aoidh.*

45c *chuain*: The initial of this word is not lenited in COB. I take it that *cuain* qualifies fem. sing. *iarsma* ('the descendant of champions [who comes] from the bay of Islay'). If, however, *cuain* qualifies gen. pl. *curadh* ('the descendant of the champions [who were] from the bay of Islay'), nasalisation would be expected, but *sléagar* might account for the ungrammatical lenition here.

45d For another example of nom. *sduaigh* (OIr *stúag*), see *do freagradh uaim dá aithle / an sduaigh dheaghglan deaghaighthe* (*uaim* : *sduaigh*), 'and thereupon I replied to the bright, noble-looking beauty' (*TD* 39.9cd).

MS *Būille* does not rhyme with 45c *churadh* and does not alliterate with 45d *ainmhíne.* I agree with *ABM* 366 note 42d that we should read *Uladh.*

Poem 7 ÁLAINN CLAOCHLÓDH NA CAIRRGE

MS

1.0 The present poem is edited from pp.87-8 of Maynooth B 8. In preparing my edition, I have used the images of this MS available on Irish Script on Screen (http://isos.dias.ie).

1.1 The hand is clear and legible. Two metrical lines are written on each line of the MS. When these did not fill up the line to the margin, the scribe drew a symbol which I represent in my transcription as ~.

1.2 The MS was begun in 1700 (p. 5) and completed by 1708 (p. 99). The scribe signs his name (H)éinri(gh) Ó Carra(i)c (for example, see p. 5) or Mac Carrac (for example, see p. 101) and later Mac Carrtha (for example, see p. 53). He transcribed a prose essay in praise of himself by Seán Ó Gadhra on pp.97-9. He was active in the Sligo area (p. 101).

1.3 Much of the MS consists of transcripts of material by An Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh, including a copy of his *Cuimre* (p. 101ff.). The scribe transcribed a poem from a *duanaire* in possession of Mac Diarmada of the Rock to which he had access in 1702 (p. 33). [329] Maynooth B 8 contains a number of Bardic poems, material of genealogical or pseudo-historical nature, as well as miscellaneous notes. It has a copy of the poem on the rights of Mac Diarmada (p. 33), which was not consulted by Ní Shéaghdha in her edition of that text (1963).[330]

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[329] Aodh Mac Diarmada (†1707) was chief of the name at this time (Mac Dermot 1996, 243).

[330] A iv 3, an early seventeenth-century manuscript which contains a number of poems to Meic Dhiarmada (see Poem 5 ¶1) also contains a copy of this poem, *A-tá sonn sochar na ríogh*. Both MSS have the same 17qq (as against the 22qq of NLI G 18 and the 16qq of RIA 23 M 23). The 17qq of RIA A iv 3 and Maynooth B 8 are in the same order and the text of both witnesses is very similar. Particularly noticeable is that both share a similar reading for §21b in Ní Shéaghdha's edition (*gibé túath a ndentur rig* in A iv 3 and *giodh be tuaith a ndeantur righ* in Maynooth B 8, versus *don tuaith sin a toghthor rígh* in Ní Shéaghdha's edition) and for §11b (*óthá Luimneach* versus, according to Ní Shéaghdha, *o Áth luim luimnighe* in NLI G 18). But as well as having some some unique readings of less consequence, Maynooth B 8 reads *baile atá gion gach th*uaith for *baile aigi in gach túaith* in RIA A iv 3 and §11a *baile aige ann gach tuaith* of Ní Shéaghdha's edition. While this divergence might be no more than an error in Maynooth, more convincing proof of the independence of Maynooth B 8 is the line *a shea*cht *n-oired do dlegh*ar (corresponding to 14d in Ní Shéaghdha's edition) which reads *a urdail dósomh dleagh*ar in RIA A iv 3. The possibility that RIA A iv 3, which as it stands today begins at p. 618, might be the *duanaire* mentioned by the scribe of Maynooth B 8 as his source for the text can probably safely be

1.4 A diplomatic edition of the poem was published in *ABM* 35.

THE POET

2.0 The poem is without ascription in the MS.

2.1.1 *ABM* tentatively ascribes this poem to Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird. This was probably suggested by the dedicatory quatrain to Mág Aonghusa which concludes the poem. Dedicatory quatrains to Mág Aonghusa (Aodh, †1595/6) are a feature of the poetry of Fearghal Óg (Ó Concheanainn 1973-4). Only one poem by Fearghal Óg is extant with a dedicatory quatrain to Mág Aonghusa only (without a further quatrain to St Peter and/or to Conn Ó Ruairc). (Supplementary quatrains could easily be lost in the course of transmission.) Furthermore, Maynooth G 8 has two poems which it attributes to Fearghal Óg (pp.22, 89), the second of which follows after the poem edited here. In addition, Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird had a connection to the Meic Dhiarmada of Magh Luirg in that he composed the poem *Mithidh sin, a mhaca Míleadh* (*ABM* 338; Ó Macháin 1988, Poem 8) for Brian Óg Mac Diarmada's predecessor.

2.1.2 Nonetheless, I am unconvinced of this suggested authorship.[331] The reference to Mág Aonghusa in §37 of the present poem would seem to indicate that he is still alive. Brian Mac Diarmada is addressed as Mac Diarmada in the present poem (§17), a title he did not hold until about eight years after Aodh Mág Aonghusa's death. In addition, the praise of the celebrand of a particular poem within a supplementary quatrain to another patron, as occurs here, is very unusual in Fearghal Óg's oeuvre (and in Bardic poetry in general). Of the fourteen poems with supplementary quatrains to secular patrons listed in Ó Macháin 2003, this only occurs twice: (a) in *ABM* 236.80 Conn Ó Ruairc and Conn Ó Domhnaill are both praised in a single quatrain; [332] and (b) in a poem addressed to Brian Ó Ruairc, Aodh Mág Aonghusa is praised in a supplementary quatrain which also mentions the celebrand. Though

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discounted. (Ní Shéaghdha incorrectly states that RIA A iv 3 reads *adér dhaoibh* for *luadhtear linn* in §18a of her edition, a reading not found in Maynooth B 8. This textual difference would have been further evidence of the independence of Maynooth B 8's copy of this poem. RIA A iv 3 is, however, in agreement with Maynooth B 8 and Ní Shéaghdha's edition on this point).

[331] This poem is not listed in Ó Macháin 2003.

[332] The fact that both men bore the same Christian name no doubt made the connection appealing from an artistic standpoint. Conn Ó Ruairc is elsewhere (*DiD* 109.23) praised in a single supplementary quatrain with his brother Brian, but neither were the celebrand of the poem.

Brian is mentioned in the last line of this quatrain, Mág Aonghusa's praise is kept separate in the first three lines, and the final line (a repetition of the first line of the poem added to establish a *dúnadh*) is unconnected to the argument of that quatrain (Ó Concheanainn 1973-4, 238-9; Ó Concheanainn 1983, §§25-6). Fearghal Óg tends rather to dedicate a separate supplementary quatrain to Mág Aonghusa and/or Conn Ó Ruairc and/or St Peter. While these objections are insufficient to rule Fearghal Óg out as a candidate for the authorship of the present poem, I believe they are sufficient to cast doubt on his being the author.

2.3 Another candidate for the authorship of the present poem is Gofraidh Mac an Bhaird.[333] To judge from a supplementary quatrain after a poem to Uilliam Ó Maoil Mhuaidh (†1659) (*ABM* 132.44)[334] Gofraidh enjoyed the patronage of Mac Diarmada. Furthermore, while no poems are attributed to the poet in Maynooth B 8, the supplementary quatrain (§37) is reminiscent of supplementary quatrains appended to four poems attributed to this poet which praise both Mac Diarmada and Mág Aonghusa. The former is probably Brian Óg Mac Diarmada (†1636), and the latter Art Mág Aonghusa (†1629), son of Aodh (†1595), to whom Gofraidh Mac an Bhaird addressed the poem *Irial codhnach chloinne hÍr* (Stoneyhurst A II 20ii):

> (a) *Mág Aonghusa as úr maicne / cusbóir é dar n-annsaicht-ne, / seangshlat as saor mar phuba / ar aon is deaghMhac Diarmuda. D*[*airt*].*S*[*onn*]., 'Mág Aonghusa of vigorous stock [or 'whose sons are vigorous'], graceful hero and generous patron, is a mark for my affection; and goodly Mac Diarmuda too' (*DiD* 78.22)
>
> (b) *Badhach Ó Máoil Rúanuidh rin*n / *Mac Diarmada Dhúin Lathrin*n / *Mag Áongusa go n-úidh dhamh / eó* [read *ó*] *chaomhRosa Dhúin Dealgan. Fada...* (*ABM* 222.10), 'The descendant of Maol Ruanaidh, Mac Diarmada of Dún Laithrinn, is affectionate to me; Mag Aonghusa, descendant of fair Rus of Dún Dealgan, has regard for me'
>
> (c) *Mag Aongusa is úr buga / 's a medh-sa Mac Diarmada / cupla drechach nách dáor cuing / sáor an leathach da lenuim. Leano*m... (*ABM* 294.23), 'Mág Aonghusa

[333] For this poet, see Hoyne 2011, 59-60.

[334] *Firinne beodh*acht *buga / trí míana Meic Diarmada / leoghan bosghlan thighe Trúim / bile is cosnomh da crobuing. Crobhuing...* 'Truth, vigour and generosity are the three desires of Mac Diarmada, the pale-handed lion of Teach Troim, the scion who protects his kindred'. For the relationship between the Í Mhaoil Mhuaidh and the Meic Dhiarmada, see Mac Dermot 1996, 487, 523.

whose generosity is great and Mac Diarmada, his equal, are a handsome coupling whose union is not ignoble; noble is the pair to whom I adhere'

(d) *Mag Aonghusa adhrus dhamh / is Áodh Óg o Chuinn (?) Crúachan*[335] */ 'sa[n] treas easna rér fhúaigh sin*[n] */ Mac Díarmada Dúin Laithrinn / táin fial dar n-éignibh togh(th)a / tríar do éignigh m'áontogh(th)a. Mor...* (*ABM* 343.42) 'Mág Aonghusa who honours me, and Aodh Óg,[336] the descendant of Conn of Cruacha, and Mac Diarmada of Dún Laithrinn, the third rib[337] by which we are bound; a noble catch of our choice salmon, three who have compelled me to choose them'[338]

2.4 In conclusion, I believe that *ABM*'s suggestion that the present poem was the work of Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird is wide of the mark and suggest that, as Gofraidh Mac an Bhaird received patronage from Brian Óg Mac Diarmada and as he praises Mac Diarmada and Mág Aonghusa together in a single supplementary quatrain on four occasions as the poet does in the present poem, it seems more likely that our poem is also the work of Gofraidh Mac an Bhaird.

PATRON

3.0 The celebrand is Brian Óg Mac Diarmada (†1636) (§§16, 17, 31). His wife is praised in §§35 and 36. The poem concludes with a supplementary quatrain in praise of both Mág Aonghusa and Mac Diarmada (§37).

3.1 Brian Óg was the eldest legitimate son of Brian, lord of Magh Luirg.[339] His mother was Meadhbh inghean Í Chonchobhair Shligigh (Mac Dermot 1996, 167-8; see Poem 5,

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[335] Damian McManus has suggested to me that *dhamh* might be read as *dháimh* and *Crúachan* as *Cruacháin*, giving 'Mág Aonghusa who honours the poetic company, and Aodh Óg, the descendant of Conn of Cruachán'. For *Conn Cruacháin* see *Beann do lámhaigheadh leith Cuinn* by Gofraidh Mac an Bhaird (*Gleanings*, 27-52): *oighre an fhlatha Cuinn Cruacháin* (: *cráidh*), 'the heir to the kingship of Conn of Cruachán'.

[336] Is this Art Mág Aonghusa's son? Cf. example (a) above.

[337] Interestingly, *easna* here and *cúpla* in the previous example are both architectural terms. See Simms 2001, Appendices 2 and 3.

[338] It will be noted that the last word of (d) does not form a *dúnadh* with the beginning of that poem (*mór, aontogha*). It is the last quatrain given in the MS witness.

[339] To distinguish these two, I always refer to Brian Óg using his soubriquet.

especially ¶3).[340] When his father, Brian, the chief of Magh Luirg, died in 1592, Brian Óg was 8 years and 4 months old. In 1604, Brian Óg and his lands were entrusted to Teabóid Dillon.[341] Brian was sent to Trinity College in Dublin 'for the sustentation and education of the minor in the english religion, apparel and habits'.[342] He graduated in 1605 (Mac Dermot 1996, 215).[343]

3.2 Having completed his minority, Brian Óg was restored to his father's lands in 1605.[344] In 1606, he signed a deed as 'Brian MacDermot of Carrick', which suggests that he had taken up residence on the Rock (Mac Dermot 1996, 217).[345]

3.3 A confession by 'Doltagh M'Gilleduff', taken on 8 May 1608 (O.S.) implicated 'Bryan M'Dermot, who dwells near the Boyle' of being in league with Niall Garbh Ó Domhnaill in his rebellion (*CSPI* xii, 518). Even if this account is to be trusted,[346] it may not refer to Brian

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[340] The following genealogical note occurs in RIA D i 3, 82r: *cl*ann *lá brian mac ruaidri .i. tadg .7 cath*al *dub, ruaidri .7 maolr*uanaidh *.7 toirr*dhealbhach / *brian óg .7 aodh, eo*<gan> *.7 cormac cetr*ar *mac* inghine *í* concobhair *sli*gigh, 'the sons of Brian son of Ruaidhrí: Tadhg, Cathal Dubh, Ruaidhrí and Maolruanaidh; Brian Óg, Aodh, Eoghan and Cormac (the four sons of the daughter of Ó Conchobhair Sligigh)'.

[341] 'To TIBBOT DILLON, esq., was granted, for a fine of 4l. ster., on 25th Sept., in the second year, [...] the wardship and custody of the body and lands of Brian oge McDermott, son and heir of Brian McDermott, of CarrickemcDermott, in co. Roscommon – to HOLD, during the minority of said Brian, at a rent of 3l. 6s. 8d., with permission to retain thereout 2l. for his maintenance and education [...]' (*Patent Roll repertory*, 127). For Theobald Dillon's ambitious acquisition of land and influence in North Roscommon in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, see Cunningham and Gillespie 2003, Chapter 2. See also O'Dowd 1991, 74-5, 81. Undoubtedly, the wardship of Brian Óg Mac Diarmada further bolstered his standing and power in the region.

[342] This text comes from p. 75 of *Patent Roll repertory* which the editor states is identical to the wording in the grant of Brian Óg's wardship.

[343] Because of the apparent brevity of Brian Óg Mac Diarmada's study in Trinity College, Mac Dermot (1996, 215) suggests that this grant may in fact be a re-issue of an earlier grant. For other contemporary Meic Dhiarmada students in the College, see Mac Dermot 1996, 217.

[344] 'To BRIAN OG McDERMOT, chief of his name, son and heir of Bernard McDermot, commonly called Brian McDermot, late of Carrickmacdermot, in co. Roscoman, gent., was granted, on 2d Jan., in third year, for a fine of 3l. 11s. engl., [...] livery and seisin of all lordships, manors, messuages, lands and other hereditaments, of which said Bernard, who held in capite by military service, died seized; without proving his age, etc. – saving, for this turn, the advowsons of any churches, now vacant; and the homage due in this behalf' (*Patent Roll repertory*, 236). His title to these lands was subsequently examined (*CSPI* xiii, 324).

[345] I have not seen this deed.

[346] Niall Garbh Ó Domhnaill was never convicted of treason. For a compelling argument against the credibility of the accusations made against him, see Ó Domhnaill 1942.

Óg; Mac Dermot 1996, 217 observes that Brian was a common name among the Meic Dhiarmada.

3.4 Brian Óg took part in the Contention of the Bards (*Iomarbhágh na bhfileadh*) (c. 1616-17), a great debate in verse on the respective merits of the north and the south of Ireland.[347] He contributed a single quatrain in *deibhidhe* (*óglách*as) (*Iomarbhágh* 26),[348] possibly in support of Aodh Óg Ó Domhnaill (see *Iomarbhágh* 27.8): *Do bhéarmaois dá n-aimh-dheoin féin / go gcead don rígh is dá réim / a gcinn le cois a gcána / ó leath Mogha mhór-dhála*, 'We would carry off in spite of them – by leave of the king and his power – their heads, as well as their tribute, from Leath Mogha so proud'. The fact that Brian Óg acknowledges King James I's exclusive right to regulate war and peace even in this (tongue-in-cheek threat?) is a significant indicator of the degree to which he was comfortable with the new political *status quo* (see Simms 2010, 119-20). Art Óg Ó Caoimh's response characterises Mac Diarmada's contribution as the silly talk (*an chaint bhaoth*) of a deranged poet (*ag ollamh mhear*), a point he hammers home with a number of disparaging comparisons, even suggesting that Mac Diarmada may have been drunk when he composed his poem (*Iomarbhágh* 27). Ó Caoimh also takes Mac Diarmada to task for making empty threats he knows he will never be able to fulfil because the king's permission for the proposed private war against the South will never be forthcoming (*Iomarbhágh* 27.2, 3, 17).[349]

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[347] For this date, see p. liii of Leerssen's new introduction to the *Iomarbhágh*. Poem 26 is attributed only to 'Mac Diarmada' but Art Óg Ó Caoimh's response addressed him as *Brian mac Briain* (*Iomarbhágh* 27.11).

[348] Whatever about the brevity of his contribution, the fact that Mac Diarmada composed this short poem in *óglách*as is indication of limited intellectual achievement. Firstly, he must have been a man of considerable confidence to submit a contribution to a debate that had so animated many learned men who minutely parsed their opponents' compositions. Secondly, *deibhidhe* (*óglách*as) was the metre in which Tadhg mac Dáire had begun the controversy (*Iomarbhágh* 3) and the metre of Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh's retorts to him (*Iomarbhágh* 4, 6). Art Óg Ó Caoimh rebukes Mac Diarmada for taking part with Aodh Óg Ó Domhnaill (*Iomarbhágh* 27.8); Aodh Óg's contribution (*Iomarbhágh* 25) is also in *deibhidhe* (*óglách*as). As such, it was only natural for Brian Óg Mac Diarmada to enter the fray in the same metre in which the majority of the debate had been conducted.

[349] Ó Caoimh is in no doubt that Mac Diarmada keeps the peace (*ag adhradh don tsíoth*; *ó taoi-se ar shíothcháin an ríogh*) (*Iomarbhágh* 27.3, 17). As this fact was also obvious to Brian Óg himself, I would repeat my suggestion above that his contribution was tongue-in-cheek. Note, that despite his boisterous rejoinder, Ó Caoimh still addresses Brian Óg as 'my dear friend from the North' (*a fhir chroidhe don taoibh thuaidh*) (*Iomarbhágh* 27.12).

3.5 On 8 August 1617 (O.S.), Brian Óg was granted his ancestral lands by King James I for rent and knight's service (*Calendar Patent Rolls James I*, 332-3).[350] Mac Dermot 1996, 217-18 calculates that Brian Óg possessed 87 quarters outright, with 74 quarters paying him rent. Several property deeds survive in Coolavin showing that Brian Óg Mac Diarmada mortgaged portions of his property on occasion to meet debts, including mortgaging all his land in 1620 to Galway merchants. Similarly, Uilliam Ó Maoil Mhuaidh of Croghan mortgaged his lands to Brian Óg Mac Diarmada in 1614 (Mac Dermot 1996, 218-19).[351]

3.6 He was created a Justice of the Peace in 1621 and a freeman of the town and corporation of Sligo in 1630 (Mac Dermot 1996, 218). In 1627, he is listed as a commissioner of Co. Roscommon (*CSPI* xvi, 253).

3.7 A long obituary is given in *ALC* ii, 516-19. Brian Óg is described as the lord (*tiagerna* [*sic*]) of Magh Luirg, Airteach[352] and Tír Thuathail.[353] His generosity to the learned classes, to fellow aristocrats, to the poor, widows, the deaf and blind, orphans, religious and the elderly, and the protection he afforded maidens and other innocents is noticed. The annalist remarks that the purity of his life will guarantee his salvation. He is described as

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[350] These lands were created 'the manor of Carrigge-McDermott, with 300^{a} in demesne; power to create tenures; to hold courts leet and baron; to hold a thursday market at Carrigge-McDermott, and a fair there on 29 Jun. and the two following days, unless that day occur on saturday or sunday, in which case the fair is to be held on the monday or tuesday following; with a court of pie-powder [i.e. a court on the occasion of a market] and the usual tolls'. For remarks on the granting of patents to the Gaelic Irish in early modern Ireland, see *NHI* iii, 206-8.

[351] Further details of his holdings of land are given in *Calendar Patent Rolls James I,* 330-332, in the Book of Survey and Distribution for Co. Roscommon (*Survey and distribution* i, 130-167), in Mac Dermot 1996, 464-70 and Cunningham and Gillespie 2003, 41-2, 45-6. For original documents held by the Mac Dermot family, the majority of which originate from Brian Óg's time as head of the family, see NLI Positive 7079. For some remarks on the mortgaging of land in early modern Connacht, see *NHI* iii, 170 and O'Dowd 1991, 76, 82-3, 87, 92-3.

[352] Several Meic Dhiarmada Ghall, who had dominated the area, are mentioned in Brian Óg Mac Diarmada's 1617 Grant (*Calendar Patent Rolls James I*, 330-332). Whatever about lordship, most of Airteach had been acquired by Brian Óg's one-time guardian, Teabóid Dillon (†1624), by the time of Brian Óg's death (Mac Dermot 1996, 445).

[353] The Meic Mhaghnusa and the Meic Dhiarmada Ruadha were the most prominent families in Tír Thuathail, both of whom are well represented as tenants of Brian Óg Mac Diarmada in the 1617 Grant (*Calendar Patent Rolls James I*, 330-332).

fer congmala gach cora, gach cirt ocus gach caoinbes, fer dicuirte gac uilc, gach egcora ocus gach aidmillti; fer cennsaighthi na ccoirtech, ocus na ccoilleched; fer metaighte gach maitiusa ocus gach mortoiche, go niomad dfios ocus deoluis ocus dfoglaim, do gaois, do goil ocus do gaiscid, do brut do brigh ocus do buantoirbirt; fer as mo ro cennaig do duantaib, do drechtaib, ocus do deg moltuibh ina coimre fein; [...] *fer tige aoidhed coitcinn da gach luirg no lenfad é an aimsir a nesbada ocus a nadbail uiresbai*

'the maintainer of every sort of right, justice, and good custom; the expeller of every evil, wrong, and injury; the subduer of the sinful and iniquitous; the augmenter of every good, and of every great property [read 'propriety']; possessed of a great deal of knowledge, wisdom, and learning, of acuteness, bravery, and valour; of energy, vigour, and constant bounty; the man who purchased the most of odes, and poems, and good eulogies, in his own time; [...] a man who kept a general guest-house for all who frequented it in the time of their want and great destitution'

According to the Annals, he died of dysentery (*disinteria*) in Athlone at the Stafford Inquisition, on Saturday, 28 January 1636,[354] having assumed the habit of a Dominican, after thirty three and a quarter years in lordship, aged 53. He was buried in Clonmacnoise on the feast of St Brigit (*ALC* ii, 516-19).[355] Muiris (mac Torna) Ó Maoil Chonaire composed an elegy on his death (*Do leónadh Éire i nÁth Luain*, *FFC*, 283-93).[356] A song on his death

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[354] The year of his death is confirmed by §59 of Brian Óg's elegy (*FFC*, 283-93).

[355] This detail is confirmed by §58 of Brian Óg's elegy (*FFC*, 283-93) which mentions the first of February (*Céd lá challainne Feabhra*) as the date of his burial.

[356] A new edition of this poem is in preparation. The poet declares that Ireland has been wounded by the death of Brian Óg. His death affects Ireland all the more because of his wide network of relations. The burial of his body in Clonmacnoise allows the poet to reflect upon the noble people of various families (including twenty of his own ancestors) that have been buried there. Though the graveyard been neglected by the nobility since the arrival of the English, this reproach is more than compensated for by the new arrival and its status is now higher. The wisdom, learning, valour and generosity (to the poets and the poor) of Brian Óg are praised, including by comparison with legendary figures.

Ó Maoil Chonaire may have been Brian Óg's *ollamh*. He compares his own grief at his death to that of other poets for their patrons (§§45-8) (for 49b *broncabhadh* read *brōn cat*[*h*]*b*[*h*]aidh), says that he would welcome the grave had he forgiveness for his sins and describes him as *aoinfhear órtha ar n-ealadhna*, 'the one man who gilded my poetry', i.e. his primary benefactor? For a poem on the death of this poet, see Ó Muireadhaigh 1973-4. For his eulogy for Aodh Ó Conchobhair (†1632), see *ABM* 369. For two poems on the

beginning *A Chluain Mhic Nóis is mór an t-éacht-sa* has also been preserved in at least three MSS.[357]

3.8 He was married to Mairghréag Burke sometime before 1612 when she is mentioned in an indenture (Mac Dermot 1996, 217).[358] His second son, Cathal Ruadh, married a daughter of Uilliam Ó Maoil Mhuaidh, who had acquired a great deal of territory in the Mac Diarmada heartland, and continued the line after Brian Óg's eldest son, Toirdhealbhach, died without issue (Mac Dermot 1996, 219).

Bardic Poetry in the Seventeenth Century

3.9.0 As the Bardic poems which treat of Brian Óg Mac Diarmada were composed at a critical time for the practice of Bardic poetry, when the bedrock of the aristocratic society it had served for four centuries was being undermined, it may be worth examining whether they provide any evidence of the transition from medieval to modern which Katharine Simms (2010) has recently explored in the case of the poems of Tadhg *Dall* Ó hUiginn (†1592).

Dillon family of Airteach, see *ABM* 380 and 479 and *Gabhaidh mo shuirghe a Shior Lúcáis* (RIA 744 (A v 2), 20a). For his poem in praise of a musician, see McGrath 1953-4, Poem 1.

I recently discovered two further Bardic poems to Brian Óg in Bibliothèque Nationale Paris MS 25,889, editions of which are now being prepared: *Táinig ar cuairt i gceann Bhriain* describes the journey of an unnamed Munster poet to Brian Óg's court and *Méin a chéile ag cloinn Diarmada* treats of his hospitality.

[357] This text is given anonymously in *An Stoc* 8 (3rd series) (Jan./Feb. 1930), pp.4, 11. No translation or notes are provided. A new edition of this poem, which has many similarities to the Bardic elegy described above, is a *desideratum.* The editor has missed what could be an ascription to *Mac Griabhaigh* in RIA I iv 1. The poet rebukes Clonmacnoise for the devastation it has brought to man and nature, mentioning particularly the devastation to the poor and poets, by taking Brian Óg from life and regrets the disruption to the lavishly hospitable court of Loch Cé which is described in a long series of adjectives. He asserts that Clonmacnoise has sought to enhance itself by claiming so famous a lord. The year of his death is given. The poet praises his character, particularly his generosity, and then reflects upon his own sorrow at his death and prays for Brian Óg's soul.

[358] Mairghréag Burke was the daughter of Richard Burke of Derrymaclaughna, Co. Galway. Her mother was a daughter of the earl of Clanricard. She had previously been engaged to Tadhg Ó Briain (the 1595 indenture concerning their engagement is preserved as Coolavin MS 81) but he died in 1601. This deed was witnessed by, among others, Maoilín Mac Bruaideadha who is very likely to be the Maoilín Óg Mac Bruaideadha who translated the New Testament into Irish. I am grateful to Katharine Simms for discussing this with me and providing me with a copy of her forthcoming paper on Maoilín Óg.

3.9.1 Brian Óg, like his father, the patron of *ALC*, had a high level of literacy. Though more and more aristocratic Gaels received formal education in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century (see Simms 2010, 126-32), many of Brian Óg's neighbours were still, unlike him, unable to sign their own names to legal documents (NLI Positive 7079). He had been educated in Trinity College and almost certainly spoke English.[359] He contributed a poem to the Contention of the Bards, and its brevity, far from proving the limited extent of his learning, suggests that unlike Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir's famous love-poem (see Mac Craith 2006), he (and not a poet ghost-writer) was indeed its author.

3.9.2 Turning to the poetry, it is probably significant that the present poem has no reference to the symptoms of *fír flaithemon*, the fertility and tranquility of the human and natural world brought about by the honorand. The re-occupation of the traditional capital of the kingdom of Magh Luirg would surely provide an appropriate occasion for a treatment of a paradisal new dawn for the land, particularly as the transformation of the Rock from a bustling lordly residence to a ruined castle and back again would chime so well with the traditional conception of the lordship as a female sovereignty figure subject to the same sorts of transformations depending upon the fortunes of her rulers.[360] The clue to the absence of any reference to *fír flaithemon* may be found in Brian Óg's elegy:

> *Dá madh gnáth tré dhul dhuine / saobhadh na ndúl ndaonnuidhe / go mbiadh gach fairge 'na fuil / tré Bhrian na Cairge as cosmhuil. / 'S ní bhiadh sriobh acht 'na linn láin / iar n-éag chinnbhile Cruacháin / ná luindir i ngaibh gréine / tré chuingidh chláir Choirshléibhe. / 'S ní bhiadh tré bhás an deighfhir / dá madh nós é ar aitheighidh / iasc i dtráigh ná tairthe fiodh / acht pláigh dá aithle is oighriodh,*
>
> (§§39-41 *Do leónadh Éire i nÁth Luain*, *FFC*, 283-93)
>
> 'If it were usual for the elements to be disrupted by the death of a man, it is likely that the sea would become blood because of the death of Brian of the Rock; and there would not be a single stream that did not overflow after the death of the hero of Cruachán, or brightness in the sun's rays because of the death of the champion of the plain of the Curlews; and, if this custom were observed, because of the death of the

[359] Note the use of uncommon English loanwords in this poem (6b *cainéal*, 32a *sighneóir*).

[360] For a possible reference to the lord's union with the sovereignty figure, see §9.

noble man, there would be no fish in the sea or fruit on trees but plagues and ice in his wake'

The sceptical manner in which this is phrased (*Dá madh gnáth tré dhul duine*)[361] is unsurprising given the intellectual landscape in which its author wrote (Muiris Ó Maoil Chonaire, 'the Fifth Master', was a man familiar with Classical literarture who played a part in the creation of *AFM*, a historiographical project of the intellectual Counter Reformation network based on the Continent (see Ó Muireadhaigh 1973-4)) but also may be indicative of the more educated aristocratic audience's (or paymaster's) attitude towards descriptions of the natural world that could not be reconciled with their lived experience and understanding of the world.[362]

3.9.3 Another point worth mentioning in this regard is the characterisation of Brian Óg as a warrior. Ó Maoil Chonaire states:

> *Eineach Guaire, gaiscidh Finn, / breatha reachtgha an rí Féilim, / teasgasc ríogh Cormuic í Chuinn, / sa ghníomh oirdhruic do fhoghluim. / Do Bhrian fá haithghin oile / Murchadh mac Briain Bóroimhe / nó mac an Chairte* [read *Chairthe*?] *chalma / slat aithne gach ealadhna. / A mhian féin fuair gach duine / ón tshaoi mur Laoch Liathmhuine / seoid uaidhe fós do gach fear / do nós Guaire na nGaoidheal*
>
> (§§42-4 *Do leónadh Éire i nÁth Luain*, *FFC*, 283-93)
>
> 'The liberality of Guaire, the valour of Fionn, the just judgements of the king Féilim, [Brian Óg] has learnt the *speculum principis* of Cormac grandson of Conn and his

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[361] The *amhrán* on Brian Óg's death has no such reservation: *Do mhúch tú teas 's gal na gréine, / do chuir tú brat ar fad i n-éasga / ní léir do chách solus réaltan, / 's níor fhág tú deór 's na spéiribh*, 'You [Clonmacnoise] have extinguished the heat and light of the sun, you have wrapped the moun in a shade, no-one can see the light of the stars, and you have left not a drop in the heavens'.

[362] Note Tadhg mac Dáire's partisan response during Contention of the Bards to Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh's catalogue of natural phenomena (such as the bursting forth of lakes) associated with kings descended from Éireamhón: *Dá maoidhe tú mar bhreith gill / oibrighthe Dé dóibh ré linn / ar Ioruaidh is maoidhte sin / breith Críost ré linn i mBeithil.* [...] *Gibé maith nó saith do niad / nocha maoidhte ar éin-rígh iad / acht ar an rígh as rí ar nimh / nar iarr congnamh fá ndéinimh*, 'If you attribute to them as a mark of superiority the operations of God in their day you should attribute to Herod Christ's birth at Bethlehem in his reign. [...] Whatever good or harm they [rivers, lakes and pools] do is not to be attributed to any king, but to the King of kings in Heaven who asked no one's help in creating them' (*Iomarbhágh* 5.51, 55).

famous deeds. Murchadh son of Brian Bóraimhe or the son of the pillar-stone (?) [i.e. Cú Chulainn?] were incarnations of Brian, the youth learned in every science. Every man got what he wanted from the master who resembled the hero of Liathmhaine;[363] he still had riches for every man, like Gaelic Guaire'[364]

Hospitality is certainly something for which Brian could be praised. As a justice of the peace and a landlord with judicial responsibilities, the traditional praise of a king for his jurisprudence (see Poem 3.10a and note) has in fact gained, and not lost, relevance in the early modern period. But outside of Bardic poetry and a vague reference to martial skill in his death-notice in *ALC*, I have no evidence whatsoever that Brian Óg ever saw battle.

Further intriguing evidence relevant to this point is found later in the poem. The main body of the poem closes and is followed by two series of supplementary quatrains. In the first, the poet declares that Brian Óg is 'like unto Oscar in battle' (*samhail Oscair i n-iorghail*) (53d). The second series of supplementary quatrains, however, contains the following interesting observation:

Ní shaoilim roimhe go raibh / a samhail so do mharbhnaidh / ag neach dá fhlaithréim mar [read *'ma*?] *leacht / gan chaithréim creach is coinbhliocht. / Léir san aimsir fuair re linn / gur chuir a ainm fa Éirinn / lór d'iomrádh an uairse ar neach / uaisle iomlán is eineach*

'I do not think that any of his princely predecessors ever before had such a graveside (?) elegy – one without a battle-roll of preys and conflicts. It is clear that in the time he had, he spread his fame throughout Ireland; it is enough now to say about a man that he was truly noble and generous'

(§§60-1 *Do leónadh Éire i nÁth Luain*, *FFC*, 283-93)

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[363] Brian Óg's grandfather is so called in his obit in *ALC.* See *ALC* ii, 388-9 and n.5.

[364] Cf. (from another elegy by the same poet) *Tarla a nAodh eineach Gúiare / gaisgedh Chon na Cráobhrúaidhe / gnúis fhial as oirrderc betha / ciall Cormaic 's a ceirtbhretha*, 'Aodh [Ó Conchobhair Donn (†1632)], a noble countenance of famed life, was blessed with the hospitality of Guaire, the valour of Cú [Chulainn] of the Redbranch, and the wisdom and sound judgements of Cormac' (*ABM* 369.34).

It is difficult to believe that these two series of supplementary quatrains were written by the same poet, unless he did not notice that he was contradicting himself; rather it seems more likely that the second series was added by another poet, perhaps on the occasion of a later anniversary of Brian Óg's death.[365] His mention of the absence of the traditional battle-roll from the elegy does not regret its omission or seek to introduce a belated catalogue of victories; indeed, the poet's subsequent remarks suggest that he is conscious of the deceased chief's lack of military exploits.

In the present poem, the martial images of §§32 and 34 are, therefore, hardly as credible as those of erudition, wealth and building works in §33. It was because Brian Óg obeyed the law of the land and observed the injunction against private wars that Art Ó Caoimh could characterise his threat of a northern invasion as nonsense (*an chaint bhaoth*) (see ¶3.4 above); Brian Óg did not operate in the political landscape that his father had only a generation earlier (see Simms 2010, 119-20). What is interesting is that, in contrast to the more modern scepticism regarding *fír flaithemon* (¶4.2.1 above), at least some poets who came to praise Brian Óg found it difficult to do so while staying true to the facts regarding his (non-existent) military career; they (or those who commissioned them) could not resolve the tension between the inherited panegyric code, which required at least a token reference to the military prowess of the honorand, and the political realities in which their celebrands now operated.[366]

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[365] 'Occasionally one might doubt whether the poet who composed a particular poem also composed the additional quatrains, or, where it is clear that he did, whether he composed them at the same time as the original poem' (Ó Háinle 1991, 87). A case in point, although the question of its authorship is not discussed by Ó Háinle, is *A chláirseach Chnuic Í Choscair* (*IBP* 15). The poem 'consists of twenty-two quatrains, ten of which form the basic poem, which is followed by twelve supplementary quatrains' (Ó Háinle 1991, 90). The poem is ascribed in one MS (RIA A iv 3) to Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh, though this ascription is not found in other MSS. If the ascription is accurate, it probably only applies to 'the basic poem'. Among the supplementary quatrains are verses in honour of Colm Cille and St Peter (§§20-1), but Gofraidh Fionn's particular devotion was to St Michael (Ó Háinle 1991, 88), making it doubtful that he was the author of at least some of the supplementary quatrains.

[366] If the elegist could not supply the names of battles in which his honorand had covered himself with glory, he does emphasise Brian Óg's connection to the noble families of Ireland (genealogical name-dropping), as well as giving a roll-call of noble ancestors and historical figures buried in the same graveyard. See, for example, *A gcroidhe do chuilg a ghoimh / Raghallaigh agus Ruarcoigh / síol gConuill is Eoghain Fhéil / crobhaing dá bhfeolfhuil eiséin. / A bhás as díth don deaghfhóir / síol Ír, Éibhir, Éireamhóin / mé dá maoidheadh nocha nár / a ngaoilfhear é go hiomlán* (§§9-10 *Do leónadh Éire i nÁth Luain*, *FFC*, 283-93), 'The hearts of the Í

THE ARGUMENT

4.0 An inquisition made in 1592 describes the Mac Diarmada fortress on the Rock as being in ruins (Mac Dermot 1996, 168). Conchobhar Mac Diarmada, who reigned as chief from 1592 to 1603, seems to have commissioned Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa to compose *An tusa ar gcéadaithne, a Charrag?* (*DiD* 68) to announce a renovation of the island residence which, Ó hEóghusa claims, had been ruined by foreign violence (*foirneart eachtrann*) (*DiD* 68.18; see Poem 6 ¶5(c)): the promise of §§32-4 of Ó hEóghusa's poem is that Conchubhar Mac Diarmada will restore the Rock to its former glory in the near future.[367] Whether Conchubhar Mac Diarmada's renovations were ever begun or were completed under Brian Óg Mac Diarmada or whether Brian Óg undertook a new restoration effort, the occasion of the re-inhabitation of the island was a moment of great signifance and it is no surprise that Brian Óg Mac Diarmada's installation on the Rock was celebrated with a Bardic poem.[368]

4.1 This is a poem in praise of the house of Brian Óg Mac Diarmada.[369] The Rock has once again become inhabited (§§4-5). Its present state is contrasted with its previous degradation (§§11-15). The transformation of the Rock was made possible by Brian Óg Mac Diarmada (§§16-21). Those frequenting the Rock and its furnishing are described (§§21-5, 28-30). The

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Raghallaigh, the Í Ruairc, the Í Dhomhnaill and the Í Néill have been pierced by his demise; he was their flesh and blood. His death means ruin for the noble band, the descendants of Íor, Éibhear and Éireamhón; it is right for me to recount it – he was their kinsman all' and *Fa ríghte ar tuladh Dhá-thí / Toirdhealbhach trén is Ruaidhrí / an dá mhír chruadha ó Bhóinn Bhreagh / a róimh Cluana do cuireadh* [...] *Fiche dá fhreimh ní ríomh beag / Brian an t-aonmhadh flaith fichead / mór roinn buadha ó Bhúill na sreabh / fa úir Cluan do ceileadh* (§§22, 34), 'Mighty Toirdhealbhach and Ruaidhrí, the two pieces of hard steel from Bregia's Boyne, were kings of Tara – they [too] were buried in the sanctuary of Clonmacnoise. Twenty kings (no small numbers) of his line (Brian is the twenty-first) have been buried beneath the soil of Clonmacnoise – a great and excellent party from Boyle of the streams'. The enumeration of the honorand's powerful relatives and noble ancestors may have had (and been designed to have) something of the effect of a battle-roll on the contemporary audience.

[367] For the archaeology of the Loch Cé site, see O'Conor 2001 and 2010. Brian senior had himself begun to construct a lordly residence on the Rock in 1578 (see Poem 5 ¶3.14.5).

[368] Brian Óg Mac Diarmada's possession of the Rock of Loch Cé is praised in the following terms in his elegy (§56 *Do leónadh Éire i nÁth Luain*, *FFC*, 283-93): *Teach Miodhchuarta, muir Meadhbha, / Caruig na bhfleadh bhfíneamhna / ag Brian do bhíodh san mbaile / fíon is cliar i gcomhnuidhe*, 'The Rock of the wine-feasts was Teach Miodhchuarta, the house of Meadhbh; Brian was wont to have wine and poets in the house always'.

[369] For a discussion of house poems as historical evidence, see Simms 2001.

poem concludes with a number of quatrains in praise of Brian Óg Mac Diarmada (§§31-4),[370] his wife (§§35-6) and a duty quatrain which the poet adds to the poem in praise of another patron (§37).

DATE OF COMPOSITION

5 As the celebrand is addressed as Mac Diarmada in §17, he must have been chief of the name at the time the poem was composed. Brian Óg succeeded to the chieftainship in 1603 (*ALC* ii, 516-19). He was married to his wife (praised in §§35-6) by 1612 at the latest; Mac Dermot 1996, 217 suggests a date no later than 1610, but it is unknown exactly when the marriage took place. It seems most likely that our poem was composed c. 1605/6, at the end of the honorand's minority, on the occasion of his taking up residence on the Rock.

METRE

6.0 The poem is in *deibhidhe* metre and, for the most part, fulfils the requirements of *dán díreach* (see the faulty rhyme in 15cd).

6.1 There is *breacadh* in §§12 (*do-chonnarc* : *nocht* : *do-chonnarc*) and 29 (*líontair* : *líontair* : *fiontoigh*).

6.2 There are *dúnta* at §34 (1a ***ál**ainn*, 34d *band**ál***), where the main body of the poem ends and the supplementary quatrains to the honorand's wife begin, and at §36 (1a *álainn*, 36d *álainn*) where the supplementary quatrains to the wife conclude. The final quatrain of the poem, a supplementary quatrain in honour of Mág Aonghusa (see ¶2.3 above), may also have have a *dúnadh* (1a ***á**lainn*, 37d *abhairs**e***), but this is less clear.

[370] These four quatrains consist of a string of kennings in quick succession building up to the *dúnadh* of §34 (see ¶6.2). For this rhetorical device, see Poem 1 ¶4.0.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Maynooth B8	Critical Edition
1 Álain*n* cláochlodh na cairrge.	1 Álainn claochlódh na Cairrge,
mion*n* súl éirean*n* easgairge ~~	mionn súl Éireann easghairge,
róimh fhileadh árais na n*ar*t.	róimh fhileadh árais na nArt,
sighion chádhais na ccon*nacht* ~~	sighean chádhais na gConnacht.

1 Wonderful is the transformation of the Rock, the marvel of Ireland of turbulent rapids, the capital of the poets of Ireland, the sign of the honour of Connacht.

2 Cúirt mháoil rúanaigh an roshlóigh.	2 Cúirt Mhaoil Ruanaidh an roshlóigh
coitchen*n* ghnáth ghuirt ph*ár*tolóin	coitcheann ghnáth ghuirt Phártholóin,
iosdadh lan*n*glan lacha cé.	iosdadh lannghlan Lacha Cé,
go namladh datha a nduibhré ~~	go n-amhladh datha i nduibhré.

2 The court of Maol Ruanaidh of the great host is the common resort of Ireland, the dwelling bright with blades on Loch Cé, lit up even on the darkest night.

3 Domnus fa díon *ar* chogthaibh.	3 Domhnas fa díon ar chogthaibh,
loingsioch thaidg t*r*eabh tomalt*aigh*	loingtheach Taidhg, treabh Thomaltaigh,
sdiúir an*n*sa oiléin na bhfion*n*.	sdiúir annsa oiléin na bhFionn,
soiléir sa[371] namsa a hin*n*eall.	soiléir 'san am-sa a hinneall.

3 Tadhg's mansion, the house of Tomaltach, was an abode that gave shelter against wars, the beloved helm of Ireland – its condition is now apparent.

4 T*árr*aidh imirce an ú*air*se.	4 Tárraidh imirce an uair-se
d*ar*[372] núadhaigh sí a seanúaisle	dar nuadhaigh sí a seanuaisle,
adhbha go niollradh sochar.	adhbha go n-iollradh sochar –
fioghradh anma an tathrachadh	fioghradh anma an t-athrachadh.

4 A migration has taken place – the change is a portent of renown! – because of which the dwelling-place with many dues has renewed its ancient nobility.

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[371] The scribe seems originally to have written *na* but superimposed *s* over the *n*. In the right-hand margin, he writes *x sa*, no doubt referring to this emendation.

[372] The *d* seems to be an *s* corrected to a *d*.

5 Dár chéimnigh don chursa a ttír.	5 Dar chéimnigh don chur-sa i dtír
dinis locha cé cnismhín	d'Inis Locha Cé cnismhín
son*n* an dáil gháoidheal is gall.	sonn an dáil Ghaoidheal 's Ghall –
sái*mh* an áoibheal nos adhnan*n*	sáimh an aoibheal nos-adhnann.

5 [A migration] because of which the assembly of Gaels and Galls has now come ashore here on the island of smooth-surfaced Loch Cé – pleasant is the spark that sets it alight!

6 Taighleach taithnemh a brollaigh.	6 Taighleach taitneamh a brollaigh
ós bhrú an cainéil chiúinthon*n*aigh	ós bhrú an chainéil chiúnthonnaigh,
ráth in*n*ilte an áolgrúaidh the.	ráth innilte an aolghruaidh the;
ráonbhúaidh nimirce uirthe	raonbhuaidh n-imirce uirthe.

6 Dazzling is the glimmering of its mound above the bank of the placid lake, the fortified rath of the warm lime-white cheek man; it has known the very best migration.

7 Coimhdhes a ccen*n* na treibhe.	7 Coimhdheas i gceann na treibhe
an c*air*peach san coisighe ~~	an cairp[d]each 's an coisighe;
treabh nach cailg file na fáidh.	treabh nach cailg file ná fádh
slighe as gach *air*d na horrl*ár*	slighe as gach aird 'na horlár.

7 Both the horseman and the foot-soldier are equally entitled to head to the house [on Loch Cé]; the family whom no poet or learned man satirises, [there is] a path from every direction into their house.

8 Toirtheach don tra*cht* n*ar* chomhnaigh.	8 Toirtheach don trácht nár chomhnaigh
os loch cé an chl*air* órcholb*aigh* ~~	ós Loch Cé an chláir órcholbhaigh,
ar cion*n* ghasroigheadh bfear bfáil.	ar cionn ghasroidheadh bhfear bhFáil,
t*r*eabh na snasmoigheadh sodháin*n*	treabh na snasmhoigheadh sodháin.

8 The house of the glimmering prosperous plains over Loch Cé of the golden-shored plain that awaits the warriors of the men of Ireland is thronging from the traffic that never ceases.

9 An lerg álain*n* rér áoi son*n.*	9 An learg álainn rer [fh]aoi sonn
d*ar* chédain*m* cnoc an ghabhan*n*	dar chéadainm Cnoc an Ghabhann
a hégosg ríamh roimhe so.	a héagosg riamh roimhe só
cían oroile sa tamsa ~~	cian ó [a]r-oile 's a[n] t-am-sa.

9 The beautiful slope with which a hero has mated, which was first known as Cnoc an Ghabhann, was in a state of dilapidation for a long time before this.

10 Coimhidhches nach cúis osnuigh.	10 Coimhidhcheas nach cúis osnaidh
gach sgíamh núa a tta an tul*ach*sin	gach sgiamh nua i dtá an tulach-sain;
do fhion*n*maoíd ní n*áir* anos.	do-fhionnmaoid (ní náir a-nos):
sáimh gach io*m*laoíd *ar* fheabhas	sáimh gach iomlaoid ar fheabhas.

10 Every new appearance in which the mound appears is a novelty that is no cause of sorrow; we know (no cause of regret now!): pleasant is every change for the better.

11 T*árr*asa an ttulaigh ródmháoith.	11 Tárrasa an dtulaigh ródmhaoith –
sní hí *ar* ccuimhne chédógláoich	's ní hí ar gcuimhne chéadóglaoich –
na rían forbhaisi fe*cht* naill.	'na rian forbhaise feacht n-aill,
be*ar*t da hormaisi aguin*n* ~	beart dá hormhaise againn.

11 On another occasion, as I sought to reach it, I came upon the mound of smooth roads – and it was not so long ago – when it was besieged.

12 Do chon*nair*c í an u*air* fa coill.	12 Do-chonnarc í an uair fa coill
imle cúan*n*a a cladh ndíoghuin*n* ~~	imle cuanna a cladh ndíoghainn,
áite téag*air*the a treabh no*cht*.	áite téagairthe a treabh nocht;
seal da cédaithne ad chon*nair*c.	seal dá céadaithne ad-chonnarc.

12 I saw it when the fine edges of its firm ramparts [and] the sheltered dwellings of its [then] roofless houses were a wood; I saw it awhile as it once was.

13 Gan rion*n*adh mbrea*cht*a *ar* bhord mbláith.	13 Gan rionnadh mbreachta ar bhord mbláith,
gan brat síoda na sion*n*áith	gan bhrat síoda ná sionnáith,
gan aidhbh cceóil do chon*nar*c soin.	gan aidhbh gceoil do-chonnarc soin
fa t*r*omfholt bhfeóir is bfíoghraigh	fa thromfholt bhfeoir is bhfiodhraidh.

13 Without variegated engraving upon [its] smooth table, without a mantle of silk or sendal, without a musical instrument, I saw it overgrown with grass and wood.

14 Tulach cáoin chnuic an gabhan*n*.	14 Tulach caoin chnuic an Ghabhann
sáimh an ú*air*si a hiomtaghall ~~	sáimh an uair-se a hiomthadhall;
do chí an chaillgheal glais shlim glan.	do-chiú an caillgheal glaisshlim glan,
taibhreadh nach aisling uathmh*ar*	taibhreadh nach aisling uathmhar.

14 It is a pleasure now to visit the beautiful mound of Cnoc an Ghabhann; I see the smooth, green, beautiful [hill] white with hazels – a vision that is not a nightmarish apparition!

15 Tug éccruth *ar* aoibh sochma.	15 Tug éagruth ar aoibh sochma,
tug fianbhotha fhula*cht*a ~~	tug fianbhotha fulachta
ar ríoghbhrugh nach ród biodhb*adh.*	ar ríoghbhrugh nach ród biodhbhadh,
líonmh*ar* nóg is ninghenradh	líonmhar n-óg is n-ingheanradh.

15 It has exchanged deformity for a pleasant appearance, nomadic field-tents for a palace that is not attacked by enemies, thronging with warriors and bands of maidens.

16 C*arr*acc locha cé as caoín sd*air*.	16 Carrag Locha Cé is caoin sdair
ó thug brían m*ac* bríain dúanaigh.	ó thig Brian mac Briain duanaigh
go tul*aigh* na ttir*m*shreabh tte.	go tulaigh na dtirmshreabh dte
ní cumhain imneadh oile ~~	ní cumhain imneadh oile.

16 Since Brian son of poetical Brian came to the mound of warm shallow streams, the Rock of Loch Cé, whose history is noble, there has been no cause for worry.

17 Mac D*íar*mada dhúin meidhbhe.	17 Mac Diarmada dhúin Mheidhbhe
búaghach bláth a imeirge ~~	buadhach bláth a imeirghe
ar chúirt lacha cráob*aigh* cé.	ar chúirt Lacha craobhaigh Cé –
fatha áonaigh is uirre ~~[373]	fatha aonaigh is uirré.

17 Mac Diarmada of the fort of Meadhbh, triumphant is the blossoming [caused by] his migration to the palace of woody Loch Cé – a cause of assembly and of homage.

18 F*ear* tug na ttolchaibh áonaigh.	18 Fear tug 'na dtolchaibh aonaigh
fánta a bfoithreadh mbiothbhaoghail	fánta a foithreadh mbiothbhaoghail,
leabtha d*r*oibhélta a damh seng.	leabtha droibhéalta a damh seang;
goibhélta a magh sa maoílenn ~	goibhéalta a magh 's a maoileann.

18 [Mac Diarmada] is a man who has turned the slopes of its ever-dangerous wild woods, the inaccessible beds of its slender stags, into hills of assembly; its plain and its summit are [now] accessible.

[373] Catchword *fear tug*.

19 Maith sén d*ar* chin*n* an ch*arr*ag.	19 Maith séan dar chinn an Charrag,
leis don chéloch cubh*ar* rod ~[374]	leis don Chéaloch cubharrod,
croidhe míc*r*úaich mac meadhbha.	croidhe míochruaidh, mac Meadhbha,
slat go cc*r*íochbhúaidh ccin*n*emhna	slat go gcríochbhuaidh gcinneamhna.

19 Great the good fortune in which the Rock emerged triumphant – his [coming] to great-foaming (?) Loch Cé, a soft-heart, the son of Meadhbh, the scion most favoured by destiny.

20 Ógdha rath a rio*cht* doilbhthe.	20 Óghdha rath: a riocht doilbhthe,
soinmhec aige a hathraighthe ~	soinmheach aige a hathraighthe;
maith tráth do iomlat orra.	maith tráth do iomlait orra –
fáth an iomlait etorra ~~	fáth an iomlait eatorra.

20 Perfect the good fortune; the changes to [the Rock's] deformed appearance that it has brought about are for the better; it was high time [the Rock] exchanged [the deformed appearance] for them – this was the reason one was exchanged for the other.

[374] This half-quatrain is book-ended by caret marks. The scribe initially began the line *Maith séndar.* A line was drawn later to separate *sén* and *dar.* At the end of the line, after the second caret mark, the scribe has written *Maith sén.* The correction seems to concern the proper word division. In addition, the scribe initially wrote *don* after *chinn* but deleted it by surrounding it with dots.

21 Iomdha aniú a hughd*air* acla.	21 Iomdha a-niú a hughdair acla,
a breitimh a ban*n*tra*cht*a ~~	a breithimh, a banntrachta,
lu*cht* cluithe on cíallda gach sd*air*.	lucht cluithe ón ciallda gach sdair,
a sruithe a fíana a feallsai*mh*	a sruithe, a fiana, a feallsaimh.

21 Many today are its eloquent (?) learned men, its jurists, its womenfolk, players who can elucidate every tale, its sages, its war-bands, its philosophers.

22 Amlach cráoibhredh a corn mbreac.	22 Amhlach craoibhreadh a corn mbreac,
goid sgíthe sgía*m*[*h*] a háoilleac	goid sgíthe sgiamh a haoilleac,
crúdh ainchena a náille a fuin*n*.	crúdh aincheana i n-áille a fuinn,
sáimhe a f*air*cheadha fulaing	sáimhe a faircheadha fulaing.

22 The branches on its patterned goblets are beautifully ornamented, the splendour of its lime-white stones steals away sorrow, the beauty of its land resolves enmity, its subject-territories are at peace.

23 Díol taithneamha tla*cht* a múr.	23 Díol taitneamha tlacht a múr:
fioghracha a froightheadh snas úr	fioghracha a froightheadh snasúr
go mb*rioc*ht bpíasd niongn*adh* as nén.	go mbriocht bpiasd n-iongnadh is n-éan,
go bfioghr*adh* íasg na naigén	go bhfioghradh iasg na n-aigéan.

23 The ornamentation of its walls is a cause of delight – the carvings of its freshly finished inner-walls with engravings of exotic beasts and birds [and] representations of the fish of the seas.

24 Gein*n*tligheac*ht* gátta toile.	24 Geintligheacht ghada toile
agá finisdrib fú*ar*ghloine ~~	'gá finisdribh fuarghloine
go sreith leabh*ar* as c*r*aobh ccéoil.	go sreith leabhar is chraobh gceóil
d*ar* grenadh áobh an aigheóir	dar greanadh aobh an ai-eóir.

24 [It is] an enchanting magic by which the beauty of the sky and a plethora of books and musical instruments are made to appear marvellous by windows of cold glass.

25 Ní héidche an toireac menma.	25 Ní héidche an t-oireac meanma
sd*air*theacha a sdúagh loin*nearr*dha	sdairtheacha a sduagh loinneardha,
sgríbhne a cl*ár* ndlúmhacl*aidh* nderg.	sgríbhne a clár ndlúmhaclaidh ndearg,
lán do rúnfhocl*aibh* rithlerg	lán do rúnfhoclaibh rithlearg.

25 No less wonderful as a feast for the mind are the writings in its shining arches [or] the manuscripts of its dense, smooth, red panels, full of the mysterious words of *rithlearga*.

26 Réim ésga ag éirghe ó bhrataibh.	26 Réim éasga ag éirghe ó bhrataibh,
cédf*aidh* cháigh da hiomlataibh	céadfaidh cháigh dá hiomlataibh;
rin*n* áoibhe gach tráth *ar* an t*r*eibh.	rinn aoibhe gach tráth 'gan treibh,
saoíre sa chách a caidribh ~	saoire sa chách a caidribh.

26 When the moon rises above the clouds, all gaze upon its metamorphoses; at all times the house [on the Rock] is unmatched for beauty, nobler and nobler are its companies (?).

27 Do chon*narc* cnoc an ghabhan*n*.	27 Do chonnarc Cnoc an Ghabhann
na ttra*cht* nd*air*ghech ndubhadhon*n*	na dtrácht ndairgheach ndumhadhonn,
fís da tt*ár*aidh teg*ar* lán.	fís dá dtáraidh teagar lán,
eag*ar* sághail go sodhán ~~~~	eagar sádhail go sodhán.

27 I saw Cnoc an Ghabhann of the oak-covered brown-duned beaches, a vision which was successfully set in order [and] comfortably arranged.

28 Róimh choitcion*n ar* cion*n* aoídheadh.	28 Róimh choitcheann ar cionn aoidheadh
don dulsa a niath fhion*n*ghaoídheal	don dul-sa i n-iath fhionnGhaoidheal,
lerg bhen*n*ghlan nach bí gan fhios.	learg bheannghlan nach bí gan fhios,
d*ar* deghladh í re hainchios ~~~	dar deaghladh í re haincheas

28 [There is] a universally-acknowledged sanctuary for guests now in the land of fair Gaels by which the famed slope of clear peaks has been parted from sorrow.

29 An maighen fan meirbh dérfrais.	29 An mhaighean fan meirbh déarfhrais
líont*ar* dechra a hoirmhénais	líontair d'eachra a hoirmhéanais;
líont*air* a múir do mhacr*aidh.*	líontair a múir do mhacraidh
mun bfíontoigh núir nilra*cht*aigh	'mun bhfíontoigh n-úir n-iolrachtaigh.

29 The residence around which a shower falls softly, its ... is filled with steeds; its walls are filled with youths around the bright wine-house that has changed its form.

30 Líont*air* a léibhin*n* chaithmhe.	30 Líontair a léibhinn chaithmhe
go ccaithaoíribh cumdaighthe ~~~	go gcathaoiribh cumhdaighthe
duaislibh sochaidhe crú ccuin*n*.	d'uaislibh sochaidhe crú gCuinn
anú um chothaighe ó cc*rí*omhthuin*n*	a-nú um chothaighe ó gCriomhthuinn.

30 Today its banqueting daises with [their] ornate chairs are filled with the noble host descended from Conn about the protector of the descendants of Criomhthann.

31 Posd a ríaghladh do reir uird.	31 Posd a riaghlaidh do réir uird
ag cuirt mhóir mhuighe fionnluirg	i gcúirt mhóir Mhuighe fionnLuirg:
coghnach baoílle brían seghsa.	codhnach Baoille, Brian Seaghsa,
grían áoibhe na heirion*n*sa ~~	grian aoibhe na hÉireann-sa.

31 They [the Irish of §30] have a lord to rule them as is right in the great mansion of fair Magh Luirg: the lord of Boyle, Brian of the Curlews, the beautiful sun of Ireland.

32 Sighneóir síthe ₇ cogaidh.	32 Sighneóir síthe agus cogaidh,
drithle as dísle beóchogail ~~~	drithle is dísle beóchogail,
sgoth in*n*imh é*cht*phóir na n*a*rt.	sgoth innimh éachtphóir na nArt,
féchthóir g*r*inn*n*il na nguasa*cht*	féagthóir grinnil na nguasacht.

32 The one entrusted to make peace or war, the flame whose burning embers do not go out, the prosperous scion of the heroic seed of the *Art*s, the one who seeks out the site of danger.

33 Bre*cht*aighe bruighean namlach.	33 Breachtaighe bruighean n-amhlach,
foirm cumhdaigh chesd neal*adh*nach	foirm chumhdaigh cheasd n-ealadhnach,
fírghein go bfor*air*e a rath.	fírghein go bhfaraire a rath,
sgríbhnigh m*ar*uighe marcach~~~	sgríbhnidh, maraighe, marcach.

33 The adorner of beautiful banqueting halls, one who frames questions pertaining to poetry, a noble scion who protects his dues, a scribe, a mariner and a horse-rider.

34 Troigh bhiothfhliuc go mbúaidh ccin*n*idh.	34 Troigh bhithfhliuch go mbuaidh gcinnidh,
fál na bfearan*n* leithimil	fál na bhfearann leithimil,
sgíath ráonchon*nacht* rélta lán.	sgiath raonChonnacht, réalta lán,
saorclan*nacht* bhréagtha ban*n*ál. al	saorchlannacht bhréagtha bannál.

34 The victorious ever-wet foot, the wall protecting the border territories, the shield of the plain of Connacht, a full star, nobility which seduces groups of women.

35 Molt*ar* tré mh*air*greig a Búrc.

magh luirg da lenan*n* fíondrú*cht*

mhóras lagh c*air*ge na ccrech.

toil gach cailge do chuibreach

35 Moltar tre Mhairghréig a Búrc

Magh Luirg dá leanann fíondrúcht,

mhóras lagh Cairrge na gcreach

tal gach cailge do chuibhreach.

35 Magh Luirg where nobles abound earns praise on account of Mairghréag a Búrc, she who desires to restain all enmity, who increases the fame of the Rock of the cattle-spoils.

36 Súgh o*cht*a ír is serlais.

pailm mhoighe haoí fhóidfherglais

gnúis ríoghnamhail nach doi<r>bh doirr.

go bfoirm fhíordhomhain al*ainn* // al*ainn* // cl

36 Súgh ochta Ír is Séarlais,

pailm Mhoighe hAoi fhóidfhéarghlais,

gnúis ríoghnamhail nach doirbh doirr

go bhfoirm fhíordhomhain álainn.

36 The descendant of Íor and Séarlas, the palm of grassy Magh Aoi, the queenly countenance whose anger is not difficult [to placate], with a truly thoughtful beautiful appearance.

37 Mag aonghasa a heamhain fin*n*.	37 Mág Aonghasa a hEamhain fhinn,
mac dí*ar*mad dhúin oirill ~~~~	Mac Diarmad[a] Dhúin Oirill,
soighneach órtha an cl*ár* cuin*n*si.	soighneach ortha an clár Cuinn-se;
cladh orchra as danfab*air*si	cládh orchra is dá n-abhairse.

37 Mág Aonghasa from fair Eamhain [Macha], Mac Diarmada of Dún Oirill, they are beloved by Ireland; the end of woe is their forte!

1b *Mionn súl* 'attractive site, cynosure' is used frequently in Bardic poetry in praise of celebrands (e.g. *smo mionn súil re fhaicsinn ann*, 'and the desire of my eyes is to see him there', §17d *Cóir fáilte re fear do scéil*, Kennedy and Macbain 1894, 240-44) and of sacred personages and objects such as the Cross (eg. *ar mionn súl croch an Choimdheadh*, 'the Lord's Cross is our treasure' (*AiD* 88.25a)). In the Bardic elegy on his death, Brian Óg is described as *mionn súl is buime na mbocht* (§33 *Do leónadh Éire i nÁth Luain*, *FFC*, 283-93), 'the delight and fosternurse of the poor'. *Mionn súl* also refers to places: in *AiD* 88.21, Holy Cross Abbey is addressed as *a nuaimhionn súl fhear nÉireann* 'O bright delight of the eyes of the men of Éire'.

1c *róimh*: *róimh* ('Rome') is used of important ecclesiastical burial sites and of the residences of chiefs (*DIL* s.v. *Róm* and *róm*). Examples of the application of the term to secular residences in Bardic poetry include: *seanróimh oinigh an íarthair* 'old sanctuary of the honour [or 'old capital of the hospitality'] of the west [ie. the residence of Pádraigín Mac Muiris (†1600)]' (*IBP* 11.41), *senróimh fhéile na bfiliudh* (*ABM* 369.5b) 'the ancient capital of hospitality for poets [ie. Ulster]', *róimh na healadhna* (*ABM* 369.30d) 'the capital of poetry [ie. Baile an Tobair, Co. Roscommon]', and *ar róimh aoigheadh chatha Cliach* 'over the (ruined) guest-sanctuary of Cliú's host [ie. an Ó Domhnaill residence]' (*DiD* 110.14d). In the song composed on Brian Óg's death, the Rock is described as *róimh na héigse*: *A Chluain Mhic Nóis is mór an t-éacht-sa, / chreach tú an Charraic róimh na héigse, / rug tú a fear-aba* [read *a fear, a ba*] *'sa spré leat, / rug tú a mac 's a dalta féin leat* (*An Stoc* 8 (3rd series) (Jan./Feb. 1930), pp.4, 11), 'O Clonmacnoise, this is a terrible deed; you have plundered the Rock, capital of poets, you have taken its husband, its cows and its dowry, you have taken its son and its own fosterling'.

na nArt is common as a qualifier of a variety of nouns, signifying Ireland. See *TD* i, lvii-lviii and 32c and note. I presume *áras na nArt* is a synonym for Tara and *pars pro toto* Ireland.

2a Could the Maol Ruanaidh mentioned here be Maol Ruanaidh Mac Diarmada (†1331), king of Magh Luirg? He was in possession of the Rock of Loch Cé when it was usurped by his rival, Diarmaid Gall Mac Diarmada (†1316), in 1315 (*AC* §1315.15; *ALC* i, 574-7). Maol Ruanaidh was almost certainly in possession of the Rock again in 1320 when his wife,

Gráinne inghean Mheic Mhaghnusa, was captured at Port na Cairrge (*AC* §1320.2; *ALC* i, 598-9; *AU* ii, 434-7; *AFM* iii, 522-5) and in 1321 when the castle on the island was destroyed by his enemy, Cathal (mac Domhnaill) Ó Conchobhair (*AC* §1321.4; *ALC* i, 598-9; *AU* ii, 436-7; *AFM* iii, 524-5). For Maol Ruanaidh Mac Diarmada's reign, see Mac Dermot 1996, 73-83. Alternatively, perhaps Maol Ruanaidh, the progenitor of the Meic Dhiarmada (see Poem 1 and *AiD* 31), is meant. However, I know of no reference to his occupying the Rock.

2b Substantivised *coitcheann* (> adj. 'common, public'; the substantive can have the sense 'common property, commonage' (*DIL* s.v. *coitchenn* II (b)) conveys the idea that the Rock of Loch Cé is frequented by visitors. The implication is that the Rock of Loch Cé is famed for its hospitality throughout Ireland and welcomes visitors from around the island.

***Gort Pártholóin*:** I have emended MS *pártolóin* to *Pártholóin* (note the eye-rhyme with 2a *roshlóigh*). See *Cionnus do bhí tú ar tosaigh, / a ráith aoibhinn anbhfosaidh, / ar dteacht Phárthaláin Phuirt Bhreagh, / do ghnáthghabháil Ghuirt Ghaoidheal* (*Phárthaláin* : *ghnáthghabháil*), 'How wast thou at first, thou lovely, changeful castle, when Párthalón of Bregia's haven had come to occupy the Field of the Gael?' (*TD* 28.6). *Gort Pártholóin* is a literary name for Ireland (see *TD* i, lvii-lviii). I have no other example of this phrase but cf. the alliterative *Port Párthaláin*: *Níor chubhuidh re a chéibh ndrolaigh / oighre cloinne Conchobhair / a bhfuilngeann d'ulc 'ma onóir / cuibhreann do purt Phártholóin* (*ABM* 181.35), 'The curly-haired man, the heir of the Í Chonchobhair, suffers excessively on account of a portion of Ireland [Connacht]'. For the long vowel in the initial syllable of *Pártholóin*, see *TD* 28.6 cited above.

2c The house of Loch Cé is constantly illuminated by the shine of light upon the many weapons found therein. Cf. *Niamh gach [dhornchair] bhláith san bhrugh / níor dhorchaigh riamh an ráith gheal*, 'The shining of the bright sword-hilts in it never leaves the gay castle dark' (*DiD* 119.21ab). For the significance of images of the celebrand's house being full of weapons, see Herbert 2012, 13 where Herbert suggests that such descriptions not only hint at the hospitality of the celebrand and the extent of his retinue, but also suggest his nobility, as expensive weapons such as swords were prestige items.

2d Dinneen defines *duibh-ré* as 'the first and last quarters of the moon; "dark moon"; a moonless portion of the night'. See *D'éis gach adhnaidh dá bfúair sé / múr sean is soillse a* ***nduibhré*** */ tug seanmhúr na bfód bfoirfi / 'na dheaghdhún óg áonoidhche* (*ABM* 89.8), 'After all the fires that were lit in it, the ancient fort that is brightest on a dark night, the ancient fort

of the perfect land became a noble new castle one night' and (from a religious poem by Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird) *Go ndíbrir óm intinn é / an tí as duibhe ná an* ***duibhré;*** */ tre thoirrse go dtí im chroidhe / rí na soillse suthaine*, 'May he who is blacker than night be driven from my heart; may the King of Eternal Light, owing to His sufferings, enter my heart' (*DiD* 35.10).

3b *loingtheach Taidhg*: I take MS *loingsioch* 'pirate, mariner' to be an error for *loingtheach* 'great house' or 'hall', which is used elsewhere of chiefly residences: *Lán do mhnáibh fiala fionna / na fuinneoga fairsionga / ag cur corrthair óir eangbhláith / san longthoigh mhóir mhuirearghnáith* (*DiD* 80.40), 'The wide windows are full of noble blonde women sewing a gold, soft hem[375] in the great oft-thronged mansion'. (McKenna translates *loingtheach* as 'hall' in the glossary of *DiD*, s.v. *long*). In §§25-8 of the mid-seventeenth century poem *Éireochar fós le cloinn gColla* (RIA 744 (A v 2), 73b), *cúirt*, *brugh*, *treabh*, *teach*, *iosdadh*, *bruighean* as well as *loingtheach* (dat. *longthigh* in the MS) are all used of the residence of Domhnall Gorm Mac Domhnaill. See also *a longthoigh* (: *corrthair*) *fhionn mhóir Murchaidh* (*IGT* ii, ex. 2042), 'in the great bright hall of Murchadh'. In l. 73 of *Filidh Éireann go haonteach* (Knott 1911), Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh uses the term *loingthighe leabtha* to describe the dormitories of the poets built by Uilliam Ó Ceallaigh. Cf. also the apparent synonym *loingthreabh* (: *foirg(h)neamh*) used of the Butler residence of Ceall Teimhnéin in *Butler poems* 12.1. I have emended MS *Thaid*[*h*]*g* to *Taidhg* as lenition is not required on the initial of a noun or adj. qualifying a sing. masc. noun in the nom. Tadhg = Tadhg Mac Diarmada (†1499), king of Moylurg and the celebrand's great grandfather? He died on the Rock in 1499 (*AC* §1499.3). See Mac Dermot 1996, 125. Alternatively, he may be Tadhg, the father of Maol Ruanaidh, progenitor of the Meic Dhiarmada (see note 2a above).

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[375] Similar descriptions of women embroidering occur in other house-poems. See, for example, *Fuaras a lán san leith oile / d'ainnribh béaltana brat sróil, / i múr chonchair na gcon bhfionnbhláith / ag cor chorthair iongnáith óir*, 'In the other division [of the fortress] I found plenty of slender-lipped, satin-clad maidens, weaving wondrous golden fringes in the sportive (?) rampart with fair, sleak hounds' (*TD* 11.16) and *Do-gheabhtha sa ghlanbhrog fhionn / bró churadh ós cionn fithchioll / 's bró mhallbhan ag cur chorthar / brog léar snadhmadh sobharthan* (*ABM* 162.65), 'You would find a group of champions playing *fithcheall* and a group of stately women embroidering in the beautiful fair mansion, a mansion by which prosperity was guaranteed'.

***treabh Thomaltaigh*:** Tomaltach *na Cairrge* Mac Diarmada (†1207) who died on the Rock (*ALC* i, 236-7)? For his reign as king of Magh Luirg, see Mac Dermot 1996, 58-61. Another ancestor of the celebrand named Tomaltach (†1336), the son of Maol Ruanaidh (see note 2a), died at Caladh na Cairrge on Loch Cé (*AC* §1336.2). See Mac Dermot 1996, 83 for an account of his reign. Tomaltach *an einigh* Mac Diarmada (†1458) was not an ancestor of the celebrand of this poem but a member of a collateral branch of the family (Mac Dermot 1996, 89).

3c *Oiléan na bhFionn* is a poetical name for Ireland (*TD* i, lvii-lviii). Cf. *tulach na bhFionn* in Brian Óg's elegy: *Tásg Briain i mbeól gach aoinfhir / brón fan mBanbha bheosgaoilidh / don tréad ó Thuladh* [MS *thul*aigh; read *thulaigh*] *na bhFionn / a éag is cumhadh* [MS *cumh*aidh; read *cumhaidh*] *choitchionn* (§5 *Do leónadh Éire i nÁth Luain*, *FFC*, 283-93), 'The tidings of Brian [Óg's death] in the mouth of every man spreads sorrow like wildfire around Ireland; for the people from *tulach na bhFionn* [= Tara = Ireland] his death is a shared sorrow'.

3d I have translated *inneall* as 'condition' here, as the following quatrain treats of the transformation of the Rock, but a more concrete meaning ('fortifications, construction' (*DIL* s.v. *indell* (b)). Cf. the adj. *innilte* in 6c.

4a For *imirce* in the sense of changing one's residence or camp, see *DIL* s.v. *immirge* I.

4c I interpret masc. *o*-stem *sochar* (in the gen. pl. here) as meaning 'the dues owed to a king or chief' (see *DIL* s.v. *sochar* (b)). In this case, it is understood that the occupant of the Rock, as king of Magh Luirg, is entitled to the income and prerogatives of that office. For a prose tract on the rights of Mac Diarmada (*Sochar Mic Diarmada*), see Ní Shéaghdha 1963 and see Simms 1980, 144-5 for the date of its composition, and see also Poem 1.

5a *Dar* can be interpreted as the preposition *de* + relative particle *a* combined with the past tense verbal particle *ro*, a relative construction on the lines of 4b, in which the *imirce* of 4a is the substantive antecedent. But see P.A. Breatnach 1993b for a discussion of examples in Bardic poetry where *dar* seems to have the syntax of the verbal particle *do*.

5d The spark (*aoibheal*) here is Mac Diarmada, the idea being that the fire of the Rock's former glory has gone out, but that Brian Óg Mac Diarmada now rekindles it. See *DIL* s.v. *oíbel* for *aoibheal* in the sense of 'the "seed of fire" or embers preserved from a turf fire overnight to rekindle the morning's fire'. For a similar use of *aoibheal* as a figure for a celebrand in Bardic poetry, see *Ní béim ortha a n-abruim ribh, / atáid uaisle an fhuinn Laighnigh / ó chlú an chaithleómhain síos seal; / do aithbheódhaigh gríos Ghaoidheal. / Mac mheic Aodha, an t-ésga lán, / ré turaidh do thogh Bearchán, / dá ttig scaoileadh ceó a chinidh, / aoibheal bheó nách báithfidhir* (*LBranach*, ll. 5306-14), 'The [fame of] nobles of Leinster suffers by comparison with the valorous lion [Féilim Ó Broin] – what I say to them is no insult; he has reignited the embers of the Gaels. The son of the son of Aodh, the full moon, the dry spell whom Bearchán chose, the burning ember that will not be extinguished, that dissipates the smoke [from the dying fire] of his race [i.e. who reignites the fire]'. See also Poem 5.19 and note.

The verbal particle ***no*** with an infixed pronoun takes the place of the usual *ro* here (*SNG* IV, §9.2). *No* is often used as a verbal particle with infixed pronouns before verbs in the present indicative. See *loiteas an cách* ***nos*** *carond*, 'who hurts his lover' (*O'Hara* 7.2b); *tearc aon* ***nos*** *adhain conspóid*, 'there is hardly any [...] who has enkindled controversy' in the same quatrain as *nach i ndán* ***ros*** *adhainfeadh*, 'who would not ignite it in verse' (*Dán na mBráthar* 39.25b); *deocha dot chuirm* ***nom***-*chenglann*, 'draughts of thine ale bind me' (§29a *Baile suthach síth Emhna*, Ó Cuív 1955-7), and *na sdairthe* ***nom*** *stiúr*, 'the historical records guide me' (O'Sullivan and Herbert 1973, p. 184 §9b).

6a I have emended MS *taithneamh* to *taitneamh* in the critical edition. The lenition of *-t-* before *-n-* in the MS is not historical (see *DIL* s.v. *taitnemh*) and reflects the modern pronunciation of an intervocalic consonant cluster consisting of a stop and a liquid. Cf. Poem 6.17b *maidhne* for *maidne* and Poem 1.17d *céadhna* for *céadna*. Cf. also *Breatnach* > *Breathnach* and *Fódla* > *Fódhla.*

Brollach 'chest' here is used of the elevation of the island.

6b Masc. *o*-stem *cainéal* is a loan-word from Middle English *chanel* (< Old French *chanel*), meaning 'a body of water' (*OED*, s.v. *channel*). (*DIL* has *cainél* 'cinnamon' but this would

make no sense here.) I have been unable to find any other example of *cainéal* 'body of water' in Bardic poetry.

I have emended **MS *chiúinthonnaigh*** to expected *chiúnthonnaigh* (see *SNG* IV, §6.3(a)) (realised *chiúntonnaigh*).

6d I take *raonbhuaidh* to be a compound of *raon* 'route' + *buaidh* 'victory; best of'. *Raon-* here serves to intensify *buaidh*. Cf. 19d *críochbhuaidh chinneamhna* 'the best [lit. 'the final victory'] of fate'. Historically, ***buaidh*** was neuter; this explains the nasalisation on the initial of the noun or adj. it governs. For further examples of nasalising *buaidh* in Classical Irish, see the following, where *buaidh* is in the nom. sing.: *buaidh* ***n****-óg*, 'victorious warrior' (O'Sullivan and Herbert 1973, p. 184 §10b), *buaidh* ***n****-eagna*, 'the first place in wisdom' (*DMU* 9.1a), *tarrla dhó ó Dhia nimhe / buaidh* ***bh****firinne is* ***bh****foisdine* , 'from God above he hath excellence of truth and constancy' (*O'Hara* 4.62ab) and *buaidh* ***cc****atha ag biodhb*aidh *ni bhia* (*ABM* 341.23a), 'an enemy will never have victory in battle'. Traces of the neuter gender survive in a handful of words in Classical Irish (see *SNG* IV, §§3.3, 4.10).

7ab Both the upper class (*cairpdeach* 'charioteer', perhaps 'horseman' here) and the lower (*coisighe* 'foot-soldier; pedestrian') are welcome in Mac Diarmada's house. Cf. *Do tæthsat tra lucht in ænig* etir *cois 7 c*air*pthech do thes*ar*gain na long*, 'Well, the people of the assembly, both footman and charioteer, came to save the ship' (Calder 1907, ll. 1179-80).[376] I do not understand MS *cairpeach* and take it as a scribal error for *cairpdeach* (*DIL* s.v. *cairptech*).

7c *Cailg* is the 3 sing. conjunct present indicative of *cailgidh* (> *colg* 'pointed object, sword') 'stabs, pierces' (*DIL* s.v. *cailgidh*, *colg* (c); Dinneen s.v. *cailgim*) and describes the act of lampooning or satirising here. Satire is often described in terms of cutting or pricking (see L. Breatnach 2006, 63 n. 2). Cf. *gnúis charthonach gan chailg n-aor*, 'kindly face never stung by satire' (*IBP* 44.8c).

I have emended **MS *fáidh*** to *fádh*, a permitted alternative nom. sing. of *fáidh* 'prophet, soothsayer; sage, learned man' (*IGT* ii, §38), to rhyme with *orrlár* in 7d.

[376] A similar phrase occurs in *ABM* 67.7: the celebrand is described as *marcach cóir coissigi coimdes* 'a skilled rider and as swift a runner'. Beyond a superficial resemblance, however, I do not believe this is significant.

8 I take the syntax of this quatrain to be *Toirtheach treabh na snasmhoigheadh sodháin ós Loch Cé an chláir órcholbhaigh ar cionn ghasroigheadh bhfear bhFáil don trácht nár chomhnaigh.*

8a The adj. *toirtheach* 'fruitful' is used figuratively here of the great crowd which flocks to the Rock.

8b I understand *órcholbhaigh* to be a compound of the *o*-stem masc. noun *ór* and the adj. *colbhach* (from *io*-stem *colbha* 'platform, dais; (fig.) support; bank, ridge, edge; pillar, post; spear' (*DIL* s.v. *colbae*)) in the gen. sing. masc. I have been unable to find another example of the adj. *colbhach* in Bardic poetry and it is not given in *DIL.* Dwelly has *colbhach* 'sceptred; pillared' and *colbhaidh* 'having pillars or columns' (Dwelly 2001, s.v.). Damian McManus suggests translating 'of golden horizon'. For *colbha* used of the periphery of valleys, see *LCAB* 21, ll. 69-72: *Meinic fúair, feasach linne, / anró oidhche doininne / ar fhoghluibh ga hionnradh soin / ar cholbhaibh fionnmhagh bhfásoigh*, 'I know that he has often suffered the hardship of an inclement night on the periphery of fair wild valleys [protecting them] from raids of plunder'. I interpret *colbha* as 'shore' in this context. Cf. *Lāimh re colbha gach cal*aidh / *iomdha drong do dhanaruibh / ag brath ort (a chnú chridhe / 's tú gan lo*cht) dá *leónf*aidhe, 'Close offshore in every harbour are many bands of aliens spying out whether you might be assailed, heart's kernel, although you are without fault' (§2 and note *Saoth liom do chor, a Cholla*, Black 1973).

8c Note the possible eye-rhyme 8cd *ghasr**oi**dheadh* : *snasmh**oi**gheadh.* See also 30cd *gC**ui**nn* : *gCriomth**ui**nn* where the spelling may emphasise middle quantity. *Fir Fháil* 'men of *Fál*' is translated as 'men of Ireland'. Fál was a mythological name for Ireland frequently employed by Bardic poets (*TD* i, lvii).

8d I have emended MS *sodháinn* to the standard form of the noun *sodhá(i)n* 'prosperity, success' used attributively. I have found no other examples in Bardic poetry of this noun in *-nn*; it seems.

9a *Faoi"dh le* (rarely *re*) 'lies with, sleeps with' (see *DIL* s.v. *foaid*) seems to refer to Mac Diarmada's [or an ancestor's] symbolic marriage to the land. However, as a translation to the

Rock is the subject of this poem and not Mac Diarmada's inauguration, another interpretation may be possible. *Faoi"idh* is rarely used with the preposition *re* (I know of no example of *do fhaoi re* in Classical Irish) and *faoi"idh* could be understood simply as 'lies': 'the beautiful slope against which lies a palisade / rampart', a reference to the wall which encloses the island fortress.

9b I have not discovered any other references to the Rock of Loch Cé as *Cnoc an Ghabhann.*

9cd More literally, 'a long time passed between its appearance in the past and now'.

10a *Coimhidhches* is an abstract noun from *coimhitheach* 'strange, foreign, new' (*DIL* s.v. *comaithches*).

10b Note the rhyme *osnaidh* : *tulachsain.* For the rhyming quality of *-chs-*, see *IGT* i, §§32, 38.

10c *Do-fhionnmaoid* is the 1 pl. present indicative of *do-fhionnann* 'knows' (*IGT* iii, §20).

11a *Tárrasa* is the 1 sing. preterite of *tár(r)aidh* 'comes to, finds' (*DIL* s.v. *do-airret*). See *ní thárrasa* in *DG* 61.4: *Acht gidh minic ránag-sa / dot fhéachain - truagh an neimhchiall, -/ dot tharbha ní thárrasa / cuid ghiolla an eich don gheirrfhiadh*, 'Yet though I often came to see you – my foolishness is a cause of regret – because of you I did not obtain [so much as] the horse-boy's portion of the hare.'

11b More literally, 'it is not my memory as a very young [lit. 'first'] youth'.

11c *rian forbhaise*: More literally, '[it was] a siege-road'. Cf. 15c *ród biodhbhadh.*

***Feacht n-aon*:** *Aill* is an alternative (originally neuter) form of the adj. *oile*, *eile* (*DIL* s.v. 1 *aile*). For its use in Bardic poetry, see McManus 2005a, 156 and *feacht n-aill* in §8a of *Cá hainm atá ar Fhearghal Óg?* (NLS Adv (72 1 34), 39).

11d McManus 2005a, 156 suggests translating this line as 'I have a way of recalling it' (that is, 'I have a way of attaining to it [i.e. the memory]'). I suggest a more literal interpretation above. For the form *ormhaise*, a variant of *urmhaise*, see *DMU* 13.16cd: *tig iadh fa dhonnloisi ad dheoigh / trian eoil nach ormhaise uaidh* (*dhonnloisi* : *ormhaise*), 'a country

lies under a dark glow after you, so that even a familiar district cannot be found on account of it'.

12a 1 sing. past tense *do-chonnarc* has been mistranscribed as 3 sing. *do-chonnairc* here and in 12d (*nocht* : *chonnarc*).

12c *téagairthe*: *DIL* gives only *técartha* for this adj. (*DIL* s.v.), but I have not found a form of the adj. with a broad ending in Bardic poetry, as against the following metrically confirmed instances of a slender ending: *brat téagairthe* (: *mhé(n)duighthe*), 'protective mantle' (*ABM* 405.28c), *a threabh théagairthe* (: *foirbhthe*), 'thou home of comfort' (*DiD* 97.1d), *dá mhac tuigseach téag(h)airthe* (*ABM* 156.27b), 'to his understanding, loving son'.

12d *Céadaithne* here recalls the opening quatrain of a poem on the degradation of the Rock commissioned by Brian Óg's predecessor, Conchobhar Mac Diarmada: *An tú ar gcéadaithne, a charrag, / a ráith éigneach eatharrod; / cách ód chéadaithne do chur / ní fáth méadaighthe meanman*, 'Are thou, O Rock, the one I always knew, thou fort built in salmon-rich water, and surrounded by sturdy ships; that men can no longer recognise thee is not a thing to rouse one's spirit' (*DiD* 68.1).

13a The nasalisation of MS *mbláith* governed by *bhord* suggests that *ar* governs the acc. here, though *ar* does not indicate motion here (see *SNG* IV, §10.1).

13b For *o*-stem masc. *sionnáth* 'sendal', see *Scottish Verse* Poem 2 note 8a.

13d The nasalisation here indicates that *thromfholt* is in the acc., although there is no motion implied by the preposition *fo* (*fa*) here and the dat. would, therefore, be expected (see *SNG* IV, §10.1).

14b I take *iomthadhall* to be a compound *im-* 'about' and *tadhall* (normalised from MS *taghall*) (see *IGT* ii, §23 where RIA MS C ii 3 has v.l. *taghall*) 'visit'.

14c As the text appears in the MS, *an chaillgheal* seems to be an *ā*-stem fem. substantive in the nom., the subject of 3 sing. *do-chí*: 'the smooth, green, beautiful [mound] white with

hazels sees a vision that is not a nightmarish vision'. This makes poor sense. We would expect the island to be the vision, rather than the witness to it. *Caillgheal* could be interpreted as an *o*-stem masc. substantive (referring to 14a *cnoc*) in the acc. (emending *an chaillgheal* to *an caillgheal*), and MS *do-chí* could be emended to 1 person *do-chiú* for sense and to provide a satisfying contrast with §13. (For the substitution of the 3 person sing. for 1 person sing. in the MS, see note 12a). As this makes good sense (note also that the initials of the adjectives qualifying MS *an chaillgheal* are not lenited), I have adopted this reading in my critical edition. For another description of a hazel-white lordly residence, see *No*cht*fuidh a ghéugrath caillgeal cráoibhs[h]eunta* [read *-sheanda* for rhyme] / *cédbhláth náoidhenta ar do mhailgibh míonacla* (*ABM* 498.21ab), 'O tree-covered hazel-white fort of ancient branches, your smooth slopes newly in bloom'. White hazel is mentioned as the material from which the inner wall (*froighidh fionnchuill*) of Mág Shamhradháin's house is made (*Magauran* 1.3c). The compound *glaisshlim* (: *aisling*) is realised as *glaislim.*

14d For *aisling* in the sense of 'an unpleasant vision', see *MD* Glossary s.v.

15ab *Sochma* and *fulachta* do not make *rinn* : *airdrinn*-rhyme (*comhardadh slán*). I can offer no emendation to resolve this difficulty.

15b Having lived in impermanent huts in the open, the Meic Dhiarmada can now return to their palace. I have emended MS *fhula*cht*a* to *fulachta* for grammar to alliterate with *fianbhotha.* Nom. sing. *fulacht* is given as incorrect (*.l.*) in *IGT* ii §25 and *BST* 1ab.42 gives only masc. nom. *falachta*. The declension of *fulachta* (with by-forms *folachda* and *falachda*) as an *io*-stem is authorised in *IGT* ii §2, while the declension of *fulachta* as an *n*-stem is prohibited in *IGT* ii §8. *Fianbhoth fulachta* is a cooking-booth (*DIL* s.v. 1 *fulacht*) (*fulacht* 'recess' meaning 'cooking-pit'). In EModIr poetry and prose, *fianbhoth* is used of a temporary structure erected while hunting or while on a military expedition. *DIL* cites the following from *AFM*, s.a. 1583: *iar mbeith dhó i ffianboith folachtae i ccuas cairrgi i nglinn an ginntigh*, 'he [the Earl of Desmond] was concealed in a hut, in the cavern of a rock, in Gleann-an-Ghinntigh' (*AFM* v, 194-5). I have not found any other example of the phrase *fianbhoth fulachta* in Bardic poetry.[377]

[377] For another possible prose example, see *BAR* §72: *Dogniat foslongphort 7 **fianbotha** fulacht 7 feolchombach suan 7 samhchodal an adaigh sin eitir Uarán Mór 7 Gaillimh occ Cloich an Linsigh*, 'They [Ó Domhnaill's

15c More literally, 'that is not a road for enemies'.

15d The initials of gen. pl. *óg* and *ingheanradh* are nasalised after the predicative adj. *líonmhar* in a genitival relative clause (*TD* i, lxix; *SNG* IV, §3.3).

16a As the text appears in the MS, the subject appears to be the Rock itself: 'since the Rock of Loch Cé whose fame is great caused Brian [to come] to the hill of the warm shallow streams...' This does not make good sense. I have taken Brian to be the subject of the sentence and emended MS *tug* to *tig*, 3 sing. historical present 'he came'.

16b The celebrand's father Brian Mac Diarmada is described as *duanach*, 'poetical' or 'poetry-loving' (i.e. a generous patron of the poetic art) or perhaps even 'the object of poems' (*Scottish Verse* 14.35b).

16c *Tirm* is a by-form of the adj. *tirim* (see *BST* 198.31-199.1 and *IGT* ii §118).

16d Literally, 'no worry is remembered'.

17a The lenition of the initial of *dhúin* here is an instance of *sléagar* (Mac Cárthaigh 2012). I have lenited the initial of MS *Meidhbhe* after gen. sing. masc. *o*-stem *dúin* but see McKenna 1941-2, 53 for non-lenition in this circumstance. *Dún Meidhbhe* 'the fort of Meadhbh' is probably a synonym for Ráith Chruachan.

17b I have emended MS *búaghach* to historical *buadhach.*

18 The celebrand is praised for bringing the landscape to order. Cf. *Cuid d'fiadhnaibh an reachta riogh / fiadhchnoic da ttreabhadh go tr(u)agh / fine Cuinn gan denamh diagh / fiadh Eimhir do bhuing a bán* (*ABM* 341.34), 'It is among the signs of the rule of a king that wild hills are tilled as far as the sea, that the Irish do not light fires [literally 'make smoke'], that Ireland reaps her fields'.

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army on campaign in Connacht] made bivouacs and bothies, field kitchens and feeding places, they rested and slept sound that night between Oranmore and Galway at Lynch's Causeway'. The alliterative pairing would suggest, however, that *fulacht* is in the acc. here and is not an attributive gen. of *fianbotha.*

18b The nasalisation indicated on the initial of MS *b[h]foithreadh* may be a scribal error, influenced by the nasalisation on *dtolchaibh* after the 3 pl. possessive adj. and the nasalisation on *mbiothbhaoghail* after gen. pl. *foithreadh.* The 3 sing. fem. possessive adj. would make better sense after *fánta* (the valleys of the Rock, rather than the valleys of the hills of assembly). Note the 3 sing. fem. possessive adj. in 18c *a damh.*

18d *Goibhéalta* is an adj. from *goibhéal* 'inlet (esp. of sea)' (*DIL* s.v. *gobél*). Where once the island was unsettled forest (*foithre*) with many inaccessible (*droibhéalta*) areas, now it abounds in convenient passages to the seat of Mac Diarmada. I have found only two other examples of this adj., both from a seventeenth-century poem attributed to Fearghal Óg Ó hUiginn: *críoch goibhélta* (: *doidhénta*) *na ngleann ttais* (*ABM* 277.8c), 'the land of many inlets and of the moist valleys', and *an chríoch ghoibhélta* (: *éarca*) (*ABM* 277.15b), 'the land of many inlets'.

19b I assume that the noun of a verb of motion is implied here (e.g. [*teacht*] *leis don Chéaloch cubharrod*).

I am unsure of the meaning of the adj. ***cubharrod*** (*cubhar* 'foam' + *rod* 'great (?)'). *Rod* is a laudatory adj. of uncertain meaning (see *DIL* s.v. *rot*).

20a I have interpreted MS *ógdha* as *óghdha* 'virginal, pure; whole, complete'. I can find no example of *ógdha* in Bardic poetry and *DIL* s.v. *ócda* cites only one attestation.

20b Though the teaching of *BST* 199.27ff. suggests that the predicative adj. *soinmheacha* referring to pl. *athruighthe* should be pl. here, the MS reads sing. *soinmheach.* Nonetheless, despite *BST*, the use of the sing. adj. to describe a plurality is well-attested in Classical Irish (*SNG* IV, §5.6). Cp., however, pl. *sáimhe* in 22d. See Poem 2.19cd, 38c, 49d, 53cd and notes.

20d I have emended MS *iomlat* to *iomlait* to rhyme with *iomlait* in 20d. *Do iomlait* in 20c is the 3 sing. past tense of *iomlaitidh* 'exchanges'. See *tú do iomlait an t-as óir*, ''Twas you who [...] didst change the golden shoe' (*AiD* 8.40a). Though *iomlait* appears to rhyme with itself in 20cd, the words do not have the same meaning (*claochládh céille*) and the metrical fault of *caoiche* is avoided (*GGBM* ll. 2531-2).

21a I am unsure of the meaning of *acla*. Note the following instance where it is applied to a melody: *Fuaim bheóil Mhuiris mhic Torna / le dréacht diamhair ealadhna / nó a shéis acla cheóil gcoirche / fa seóil gadtha geamhoidhche* (*acla* : *gadtha*), 'The sound of Muiris son of Torna reciting a poem, or his beautiful melody of musical strains, were [rhythms] that would steal away a winter's night' (§19 *Máthair na horchra an éigsi*, Ó Muireadhaigh 1973-4). It is often used to describe slopes. On the basis of the phrase *cridhe is acla ré n-anbhóin* (22d of the copy of *Fan ráith imrid aicme Ír* found in Egerton 112; cf. *ABM* 234.21d), Mac Cárthaigh 1999 note 46c suggests that *acla* may mean 'firm': 'a heart most steadfast when faced with hardship'. However, as the adj. describes music in the above-cited example, I suggest that *acla* means 'smooth' of surfaces, 'fine' or 'melodious' in the case of music. Cf. the semantic range of *mín* 'smooth, level; self-restrained, placid (of character); soft, exquisite (of sounds)' (*DIL* s.v. *mín*). An alternative translation of *cridhe is acla ré n-anbhóin* would be 'a heart that is calm / untroubled when faced with hardship'.

21c *Ciallda* must be realised *cialla* (homophone *ciala*) for rhyme with *fiana* in 21d (*Duanaireacht*, §39).

22a *craoibhreadh*: I take this to refer to the pattern of the ornamentation on the goblets. Cf. *fledh dhonn ad* cathruigh *ní céltair / ar banuis corn craibceart* (*ABM* 300.8ef), 'there is no stinting on red wine in your citadel at a banquet of goblets with meet branches' and *rīophort Mumhan, / na ccorn gcráobhach* (*Butler poems* 6.22cd), 'the royal seat of Munster of the branch-covered goblets'.

22c More literally, '[in] the beauty of her land is the sifting through of enmity'. For *crúdh* meaning 'sifting through in order to resolve', see *Gibé rabh a rí Chonaill / i n-aincheas bhar n-urfhoghaill / go mbé a chroidhe gá chrúdh sin / le rún toile dot thuigsin*, 'O King of Conall's race, whoever be in doubt of thy speech, may his heart be sifting it, with loving purpose to understand thee' (*IBP* 3.7) and phrases such as *ag crúdh cest 7 caingean* 'deliberating, taking counsel' (*DIL* s.v. 1 *crúd*). The idea here is that the beauty of Magh Luirg (under its lord's righteous rule) encourages brotherly feeling. The absence of enmity between men is a standard trope of Bardic (and earlier) descriptions of the reign of the just

king (see McManus 2006, 78ff). See also Poem 4.6ab and note for the medicinal benefits of the beauty of the landscape.

22d I have interpreted *a faircheadha fulaing* as the subject territories of the Rock. Cf. the phrase *flatha fulaing* 'tributary chiefs' (see §51 *Gabh umad, a Fheidhlimidh* Dillon 1961; Simms 1980, 142-3).

23 Carvings of stags, hounds and birds are described in a Bardic poem on Rudhraighe Mág Mathghamhna's house (*ABM* 409.12).

23a See note 6a on the spelling of *taitneamh*.

23b *Fioghair*, historically an *ā*-stem, is declined as a guttural here (see *IGT* ii, §185).

24 The illumination provided by windows is praised in other poems. See, for example, *Tuir gheala na ríoghbhrugh ngeal / gérb fada a n-anchruth íad-séin / tug gloine na ngealbhrugh sin / deallr*adh *goile 'na ng[.....]. / Treabh áirsidh is áille dealbh / cúirt chaithmhe chloi[nn]e [Goi]sdealbh / ní múchtu*r *a soillsi soin / dá ndúntu*r *doirsi an dúnaidh* (*ABM* 89.6-7), 'Though the bright towers of the bright palaces have long been dilapidated, the glass in these bright halls gives the radiance of a sunlight [...] Even if the doors of that fort, of the ancient house whose appearance is most beautiful, of the palace of the hospitality of the Costellos were closed, it would not be left in darkness.'

24a I have emended MS *gátta* to *ghada*, the gen. of the verbal noun *goid* (*DIL* s.v. *gait*) after fem. *geintligheacht*.

24b For syllable-count, I have emended MS *agá* to *'gá*.

ABM mistakenly reads *finndribh* for *finisdrib*.

24c For *craobh cheoil* (or *chiúil*) 'musical branch', see *TD* 14.7 note. The sound of fairy musical instruments (*glór bhar síodhchraobh seanma*) was a symptom of the glory days of the Rock mentioned in Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa's poem on the Rock (*DiD* 68.21c).

24d *Greanaidh* 'carves, engraves' is used figuratively here ('makes marvellous'?) of the illumination provided by the glass windows of the Rock.

For *aigheóir* (*ai"eóir*), see Poem 6.27d and note.

25a *Éidche* is the comparitive form of the adj. *éidigh* 'unseemly, ugly'. See the abstract noun *éidche* (*IGT* iv, §93).

Oireac meanma (*ABM* incorrectly reads *oireach* for *oireac*) can mean 'device, plan or project' (*DIL* s.v. *airec* (b)) but here *oireac* might have its more literal meaning of 'providing, supplying (food, entertainment)'. Given the mention of reading matter, 'a feast for the mind' would be a more suitable translation here.

25b Note the spelling *loinnearrdha* for historical *loinneardha*, emphasising middle quantity.

25d *DIL* s.v. *rithlerg* defines a *rithlearg* as 'an impromptu composition in free verse (without metre but with alliteration' (see also *Giolla Brighde* 11.20 and note). In Classical Irish, however, *rithlearg* seems to be used of Bardic poems, which were normally prepared in advance of their recitation. See *Síodh dúthrachta gá luadh liom / red ghruadh n-úrchorcra is gach am / ná can frithchealga acht fíor riom / síodh do chionn rithleárga rann*, 'Whenever I propose to make a real peace with thy fresh-red cheek, speak no more soothing words to me, but assure me that I have won pardon by my rushing verse [lit. 'by my stanzaic *rithlearg*']' (*Magauran* 3.5) where the *rithlearg* (gen. *rithlearg*) is the apology poem in *rannaigheacht mhór* (*dán díreach*). Similarly, Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa describes himself coming to Gabhal Raghnaill *lé rithlearg* (: *ithlearg*) *do thaoibh toile* (*LBranach*, l. 6172) 'with a *rithlearg* out of affection', presumably the poem in *deibhidhe* (*dán díreach*) from which the above citation is taken: this example suggests that the *rithlearg* was prepared in advance and not an extempore composition. For another example of the association of a chief's residence with many *rithleárga*, see Ó hEóghusa's *A-tám i gcás idir dhá chomhairle* (*DiD* 70.14cd): *badh iomdha rithlearg áith le hógsgolaibh / go ráith bhfódsgoraigh na n-ilcheard n-éagsamhail*, 'many the clever rhetoric [*rithleárga*] declaimed by the young poets when they come to the wondrous castle with its horse-lawn and all its things of art'.

26a As the moon reveals its beauty when it rises above the clouds, so the Rock of Loch Cé reveals its beauty after casting off its deformity.

26c This line is hypersyllabic in the MS. I have emended *ar an* to *'gan* to supply the correct syllable count.

26d *Caidreabh* (more usually *caitreamh*) 'fellowship, friendship' seems to have a concrete meaning 'company' here, though this is poorly attested (*DIL* s.v. *coitreb*). The pl. is unusual. I have no other example.

27b I have interpreted MS *dubha* as *dumha* 'hill, mound, dune'.

28d I take *róimh choitcheann* 'a common capital' as the antecedent of *dar deaghladh* and the fem. pronoun *í* as referring to *learg* 'slope' in 28c. The revival of Mac Diarmada's house on the Rock of Loch Cé has revived the entire area. Cf. *Baile do bhailtibh Í Néill / an Chraobh shíodhamhail shoiléir - / níor dealbhadh aoinlios budh fhearr - / lér ceangladh aoibhnios Éireann*, 'One of O'Neill's dwelling-places was the pleasant, lightsome Creeve – never was there built a court to excel it – wherein all the delight of Ireland was comprised [or 'by which the delight of Ireland was secured']' (*TD* 8.2).

29b For *breacadh* with 29c *líontair* : 29d *bhfiontoigh*, I have emended MS *líontar* to variant *líontair*.

I can make no sense of **MS *oirmhénais***. It appears to be a compound word. Christina Cleary has suggested to me that the first element could be *oirbhe* 'pen' (for confusion of *bh* and *mh* in the MS, see note 27b above). The long vowel (required for rhyme) would suggest that the final vowel of *oirbhe* is elided here (see McManus 2005a, 149-50). *-énais*, however, remains obscure to me. Dinneen has *ais* 'a hill, a fort; marshy ground; a recess, a place' but *éanais* 'bird-thronged marsh' (giving 'fenced-in bird-thronged marsh') seems unlikely to be intended here.

29cd In a house-poem on the derelict residence of Fiachaidh Ó Broin, youths (*macraidh*) also appear outside of the main house: *Cionnus atá an treabh-so as-toigh / 'na bhfaicmís mná agus macroidh / ré bélaibh a múir a-muigh / ag dénaimh lúidh is lámhaigh? / Ó mhaidin go béal nóna / mar do bheith cúirt chomhóla, / gáir bhan is macruidhe a-muigh / fán gcladh*

*ttlachtmhuighe tteasb*haig*h* (*LBranach*, ll. 3181-8), 'What is this house like inside [now that it has been abandoned], outside of whose wall I used to see women and youths performing feats of agility and marksmanship? From morning to night, the calls of women and of youths [were to be heard] outside, around the fort of the beautiful warm valley where there was a great hall for drinking'.

29d The adjectives qualifying *-toigh*, the dat. sing. of *s*-stem *teach*, are declined as if they were qualifying a fem. noun in the dat. sing. This usage (*moladh canamhna*) is permitted by *IGT* ii §§31 and 164 (see *SNG* IV, §5.3). As already mentioned, *toigh* is dat. sing. (*IGT* ii, §§31, 164). The acc. would, however, be expected after *um* and seems to be indicated by the nasalisation of the initial of *fiontoigh* and the adjectives which qualify it. For two seventeenth-century examples where *um* appears to govern the dat., see: *nach [biadh] sgéal* ***'mun fh**°áinne* [acc. *'mun bhfáinne*] °*air* (*DiD* 102.27c) and *deghroinn dhí* ***'mun fh**°íal* [acc. *'mun bhfial*] °*inghill* (*ABM* 476.10d). There appear to be two possible analyses of this grammatical problem: (a) *um* governs the dat. here and the nasalisation is a later (non-authorial) corruption or (b) the present line is an example of the loss of distinction between the dat. and acc. in the seventeenth century with *um* governing the dat. but nasalising as if it were an acc.

***n-iolrachtaigh*:** The expected form of this adj. would be *ilreachtach* 'of many forms' (*il-* + *reachtach* (< *reacht*)) but the *rachtach* is confirmed by rhyme here. Cf. *iollra*ch*tach* in the prose after §37 of *ABM* 461.

30a A *léibheann* 'dais' is mentioned as a place where hostages are kept in *DiD* 119.10cd: *ní bhí san léibheann chas chlár / glas lámh nó géibheann ar ghiall*, 'on its intricate wooden floor are no hand-fetters or gyves binding hostages'. In a poem in praise of a church, *léibhinn* are also mentioned: *Teagh lán na léibheann nuaghlan / dál fear n-Éireann san éanbhrugh*, ''Tis a fair castle with many a fair storey; in it can meet all the men of Ireland' (*AiD* 88.26ab). See *DIL* s.v. *léibenn* (b).

30c I am not sure why the initial of *Cuinn* is nasalised in the MS. It qualifies gen. sing. *crú* ('blood'). It seems to me that a reading of *crú* as gen. pl. would not make good sense. *Crú* may originally have been a neuter noun (*DIL* s.v. 1 *crú*) and the nasalisation on its initial in the nom. may have become stereotyped, as occurs on adjectives and nouns which qualify *síol*

and *ceinéal* (*SNG* IV, §3.3). Alternatively, nasalisation may occur and have become stereotyped by analogy with *síol* and *ceinéal.* Cf. *cinn-bhile crú **n**Diarmada*, 'the pre-eminent hero of the land of Diarmaid' (§13b *Do leónadh Éire i nÁth Luain*, *FFC*, 283-293,) and *Uaithne cothaighthi crú **c**Cuinn*, 'the pillar which sustains the Ulstermen' (*DMU* 2.42c).

30d I take **MS *chothaighe*** to represent *cothaigh-* 'sustains, supports' + agentive suffix *-e*. Though I have not found another instance of this word in Bardic poetry, similar phrases are commonly used of the celebrand: *Uaithne cothaighthi crú cCuinn*, 'the pillar which sustains the Ulstermen' (*DMU* 2.42c), *Posd cothaighthe cland cColla*, 'the pillar which sustains the Maguires' (*DMU* 22.34a), *críoch géiggeal do chothaigh Conn*, 'territory of bright trees which Conn maintained' (§18c *Treóin an cheannais Clann Dálaigh*, McKernan 1947-8).

I have been unable to find any **Criomhthann** in the genealogy of the celebrand with the exception of Criomhthann Nia Náir (the great great grandfather of Conn Céadchathach) from whom the Fotharta, Déise, Connachta, Í Mhaine, Í Fhiachrach, Í Bhriúin (including the Meic Dhiarmada) and Í Néill are descended (*LMG* i, §§106.1-5; v, xv). Cf. phrases like *eidir fháobhráibh chrú Chríomhthuinn* (*ABM* 343.7d), 'between the blades of the descendants of Criomhthann'and *re hollamhnaibh crú Criomhthainn*, 'for the poets of Criomhthann's line' (*TD* 33.13d). Knott suggests (*TD* ii, 335) that *clann Chriomhtain* may signify the Irish and *clár Criomhthain* Ireland. In his elegy for Brian Óg, Muiris Ó Maoil Chonaire emphasises his descent from Conn Céadchathach: *Ua Cuinn is Tuathail Teachtmhair / ua Airt Aoinfhir oirbheartaigh / ua Féilim leomhan na leacht / leonadh d'Éirinn a imtheacht* (§3 *Do leónadh Éire i nÁth Luain*, *FFC*, 283-93), 'The descendant of Conn and Tuathal Teachtmhar, the descendant of valorous Art Aoinfhear, the descendant of Féilim, the death of the champion of the graves [Brian Óg] wounds Ireland'.

31a *Posd* 'prop, post' is often used figuratively of a ruler or warrior (*DIL* s.v. *post*; Herbert 2012, 250-5). Cf. *cothaighe* 'the one who supports, upholds' in the previous quatrain.

For grammar, I have emended **MS *ríaghladh*** to *riaghlaidh*, the gen. of the verbal noun declined as an *o*-stem. *Riaghla*, the gen. sing. of *ī*-stem *riagha(i)l* (*IGT* ii, §§10, 37), is also a possible emendation.

31b For sense, I have interpreted MS *ag cuirt* as *i gcúirt*, though nowhere else in the text of our poem does the scribe indicate *gc-* in any way other than *cc-*. If *ag cúirt* is read, 31ab

could be translated 'The great mansion of fair Magh Luirg has a prop which rules it according to right'.

32a I take *sighneóir* to be a variant of *sighnidh* 'assignee'. Note another example in a seventeenth-century legal document: *an fear eile 7 a fhaighrídhe do bheith 'na n-aighridhe 7 'na seiciodúraibh 7 'na síghníbh* (v.l. *sígineóiridhe*) *air annsa fearannaibh sin*, 'the other and his heirs shall be his [the first man's] heirs, executors and assignees in those lands' (Ó Cuív 1960, §11). I have found only two other examples of this word in Bardic poetry, both from a seventeenth-century poem by Gofraidh (mac Briain) Mac an Bhaird: *Blaith phréimhe finé Rossa / onóir anma an Fha*chtn*a-sa / a sighneóir féin fú*air *an tslát / le ndé*ar *a úain da hiomlat. / Soighin Satuirn*n *n*ar *shéimh stoirm / d'féin trogháin do shíol Sadóirn*n / *rain*ig (?) *si a signeóir m*ar *sin / gár mhínghleó e 'na áimsir* (*ABM* 234.25-6), 'The wand [of lordship?] has found its possessor, the flower of the race of Rossa, the honour of the name of that Fachtna, which gave rise to his chance to wield it. In the same way, Saturn's Bolt whose storm was terrible for harvesters (?) found for itself a possessor from the seed of Saturn in whose time it was exquisitely bright'.

32b More literally, 'The spark whose burning embers are the most reliable'. For the figure of the celebrand as a flame setting embers alight, see the following lines from late sixteenth- / early seventeenth-century poems: *Eoghan Óg mhac Mheic Suibhne, / sgiath choimhghe chuain Mhodhuirne, / sás fighthe chogaidh ó gCuinn, / drithle i gcogail ó gConuill*, 'Owen Óg, son of MacSweeney, guarding shield of the coast of Mourne; one fit to wage war for Conn's descendants, a spark in the embers for Conall's race' (*TD* 26.24), (the next two citations are from poems by Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa) *Mar bhen*us *becha an mhuighe / mil as súdh na serbhluibhe / beóchogal Banbha do bhen / tarbha a gleóchogadh Gáoidheal* (*ABM* 360.19), 'As the bees of the valley obtain honey from the juice of a bitter plant, the embers of Ireland derive benefit [i.e. are set alight] from the fierce war of the Irish', *'Na gris a ccoguil clan*n *Mhil*idh / *Mag Mathghamhna mairidh sé / d'eis na saorclann d'écc re hat[h]*aidh / *cred a*cht *aoncrann ach*aidh *é* (*ABM* 61.16), 'Mág Mathghamhna remains a spark in the emers of the Gaels; now that the noble families have been dead for some time, he is a lone tree in a field', (from a poem by Gofraidh Mac an Bhaird) *Síol Neill an deisgeirt dhré*chtg*hloin / da ndéndáois cách coimsléchtoin / án* [read *a n-*?] *drithle ag nuadadh a-nois / ar bfúaradh chrithre a ccádhois. / D'fuil Fiach*aid[h] *m*eic *Neill a-niodh / do (lus) len senrath na sinn*sior

/ dar las crithir 'na ccogail / go snas bfichidh bfiorthob(h)air (*ABM* 132.14-15), 'The flame of Í Néill to whom all submitted is renewing itself now after the embers of their honour had cooled. Thereby, a spark of the blood of Fiachaidh son of Niall who sought the ancient rath of the ancestors has burst into flames in their embers and shone like a bubbling spring', and *Drithle i gcoguil an chreidimh; / bos re bél eithrigidh; / cúl re millse is re meadhuir; / glún na hirrsi d'oileamhuin*, 'Live spark buried in the ashes of the faith; silencer of the heretical mouth; renouncer of pleasure and merriment; fosterer of the faith' (*Dán na mBráthar* 19.20). See also Ó Raghallaigh 2010, §§1-7 and note.

32c I do not know who the Arts intended here are. Cf. *inis na nArt* 'Ireland'. Art Aoinfhear was the son of Conn Céadchathach and king of Ireland.

32d I have emended MS *féchthóir* to *féagthóir* for rhyme with *éachtphóir* in 32c. *Féag-* is a well attested alternative root of the verb *féachaidh* (*IGT* iii, §93). (An emendation to *féac-* would also be possible though this root is very poorly attested.) I can find no other example of the word *féach- / féagthóir* (*féach- / féag-* etc. from *féachaidh* 'sees, searches, tests' with agentive suffix *-thóir*) in Bardic poetry.

33a I understand *breachtaighe* as 'he who variegates, adorns'. I have not found any other instances of this word.

33b I am unsure of the meaning of *foirm chumhdaigh*. 'A fashioned form [i.e. 'one who fashions the form of artistic questions']'? Cf. *lucht cumhdaigh na ccaithréimionn*, 'those who compose battle-rolls' (l. 64 *Filidh Éireann go haointeach*, Knott 1911). The ability of a patron to ask probing questions of the assembled poets is praised in a poem to Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir (†1589): *Tuc sé egna d'fhiledhaibh, / a cheasda ar chléir ccoimhidhigh*, 'The questions which he asked visiting poets instructed (his own) poets' (*DMU* 9.6ab). Likewise, in Eochaidh Ó hEóghusa's *Connradh do cheanglas re hAodh* (P.A. Breatnach 1993), Cú Chonnacht's son Aodh is (favourably) presented questioning assembled poets about a duty quatrain from a poem by Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh.

33c I have emended MS *foraire* to *faraire* for rhyme with *maraidhe* in 33d. See *faraire* (: *cath*aig[h]*i* : *aguinn-[n]e*, etc.) in *ABM* 237.1h.

Rath here is synonymous with *sochar* in 4c. See *DIL* s.v. 2 *rath*.

34a I have emended MS *bhiothfhliuc* to expected *bhithfhliuch*. The foot of Mac Diarmada is wet because he is always out of doors in uncomfortable conditions on campaign or on guard. Cf. *Dámadh baoghlach dá bharr nocht / níorbh iongnadh d'éis a ndubhort / bheith do shíor tuirsioch dá thréd; / do bhíodh coisfhliuch dá ccoimhéd*, 'After all this 'tis no wonder that the bare-headed hero was likely to grow tired of fighting for his flock; he was always wet-footed in defending it' (*O'Hara* 24.18).

34c *Raon-* appears to mean 'plain' in this context (Dinneen s.v. *raon*, *DIL* s.v. *róen* (b)).

Réalta is a common kenning for a celebrand of either gender (*TD* i, liv).

34d For female interest in the celebrand in Bardic poetry, see McManus 2009, 85-7.

The *n*-stroke in **MS *bannal*** might better be expanded as *d* for sense, though, as the scribal orthography indicates, *-nd-* is realised as *-nn-* in Classical Irish.

35a *ABM* incorrectly reads *molta* for *molt*ar.

35b Literally, 'Magh Luirg which noble blood [*fíon-* 'wine', here 'noble' + *drúcht* 'dew', here 'liquid, blood'] adheres to'. Cf. *fíonfhuil* 'noble blood, nobles' in *An fhíonfhuil thíos thiar is toir / dar dhual ceannas ar Chruachoin / síol gConchubhair fá chiaidh do chuir / tromchumhaidh Briain dá mbeoghuin* (§8 *Do leónadh Éire i nÁth Luain*, *FFC*, 283-93), 'The noble blood from north, west and east [i.e. Brian Óg Mac Diarmada whose ancestors hailed from all over Ireland] who should have taken the lordship of Cruachain [= Connacht] has placed the descendants of Conchobhar under a veil of sorrow [by his death]; their deep sorrow over Brian wounds them terribly'.

35c I have normalised MS *cairge* to *Cairrge.* See Poem 3 note 17b.

35d More literally, 'the desire to restrain all hostility'. I have emended MS *toil* to the variant *tal* (*IGT* i, §84; ii, §96) for rhyme with *lagh* in 35c. Bardic poetry, which naturally reflects the prevailing values of the society in which it was produced, had relatively little to say about women. When treated of in a panegyric, they are generally praised for their beauty, piety, nobility, generosity and occasional reference is made to such ladylike activities as

embroidery. Naturally, no role in government or military affairs is presented.[378] Their role as peace-makers does, however, feature from time to time. See the following late sixteenth- / early seventeenth-century examples, *Do cheird ríoghna a cur i gcéill / an gníomh-san do ghabh do láimh / coinne ríogh far bhaoghlach buain; / a síodh d'uaim d'aonghuth do b'áil*, 'She [Róis inghean Mhéig Uidhir] would fain bind in common peace the princes' gathering – perilous task! she essayed this task as being a princess' duty' (*DiD* 103.23) and *Cenn síothchána ingen Uilliaim / airrdhe na mná do mhes mé / mín ré cléir 's as cenn do bhochtoibh / ar léir lem do lochtaibh lé*, 'The daughter of Uilliam is a peace-maker; I have assessed the merits of the woman – her being lenient with poets and a champion of the poor are the only faults that I can find with her' (*AiD* 186.40). This is discussed in more depth in Damian McManus' forthcoming paper on female ancestry and maternal kin in Bardic poetry.

36a The two branches of the Burkes both claimed descent from Charlemagne (*Séarlas Mór*) (*O Clery*, §§2315, 2324). As Mairghréag Burke's parents were both Burkes (Mac Dermot 1996, 217, 378-9), her genealogical connection to Íor (descendants of whom include the Méig Aonghusa, the Méig Raghnaill, the Í Fhearghail and the Í Mhórdha) must be sought further back than her parents.

36b The lenition of the initial of *fhóidfhéarghlais* here, which must qualify *moighe*, is required for alliteration with *hAoi*, but violates the rule set out in *IGT* i §157 that a gen. sing. masc. longer than the nom. does not lenite the adjectives or nouns which qualify it. The present instance cannot be accounted for by *sléagar*. The lenition of *fhóidfhéarghlais* may reflect the trend for any masc. gen. sing. to lenite the following adjective or qualifying noun (see *SNG* IV, §3.2(f)). (Note that the historical *h*-mutation after *s*-stem gen. *moighe* is nonetheless still present in *hAoi*.) Damian McManus has suggested to me that the initial of *fhóidfhéarghlais* may be lenited after *hAoi* because the noun-phrase *Moighe hAoi* was taken as a semantic unit, and that the initial mutation of the adj. was caused by the last element of the noun-phrase before the adj. Cf. *réim Mhoighi mínfhéraig Mhaein*, 'the condition of smooth-grassy Magh Maoin' (*IGT* iii, ex. 523) where *Mhaoin* is lenited after *mínfhéraig*,

[378] Note the following instruction in *Rudimenta Grammaticae Hibernicae*: *Cuimhnig[h] a mhol*adh *iomchub*haidh *do c*hur *re cois gach focail. Nā habuir 'leomhanta' re mnaoi, 'sgothach' re muir, 'maig*hre*ach' re coill, nō a leithéide oile*, 'Remember to use the appropriate adjective with each noun. Do not call a woman 'lion-like [heroic]', the sea 'flowery', a wood 'salmon-filled', or the likes' (*GGBM*, ll. 2838-40).

though formally it qualifies *Mhoighi*; the alliteration in this citation, however, unlike that of the present poem, is not required for alliteration.

For another example of the rhyme ***Séarlais : fóidfhéarghlais***, see *Cuan énleoghain síol Sérluis / gur sgar re Fraingc bhfóid-fhérghlais / d'fhios chuan is oileán Eórpa / coileán don chuan chineólta* (§4 *Ó Dhia dealbhthar gach oige*, *FFC*, 147-63), 'The seed of Charlemagne was the litter of one lion until a pup of the noble litter left France of the green-grassed sod to seek out the harbours and islands of Europe'.

37b For the lenition of *Dhúin* here, see note 17a. I have not been able to identify Dún Oirill but it is probably to be associated with Tír Oirill, the barony of Tirerrill, Co. Sligo, the territory of the Meic Dhonnchaidh, off-shoots (and often enemies) of the Meic Dhiarmada.

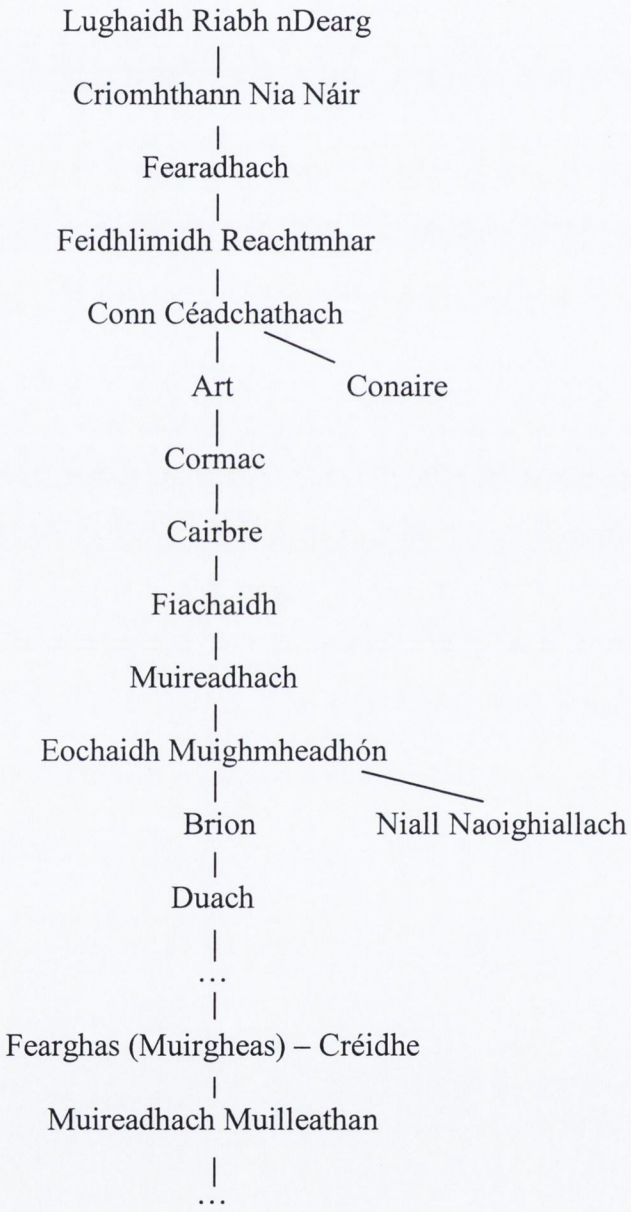
37c I take *soighneach ar* to mean 'fond of' but the adj. *soighneach* is poorly attested (*DIL* s.v. *saignech*). I know of only one other example of the word in Classical Irish, from another poem by Gofraidh Mac an Bhaird: *Gidh soighneach siansa [ó]* [sic?] *a haoibhill / i ndáil meic Í mhórBhaoighill / ní hí dairt as doilghe neimh / ar tí oidhre Airt Aoinfhir*, 'Tho' bright and loud its flame [or 'though affectionate its intention (?)'[379]] as it makes for Ó Baoighill's son, 'tis no dart of cruel venom [Cupid's arrow] to pierce Art Aoinfhear's scion' (*DiD* 78.4). *Clár Cuinn* is a poetic name for Ireland.

37d I have normalised MS *nf*[*h*]°*abairsi* (°*orchra*) to *n-abhairse.* For *(f)abhairse*, see *IGT* ii, §2

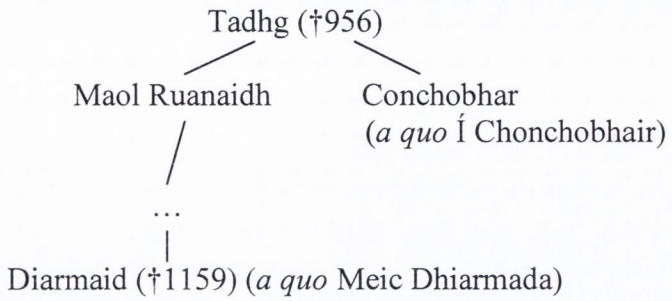
[379] For *siansa* 'feeling (?)', see *DIL* s.v. *síansa.*

GENEALOGICAL TREES

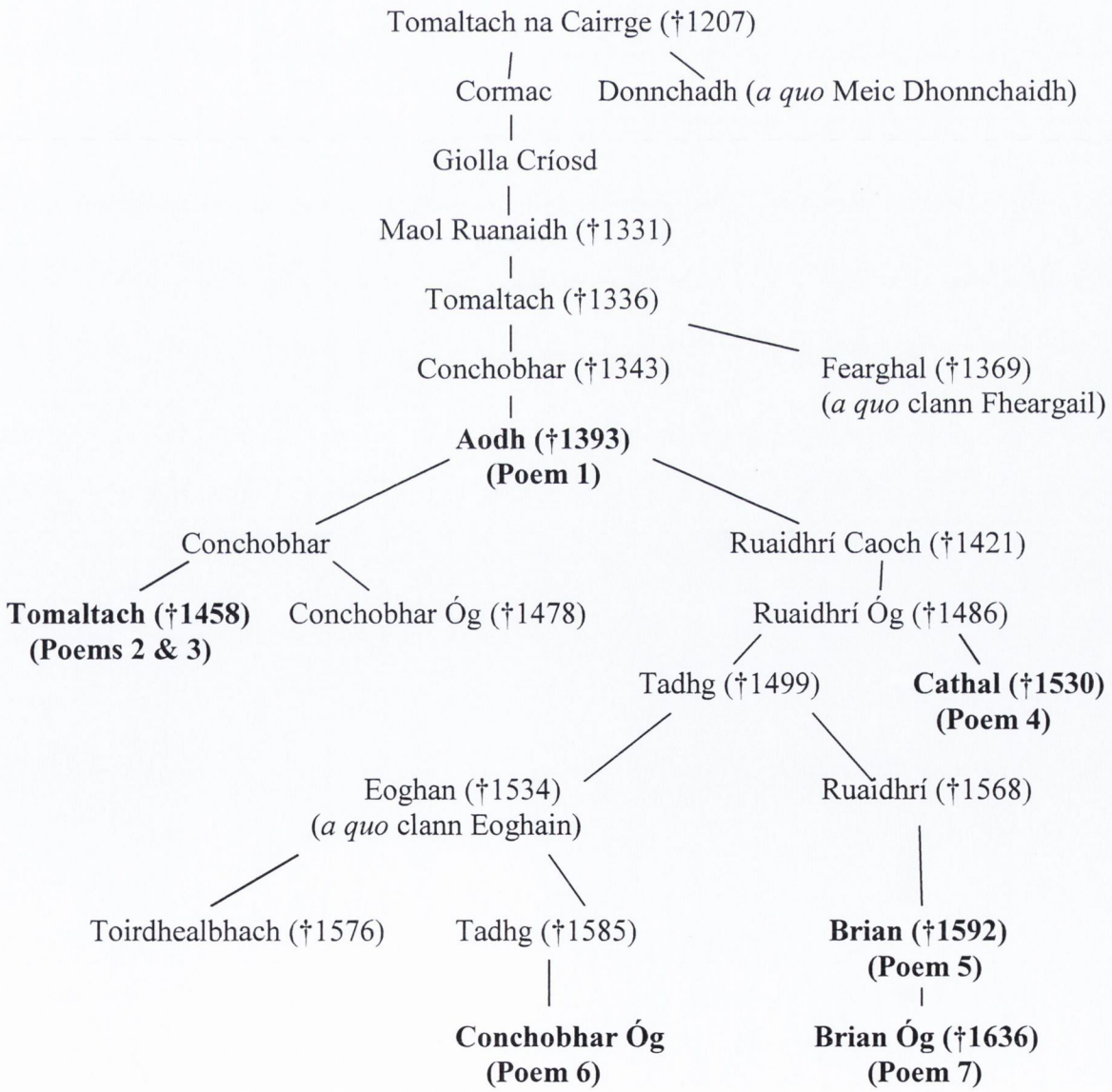
Early Ancestors of the Meic Dhiarmada



The split between Meic Dhiarmada and Í Chonchobhair



Meic Dhiarmada mentioned in Bardic poems



GLOSSARIAL INDEX TO NOTES

a (*particle before numeral*) 2 (i)

a (*preposition*) 2.48c

acla 7.21a

agus 4.14b

aieóir 6.27d; 7.24d

aindísle 5.39c

aithnidhe 1.32d

amhsaine 6.41d

a-nuraidh 4.4h

Aodh 6.45b

aoibheal (*kenning*) 7.5d

ar (*preposition*) 1.31-5; 2.40d

a-tá, a-táim 6.22a

badhbh (*kenning*) 2.49b

bagar 6.42c

báidh, is báidh le X 2.50i

baile, pl. bailte 2.19cd

báille 2.42b

bard 2.48d

barr báire 2.10f

bearna bhaoghail 2 (v)

bearnaidh bladh 2.1d

biothainimh 3.34a

blaosc 3.22c

bliadhain, gach bliadhna 1.24b; is mbliadhain 2 (xii)

bloghaidh troid 4.12c

breachtaighe 7.33a

briathar 5.18c

brughaidh 3.25c, 4.2cd

brúileang, brúilinntidh 2.49a

bruine 6.15b

buaidh 7.6d

búireadh 2 (iv)

búraigh (*gen.?)* 2.31a

caidreabh (caidreamh) 7.26d

cailg 7.7c

cainéal 7.6b

cáinte 5.34a

cairptheach 7.7ab

céad- 6.1b, 34c

ceap 4.4a; ceap caisil 4.5e

ceardcha an chogaidh 2.6a

ceartroinn chroinn 6.40c

cleas aigbhéil 1.20b

cleath (*kenning*) 2.39d

cliabh coradh 2.45cd

cliath (*kenning*) 6.41a

cluidhe, cluidh 1.10b

coigeadal 2 (iv)

coiléan (*kenning*) 2.9c, 2.12a

coinneamh 3.16b

coitcheann 1.38a; 7.2b

colbha 7.8b

colcach 18b

comairce 1.24

comha 2.20, 29, 29a; 5.29d, 36cd

comhardha (comhartha) 5.25d

comhchosmhail 3.2b

conasach 3.6b

congbháil chádhais 1.34a

connradh 2.1c; ceann connraidh 2.47b

cothaighe 7.30d

craobh geinealaigh 5.24a

craoibhreadh 7.22a

cró catha 2.3a

cró chaolaigh 2.31b

crú 7.30c

cruaidh 2.15ghij

cruthaighidh 4.3h

cuing 2.14b

cuiridh fo 3.2cd

cur (ón churaidh) 4.12d

damhán ealla 2 (xiii)

Danar 2.21b

dealbhdha 2.39g

deasgaidh 4.14a

díbheann 3.20d

díoláimh 2.37b

do (*preposition*) 6.13b

do-bheir is-teach 4.4b

dreol(l)án 2 (xiii)

duanach 7.16b

dubhaidh, dubhaidh 4.10cd

duibhré 7.2b

eachlongach, eachlonga, eachLoingseach 3.4c

earrchamhail, earrchaidhe 2 (v)

easrán 6.13c

fairche 6.20b; fairche fulaing 7.22d

farchluas 2 (xi)

feacht n-aon 7.11c

feadhain 2.57a

féagthóir 7.32d

fo (fa) (*preposition*) 1.6c

focal 5.18c

foirfe (foirbhthe) 6.10c

foirm chumhdaigh 7.33b

for 2 (x)

foraois 2.1a, 45cd

fortach 6.1d

fraoch an áigh 2.6c

fras 3.22c

fuigheal(l), fuighle airm 4.13a

gal (gol, gul) 2.42j

gallgha 2.19b

geintlidhe 2 (v)

giolla 2.11c

gnáth 6.1a

goibhéalta 7.18d

go^{n} (*preposition*) 2.49c

greanaidh, greanadh 7.24d

guaisseabhac 2.52c

iarraidh (*verb*) 4.15a

iath, fiath 6.22c

iolrachtach (ilreachtach) 7.29d

iomdha, 2.44cd; go hiomdha 2.19d

iomlaoid anma 2 (iv)

iomthadhall 7.14b

ioná, 'ná 2.44f

is (*copula*), bhus (*rel. future indicative*) 2.34b, 56ef, 4.10b; fa (*past tense*) 2 (iii)

lá 4.11gh

Laarg 2 (x)

laoidheang 1.41d

leaba 5.34d

leabhair 2.56d

leag 5.1d

leagaidh seól 4.15c

leathgha 2.29b

léibheann 7.30a

líon 2 (xiii); 5.12b

Lochlannach 2 (x), 3.5b, 32d

lochthobar 3.28ab

loigtheach 7.3b

loisgidh 6.12a

luirgneach 5.15d

mac ríogh 5.5cd

magh, moighe (muighe) (*gen. sing.*) 2.37a

maidean 6.17b

Maol Ruanaidh 2.1a

mar (*preposition*) 2.46d

méar meadhóin 2.8a

millidh 1.22a

mionaighidh 2.21a

mionn 2.26c, 49d

mórráimh 2.37a

neimh(neach) (of weapons) 2.30b

ní (noun) 4.4h

oireac meanma 7.25a

oirmhénais (?) 7.29b

oirrchinn 2.17

ómrada 5.34a

onfais 2 (xii)

orra (urra) 4.12e

orruim 3.29a

orsa (ursa) 3.19b, 21d; 4.3h, 15f

páirt 6.8a

rath 1.24

réim reabhach 2 (iv)

río(gh)dha 1.28c, 2.36b

río(gh)dhacht 6.3b

rithlearg 7.25d

ro (*preposition*) 2 (xiii)

rod 7.19b

roinn ar 1.1a

rúta 4.14h

Samhain 2.21d, 39h

sgaith mh'ealadhan 2 (i)

sgoláireacht 2 (vii)

seólbhog 2.32c

siabhraidh 6.4d

sighneóir 7.32a

soighneach 7.37c

sreath (sreith) 3.21b

suidheaghadh, suidheachán 1.17b

súiridh 6.29d

táidhe 2.42n

taobhshnoidhe 2.11a

tar (*preposition*) 3.1d

tar(r)ngara 5.16a

tarann 2.11d

te, teó (teóa) (*comparative*) 2 (v); (*plural*) 16.14c

téagairthe 7.12c

teagh turaidh 2.20c, 4.1b

téid, do théigheadh (past habitual) 2 (xii)

tig (*lenition of initial in rel. clause*) 1.15a

trí (*preposition*) 2 (xiii)

tuar intinne 6.19b

tuarastal 1.24

túiridh 6.29d

tulach troda 4.1d

uamhan 1.12d

uillíogha (uilldíogha) 5.7b

úir 2.44f

usgardadh 2 (iv)

INDEX OF PERSONAL NAMES IN THE EDITED POEMS

An Cliabhghlas 3.7

Art Aoinfhear (Éinfhear) 2.30, 54; na nArt (*gen. pl.*) 7.1, 32

Burke, Éamann 4.12

Burke, Mairgréag 7.35

Burke, Sadhbh 5.7

Cairbre Lifeachair 2.33

Cathbhaidh 6.37ff

Cealtchair 4.8

Ciarán of Clonmacnoise 2 (xi)

Clárach mac Conna 2 (x)

Conaire 1.20

Conall Cearnach

Conchobhar (*a quo* Í Chonchobhair) 1 *passim*

Conchobhar mac Neasa 4.8

Conghal Claon 2 (iv)

Conn 1.20; 5.16; 7.30; clár Cuinn 7.30

Connla 5.37; fiadh Connla 5.12a

Cormac mac Airt 2.33

Créidhe 2.10, 60; 5.27

Criomhthann 7.30

Crotán Ceannmhór 2 (x)

Cú Chulainn 2 (iv); 6.32ff

Daghdha, Druim Daghdha 2.39b

Diarmaid *passim*

Duach Galach 1.25; 2.40; 3.11

Dumha inghean Bhuidhbh Dheirg 2 (x)

Eachaidh Dala 1.7

Éimhear 5.11; ráth Éimhir 5.7

Eochaidh (Eachaidh) Muighmheadhón 3.7, 21, 32; 6.31; cóigeadh Eachach 1.8

Fearadhach 5.29; fód Fearadhaigh 5.36

Féilimidh, fiadh Féilimidh 5.3

Fiachaidh 5.23, 38

Fidheag mac Féigh 1.6

Fionn, Oiléan na bhFionn 7.3

Gamh Gruadhsholas 2 (x)

Gráinne 2.42, 60

Guaire 2.35-6

Íor 7.36

Lugh 2 (iv), (x), .56; fonn Logha 5.16

Lughaidh 5.22

Mac Diarmada, Aodh 1 *passim*; 2.20, 3.24

Mac Diarmada, Brian 5 *passim*; 7.16

Mac Diarmada, Brian Óg 7 *passim*

Mac Diarmada, Cathal 4 *passim*

Mac Diarmada, Conchobhar, father of Tomaltach 3.10, 30

Mac Diarmada, Conchobhar, patron of Poem 6 *passim*

Mac Diarmada, Maol Ruanaidh (?) 7.2

Mac Diarmada, Ruaidhrí, father of Brian 5.8

Mac Diarmada, Ruaidhrí, father of Cathal 4.16

Mac Diarmada, Tadhg 5.13; (?) 7.3

Mac Diarmada, Tomaltach 7.3

Mac Diarmada, Tomaltach an Einigh 2 *passim*; genealogy 2 (iii); 3 *passim*

Mac Goisdealbh 4.10

Mac Rúsglainn 2 (vii)

Mac Suibhne, Dubhghall Gruamdha 4.14

Mág Aonghusa 7.37

Mág Uidhir, Aodh 6.45

Maine 2.50

Maol Ruanaidh 1 *passim*

Meadhbh, Dún Meidhbhe 7.17; cóigeadh Meadbha 1.5

Míl 6.31

Mór 2.50

Muireadhach Muilleathan 3.9, 13; 5.21, 24, 29; magh Muireadhaigh 5.36; múr Muireadhaigh 5.17

Niall Naoighiallach 3.1

Ó Coinlearga, Conn 2 (ix)

Ó Conchobhair Ruadh, Sadhbh inghean 2.18, 58; 3.14

Ó Conchobhair Sligigh, Meadhbh inghean 7.19

Ó Conchobhair, Ruaidhrí na Soidhe Buidhe 2 (x)

Ó Conchobhar, Cathal Croibhdhearg 3.12

Ó Geirchaorach, Gofraidh 2 (ix)

Ó Lomluin, Amhlaoibh 2 (ix)

Ó Máille, bean 2.42

Ó Neachtain 2 (ix)

Oileall, críoch Oilill 1.4

Pártholón, Gort Pártholóin 7.2

Séarlas (Charlemagne) 7.36

Tadhg, ancestor of the Í Chonchobhair and Meic Dhiarmada, 1 *passim*

Tinne mac Connrach 1.5ff

Uinneas inghean Ghabha Ghabhail Fhoda 2 (x)

INDEX OF PLACE AND POPULATION NAMES IN THE EDITED POEMS

Achadh Abhla 2.28, 2 (x)

Albain 3.4

(An) B(h)úill, (An) B(h)aoill *passim*

Ára 2.44-5

Áth Cliath 2.41

Áth Cliath an Chorainn, *see* Baile an Mhúta

Áth Luain 1.6; 2 (ix)

Áth na nDamh 4.8

Baile an Mhúta 2 (x), 4.14

Baile Í Ruairc 4.13

Baoi Bhéarra 2.61

Bóinne 6.43

Breagha 6.30, 43; Ráth Bhreagh 3.16

Breatnaigh 3.4

(An) Caladh 4.8

An Carn 4.10, 5.20

Carn Fraoich 1.25

Carn Oilltriallach 2 (x)

Carna 2.39

An Charrag *passim*

Ceann Machaire Luighne *see* Machaire Luighne

Céis Chorainn 2 (x)

Cill Aithreachta (Athrachta) 2 (iv)

Cill Rónáin 2 (x)

Clann Chonnmhaigh 4.10

Clann Donnchaidh, Meic Dhonnchaidh 4.14

Clárach Luighne 2 (x)

Cliú 5.12

Clochar 2.53

Cluain Mheic Nóis 2 (xi)

Cnoc an Ghabhann 7.14, 27

Cnoc na nOnchon 2 (x)

Cnodhbha 2.19

An Choill Ard 4.15

Coill Crotáin 2 (x)

Coirrshliabh (na Seaghsa) *passim*

Conachail 2 (x)

An Corann 2.11

Cruachain, Rá(i)th Chruachan 1 *passim*; 2 (ix); 3.15; 5.21, 28, 30; 6.16

Cuailghne 6.35

Cuille (*gen.*) 2.23

Duibhlinn 2.12

Dún Balair 2 (ii)

Dún na Móna 4.12

Dún Oirill 7.37

Ealga (Eilge) 1.35; 2.38a

Eamhain 2.18, 58, 59; Iath Eamhna 2.18b

Fabhar 2.20

Fánad 2.33

Fása Choilleadh 4.13

Fiadh Amhlaoibh 2.41d

Fionna 5.31

Fir Bholg 1.4

Forbhar 2.52

An Fhraingc 3.5

Gáile 2.9

Gleann Suain *see* Tír Thuathail

Greancha 2.8

An Ghréic, na Gréagaigh 2 (xiv), 3.6

An Ghuthaird (dat.) 2 (x)

Í Chinn Chnámha 4.12

Í Chonchobhair 4.8

Leithcheann Shléibhe Gamh (dat.) 2 (x)

Loch Cairrgín 4.10

Loch Cé *passim*

Loch Ríbh 2.5

Lochlainn 3.5

Luighne 2.58; 4.15; 6.16

Luimneach 1.6

Machaire Luighne 2 (x)

Magh 2 (viii)

Magh Luirg *passim*

Magh Málann 2.44

Magh Muireadhaigh 3.28

Magh Muirtheimhne 2 (iv); 6.36

Magh Ó nOileall 2 (x)

Magh Rath 2 (iv)

Magh Treadha, *see* Magh Ó nOileall

Magh Tuireadh 2 (iv)

Mainistir Átha an Da Laarg for Búill (dat.) 2 (x)

Maolán Cinn tSheinshléibhe *see* Céis Chorainn

Midhe 2.7

Mín Murbhaigh 2.46

Oileach 2.48

Ros Comáin 6.15

Saxain 3.4

Seaghais 2.4

Seanchuach 1.10

Sionna 1.10; 2.49, (xi)

Síth Dumha 2 (x)

Síth Neanta 2.7

Teach Da Thí 3.10

Teamhair 1.11

Tír Fhiachrach 4.15

Tír Thuathail 2 (x)

Tuilsce 4.13

Uinnsinn (*acc.*) 2 (x)

Uisneach 3.10

Ulaidh, Ultaigh 4.8, 9, 10, 11, 15; 6.32ff

Umhall 1.11

INDEX OF POETS

[Mac an Bhaird, Gofraidh] Poem 7

Ó Domhnalláin, Aingleach Poem 1

Ó Duibhgeannáin, Duibhgeann Poem 2

Ó hEóghusa, Eochaidh Poem 6

Ó hUiginn, Brian Dorcha Poem 5

Ó Maoil Chonaire, Páidín Poem 4

Seithfín Mór Poem 3

INDEX OF FIRST LINES

Álainn claochlódh na Cairrge Poem 7

Foraois na gcliar clann Mhaoil Ruanaidh Poem 2

Grian shamhraidh teisd Tomaltaigh Poem 3

Ní gnáth liaigh gan luach saothair Poem 6

Roinn leithe ar cóigeadh Connacht Poem 1

Sguiream feasd do chrannchur Cathail Poem 4

Síol féile fuil Dhiarmada Poem 5

ABBREVIATIONS

ABM = A Bardic Miscellany, ed. D. McManus and E. Ó Raghallaigh (2010). Dublin.

AC = Annála Connacht: the annals of Connacht (A.D. 1224-1544), ed. A. Martin Freeman (1944). Dublin.

AFM = Annála Ríoghachta Éireann: annals of the kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters [...], ed. J. O'Donovan (1848-51). Dublin.

AiD = Aithdioghluim Dána, ed. L. McKenna (1939-40). London.

ALC = The Annals of Loch Cé, ed. W.M. Hennessey (1871). London.

An Leabhar Muimhneach = An Leabhar Muimhneach, maraon le suim aguisíní, ed. T. Ó Donnchadha (1940). Dublin.

Armstrong, J. (1985): 'A glossarial index of nouns and adjectives in *Irish grammatical tracts* II-IV', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 5, 187-410

AU = Annála Uladh: Annals of Ulster [...], ed. W.M. Hennessy and B. Mac Carthy (1887-1901). Dublin.

BAR = Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill, as Leabhar Lughaidh Uí Chlérigh, ed. P. Walsh (1948). London.

BST = Bardic Syntactical Tracts, ed. L. McKenna (1944). Dublin.

Butler poems = Poems on the Butlers of Ormond, Cahir, and Dunboyne (A.D. 1400-1650), ed. J. Carney (1945). Dublin.

Calendar Patent Rolls James I = Irish patent rolls of James I: facsimile of the Irish record commission's calendar prepared prior to 1830 (1966). Dublin.

Carew = Calendar of the Carew manuscripts preserved in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, 1515-1624, ed. J.S. Brewer and W. Bullen (1867-73). London.

Citations = A list of citations from *IGT*, *BST* and the unpublished tract on the subjunctive, compiled by Roinn na Gaeilge, TCD, available on www.tcd.ie/Irish

Clonmacn. = *The annals of Clonmacnoise, being annals of Ireland from the earliest period to A.D. 1408*, ed. D. Murphy (1896). Dublin.

CMT$_2$ = *Cath Muighe Tuireadh: the Second Battle of Magh Tuireadh*, ed. B. Ó Cuív (1945). Dublin.

Compossicion = *The Compossicion Booke of Conought*, ed. M.A. Freeman (1936). Dublin.

CSPI = *Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland,* ed. H. C. Hamilton (1860ff.). London.

CSPI^2 1566-7 = *Calendar of State Papers: Ireland – Tudor Period, 1566-1567*, ed. Bernadette Cunningham (Dublin 2009)

CSPI^2 1568-71 = *Calendar of State Papers: Ireland – Tudor Period, 1568-1571*, ed. Bernadette Cunningham (Dublin 2010)

CSPI^2 1571-5 = *Calendar of State Papers: Ireland – Tudor Period, 1571-1575*, ed. Mary O'Dowd (Dublin and London 2000)

Dán Dé = *Dán Dé, the religious poems of Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh and the religious poems in the Duanaire of the Yellow Book of Lecan*, ed. L. McKenna (1922). Dublin.

Dán na mBráthar = *Dán na mBráthar Mionúr*, ed. C. Mhág Craith (1967, 1980). Dublin.

DG = *Dánta Grádha*, ed. T.F. O'Rahilly (1926). Dublin. 2008 reprint.

DiD = *Dioghluim Dána*, ed. L. Mac Cionnaith (1938). Dublin.

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