

Mná Maithe Mumhan

Noble Women of Munster

Bardic poems in praise of noble women of Munster

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university and that it is entirely my own work.

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Rosie Faughnan

January 2025

DEDICATION

For Pete - thanks for your love and encouragement to undertake this PhD.

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SUMMARY

This thesis comprises editions of four previously unedited Bardic poems composed for members of the Roche family of Fermoy, Co. Cork.

Bardic poetry is intricately ornamented syllabic verse, composed by professional poets for their aristocratic patrons. This type of poetry blossomed in Ireland and Scotland between c.1200–c.1650. Bardic poets were trained to exacting standards in the Bardic schools that were found throughout Ireland until about 1650 (Bergin 1970, 3). They showcased their erudition through the composition of sophisticated verses requiring the fulfilment of stringent metrical rules. Brian Ó Cuív (1973, 4) says that the language of bardic poetry ‘reflects an extraordinarily enlightened linguistic sense on the part of its designers’.

The Bardic poet, being a skilful master of his art, also demonstrated his extensive knowledge of literature, history, traditions, customs and genealogy through his verses. Osborn Bergin (1970, 40) claims that ‘... we must remember that the Irish *file* or *bard* was not necessarily an inspired poet...He was, in fact, a professor of literature and a man of letters, highly trained in the use of a polished literary medium, belonging to a hereditary caste in an aristocratic society, holding an official position therein by virtue of his training, his learning, his knowledge of the history and traditions of his country and his clan.’

In the Introduction to this thesis, there is a brief description of Bardic poetry and the terminology associated with it, a brief account of the Roche family of Fermoy, Co. Cork and a description of the Book of Fermoy (RIA 1134 (23/E/29)) where the poems are found. There is also an explanation of the editorial policy.

In the introduction to each edition, the manuscript witness is described. A diplomatic edition from *ABM* is provided, along with a critical edition parallel to the diplomatic text. There is also an account of the poet, the patron, the subject-matter and the

metre. Where there is more than one manuscript copy, variant readings are supplied. I have supplied an English translation accompanying each quatrain or stanza. Notes following each edition consider words, phrases, couplets or stanzas and editorial matters.

These poems are noteworthy because they highlight the esteem in which women were held in a male-dominated society. These women had such influence among their male counterparts that they warranted poems of praise in the poem books (*duanaireadha*) usually reserved to exhibit the nobility, beauty and the great deeds of the males.

Poem 1 (*Olc an cumthach an chumha* ‘Grief is a poor companion’) was composed by Cearbhall (mac Conchobhair) Ó Dálaigh for Mór inghean Mhathghamhna Uí Bhriain, and inghean Mhóire. She was the wife of Maurice Roche, 2nd Viscount Fermoy, Co. Cork. This elegy was written on Mór’s death and it exhibits the *topoi* associated with formal Bardic elegy.

Poem 2 (*Fada is mná maithe mná Mumhan* ‘Long have the women of Munster been noble women’) was composed by Ó Maothagáin (*O Maothagan* in the Book of Fermoy). This eulogy is dedicated to Caitilín, daughter of Tadhg Mac Carthaigh, and wife of Dáibhíoth de Róiste, 3rd Viscount Roche of Fermoy, Co. Cork. The poem gives the reader an insight into the great beauty and the generous nature of the honorand. Caitilín represents the noble women of Munster in generosity. Her reputation extends to the five provinces. She is more beautiful than the beautiful women of Irish literature. Her homestead is known for its abundance and magnanimity.

Poem 3 (*Dlighim íoc as m’fhearacht gráidh* ‘I owe a debt for the patronage given me’) was composed by Cormac (mac Eoghain) Ó Dálaigh and dedicated to Caitilín, daughter of Tadhg Mac Carthaigh, and wife of Dáibhíoth de Róiste, 3rd Viscount Roche of Fermoy. This eulogy exemplifies the relationship between poet and female patron, a relationship usually between poet and male patron.

Poem 4 (*Díleas gach éandúine a eadhreacht* ‘Everyone is entitled to his inheritance’) is without attribution in the manuscript. It was composed for Caitilín, daughter of Tadhg Mac Carthaigh, and wife of Dáibhíoth de Róiste, 3rd Viscount Roche of Fermoy. Again, this eulogy exemplifies the special relationship between poet and female patron.

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INTRODUCTION

Bardic Poetry

Bardic poetry encompasses syllabic verse which flourished in Ireland and Scotland between c. 1200–c. 1650. The poetry was composed in a highly stylised literary language called Classical Modern Irish. This literary language and the complex metrical systems employed by the poets is detailed in the grammatical and syntactical Tracts compiled by the poets.¹ These Tracts showcase the language used and the metres developed and analysed by the poets. They are invaluable to the study of the complexities and the sophistication of the language and of the various metrical systems that were in use in the bardic schools. Osborn Bergin (1916, i) highlights the importance of the Irish Grammatical Tracts when he states of the grammarians: ‘With a keen interest in their own language which was rare in Europe at that time, and a diligence and ingenuity which the great Indian scholars would not have despised, they had studied and expounded in minute detail the usages of the literary dialect’. Eoin Mac Cárthaigh (2014) has published a new edition of Irish Grammatical Tracts 1 where he provides extensive annotation as well as an English translation.²

Approximately two thousand bardic poems, predominantly eulogistic and elegiac addresses to aristocratic patrons along with religious verse, have been catalogued by Dr. Katharine Simms, Department of History, Trinity College, Dublin.³

¹ See Bergin, O., (1916–55) *Irish Grammatical Tracts* in supplements to *Ériu* 8–10, 14, 17. McKenna, L., (1944): *Bardic Syntactical Tracts*, (Dublin).

² Mac Cárthaigh, E., (2014): *The art of bardic poetry: a new edition of Irish Grammatical Tracts I*. Dublin.

³ Bardic Poetry Database: <https://bardic.celt.dias.ie/>

Bardic Poets and Bardic Schools

In the following section I will discuss the training of the bardic poet in the bardic schools. I will discuss the relationship between the bardic poet and his patron or patroness on completion of his stringent training. I will examine the terminology associated with the reciprocal roles of chief-poet and patron, the themes evident in official elegy as well as the theme of righteous kingship, all of which occur in the poems edited here. I will also discuss the metre-types used by the poets in the poems.

The bardic poet attended a bardic school and underwent stringent and strict training to achieve the status of *ollamh*, the highest grade in the seven grades of poets. Robin Flower (1947, p. 95) asserts that it is difficult to understand the daily routine of bardic schools. However, he references an account of the daily life of trainee bardic poets in the Introduction to the *Memoirs of the right-honourable the Marquis of Clanricarde*.⁴ The author, Thomas O’Sullavane, gives an account of the Bardic School or Academy. Damian McManus (2004, pp. 97–8) asserts that although dating from the early eighteenth century, ‘many of the details of O’Sullavane’s account can be confirmed by the works of the poets themselves’.

Scholars in such schools were tutored by hereditary poetic families: ‘it was open only to such as were descended of Poets and reputed within their Tribes’ (Bergin, 1970, p. 5). Initially, the students were grouped into classes according to their age, their ‘Genius’ and their prior schooling. The Bardic School was in a remote place so as not to have interruptions to the studies being undertaken. The students retired to low huts with little furniture except for a bed, a table, seats and ‘a Conveniency for Cloaths to hang upon’ (ibid., p. 6). McManus (2004, pp. 98–9) has identified references to the apartment – *both*,

⁴ For the extracts from O’Sullavane’s account I am referencing Bergin, 1970, 5–8.

dánbhoth – and to the bed – *leaba* – as well as to the ‘snug, low Hut’, mentioned by O’Sullivan (Bergin, 1970, p. 6), in many of the bardic poems.⁵

The huts were without lighting and the scholar lay in the dark to complete a task given by their Professor:⁶ ‘The Professors ... gave a Subject suitable to the Capacity of each Class determining the number of Rhimes, and clearing what was to be chiefly observed therein as to Syllables, Quartans, Concord, Correspondence, Termination and Union, each of which were restrain’d by peculiar Rules’ (ibid., p. 6). After working on composition throughout the night and the next day until ‘a certain Hour in the Night’ (ibid., p. 6), candles were provided and the students wrote down their compositions. The scholars assembled before their masters and presented their composition for correction or approval. After this ritual ended, the scholars gathered for their meal and recreation time (ibid., p. 6).

The scholars were free every Saturday and on the eves of festivals where they visited the Gentlemen and the rich farmers in the area. They were well entertained until they returned to the Bardic School (ibid., p. 6).

Training in Bardic Schools lasted between six and seven years, starting each year at Michaelmas until the 25th of March. After the requisite number of years of training, the

⁵ See McManus (2004, footnote 4).

⁶ McManus (2004, p. 98) gives an example of a poem which gives credence to the notion that composition of verses occurred in the dark. In this poem *Cuimseach sin, a Fhearghail Óig* ‘This is comfortable, O Fearghal Óg’ (IBP 27) the poet Fear Flatha Ó Gnímh reproaches Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird as he is *ag deilbh ghilanoige ar ghearrán* ‘thou framest fine scholarly art on horseback!’ (§1). He provides Mac an Bhaird with a list of poets from bygone days who composed in the darkness. For example, he claims that Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh or Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe did not compose in the open: *dán ar conair ní cheapdaois* ‘they never composed verse on the road’ (§3). Similarly, Aonghus Mac Cearbhaill Bhuidhe Ó Dálaigh or Aonghus Ruadh Ó Dálaigh (§§3–4). Sgolb (a son of Cearbhall Buidhe Ó Dálaigh) or an tÓrthóir (Eoghan Mág Craith) never composed *dán gan diamhoir gan dorchacht* ‘a poem with secrecy and darkness’ (§6). Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn could be seen *A leapthaibh dhénta duan ngill* ‘In the beds where prize lyrics are made’ (8). The poet himself needs *leaptha diamhra ‘gar ndídean* ‘dim couches to guard me’ (§9).

scholar returned to his home-place ‘with an Attestation of his Behaviour and Capacity from the chief Professor to those that had sent him’ (ibid., p. 6).

There were different grades of poets in the bardic schools. The law tract *Uraicecht na Ríar* from the second half of the eighth century, details the seven grades of poets: (1) *ollam*, (2) *anrúth*, (3) *clí*, (4) *cano*, (5) *dos*, (6) *macfhuirmid* and (7) *fochloc* and three sub-grades of (i) *taman*, (ii) *drisiuc* and (iii) *oblaire*.⁷ The poets underwent strict education and training to achieve each grade and were required to master a requisite number of metres and tales. *Uraicecht na Ríar* sets out the status of each of these grades. There is reference to the seven grades of poets in the poem *Mór an feidhm deilbh an dána* by Fear Feasa Ó’n Cháinte. Here the poet provides the full list of grades by which a poet qualified as an *ollamh*:

*Fochlag, Mac Fuirmidh feasach,
Dos, Clí na gceard neimhcheasach,
fiu an [daghbhoth], a chara, a ccradh
Cana, Ánshruth is Ollamh.*

‘A Fochlog, a knowledgeable Mac fuirmidh, a Dos, a Clí of easy skills, a Cana, an Ánshruth and an Ollamh, their reward is worthy of the good hut, my friend.’ (O’Riordan, 2007, p. 207).

The Bardic Poet and His Patron

A bardic poet might be employed by his patron as ‘chief-poet’. When in the employ of a patron, in the words of Flower (1947, p. 99) the bardic poet ‘would devote himself enthusiastically to his interests and was of necessity and choice an upholder of the

⁷ Breatnach (1987).

monarchical principle in its most extreme form'. In the Introduction to the *Memoirs of the right-honourable the Marquis of Clanricarde*, O' Sullevane states:

'As every Professor, or chief Poet, depended on some Prince or great Lord, that had endowed his tribe, he was under strict ties to him and Family, as to record in good Metre his Marriages, Births, Deaths, Acquisitions made in war and Peace, Exploits, and other remarkable things relating to the Same. He was likewise bound to offer an Elegy on the Decease of the said Lord, his consort, or any of their children, and a Marriage Song when there should be Occasion.' (Bergin 1970, p. 7).

The *ollamh* drew on his extensive knowledge including historical literature, genealogy, onomastics and apologue in his composition. On the use of apologues, Flower (1947, p. 95) states that the poems are 'in great part eulogistic compositions couched in a traditional rhetoric and illustrated with allusive stories taken from older legends, from classical sources or from the exempla books of the preaching friars...'. The poet made use of apologues or exempla to emphasise his point or to reinforce his message to his patron/patroness. Ó Caithnia (1984, pp. 7–49) has categorised and discussed the nature of the apologue or the exemplum etc. that poets had in their repertoire in *Apalóga na bhFilí*. He states (ibid., pp. 7–8):

Ag na filí féin bhí 'sgéal,' 'uirsgéal,' 'foisgéal,' 'faithsgéal,' 'sgéal fabhail,' 'sdair,' 'eisiompláir,' 'samhail,' agus 'macasamhail' agus a thuilleadh eile fós...Ach is é an focal 'sgéal' is minice ag na filí go fada mór: chomh líonmhar go rábach, a déarfainn, le suim na dtéarmaí eile ar fad le chéile.

Knott (1928, pp. 21–78) has also edited some apologues found in the poetry. Some examples of these are 'The Child Born in Prison', an apologue from *Mairg mheallas muirn an tsaoghail* by Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh (ibid., pp. 41–44); 'The Lion and the Fox', an apologue from *D'fhior chogaidh chomhailtear síothcháin* by Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn (ibid.,

pp. 49–50); ‘The Folly of Wisdom’, an apologue *Bíodh aire ag Ultaibh ar Aodh* by Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa (ibid., pp. 51–53); ‘Demonstration’, an apologue from *Deacair iomlaoit Chlann gConuill* (ibid., pp. 67–69).⁸

Of the poems being edited in this thesis, three have an apologue. In poem 1 (*Olc an cumthach an chumha*) (See 1. 21–29, pp. 89–93), the poet relates a story from bygone days when the people of Ireland were in mourning when Úna, the wife of Féilim Reachtmhar, died. This apologue is included in the elegy by Eoghan (mac Donnchadha) Mág Craith for Mairgréag inghean Tomáis and Oilionóir Butler (Carney, 1945, poem 4, §§13–22).⁹

In poem 3 (*Dlighim íoc as m’fhearacht gráidh*) (3.10–16, pp. 170–2) the story of the generosity of Flíodhais towards Bricne can be found in the saga *Táin Bó Flidaise*. The story is preserved in:

- (i) The Glenmasan Manuscript, a fifteenth century vellum manuscript (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 72.2.3, fol. 7a);
- (ii) RIA, MS B iv 1a (236a) / Book of the Ó Duibhgeannáin, a seventeenth-century compilation in the hand of Dáibhí Ó Duibhgeannáin;
- (iii) The manuscript known as the Yellow Book of Lecan (TCD, MS H.2.16 (1318), cols 345–364).

This apologue is found in another eulogy, *Is mairg fhágas aithre/oidhre mná* by Cú Choigríche Ó Maoil Chonaire for Sadhbh inghean Taidhg Uí Mháille (*BPD* 1160). The

⁸ See also Bibliography of Irish Linguistics and Literature: <https://bill.celt.dias.ie/> for other apologues (e.g. James Stewart, J., ‘How the eagle cools it: an apologue and its analogues’; McManus, D., ‘Niall Frosach’s “act of truth”: a bardic apologue in a poem for Sir Nicholas Walsh’; Ó Háinle, C., “‘Ab fíréanda fada ó shin’”: a detached apologue?’; Griffin-Wilson, M., ‘St Patrick and Antaeus: two bardic apologues’; O Riordan, M., ‘Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe: the weasels apologue from *Atá sunn seanchus Muáin*’).

⁹ See also Ó Caithnia 1984, p. 94.

generosity of Flíodhais is also highlighted there: *tuc táinte buair do Bhricne* ‘she gave herds of cattle to Bricne’ (19c).

In poem 4 (*Díleas gach éanduine a eidhreacht*) (4.18–27, pp. 209–12) the poet relates the story of Mac Liag, *ollamh Chinn Choradh* ‘chief poet of Kincora’ on the arrival at Kincora of Brian Bóramha’s new wife from Leinster. Interestingly, the poet equates Caitilín with Gormfhlaith, thus elevating her status and that of her husband who is implicitly put on an equal footing with Brian Bóramha himself. Two further poems have apologues concerning Mac Liag: (i) *Dlighidh ollamh urraim ríogh* by Seaán Buidhe Mac Bruaideadha (McKenna, 1938, poem 80, §§ 24–40); (ii) *Damh féin choiglim an Chathair* by Giolla Íosa Ó Dálaigh (Carney, 1945, poem 8, §§25–39).¹⁰

On being employed by a patron, the qualified poet held a position of high status in the aristocratic society. The bardic poet lauded his patron in verse and revelled in the generosity and privileges he received. The chief-poet and patron enjoyed a special relationship with reciprocal responsibilities. Breatnach (1983, pp. 37–79) has explained the concept of the special relationship between chief-poet and patron. He has outlined terminology associated with the roles of the chief-poet and patron. For example, the master-poet enjoys *muirn/moirn ollaimh* or *anáir* ‘special favour due to a master-poet’ from his patron. He gives examples from an elegy by Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn for Cathal Ó Conchobhair where Ó hUiginn claims that the favours he received surpassed those bestowed on two chief-poets, *Iorard Mac Coise* and *Mac Liag* of bygone days by their respective patrons, Tadhg Ó Ceallaigh of the Uí Mhaine and Brian Bóramha.¹¹ In the poem

¹⁰ See also Ó Caithnia, 1984, p. 88 and p. 115.

¹¹ *Déanam cunntas, a Chathail: BPD 717 §§28–9.*

Muirn Mheic Coise, cian ó shoin, / re linn Taidhg Mhóir mheic Cathail, dom chionsa ní séad samhail, / ionsa h'éag ót ollamhain ‘Mac Coise’s honour long ago, in the days of Tadhg Mor son of Cathal, is not comparable to mine; harder it is that thou shouldst perish from thy poet’ and *Muirn Mheic Liag i Leith Mogha, / i n-aimsir*

Dlighidh file fagháil aisig ‘It is right for a poet to receive restitution’ by Cú Choigcríche (mac Dhiarmada mhic Thaidhg Chaim) Ó Cléirigh for his patron Maghnas Ó Domhnaill, the poet highlights the loss he has suffered because of a dispute between himself and his patron: *Briathra milse agus muirn airdríogh, / ní héinchreach dhamh deadhail riú; / do beanadh dhíonn – doirbh an fhaghal – / moirn ríogh nach bhfaghar a fiú* ‘It is no single loss for me to part with the sweet words and favour of a high-king; favour of a king unlike any other has been taken from me – an injury that is hard to bear. (BPD 720, §6).¹²

Among the privileges expected by an *ollamh* ‘chief-poet’ was (i) to be seated at the *uille* ‘elbow’ or *guala* ‘shoulder’ of the patron at drinking-time and (ii) to be confidant to the patron. According to Hoyne (2015, pp. 25–6 note 51): ‘Counsel-giving was a carefully regulated privilege in aristocratic Gaelic society. The *ollamh flatha* was entitled to share his patron’s confidence and participate in his deliberations, a right which holders of that dignity were eager to maintain and one associated with being seated by their patron’s side at banquets’.

Breatnach (1983, pp. 45–46) outlines the customs of sitting at *uille* ‘elbow’ of the king/patron at drinking-time and of being the patron’s confidant with the examples from (i) *Ionnmhas ollaimh onóir ríogh* ‘A poet’s wealth is a chief’s glory’ by Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird in his petition to Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill to grant him the privilege of sitting by his side at drinking-time and of confiding in him:

A uille re headh gcuirme,

Bhriain Bhóromha, géir mhaith ri fionntolcha Fáil, / níorbh ionchomtha í is m’anáir ‘Mac Liag’s honour in Leath Mogha, in the time of Brian Bóromha, though good was the king of Fail’s fair height, is not fit to set beside mine’ (Breatnach, 1983, p. 44).

See also *Ionnmhas ollaimh onóir ríogh* ‘A poet’s wealth is a chief’s glory’ (BPD 1143, §§11, 15), MacKenna, L. (1952), 99–104) and *Turnamh dóchais díoth muirne* ‘Loss of favour is collapse of hope’ (BPD 1929), Mac Cionnaith, L. 1938, Poem 121) both by Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird exhibiting the use of the term *muirn*.

¹² Translation by Mac a’ Ghoill; 2021, p. 65.

a chogar, a chomhairle,

dá ngabhadh múr cithgheal Cuinn

dhúnn do dhlighfeadh Ó Domhnoill

‘If he is to rule the bright-showered fort of Conn, Ó Domhnaill should grant me his elbow during ale-feast, bestow his whisper and take counsel (with me)’ (Breatnach 1983, p. 45)

and from (ii) *Déanam cunntas, a Chathail* ‘Let us make an account, Cathal’ by Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn in his elegy for Cathal mac Taidhg Ó Conchobhair, where Ó hUiginn boasts that he had the privilege of both sitting beside Ó Conchobhair at drinking-time and being his confidant:

Do-gheibhinnse, a ghéag Luighne,

do chogar, do chomhairle,

t’uille agus leath do leabtha,

breath nár thruime toirbhearta.

Cóir a bhuidhe do bhreith ruibh -

fuaras ó chách, a Chathail,

na haisgeadha fa lór linn,

do lógh m’fhaigseana ar h’uillinn

‘I used to have thy confidence and thy counsel, thou branch of Leyney, thy elbow and half thy couch, an award which no gifts could excel. It were just to give thanks for it to thee – from others, Cathal, I got plenteous gifts in consequence of being seen beside thee’ (Breatnach, 1983, p. 46).

Here Ó hUiginn thanks his patron for affording him these privileges as they were advantageous to him in that he received numerous gifts as a consequence of being seated by his side.

In the eulogy *Fa chroidhe cumthar flaitheas* ‘A kingdom is apportioned according to generosity’ (BPD 861)¹³ for Aodh Óg (mac mic Rughradh) Mac Mathghamhna,¹⁴ the poet claims that it would be a privilege to be seated at Aodh’s *guala*¹⁵ ‘shoulder’ – to have the special chief-poet–patron relationship:

*Ní hionmhaoite d’fhior a ghníomh,
guala nó uille airdríogh;
's níor bheag d'anáir uadha soin,
guala d'fhagháil 'na haghaidh*

‘A man of his deeds warrants the alliance of high kings, and it is no small honour to receive from him [the position at] his shoulder in return.’¹⁶ (§11).

More generally, Bardic praise-poetry featured different themes: the noble ancestry of the patron, his/her generosity, beauty, bravery in battle, sometimes including a *caithréim*, a list of the exploits of the patron in battle. An excellent example of a patron’s generosity is in the eulogy *Fa chroidhe cumthar flaitheas* ‘A kingdom is apportioned according to generosity’ (BPD 861) where the poet emphasises in a very striking way the generosity of Aodh, claiming that if he were asked to return a hostage, the hostage would indeed be returned restrained by chains of gold: *Bráighe re beagán umhla, / dá sirtheá ar Mhag Mathghamhna, / a ghlais láimhe lais 'na ór, / an bhráighe ar ais ag iompódh* ‘If one were

¹³ This poem has been edited by Mac Cathmhaoil (2016).

¹⁴ The poem is attributed to ‘Ó Fáolan’ in RIA, MS 24 P 4, pp. 257–61, while it is ascribed to ‘Tadg o Higin’ in British Library, London, MS Additional 40,766.

¹⁵ Other examples of the use of the phrase *guala ríogh* in BPD are 284, 624, 717, 968, 1242, 1365, 1504, 1653, 1812.

¹⁶ Mac Cathmhaoil 2016, 44–70.

to humbly request [the return of] a hostage from Mag Mathghamhna, the hostage would return fettered in chains of gold'. Generosity is, as we will see, a major theme in the poems edited here.

In the formal elegies on the death of patrons, recurring themes are evident. Regarding the elegy, McManus (forthcoming) identifies common themes running through official elegies dedicated to women and contends that they comprise, for the most part, trends similar to those found in elegies for men. These include themes such as (a) the poet's grief being equal to or exceeding that of others, (b) the heart-wrenching grief suffered not only by the community but far beyond, (c) the poet's wish to have pre-deceased his benefactress, (d) the great generosity of the benefactress, especially towards the poets, (e) grief-related topics the likes of blood-red palms, (f) the poet visiting the grave of his patroness, (g) the nobility of the patroness and she being compared to beauties from the past, (h) the poet's wish that his patroness has found peace in heaven, (i) the catastrophic impact of the death for nature and the elements and (j) the absence of the typical *caithréim* praising the conquests and victories of a male patron. Many of the above-mentioned themes associated with eulogies and elegies, (except the *caithréim*) are highlighted in the poems edited here.

For example, in poem 1, *Olc an cumthach an chumha* 'Grief is a poor companion', the elegy for Mór, eloquently portrays many of the themes present in formal elegy. For instance, we see the poet's overwhelming grief on the death of his ever-generous patroness, Mór. He claims in §16 (p. 86) that he will never again enter the chief–poet–patron relationship such is the grief he is experiencing:

Fiú na hanóra fhuair mé

ní ghéabhainn chugum choidhche

do sgís bhur sgarthana rinn

banchara a-rís dá roichinn.

‘Such was the respect that I received from you, I would never again take to myself
a female companion (patroness), because of the grief of your separating from me.’

He is resigned to the fact in §41 (p. 99) that this grief will be everlasting:

A-tá a timchill mo chumhadh

fál nach éidir dh’osculadh

‘There is a fence surrounding my sorrow that I cannot open’

The poet compares Mór to, among others, Eimhear (§1.37d, p. 97) and to Mór Mhumhan (§§1.38b, 1.38c, p. 97), famous beauties from the past. Eimhear is a character in the ‘Ulster Cycle’ Irish narrative literature set in the heroic age of the *Ulaid* at the time of Conchobar mac Neasa. In *Tochmarc Emire* ‘The Wooing of Emer’, Cú Chulainn pursues Eimhear, this beautiful girl who possessed six gifts: (i) the gift of beauty, (ii) the gift of voice, (iii) the gift of sweet speech, (iv) the gift of needle-work, (v) the gift of wisdom and (vi) the gift of chastity.¹⁷

¹⁷ Meyer, (1890):

*Forranic Cu Chulaind in ingen ina cluichemag cona comoltaib impe. Ingenai son na m-brugad bautor im Dun Forgaill. Botar side oc foclaind druine & decclamdaí la h-Emir. Is isside ingen pas fiu lais-sem de ingenoib Erionn do acaldoim & de tochmorc. Ar is isside congaib na sé buadha fuirre .i. **buaid crotha & buad n-gothai, buaid m-bindiussai, buaid n-druine, buaid n-goisse, buaid n-gensai**. At-bert Cú Chulaind acht ingen pad comadus n-do ar aois & cruth & cinel & cles & solme, bad deuch lamdaí de ingenaib Erenn nad ragad lais & na bad coimdich n-dou do bancelib Erenn mona beth samlaíd. Ar as iside oeningen congepiéd na modai sen. Is airie is die tocmarc sainrud lod Cu Chulaind.*

‘Then Cuchulaind found the maiden on her playing field, with her foster-sisters around her. These were daughters of the lords of land that lived around the dun of Forgaill. They were learning needle-work and fine handiwork from Emer. She was the one maiden whom he deigned to address and woo of the maidens of Erin. For she had the six gifts—viz., **the gift of beauty, the gift of voice, the gift of sweet speech, the gift of needle-work, the gift of wisdom, the gift of chastity**. Cuchulaind said that no maiden should go with him but she who was his equal in age and shape and race, and skill and deftness, who was the best handworker of the maidens of Erin, and that none was a fitting wife for him unless such were she. And as she was the one maiden that fulfilled all those conditions, Cuchulaind went to woo her above all.’

Similarly, Ailbhe is another beauty from the ‘Fenian Cycle’ of Irish literature. In the tale *Tochmarc Ailbhe* (“The Wooing of Ailbe”), the warrior-hero Finn mac Cumhaill tests the suitability of Ailbhe Grúadbrecc, King Cormac Mac Airt’s daughter, as a bride. Ailbhe, like Eimhear, possessed special gifts: (i) working gold and silver, (ii) intelligence, (iii) beauty, (iv) ancestry, (v) wisdom and (vi) speech and poetry.¹⁸

Another powerful woman from early Irish literature, Mór Mhumhan, was the queen of Munster and the daughter of Áed Bennán. In the tale of *Mór Muman 7 Aided Cuanach meic Ailchine* ‘Mór of Munster and the violent death of Cuana mac Ailchine’, Mór lost her mind and her memory. She travelled around Ireland for two years and she became dishevelled. After two years she arrived in Cashel where Fingen, son of Áed was. Fingen slept with Mór and her memory returned. In the morning Fingen gave her the queen’s robe and brooch, and put aside his own queen because she was of better blood. It states in the tale that every good woman in Ireland is compared with Mór Mhumhan.¹⁹ Being equated with these powerful beauties from the past elevated Mór as another powerful and beautiful woman.

Returning to our poem, the poet visits Mór’s grave and he reveals the deeply emotional thoughts at her graveside. In addition it is evident that not only the poet is suffering; the grief and sorrow is far-reaching. The people of Meath are at a loss due to the death of Mór, as is highlighted effectively in §8 (p. 82) of the elegy: *a-tá slógh Midhe tré*

¹⁸ *Ar ní-roibi 'san aimsir sin ingen do-sasod coimeltain fria oc inert oir & airgit & ar ceill & crut & cenel, ar ergna & urlabra & filidheacht*, ‘For at that time no other girl could equal her in working gold and silver, or in intelligence and beauty and ancestry, and wisdom and speech and poetry.’

¹⁹ See O’ Nolan, T. P., (1912), pp. 263 and 269. *Anfaid si or is ferr a cenel, or Fingen. IS fria tra dofedar cech deg-ben in Herinn .i. fri Móir Muman*, ‘She shall stay, for her race is better said Fingen. It is with her, with Mór of Munster, that every excellent woman in Ireland is compared.’

Mhóir / ag ól na dighe dobróin,²⁰ ‘the people of Meath because of Mór, are drinking the drink of sorrow.’ Not only the Munstermen and the people of Meath are grieving because of Mór’s death, however; the grief is country-wide as is evident in §11 (p. 84): *Ní hí an bhean-soin bhudh brígh linn / do-chím a heasbhaidh d’Éirinn*, ‘I wouldn’t have thought that woman capable of it, I see her loss for Ireland.’

Images normally associated with the death of a righteous king are also evident in the elegy. With the death of Mór there is no abundance on land or at sea as can be seen in §12 (p. 84). Here the poet claims that because of Mór’s death, the blossoms of the forest have suffered and there is a lack of abundance. Similarly, it was because of Mór’s righteous reign that the sea was bountiful but that with her death, she took that bounty with her:

Bláth na fiodhbhaidhe fuair cor

mar rug toradh na talmhan;

rug lé ón mhuir a maoine,

an té ar ar chuir comaoine

‘The blossoms of the forest have suffered, because she took the fruits of the land; she took with her the bounty of the sea, she whom [the sea] obliged.’

Poems 2–4 (*Fada is mná maithe mná Mumhan*, *Dlighim íoc as m’fhearacht gráidh* and *Díleas gach éanduine a eidhreacht*), the three poems dedicated to Caitilín, also exhibit the typical themes associated with bardic eulogy. The special relationship between chief-poet and patron is evident: the poet enjoys the privileges associated with this special relationship. For example, in §6 of poem 3 (p. 168) (*Dlighim íoc as m’fhearacht gráidh*) the poet has the privilege of being Caitilín’s confidant: *fios a rúine do dháil damh / náir*

²⁰ For further examples of the use of the term *deoch bhróin/ag ól na dighe dobróin* see BPD 284.28c, 486.48c, 870.15b, 1239.22c, 25c, 1285.3c, 1517.3a, d.

dúinne muna díoltar. ‘but that she confided in me; it would be shameful for me not to requite that.’ In addition, in §7 (p. 169) the poet enjoys being seated at the shoulder of Caitilín at drinking-time: *an lámh dheas nárbh í mh’ionadh / níor mheas sí ’gar suidhioghadh*, ‘she would not be implying that her right-hand side was not the appropriate place for me.’ Similarly, in §5 of poem 4 (p. 205) (*Díleas gach éanduine a eidhreacht*), the poet boasts that he has had the privilege of sitting at the king’s shoulder because of his heritage: *guaille ríogh as m’óige d’fhagháil / móide ar ndíol dot anáir é*, ‘sitting beside the king since my childhood, greater is my loyalty because of your affection.’

Caitilín’s noble ancestry is recounted. The poets refer to *Eochu* (2.99, p. 138), *Corc* (2.101, p. 138; 4.43b, p. 218, 44b, p. 218), *Éimhear* (2.105, p. 138), *Mogh Nuadhad* (2.107, p. 138), *Cian* (3.28a, p. 176), *Cas* (2.109, p. 138; 3.28d, p. 176), *Diarmaid Mór* (4.44a, 4.44c, p. 218). She is *ua na ríogh ó Ráith Chruachan* ‘the granddaughter of the kings from Ráth Cruachan’ (3.3b, p. 167), *ua na ríogh ó Ros Cré* ‘the granddaughter of the kings of Roscrea’ (4.29b, p. 213) and *ua na ríogh ó Ráith Luirc* ‘the granddaughter of the kings of Ráth Luirc’ (4.39b, p. 216). She comes from *aicme Gaoidhiul* ‘the Irish race’ (3.27b, p. 175) and ...*umad...d’fhéin Ghaoiidheal* ‘among your Irish ancestry’ (4.45c, p. 218).

Many instances of Caitilín’s generosity are highlighted throughout all of the poems. For example, in poem 2 (*Fada is mná maithe mná Mumhan*) the poet claims that Caitilín’s generosity has taken the place of the noble women of Munster who went before her: *Ag inghean Taidhg a-tá a n-ionadh*, ‘The daughter of Taidhg has inherited their place’ (2.11, p. 130). She doesn’t shy away from her responsibility of being a generous patroness: *bean nach iar áth ar an eineach*, ‘a woman who seeks not to avoid generosity’ (2.25, p. 131). Caitilín’s livestock do not have an opportunity to mature on her lands; such is the generosity of the woman that she constantly bestows gifts: *tug gan cradh d’éirghe ’na hoireacht / slat Bhéirre ’ga bronnadh* ‘they do not mature on her farms, / because the lady of Béirre gives

so many cows away' (2.46, p. 133). Another example of Caitilín's generosity is that even a satirist is welcomed in her house: *fuair cáinte arna aithne id iostadh / fáilte i n-aice orsan* 'after the satirist was recognised in your house, he was welcomed at the doorpost' (2.63/64, p. 135). Poem 3 (*Dlighim íoc as m'fhearacht gráidh*) provides many more examples of the generous nature of Caitilín. For example, in §8 (p. 169) the poet claims that he receives both gifts due to a visiting poet as well as the special favour due to a chief-poet: *Duas mar aoidhidh uaithe soin / do-gheibh mise is moirn olloimh*, 'I receive a gift like a visiting guest-poet from her, as well as the affection due to a chief-poet'.

Caitilín's beauty is highlighted in all the poems. For example, she has been bestowed with *buidh ndéalbha/rogha deilbhe*²¹ 'beauty of form' (4.36d, p. 215, 4.42d, p. 217, 4.45a, p. 218). The beauty of her form from head to toe is lauded in all the poems. She is compared to the historical beauties from long ago: *Ailbhe* (see note on Ailbhe p. 13, 2.53, p. 134, 3.18c, p. 172), *Eimhear* (see note on Eimhear p. 12; 1.37d, p. 97, 2.58, p. 134, 3.19b, d, p. 173, 3.20d, p. 173), *Mór Mhumhan* (see note on Mór Mhumhan p. 13; 1.38b, c, p. 97, 2.59, p. 134, 3.21b, p. 173), *Meadhbh Chruachan* (3.21a, p. 173).

Regarding images normally associated with the reign of the righteous king, the norm is that during the reign of a rightful ruler, there is peace, harmony and an abundance of fruits of the land and of the sea. Carney (1967, p. 11) asserts that 'A king married his territory: if he was effective and behaved as a king should, according to the ethical system of the poets, his land was fertile and bore fruit. If the king was bad, according to this ethical system, the land was barren.' A good example of the portrayal of the reign of the righteous king can be found in the following quatrain in the eulogy by Eochaidh Ó hEoghusa a for

²¹ See McManus, 2009, 77. For other examples of the use of phrases such as *buidh ndéalbha/rogha ndéalbha* see BPD 290, 298, 396, 433, 461, 696, 1190, 1570, 1628, 1651, 1833.

Cú Chonnacht Óg Mág Uidhir d. 1609: *Fada léigthear Eamhain i n-aontumha* (Book of O’Conor Don fol. 250b ff):

*Trillsi sgath da ccleith um gach coirrrthealuigh
beich a ndoirchfhedhuib ’ga mbrath as a mboinnchor[r]uibh?
meabhaidh gach tirmlinn re torcharuibh
deabhuidh morthoraidh ag ingrim gach f[h]ionnchalaidh. (§25)*

‘Clusters of blossoms being concealed [by one another] around every round-topped hill, bees in dark woods beguiled from their gabled hives(?); every dried-up pool is teeming with fish; a rush of sea-waif attacks every fair shore.’
(Translation by McManus 2005, 150)

McManus (2006, p. 103) identifies the most common image of the king’s bounty as being that of trees bowing down owing to the burden of their bounteous fruits. Another image is that of the sea yielding its bounteous harvest where fish are in abundance in the seas.²² McManus (2006, 101) gives examples of fish being so plentiful that the fishermen’s nets need regular unloading or that the fishermen’s nets are broken. In addition, there is the phenomenon that the sea, on recognition of a righteous king brings its bounty to shore with no need at all for nets. These two common images associated with rightful kingship are evident in poem 1 (*Olc an cumthach an chumha*) (1.12, p. 84). In poem 2 (*Fada is mná maithe mná Mumhan*) the poet claims that in the summertime when the trees are in full bloom that it is not because of shame that the trees bow low, but presumably because of the fact that Caitilín is a righteous ruler: *le dtig do bhláth fa mhnaoi Mhaistean / ní nár do chraoibh cromadh*, ‘with the coming of the blossom under the woman of Maistiu, it is not shameful for the branch to be bending’ (2.127–128, p. 140). There is also reference to the tree bowing low in poem 4 (*Díleas gach éanduine a eidhreacht*): *a ghéag Áine dar fhill*

²² See *ABM* 46.26a; *ABM* 333.25ab; *ABM* 397.31.

dair, ‘o descendant of Áine to whom the oak-tree bows low’ (4.37b, p. 216). We see in poem 2 the image of an abundance of fish when the poet claims that the weir-baskets are overflowing: *ón tarbhach cliabh coradh*, ‘from the profitable weir-baskets’ (2.122, p. 139).

Another image associated with the reign of a righteous king (or here queen) is that of the weather being clement and tranquil. With the inauguration of the righteous king, the weather is calm: the wind does not blow, the seas retreat and the rivers are silent since the water-levels are so low. McManus (2006, p. 90) states that one of the most commonly used adjectives to describe the weather (*sín*) is *balbh* ‘dumb, still, silent’, and explains that there are reasons for the rivers being *balbh*: ‘The low water-levels which render the rivers *balbh* are due, of course, to two other constants of this kind of imagery in Bardic poetry, the scorching sunshine associated with the reign of the righteous king and the complete absence of rain.’ This phenomenon can be seen in poem 2 (*Fada is mná maithe mná Mumhan*). The poet states that there are many silent streams in the territories under Caitilín’s control. The streams are *balbh* ‘silent’ as the water has evaporated with the extreme heat and lack of rainfall that comes with Caitilín’s righteous reign: *iomdha balbhshruth san iath iodhan* ‘there are many silent streams in the perfect land’ (2.121, p. 139).

I will discuss these and other examples further in Subject–Matter of poems.

Metre

Thurneysen (1909, pp. 336–347) in his paper on the development of Irish metrics, as Eleanor Knott (1928, p. 1) states ‘has shown that the syllabic, or “classical” Irish metres arose under the influence of Latin hymn-poetry of the fifth and sixth centuries’.²³ Knott (ibid., p. 2) states that prosodists of the sixteenth century identified four systems of versification: (i) *Dán Díreach*, (ii) *Brúilingeacht*, (iii) *Ógláchas* and (iv) *Droighneach*. Cáit

²³ See also Meyer (1909), p. 5.

Ní Dhomhnaill (1975, p. 41) classifies *dán díreach* and *droighneach* together as she states that both metre-types have the same exactness or strictness of rules. The metrical systems were complex and technical. Knott (1928, pp. 1–20) outlines the principles of syllabic poetry and gives a description of the various metre-types. *Dán díreach* ‘strict versification’ had the most stringent rules governing metre. This style had *an modh meadarachta is foirfe* ‘the most perfect metre’ according to Ní Dhomhnaill (1975, p. 41). *Brúilingeacht* had equally stringent rules as *dán díreach* with the requirement of imperfect rhyme in place of perfect rhyme. *Óglachas* is the simplest form of syllabic verse. The rules governing this style were less strict than either *dán díreach* or *brúilingeacht*.

Below is a list of the types of metre in which the poems edited here were composed:

	Poem	Metre
Poem 1	<i>Olc an cumthach an chumha</i>	<i>Deibhidhe, Dán Díreach</i>
Poem 2	<i>Fada is mná maithe mná Mumhan</i>	<i>Deachnadh Mór, Brúilingeacht</i>
Poem 3	<i>Dlighim íoc as m’fhearacht gráidh</i>	<i>Deibhidhe, Dán Díreach</i>
Poem 4	<i>Díleas gach éanduine a eidhreacht</i>	<i>Séadna, Dán Díreach</i>

There were different requirements for each metre. For example, different metres dictated (1) what the number of syllables required in each line, and in the final word of each line, would be; (2) where rhyme would occur, be it internal or final rhyme, in the 1st couplet and/or in the 2nd couplet and (3) also alliteration. Typically, a quatrain in bardic poetry consisted of four lines, divided into two couplets. In many metres, there was a requirement that the final word of the first couplet would have a rhyming partner in the final word of

the second couplet. An example of this would be the *séadna* (*dán díreach*) metre where this was a requirement (See Metre poem 4, p. 202–3). This rhyming scheme did not extend to the *deibhidhe* metre, the most common form of metre employed by bardic poets, where there was normally no rhyming correlation between the first and second couplets.

Deibhidhe, Dán Díreach

(Poem 1 – *Olc an cumthach an chumha*, Poem 3 – *Dlighim íoc as m'fhearacht gráidh*)

Deibhidhe metre, the most common of metres in use in the Classical Irish period, requires:

- (i) seven syllables in each line;
- (ii) final words of each line within a couplet are to be linked by a special type of rhyme called *rinn* and *airdrinn* where the final word of the second line of a couplet is a syllable longer than the final word of the line previous ($7^x + 7^{x+1}$);
- (iii) alliteration (*fíor-uaim* – alliteration between the final and penultimate stressed words of the final line of a quatrain / *uaim ghnúise* – alliteration between the penultimate stressed word and the stressed word preceding it) in every line;
- (iv) *fíor-uaim* is a requirement in the final line of each quatrain where the final word of each stanza alliterates with the penultimate stressed word;
- (v) *uaim ghnúise* is sufficient in the other lines;
- (vi) perfect internal rhyme is a requirement in the second couplet of quatrains where all stressed words in the second line of final couplets have a rhyming partner in the preceding line. Occasionally the first or the first and second words in the first line of the couplet may be left outside the rhyming scheme in the form of *urlann* or a double *urlann*. The *urlann* or double *urlann* must be at the beginning of the line before any rhyming word. The phenomenon of a double *urlann* in bardic poetry is rare, depending

on the metre being employed.²⁴ (See Metre poem 1, pp. 77–8; Metre poem 3, pp. 165–6).

Deachnadh Mór, Brúilingeacht

(Poem 2 – *Fada is mná maithe mná Mumhan*)

According to Ní Dhomhnaill (1975, p. 76), when composing in *brúilingeacht*, imperfect rhyme and imperfect consonance was favoured. There were strict rules and metrical requirements to be fulfilled in this metre-type. This metre requires:

- (i) a syllable count of $8^2 + 6^2$;
- (ii) alliteration to be present in each line of the poem; *fíor-uaim* is a requirement in the final line of each quatrain where the final word of each stanza alliterates with the penultimate stressed word, but this may not apply as clearly in *brúilingeacht*, where the metrical unit is often longer than a quatrain;
- (iii) *uaim ghnúise* is sufficient in non-final lines;
- (iv) imperfect end-rhyme where the finals of lines b and d make imperfect rhyme with one another;
- (v) the finals of lines a and c to make imperfect consonance with one another and with the finals of the even lines;
- (vi) internal rhyme (perfect or imperfect) in all couplets where stressed words of even lines rhyme with stressed words in the preceding odd lines. Although the Grammatical Tracts prohibit perfect rhyme in poems in *brúilingeacht*, Hoyne (2021, p. 133) states that this is ‘frequently ignored in poetry of that type’.²⁵ All internal stressed words must have

²⁴ For notes on *urlann*, see McManus 2017.

²⁵ IGT v §117 (...*gabhann ⁊ anand comhardudh dana dirigh ⁊ ni dligheann beth isa brúilingeacht mar nach dligheand comhardudh brúilingeachta beth isa dan direach...*).

rhyming partners, but the first and occasionally the first and second words in the first line of the couplet may be left outside the rhyming (and therefore the alliterating) scheme; such a word is labelled *urlann*. (See Metre poem 2, pp. 123–8).

Séadna, Dán Díreach

(Poem 4 – *Díleas gach éanduine a eidhreacht*)

This metre requires:

- (i) a syllable count of eight syllables in lines a and c of each quatrain, ending in a disyllabic word (8²) with lines b and d comprising seven syllables, ending in a monosyllabic word (7¹);
- (ii) alliteration in each line of the poem; *fíor-uaim* is a requirement in the final line of each quatrain;
- (iii) linking alliteration with the final word of line a and the stressed word at the beginning of line b;
- (iv) perfect rhyme between the final word of line b with the final word of line d;
- (v) every stressed word in line d of each quatrain having a rhyming partner in the previous line. Again, occasionally the first or the first and second words in the first line of the couplet may be left outside the rhyming scheme in the form of *urlann* or a double *urlann*. McManus (2017, p. 75) contends that the use of a double *urlann* is relatively rare in this metre-type.
- (vi) *Aicill* rhyme (the final word of line c rhyming with the penultimate word of line d) in every quatrain. (See Metre poem 4, pp. 202–3).

THE ROCHE FAMILY, FERMOY, CO. CORK

According to the catalogue to the Book of Fermoy in the Royal Irish Academy,²⁶ the Roche/de la Roche family were of Anglo-Norman origin and they came to Ireland from Pembrokeshire, south-west Wales in the late twelfth century. In Pembrokeshire the family had a castle built upon an outcrop of stone. From this rocky outcrop, they became known as FitzGodebert de la Roch (FitzGodebert of the Rock). The name Roche and the place-name Castletownroche derived from this.

Godbertus Flandrensis, a Flemish knight (Godebert the Fleming) was the patriarch of the de la Roche family. He had two sons, Richard and Rodbert FitzGodebert de Rupe / de la Roch. They both took part in the Norman invasion of Ireland. Owen (1902, 68) states that both Richard and Rodbert are referred to in the Norman–French poem ‘The Song of Dermot and the Earl.’²⁷ Richard is referred to as a ‘knight from Pembrokeshire’ and ‘the son of Godibert’ (ll. 409–10):

‘Except one Richard, as I have heard say,

A knight of Pembrokeshire,

Richard the son of Godibert,

A knight he was of good parts,’

Robert is referred to later in the poem as being in possession of lands in Fernegenal (ll. 3082–3):

‘I know not how but Robert Fitz Godibert

Held it afterwards, you must know.’

²⁶ <https://www.ria.ie/library/catalogues/special-collections/medieval-and-early-modern-manuscripts/book-fermoy-book-roche>

²⁷ <https://celt.ucc.ie/published/T250001-001/text002.html>. For a discussion of this poem see O’Doherty (1938, pp. 4–20)

Orpen (1911–1920, p. 392) claims that this Robert was probably a brother of Richard FitzGodebert, the ‘knight of Pembroke’ mentioned above.

Rodbert FitzGodebert had three sons, David, Henry, and Adam, who adopted the name of de la Roche. That the brothers adopted the name of de la Roche is attested in a charter to the monastery of St. Nicholas of Exeter, where David, Henry and Adam de Rupe granted the island of *Begerin* ‘Little Ireland’ (in Wexford Harbour) to that monastery. The charter was witnessed, among others, by ‘*Mauricio de Prendergast, Phillipo Puher, Alexandro de Bridesdale, Hugone de Stocheelee, Roberto de la Roche, Henrico de la Roche, Bertram de Frend...et multis aliis*’ (Oliver 1846, Carta Davidis, Henrici, et Adami de Rupe de insula vocata Begerun, p. 120). Ó Riain et. al (2005, p. 140), identify Beigéire (1) (Little Ireland) as an ecclesiastical site on Begerin Island (in Wexford Harbour), in the parish of St Margaret’s, in the barony of Shelmaliere East, Wexford.

By the year 1283, it seems that the Roches were well established in Ireland. They, among others, are referred to as ‘principal foreigners of Ireland’ in the Annals of Inisfallen (AI: s.a. 1283.3):

Comarli fyll do denubh do Domnall mc. Domnaill Carbrigh agus d’árall d’Y Carbri ar Domnall Ma Cartygh, ar ryg Dessuman, agus a f-fyss demin d’agal don ryg, agus morsluogad do denamh don ryg agus (G)oill mora h-Ereann ym Thomas da Clara agus im [M]uriss fy Muriss agus ym Thomas fy Muriss agus ym Seoán (da) Barri agus ymna Rotsechybh agus ymna Concunchybh agus ym Gallaibh imdha ely, agus ym sluog Dessuman fen...

‘Domnall, son of Domnall Cairprech, and others of the Uí Chairpri made a plot against Domnall Mac Carthaig, king of Desmumu. The king obtained certain knowledge of it, and made a hosting which included the principal foreigners of Ireland, viz. Thomas de Clare, Maurice, son of Maurice, and Thomas, son of

Maurice, John de Barry, the Roches, Condons, and many other foreigners, as well as the army of Desmumu itself...’

In the following section I will refer to prominent members of the Roche family who had settled in Cork and other regions following the Anglo-Norman invasion of 1169.²⁸

David de Rupe/de la Roche (c. 1180–before 1229)²⁹

Donnolly (1933, p. 88) states that David, the oldest son of Rodbert FitzGodbert is regarded as the ancestor of the Roche family in County Cork. He had two sons, Raymond and Gerald. Raymond his oldest son died, and therefore Gerald succeeded his father to the lands in Fermoy.

Gerald de Rupe/de la Roche (d. 1262)

Gerald de Rupe/de la Roche succeeded his father. Donnelly (1934, p. 38) draws our attention to a letter written in 1229 where Gerald inherited the lands since the daughters of the eldest son Raymond were not allowed to inherit. Apparently, it was the English custom and law that daughters were not allowed to inherit from their fathers.³⁰

²⁸ Nicholls (2003, p. 30) asserts that the Roches were also a numerous clan in Wexford, Kilkenny and Limerick.

²⁹ I am using the dates given by Donnelly 1933–1937 hereafter.

³⁰ Close rolls of the reign of Henry III, p. 236:

Et quia non est consuetudo vel lex in terra nostra Anglie quod filia fratris alicujus primogeniti fratrem juniorem patri suo succedentem hereditarie in casu predicto super hereditate sua possit vel debeat impetere, vobis mandamus quod predictam loquelam in curia prefati comitis ex parte nostra firmiter faciatis prohiberi, ballivis ipsius comitis distracte pre cipeintes quod in loquela illa nullatenus procedant, quia leges et consuetudines terre nostre Anglie in hoc, sicut in aliis in terra nostra Hybernie, volumus observari, ‘And because it is not the custom nor the law in our land of England that the daughter of any eldest brother might or ought to sue the younger son succeeding to his father in hereditary manner in the aforesaid case over his inheritance, we commend that you have the aforesaid case in the court of the appointed earl firmly forbidden

According to Cokayne (1825-1911, Vol. iv, p. 232) Gerald married Helen, a daughter of Sir Thomas Fitz Anthony.³¹ Gerald was killed in battle in 1262. An account of his death is recorded in the Annals of the Four Masters (*AFM*: s.a. 1262.7), the Annals of Loch Cé (*ALC* s.a. 1262.6), the Annals of Connacht (*AC*: s.a. 1262.11) and in the Annals of Inisfallen (*AIF*: s.a. 1262.2).³² In *AFM*, *ALC* and *AC*, Gerard is described as being ‘the third best knight of his time’ while in *AIF* he is referred to as *ridiri mór úosal*, ‘a great and noble knight’.

David de Rupe/de la Roche (d. 1289)

David de Rupe/de la Roche (1262–1300) succeeded his father Gerald. He married Amicia (Amy?) de Caunteton, heiress of Fermoy. His son Alexander had two sons, David and Ralph. Alexander died before his father, and the lands passed to David, his oldest son.

David de la Roche, Lord David (d. 1374)

David de la Roche, Lord David, the son of the above-mentioned Alexander, succeeded to the lands in Fermoy on the death of his grandfather, David de la Roche. Donnelly (1934, p. 63) asserts that civil actions between David, Lord Roche and Maurice de Caunteton over the ownership of the land when Alexander died, caused bad blood between the Roches and the de Cauntetons/Condots. Nicholls (2003, p. 294) claims that

on our part strictly, directing the bailiffs of the same earl not to proceed in that case, because we wish to have laws and customs to our land of England to be observed in this, as in other matters in our land of Ireland’.

³¹ For information on Thomas Fitz Anthony see Nicholls (2003) p. 289.

³² *AFM*: s.a. 1262.7: *Marbthar Gearalt Roitsi annsin lá Mag Carthaigh, & a dēirthe gurb ésidhe an treas barún dob’fearr i n-Erinn i n-a aimsir fein*, ‘Here Gerald Roche, who was said to be the third best knight of his time in Ireland, was slain by Mac Carthy’. *ALC*: s.a. 1262.6: *...& ro marbad Geralt Róitsi annsin lá Mág Carrthaigh; & a dúbhrad gur bhé sin an treas barún is ferr do bhí an Erinn*; *AC*: s.a. 1262.11: *& ro marbad Geralt Rotsi ann sin la Mag Carthaig & adubrad curbo he-sin an tres barun is ferr bai a nErinn*; *AIF*: s.a. 1262.2: *...dág ra marb se fen gan cudugudh Geralt de La Ruhochi, ridiri mór úosal & gilla maith ely...*

the enmity between the Roches and the de Cauntetons/Condots arose in the thirteenth century.

There is evidence that David was knighted in 1365 and became the first Lord Roche. There is also evidence that David was married twice. He married firstly a Blanch as is seen from a manuscript in Trinity College, Dublin (F. I. 18)³³ and secondly Anna, the daughter of Maurice Fitz Thomas.³⁴ He was slain in 1374 as recorded in *AFM*: s.a 1374.5, *ALC*: s.a. 1374.6; and *AU*: s.a. 1369.8.³⁵ He is described as a knight in both *AFM* and in *ALC*. However, *AU* omits his name.³⁶

John, Lord Roche (d. 1387)

The next to succeed to the lands was John, Lord Roche, son and heir of David, Lord Roche. Again, Donnolly (1935, p. 37) provides information from the sources examined. For example, he is described in the Trinity College manuscript F. 4. 18 (f. 200) as ‘Sir Roche the Second, Lord of Fermoy’. Berry (1905, p. 45) provides evidence of John becoming Sheriff of Cork on January 30th, 1382 during the reign of Richard II (1377–1399).³⁷

³³ *Extracts from Records in Birmingham's Tower* (F. I 18, p. 18) in Trinity College: “David f. Alex. de Rupe 8. E. 3. Fermoy - Blanch f...Ld. Fleming de Dungrow als castleton Roch”.

³⁴ For information on Maurice Fitz Thomas see <https://www.dib.ie/biography/fitzgerald-maurice-fitz-thomas-a3256>

³⁵ The Annals of the Four Masters and the Annals of Loch Cé have the date of this occurrence as 1374. However, the dating in the Annals of Ulster is 1369.

³⁶ *AFM*: s. a. 1374.5 - *Maidhm la Niall Ó Néill for Gallaibh, dar marbhadh an ridire Roidseach, Bocs na Cairrge, An Sandalach & William Baile Dalat ceann ainbhféle Erionn*, ‘A battle was gained by Niall O'Neill over the English, in which Roche, the knight, Bogsa na-Cairrge, Sandal, Burke, and William of Baile Dalat, the head of the inhospitality of Ireland, with many others not enumerated, were slain’: *ALC*: s.a. 1374.6 - *Maidm mor la Niall .H. Neill for Gallaibh, inar tuit in rittiri Rotsich ocus Bocs na Cairrci, agus an Santalach, ocus in Burcach, ocus Uilliam Baili dalad cenn anfeile Ereann*: *AU*: s.a. 1369.8 - *Maidm la Níall h-Ua Neill, la righ Coicidh Uladh, ar Ghallaibh, dú in ro thuit in ridere & Bogsa na Cairrgi & an Sandalach & an Burcach & Uilliam Baile Dalat, cenn ainfeile Erenn*.

³⁷ Calendar of Patent Roll. 5 Ric. II. 76. See Berry, 1905, p. 45.

Maurice, Lord Roche (d. 1448)

After the death of John, Lord Roche in 1387, his son and heir Maurice Roche was a minor and, therefore, custody of his lands was given to Gerald Fitz Maurice, Earl of Desmond.³⁸

Maurice married Amie: this is in agreement with Cokayne (1825-1911, Vol. iv, p. 232) that states that Maurice and Amy are the parents of David Mór (see below).

Berry (1905, p. 46) in Lists of Sheriffs of Cork that he provides in this article shows evidence that Maurice became Sheriff of Cork from 1421–1423, during the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V: ‘1421-1423, Maurice Roche, lord of Fermoy....’.³⁹ His death is recorded in The Annals of Ireland in 1448.⁴⁰

David Mór (The Great) Roche, 1st Viscount Fermoy (d. before 1488)

According to Cokayne (1825-1911, Vol. iv, p. 232), David Mór (The Great) was the son of Maurice Roche and Amy, daughter of Donald Oge Mac Carty-More. He was recognised as the 1st Viscount Fermoy, in the reign of Edward IV (1461-1470 and 1471-1483). David married Johanna, da. of Walter de Burgh, Mac William. Cokayne (1825-1911, Vol. iv, p. 232) adds that this David died before 1488.

The catalogue to the Book of Fermoy in the Royal Irish Academy states that ‘the patron of the main group of these scribes...would seem to have been David [Mór] son of Maurice son of John Roche.’ It is noteworthy that the story of the Life of St. George (RIA 1134 (23/E/29), pp. 45–54), we are told, on the colophon on p. 55 of the manuscript, was

³⁸ *Calendar of Patent Roll*. 10 Ric. II. 92. See Donnolly 1935, p. 38.

³⁹ *Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls*, Ireland, Henry II. to Henry VII. - Pat. 9 Hen. V. 65.

⁴⁰ ‘The Roch of Crich-roisdeach died’, The Annals of Ireland, from the Year 1443 to 1468, p. 220.

for *Daibith mac Muiris meic hSeáin Do Róitsi*. The date is also given along with the name of the scribe: *Oráid laiss in mBetuidh so sain Seóirsi o Uilliam o hÍceadha do Daibith mac Muiris meic hSeáin Do Róitsi 7 do biad bliadhna in tigerna an tan do sgribhad annso hi .i. míle bliadhan 7 ceitri .c. bliadhan 7 secht mbliadhna deg...* ‘A prayer for this Life of St. George from William Hickey for David, son of Muiris, son of John Roche and it was the year of the Lord when this was written here i. e., a thousand years and four hundred years and seventeen years and two score...’ (=1457).

Two poems in the Book of Fermoy have been identified as poems dedicated to David Mór: (i) *Dleaghar cunnradh do chomhall* (BPD 717) and (ii) *Gach fonn go Fearaibh Muighe* (ABM 263). The BPD states that *Dleaghar cunnradh do chomhall* was composed by Donnchadh mac Taidhg Ó Dálaigh for David mac Muiris & mac Siúan Roche and that *Gach fonn go Fearaibh Muighe* was composed by Seaan Óg Mág Craith for David Roche.

Maurice Roche 2nd Viscount Fermoy

Maurice Roche succeeded his father, David Mór (The Great) and became the 2nd Viscount Fermoy. *The Complete Peerage* points out that Maurice ‘was one of the fifteen Irish Peers summoned to Greenwich by Henry VII, in 1489.’⁴¹

Cokayne (1825-1911 Vol. iv, p. 232) states that Maurice first married Joan, the daughter of James Fitz Thomas FitzGerald and Margaret, daughter of Teige O’Brien and secondly, he married More, the daughter of an O’Brien.

This Maurice is of note as he is the husband of Mór, the subject of the elegy *Olc an cumthach an chumha* ‘Grief is a poor companion’ which is edited here. However, the

⁴¹ Complete Peerage Vol 1. preface p. iii note *a* gives the names of those summoned to Greenwich. Complete Peerage Vol 3. p. 86, note *a* gives the reason for the summons to Greenwich by Henry VII: ‘The king being still jealous of the nobility of Ireland, whom he knew to be exceedingly addicted to the House of York, sent for most of them [in 1489] to come over to him into England and thither went...’

iargcomhairc to both eulogies dedicated to Mór in the Book of Fermoy (*Ó mnáibh ainmnighthe ar Éire* ‘Ireland is named after her women’ and *Ní fá hinmhe is measta Mór* ‘Not by her wealth should Mór be measured’ are dedicated to David. This poses a problem as we would expect a man in an *iargcomharc* after a poem on a woman to be her husband. In the eulogy *Ó mnáibh ainmnighthe ar Éire* §42a the poet refers to Dáibhith: *Ó Dháibhith* ‘o David’ and in §42b, he is referred to as *mac Muiris*: ...*le mac Muiris* ‘with the son of Muiris.’ There is also reference to Dáibhith in the eulogy *Ní fá hinmhe is measta Mór* ‘Not by her wealth should Mór be measured’ (RIA 1134 (23 E 29) pp. 124–125). The bottom left-hand corner of p. 125 of the Book of Fermoy where the *iargcomharc* occurs is severely damaged and only the letter *b* can be deciphered before *a Roitsi*. This letter *b* eliminates the possibility that the name is Muiris. ABM suggests that the missing name is *Dáibhíoth*: *Dáibhíoth a Róitse is ard uaill*, ‘David Roche whose pride is great’.⁴² The *Complete Peerage* (Vol 3, 327) states that Muiris married secondly, ‘More, da. of (-) O’Brien’.

The poem *Formad ag cách re clú Muiris* (ABM 249) in the Book of Fermoy is dedicated to Muiris, son of Dáibhíoth and Siuán and grandson of Muiris.

David Roche 3rd Viscount Roche of Fermoy (d. 1544)

David Roche succeeded his father and became the 3rd Viscount Fermoy. His mother was his father’s first wife, Joan, daughter of James Fitz Thomas FitzGerald, 9th Earl of Desmond. According to Cokayne (1825-1911, Vol. iv, p. 232), he married Catherine, daughter of Teige Mac-Carty-More. They had 3 sons: Maurice ‘The Mad’ 4th Viscount Roche of Fermoy and two other children. This Catherine (Caitilín in the Book of Fermoy) is the subject of the three eulogies (Poems 2–4) edited here. David is the subject of the *iargcomharc* in each of the poems dedicated to Caitilín (e.g. 2.135 *Oighre Muiris*, ‘the

⁴² McManus forthcoming.

descendant of Muiris’; 2.137 *Dáibhith a Róitse*, ‘David Roche’; 3.39a *Dáibhith a Róitse rosc glan*, ‘David Roche of the bright eye’; 4.47a/b *Dáibhith a Róitse is í a eighreacht / uaisle fhola is fhéile Ghall*, ‘The heritage of David Roche is noble blood and the generosity of the Gall’). In poem 4, he is referred to as the heir of Maurice and the son of Joan, thus agreeing with the *Complete Peerage*:

An céadbhladh uair eighre Muiris,

mac Siubhán dá sléacht gach rí

‘The heir of Muiris and Siobhán got that same fame, to whom every king bows down’ (4.48a/b).

He is again mentioned as *airdrí Róiteach* [sic.] *rug gach buaidh*, ‘the ever-victorious high-king Roche’ in 4.49b.

The eulogy *Cionnas íocthar séad suirghe* (ABM 105) in the Book of Fermoy has been identified as a poem dedicated to Dáibhíoth, son of Siuán and Muiris and husband of Caitilín and highlights David’s raids and victories in battle (*caithréim*).

David is mentioned in some State Papers, which indicates his importance politically (see Donnelly 1935, pp. 72–73).

Maurice ‘The Mad’ Roche, 4th Viscount Fermoy (d. before 1561)

The 4th Viscount Fermoy was Maurice ‘The Mad’ Roche. He was the son of David and Caitilín. Cokayne (1825-1911, Vol. iv, p. 232) states that Maurice ‘The Mad’ was living in 1541. Donnelly (1936, 20) claims that the only facts known are that Maurice married Grany, the daughter of Cormac Mac Teige Mac-Carty, chief of Muskerry. and that they had five or six children.

David Roche 5th Viscount Fermoy (d. 1583)

David Roche succeeded his father Maurice ‘The Mad’ Roche and became 5th Viscount Fermoy. Cokayne (1825-1911, Vol. iv, p. 232) states that he married Ellen, daughter of James Butler of Dunboyne. The deaths of both David Roche, 5th Viscount Fermoy and his wife Ellen are mentioned in *AFM*: s.a. 1583.7: *An Róisteach .i. Daidh mac Muiris, mic Daidh, mic Muiris, & a bhen Oilén ingen t-Semais, mic Emainn Meg Piarais d'écc i n-aoín-mhí i n-errach na bliadhna-so, & ní bhaí d'Fionn-Ghallaibh Ereann ar triochat ced do dhúthaigh lánamain rob oirdearca ináit-sidhe*, ‘Roche .i. David, the son of Maurice, son of David, son of Maurice, and his wife, Ellen, the daughter of James, son of Edmond Mac Pierce, died in the one month in the Spring of this year. There did not exist, of all the old English in Ireland, a couple, possessing only a barony, of more renown than they.’ The catalogue to the Book of Fermoy states that ‘Mac Piarais doubtless means Mac Piarais Buitilér, ...’. The entry in *AFM* s.a. 1508.27 reads: *Mac Mic Piarais d'écc .i. Semus mac Emainn mic Semais mic Uilliam mic Mic Piarais Buitiler. ridire ar laim & laoch ar ghaisceadh esidhe*, ‘The son of Mac Pierce died, i.e. James, the son of Edmond, son of James, son of William, the son of Mac Pierce Butler. He was a knight in dexterity of hand, and a hero in valour.’

A series of poems in the Book of Fermoy (pp. 147–152) are dedicated to, as the catalogue to the Book of Fermoy in the Royal Irish Academy states, ‘David, son of Maurice Roche and of his wife Gráinne, usually with extra quatrains for [David’s wife] “Oilén” (i.e., Ellen), daughter of James [Butler].’

- (i) *Cor teasta gá maoiné as mó (BPD 520)*
- (ii) *Dá fhíodh sheolta ar shéan nGall (BPD 594)*
- (iii) *Derg [...] imrid Frangcaigh (BPD 613)*
- (iv) *Geall[...]Frangcaigh (BPD 1058)*
- (v) *Gearr go laibheóra an Lia Fáil/ más lia laibheóras (BPD 1062)*

(vi) *Téid oirbheart i n-inmhe ríogh (BPD 1821)*

Maurice Roche, 6th Viscount Fermoy (1583–1600)

According to Cokayne (1825-1911, Vol. iv, p. 232) Maurice Roche succeeded his father and became the 6th Viscount Fermoy. It further states that he married firstly, Eleanor, daughter of Maurice Fitz-John Fitz Gerald, who was a brother of James, 14th Earl of Desmond, and secondly, Catherine, daughter of Gerald Fitz James (Fitz Gerald), 15th Earl of Desmond. Donnelly (1936, pp. 78–84) provides a detailed description of his political activities. His death is recorded in *AFM*: s.a. 1600.24.⁴³

The Viscountcy Fermoy continued with:

- (i) David Roche, 7th Viscount Fermoy (d. 1635),
- (ii) Maurice Roche, 8th Viscount Fermoy (d. 1670),
- (iii) David Roche, 9th Viscount Fermoy (d. 1681),
- (iv) John Roche, 10th Viscount Fermoy (d. 1694),
- (v) David Roche, 11th Viscount Fermoy (d. 1703) and
- (vi) Ulick Roche, 12th Viscount Fermoy (d. 1733).

The Viscountcy seems to have become extinct in 1733 on the death of Ulick Roche who died without a male heir.

The Roche dynasty declined during the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland at the time of Maurice Roche, 8th Viscount Fermoy. Roche Castle was attacked in 1650 by Cromwell and his forces, led by Lord Broghill. Lady Ellen Roche, the wife of Maurice, is said to have

⁴³ *AFM*: s. a. 1600.24. *An Róisdeach .i. Muiris, mac David, mic Muiris, mic David do écc a mí Iún na bliadhna so, macaémh soithim, soidhealbda, foghlamtha i l-laidin, i n-gaoidhilcc, & i m-bérta ei-sidhe. A mhac .i. David do ghabhail a ionaid*, ‘The Roche i.e., Maurice, the son of David, son of Maurice, son of David, died in the month of June of this year. He was a mild and comely man, learned in the Latin, Irish and English languages. His son i.e., David took his place’.

defended the castle as Maurice himself was away. This defence was to no avail. Lady Ellen's forces were defeated and her six commanding officers were executed. Two years later, Lady Ellen Roche was executed on a charge of murder. Prendergast (1868, pp. 118–119) quoting from *A Continuation of the Brief Narrative, and of the Sufferings of the Irish under Cromwell* (Walsh, 1660, p. 7) relates the demise of Viscountess Roche: 'She was brought before one of those High Courts of Justice (or injustice) set up immediately after the surrender of the Irish in 1652, when they hanged women, for want of men. There she was tried, condemned and afterwards hanged, on the evidence of a strumpet for shooting a man with a pistol, whose name was unknown to the witness and though it was ready to be proved that Lady Roche was twenty miles distant from the spot.'

After this, Maurice, 8th Viscount Fermoy, surrendered. Donnelly (1937, p. 49) asserts that: 'Perhaps this was the final blow that caused Maurice to lay down arms in June, 1652, and come into protection upon Lord Musketry's articles, whereby he was to have possession of such part of his estate as had not been seized and the rent of other parts.' Cokayne (1887–1898, p. 327) states that Maurice, Lord Roche, Viscount Fermoy was, by Act of Parliament, on the 12th August, 1652 'excepted from pardon, and his estates, said to be worth £50,000 a year, were divided among the followers of Cromwell.'

Maurice made a petition to the Lords Justice of Ireland⁴⁴ on behalf of himself and his daughters (Prendergast, 1868, Appendix VII, pp. 247–248). He paints a desolate and heart-wrenching picture of his circumstances, stating that he, the Petitioner 'hath been seaven yeares agoe dispossessed of his wholl estate, havinge the chardge of Foure young daughters, unpreferred, to whose misery was added the losse of their mother...by an unjust

⁴⁴ The humble petition of Maurice Lord Viscount Roche, of Fermoy, to the Right Honourable the Lords Justices, March, 1661. Records of the late Auditor-General's Office, Custom House Buildings, vol. xvii., p. 112.

illegal proceeding...’ He continues with his humble petition explaining that ‘...your said Petitioner and his said children ever since have lived in a most disconsolate condition, destituted of all kind of subsistence...’ The description of this harrowing ordeal becomes even more distressing with his telling of the death of one of his daughters: ‘...by occasion whereof one of your Petitioners daughters, falling sick about three years ago, died, for want of requisite accommodaçon, either for her cure or diett...’ He calls on his heritage and nobility to plead his case in seeking relief and the ability to settle debt of £100, a debt incurred while travelling to Athlone and Loughrea: ‘...and for that it hath beene unheard of in all former ages that a Peere of the realm of English extraction, ... should be reduced to such extremity of misery, his cause not heard...’ Maurice, 8th Viscount Fermoy, died in 1670 according to the Complete Peerage.

Therefore, with this confiscation of the Roche estates in 1652, the great Roche family began to dwindle. Donnelly (1937, p. 52) summarises the beginning of the end for the Roches: ‘Thereafter the existing members of the family are largely beggars, living on the bounty of others and enjoying none of the glory of their forebears but the name.’ This is in complete contrast to the Roches of by-gone days when they were at the pinnacle of power. In the poems being discussed below we are told of generous patronesses, bounteous banquets, extravagant gifts, poets being reluctant to leave and even satirists being welcomed.

THE BOOK OF FERMOY

The Book of Fermoy is a mainly fifteenth-century manuscript housed in the Royal Irish Academy. The manuscript comprises 238 pages. Todd (1873, p. 4) asserts that The Book of Fermoy could also be called the Book of Roche: ‘It is a loose collection of

miscellaneous documents, written at different times, and in very different hands; a great part of it relates to the family history of the Roche family of Fermoy.’

Contents

The catalogue to the Book of Fermoy on the ISOS website⁴⁵ distinguishes a variety of texts including a collection of poetry and prose relating to the Roche family. The prose material comprises a list of lands belonging to the Roches (p. 153) and certain rights of the Roches (p. 154), a fragment of *Lebor Gabála Éireann* ‘The Book of Invasions’, copies of poems attributed to Gearóid Iarla, 3rd Earl of Desmond (1338-98), lives of saints, historical tracts, genealogies, mythological prose tales and fragments of medical treatises.

Composite Manuscript

The Book of Fermoy is a composite manuscript. The first section (pp. 1–16) is a copy of *Lebor Gabála Éireann*. Todd (1873, p. 4) asserts that this section was written at least a century prior to the main section of the manuscript. The section thereafter (17–216) is what Todd claims to be ‘most probably what remains of the true Book of Fermoy’ (1873, p. 7). The final section (217–238) consists of fragments of medical manuscripts. Again, Todd contends that this section did not constitute the Book of Fermoy. He states that these fragments ‘were certainly no part of the original Book of Fermoy; they probably belonged to the O’Hickey family who were hereditary physicians...’ (1873, p. 4).

Scribes

The catalogue to the Book of Fermoy states that the main part of the manuscript was written in County Cork by many scribes including Domhnall Ó Leighin (pp. 146, 153).

⁴⁵ <https://www.isos.dias.ie/>

Material was added in the sixteenth century by scribes including Torna mac Torna Uí Mhaoil Chonaire (p. 153). It is interesting that this scribe is the only one to name Baile an Chaisleáin an Roitsigh ‘Castletownroche’ as the place of writing (p. 153): *re lind Daibith Moir meic Muiris Do Roidsigh do scrioph Domnall .h. Leighin sin ar tus, 7 misi Torna (mac) Torna .h. Maoil Chonaire do scribh an cairt so do Dáibíth mac Muiris meic Dáibíth meic Muiris meic Daibith Moir 7 d'Oilen ingen Semuis meic Semuis meic Emain Meig Piarois a mBaile an Chaisleáin an Roitsigh...* ‘it was during the time of Dáibhíoth Mór son of Maurice De Róiste that Domhnall Ua Leighin wrote that for the first time and I, Torna (son of) Torna Ua Maoil Chonaire, wrote this charter for Dáibhíoth son of Muiris son of Dáibhíoth son of Muiris son of Dáibhíoth Mór and for Oiléan, daughter of Séamus son of Séamus son of Éamon Mág Piarais at Castletownroche...’. This Roche is David Roche, 5th Viscount Fermoy. The *Complete Peerage* states that he married Ellen, daughter of James Butler, Dunboyne.

O’Hickey Medical Family

As pointed out in the catalogue when the manuscript ‘no longer had political relevance’, it may have been in the possession of the O’Hickey family until the late eighteenth century. Todd (1873, pp. 52–53) explains that the name of O’Hickey has been found ‘scribbled more than once on the margins and elsewhere.’

Michael Casey: Herb Doctor and Collector of Medical Manuscripts

Later the manuscript came into the possession of Michael Casey. Casey was a herb doctor from Limerick and a collector of medical manuscripts. In the information on the

Book of Fermoy on the Royal Irish Academy website,⁴⁶ it states that ‘Michael Casey was also the scribe of RIA MS 23 G 5 (catalogue no. 781), an elegant late eighteenth-century vellum manuscript copied from older sources’. This manuscript contains a number of the poems on the Roches of Fermoy, two of which are included in this thesis: *Fada is mná maithe mná Mumhan* ‘Long have the women of Munster been noblewomen’ and *Dlighthim íoc as m’fhearacht gráidh* ‘I owe a debt for the patronage given to me.’

William Haliday

There is evidence that the Book of Fermoy was in Dublin by the year 1805. The signature of Uilliam Ua Heaghra (William O’Hara), a pseudonym for William Haliday⁴⁷ appears in two places in the manuscript dated 1805 and 1806. O’Hara states that in 1805 he was making a copy of the manuscript: *Do bhi an leabar so, ar n-a athscribad le Uilliam Ua Heagra, anno Domini 1805, a mBaile Atha Cliath*, ‘This book was being copied by William O’Hara, AD 1805, in Dublin’. He signs his name on the same page in 1806: *Uilliam Ua hEaghra AD 1806 Jan 29 1806*, ‘William O’Hara AD 1806 Jan 29 1806’ (p. 204).

William Monck Mason: Historian and Collector of Manuscripts

The catalogue states that William Monck Mason⁴⁸ (1775-1859) acquired the Book of Fermoy in the early nineteenth century. He was born in Dublin on 7 September 1775. He was a historian and a collector of manuscripts. His literary collections including the Book of Fermoy were sold at auction in 1858.

⁴⁶<https://www.ria.ie/library/catalogues/special-collections/medieval-and-early-modern-manuscripts/book-fermoy-book-roche>

⁴⁷ For more information on William O’Hara/Haliday see *Dictionary of Irish Biography* <https://www.dib.ie>

⁴⁸ For more information on William Monck Mason see *Dictionary of Irish Biography* <https://www.dib.ie>

The Book of Fermoy was purchased on behalf of Dr J.H. Todd, Lord Talbot de Malahide, Sir Thomas A. Larcom and Charles Haliday, members of the Royal Irish Academy. Their intent was that the manuscript be ‘deposited in the Library of the Academy’ (Todd 1873, p. 4).

Roger Powell: Master Conservator

The master conservator Roger Powell was given the responsibility of the repairing and rebinding of the manuscript. This work was carried out between 1973 and 1975. Dahl Hambro (2015, p. 101) attained access to the Royal Irish Academy’s unpublished files on the Book of Fermoy, one being a letter from Powell to William O’Sullivan of Trinity College in 1973. Powell stated that ‘[t]he Book of Fermoy is in worse condition than anything we have handled previously’. He also stated that ‘[w]e are getting well stuck-into the Book of Fermoy and it is going to be a very devil of a job!’

Poems addressed to the Roche Family in the Book of Fermoy

McManus (forthcoming) has listed the poems and the addressees of the Roche family in the Roche *duanaire* ‘poembook’ (pp. 40–2 below). There are as many poems to females as there are to males in the *duanaire*. This is of great significance that women were afforded the same status as the men given the male-dominated society at the time and the esteem in which men were held.

Poems to members of the Roche family in the Roche <i>Duanaire</i> in The Book of Fermoy			
Poems to Females		Poems to Males	
(1) <i>Mise, a Aimi ar h'ionchaibh féin</i> (BPD 1360, ABM 335). Maolmhuire Mág Craith	to Aimí/Amy, daughter of Maurice (FitzThomas) Fitzgerald, 1st Earl of Desmond and his first wife Katherine de Burgh (daughter of the earl of Ulster). Amy married David Roche 'captain and lord of the Roches' in 1342.	(1) <i>Dleaghar cunnradh do chomhall</i>, (BPD 717) Donnhadh (mac Taidhg) Ó Dálaigh	to Dáibhíoth (mac Muiris, mac Siuán), husband of Siuán, daughter of Cormac and Aibhilín
(2) <i>Gearr ó dob inghill mná Mumhan</i>, ((BPD 1065, ABM 271) Without Attribution	to Siuán, daughter of Cormac Mág Carthaigh	(2) <i>Gach fonn go Fearaibh Muighe</i> (ABM 263). Seaan Óg Mág Craith	
(3) <i>Néal ríoghna ós ráith Iughaine</i>, (BPD 1482). Eoghan (mac Aonghuis) Ó Dálaigh	and Aibhilín and wife of Dáibhíoth.	(3) <i>Formad ag cách re clú Muiris</i> (ABM 249). Ó Maothagáin	to Muiris, son of Dáibhíoth and Siuán and grandson of Muiris

(4) <i>Teach dá ríoghan ráith Caisil, (BPD 1796).</i> Muircheartach Ó Floinn	to Siuán and Mór , daughters of Cormac and Aibhilín with an <i>iargcomharc</i> for two, viz. an heir of Dáibhíoth and an heir of Muiris	(4) <i>Cionnas íocthar séad suirghe? (ABM 105).</i> Brian Ó hUiginn	to Dáibhíoth , son of Siuán and Muiris and husband of Caitilín
(5) <i>Ní fá himhe is measta Mór (BPD 1518)</i> Eoghan (mac Conchobhair) Ó Dálaigh	to Mór daughter of Mathghamhain Ó Briain and his wife, Mór, and wife of Dáibhíoth son of Muiris de Róiste	(5) <i>Cor teasta gá maoine as mó (BPD 520).</i> Without Attribution	to Dáibhíoth , son/heir of Gráinne and/or Muiris and/or husband of Oiléan inghean Shéamais.
(6) <i>Ó mhnáibh ainmnighthear Éire, (BPD 1571).</i> Without Attribution		(6) <i>Dá fhiodh sheolta ar shéan nGall (BPD 594).</i> Without Attribution	
(7) <i>Olc an cumthach an chumha (ABM 383).</i> Cearbhall (mac Conchobhair) Ó Dálaigh		(7) <i>Derg [...] imrid Frangcaigh (BPD 613).</i> Donnchadh (mac Eoghain) Ó Dálaigh	
(8) <i>Díleas gach éanduine a eidhreacht, (ABM 171).</i> Without Attribution	to Caitilín inghean Taidhg and wife of Dáibhíoth, son of Siubhán and Muiris	(8) <i>Geall[...]Frangcaigh (BPD 1058)</i> Without Attribution	

(9) Dlighim íoc as m'fhearacht gráidh (ABM 178) Cormac (mac Eoghain) Ó Dálaigh		(9) Gearr go laibheóra an Lia Fáil/ más lia laibheóras (BPD 1062). Without Attribution	
(10) Fada is mná maithe mná Mumhan (ABM 223). Ó Maothagáin		(10) Téid oirbheart i n-inmhe ríogh (BPD 1821). Tomas (mac Ruaidhri mheic Dhiarmada) Mág Craith.	

Below is a list of the poems to members of the Roche family as they appear in the Book of Fermoy.

pp. 27–28	<i>Gearr ó dob inghill mná Mumhan</i>	On the death of Siuán, daughter of Cormac MacCarthy.
pp. 81–82	<i>Dleaghar cunnradh do chomhall</i>	to Dáibhíoth (mac Muiris, mac Siuán), husband of Siuán, daughter of Cormac and Aibhilín, giving a list of his victories - <i>caithréim</i> .
pp. 123–124	<i>Ó mhnáibh ainmnighthe ar Éire</i>	Dedicated to Mór, inghean Mhathghamhna Uí Bhriain.
pp. 124–125	<i>Ní fá himhe is measta Mór</i>	
pp. 125–126	<i>Olc an cumthach an chumha</i>	
p. 146	<i>Mise, a Aimí ar h'ionchaibh féin</i>	for Aimi daughter of the [1st] Earl of Desmond, granddaughter of the Earl of Ulster.
p. 147	<i>Cor teasta gá maoine as mó</i>	A series of poems for David, son of Maurice Roche and of his wife Gráinne.
pp. 147–148	<i>Téid oirbheart i n-inmhe ríogh</i>	
pp. 149–150	<i>Gearr go laibheóra an Lia Fáil/ más lia laibheóras</i>	
p. 150	<i>Geall[...]Frangcaigh</i>	
pp. 150–151	<i>Derg [...] imrid Frangcaigh</i>	
pp. 151–152	<i>Dá fhiodh sheolta ar shéan nGall</i>	
pp. 165–166	<i>Teach dá ríoghan ráith Caisil</i>	For two daughters of Cormac son of Eoghan, and of his wife 'Aibilín'. Their names were 'Sibán' and 'Mór'.
pp. 166–167	<i>Néal ríoghna ós ráith Iughaine</i>	
pp. 194–197	<i>Cionnas íocthar séad suirghe?</i>	to Dáibhíoth (mac Muiris) de Róiste.

pp.197–199	<i>Gach fonn go Fearaibh Muighe</i>	to Dáibhíoth (mac Muiris, mac Siuán), husband of Siuán, daughter of Cormac and Aibhilín.
pp. 199–200	<i>Fada is mná maithe mná Mumhan</i>	to Caitilín inghean Taidhg and wife of Dáibhíoth, son of Siubhán and Muiris.
pp. 201–202	<i>Dlighim íoc as m'fhearacht gráidh</i>	
pp. 202–203	<i>Formad ag cách re clú Muiris</i>	to Muiris, son of Dáibhíoth and Siuán and grandson of Muiris.
pp. 205–206	<i>Díleas gach éanduine a eidhreacht</i>	to Caitilín inghean Taidhg and wife of Dáibhíoth, son of Siubhán and Muiris

EDITORIAL POLICY

Order of Poems

Poems 1–4 are found in *ABM*. In the Book of Fermoy, Poem 1 is found on pp. 125–126.

Poems 2–3 span pp. 199–202. Poem 4 is on pp. 205–6.

	Poem	Type	Honorand	Poet	Book of Fermoy	ABM
Poem 1	<i>Olc an cumthach an chumha</i> ‘Grief is a poor companion’	Elegy	Mór inghean Mhathghamhna Uí Bhriain, and inghean Mhóire.	Cearbhall (mac Conchobhair) Ó Dálaigh	pp. 125–126	Poem 383
Poem 2	<i>Fada is mná maithe mná Mumhan</i> ‘Long have the women of Munster been noblewomen’	Eulogy	Caitilín inghean Taidhg Mhéig Carthaigh, wife of Dáibhíoth, de Róiste, third Viscount Roche of Fermoy.	Ó Maothagáin	pp. 199–200	Poem 223
Poem 3	<i>Dlighim íoc as m’fhearacht gráidh</i> ‘I owe a debt for the patronage given me’	Eulogy	Caitilín inghean Taidhg Mhéig Carthaigh, wife of Dáibhíoth, de Róiste, third Viscount Roche of Fermoy.	Cormac (mac Eoghain) Ó Dálaigh	p. 201–202	Poem 178
Poem 4	<i>Díleas gach éanduine a eidhreacht</i> ‘Everyone is entitled to his inheritance’	Eulogy	Caitilín inghean Taidhg Mhéig Carthaigh, wife of Dáibhíoth, de Róiste, third Viscount Roche of Fermoy.	Without attribution	pp. 205–206	Poem 171

Critical Edition

In the restored text of the poems, I have indicated all changes in bold font.

Punctuation and capitalisation are editorial.

Length marks have been inserted where omitted in the manuscript, or removed if necessary (e.g. 4.11a. *rinn chadhuis* > *rinn chádhu*, 4.41c. *ina deoidh* > *ina dheóidh*, 4.45b. *fánn* > *fann*).

Length-marks have been removed from diphthongs: (e.g. 1.25a. *ciabh* > *cíabh*, 3.35d. *níamh* > *niamh*, 4.4c. *íarraim* > *iarraim*, 4.21c. *núaidhe* > *nuaidhe*, 4.23c. *fúair* > *fuair*, 4.24a. *híradh* > *hiarradh*, 4.24b. *úaibhrech* > *uaibhreach*, 4.28c. *stúadh* > *stuadh*, 4.27a. *áidhbhseach* > *aidhbhseach*,) (see SNG 1994, IV, §2.5, p. 348).

Lenition and nasalisation are inserted where appropriate (see below).

Glide vowels have been inserted silently (e.g. 1.19d. *do bernamar* > *do bhearnamar*, 2.17. *medh* > *meadh*, 2.89. *terc* > *tearc*, 3.11b. *beg* > *beag*, 3.17c. *imtha* > *iomtha*, 4.1a. *eidricht* > *eidhriocht*, 4.28a. *ríghnaibh* > *ríoghnaibh*).

I have normalised:

- the spelling of some common unstressed words: the spelling of the article from *in* > *an* (e.g. 1.5c. *in cubad* > *an cubhar*, 1.19d. *in fhled* > *an fhleadh*, 1.31b. *arin* > *ar an*, 1.41c. *ar in mbron* > *ar an mbrón*, 2.33. *in geall* > *an geall*, 2.108 *in gruad-sain* > *an gruadh-sain* 3.4b. *in toil* > *an toil*, 3.28b. *in rosc corr* > *an rosc corr*, 4.8c. *in cleachtad* > *an cleachtadh*, 4.23c. *in tegh-soin* > *an teagh-soin*, 4.39c. *in bhas* > *an bhas*).
- *a* > *i* = the preposition *i* ‘in(to)’ (e.g. 1.3d. *a talmhain* > *i dtalmhain*, 1.17b. *a lo* > *i ló*, 1.20c. *a ndan* > *i ndán*, 1.27d. *a nUisneac* > *i nUisneach*, 1.34c. *a ndiaigh* > *i ndiaidh*, 1.38b. *a n-again* > *i n-againh*, 1.41a. *a timchill* > *i dtimchioll*, 2.64. *a n-aice* > *i n-aice*,

- 2.142. *a cein* > *i gcéin*, 3.21d. *a gcomharsain* > *i gcomharsain*, 4.9b. *a táí* > *i dtaoi*, 4.13d. *a tocht* > *it ocht*, 4.15a. *a ndiaigh* > *i ndiaidh*, 4.48c. *a taisgidh* > *i dtaisgidh*).
- the present tense interrogative particle **in?** > **an?** ... (e.g. 1.14d. *in mairit?* > *an mairit?*).
 - the present tense of the copula **as** > **is** (e.g. 1.32a. *as meisde* > *is meisde*, 2.61. *As* > *Is*, 2.71. *as inann* > *is ionann*, 4b. *as hi* > *is hí*, 31d. *as ingonta* > *is iongonta*, 4.11c. *as é* > *is é*, 4.18b. *as* > *is*).
 - **gu** > **go** (e.g. 1.20a. *gu fuil* > *go bhfuil*, 1.43c. *gu tí* > *go dtí*, 3.11a. *Gu Dun Atha Fén* > *Go Dún Átha Fén*, 4.51b. *gu n-íradh* > *go n-iarradh*).
 - **mu** > **mo** (e.g. 1.5d. *mu dhoigh* > *mo dhoigh*, 1.7b. *mu chumhad* > *mo chumhadh*, 1.17d. *mu chuid* > *mo chuid*, 1.18a. *Mu bret* > *Mo bhreath*, 1.35b. *mu comrád* > *mo chomhrádh*, 1.41a. *mu chumhadh* > *mo chumhadh*).
 - **Da** > **Do** (e.g. 4.25a. *Da hardaighedh* > *Do hardaigheadh*).
 - **ss** > **s** (e.g. 1.36a. *ass* > *as*, 2.140. *tuss* > *tús*, 3.6c. *fiss* > *fios*; 3.7c. *deass* > *dheas*, 3.23c. *ass* > *as*).
 - **ae** > **ao** (e.g. 1.12c. *maeine* > *maoine*, 1.12d. *commaeine* > *comaoine*, 2.99. *ghael* > *ghaol*, 2.120. *taebh* > *thaobh*, 3.19a. *taebh* > *thaobh*, 3.35b. *Maenmoighi* > *Maonmhoighe*, 4.9b. *a thaeb* > *a thaobh*, 4.15a. *Baeghal* > *Baoghal*, 4.37d. *saer* > *saor*, 4.47c. *chael* > *chaol*).
 - **nd** > **nn** (e.g. 1.4d. *tindabradh* > *tionnabhradh*, 1.25b. *Cond* > *Conn*, 2.46. *slat Boindi* > *slat Bhóinne*, 2.124. *indfhuar* > *ionnfhuar*, 2.146. *Andla* > *Annla*, 3.5c. *do bheind* > *do bheinn*, 3.33c. *crand* > *crann*, 4.23a. *Chind Choradh* > *Chinn Choradh*, 4.36a. *dha-roindeadh* > *do-roinneadh*, 4.39d. *do choindeall* > *do choinneall*).
 - **cc** > **g** (e.g. 1.26c. *ecc* > *éag*).
 - **c** > **g** where appropriate (e.g. 1.9d. *fuasculad* > *fuasguladh*, 1.32b. *ar n-éc* > *ar n-éag*, 2.36. *tuicter* > *tuigtear*, 2.91. *na n-eces* > *na n-éigeas*, 3.4a. *tic* > *tig*, 3.33c. *tuicti* >

tuigthe, 4.6d. *co tibrad tú > go dtiobhradh tú*, 4.13c. *do thuic > do thuig*, 4.43b. *co ndearna > go ndearna*).

- **ll > l** (e.g. 2.53. *Aillbi > Ailbhe*, 3.13b. *Oillill > Oilill*, 3.18c. *Aillbhe > Ailbhe*: see SNG IV §2.2, p. 344 / Greene, D., 1952, pp. 212–18).
- **mm > m** (e.g. 1.12d. *commaeine > comaoine*, 2.117. *coimmes > coimeas*).
- **nn > n** where appropriate (e.g. 1.39b. *innsi > Inse*).
- **rr > r** where appropriate (e.g. 3.26b. *do Cloind Carrthaig > do Chloinn Charthaigh*).
- **r > rr** where appropriate (e.g. 4.24a. *Nír híaradh > Níor hiarradh*, 4.24c. *iar > iarr*, 4.51b. *gu n-íaradh > go n-iarradh*).
- **tt > dt** (e.g. 2.130. *ga ttam > ga dtám*).
- **t > d** where appropriate (e.g. 1.8a. *ibhit > ibhid*, 1.13b. *teit > théid*, 1.14c. *caidit > caidhid*, 1.14d. *mairit > mairid*, 1.23a. *Teit > Téid*, 1.34b. *a oiret > a oiread*, 2.7. *le n-imat > le n-iomad*, 2.65. *dot cineadh > dod chineadh*, 2.97. *Ticfat > Tiocfad*, 3.35a. *A-tait > A-táid*, 4.12a. *ot ghnuis > ód ghnúis*, 4.5a. *Met > Méad*, 4.13c. *'na fhormat > 'na fharmad*, 4.13d. *Abrat > Abhrad*, 4.15d. *in met-si > an méid-se*, 4.19b. *in met > an méad*).
- **tt > d** (e.g. 1.26d. *do choimhett > do choimhéad*).
- **ai > aoi** where appropriate (e.g. 1.10b. *mnai > mhnaoi*, 1.36d. *do bhai > do bhaoi*, 1.42b. *aibhinn > aoibhinn*, 2.28. *naidi > naoidhe*, 2.56. *do bhai > do bhaoi*, 2.116. *craibh > craoibh*, 3.8a. *aighidh > aoidhidh*, 3.34d. *n-aighidh > n-aoidhiodh*, 4.5b. *maigim > maoidhim*, 4.9b. *a táí > i dtaoi*, 4.11d. *sháilim > shaoilim*, 4.22c. *draí > draoi*, 4.22d. *do bhái > do bhaoi*, 4.32b. *Lai > Laoi*, 4.44c. *cháí > chaoi*).
- **oi > ei** (e.g. 4.30d. *oile > eile*).
- **aei > aoi** (e.g. 1.2b. *dh'aeibnes > dh'aoibhneas*, 5a. *dh'aeibnes > dh'aoibhneas*, 8b. *maeidhfidis > maoidhfidis*, 26b. *aeibhneas > aoibhneas*).

- Final *-i* has been normalised to *-e* except for purposes of visual rhyme. According to McManus (SNG 1994, IV §2.3, p. 345) the use of *iomlat* the ‘act of changing’ happens where the variation in orthography in unstressed syllables is used to produce visual rhyme. (e.g. 1.13d. *an baili* > *an baile*, 1.33b. *mha toirrsi* > *mh’atoirrrse*, 2.30. *slat Berri* > *slat Bhéirre*, 2.65. *airmhighi* > *áirmhighe*, 3.19a. *tairsi* > *tairse*, 3.36c. *fhuair-si* > *fhuair-se*, 4.15c. *m’egsi* > *m’éigse*, 4.26c. *meisi* > *meise*).
- Confusion of **gh** and **dh** has been corrected (e.g. 1.5d. *do claochlógh* > *do chlaochlódh*, 1.34c. *a ndiaigh* > *i ndiaidh*, 1.40a. *’na dhiaigh soin* > *’na dhiaidh soin*, 2.37. *Mhigeac* > *Mhidheach*, 2.135. *fleaghach* > *bhfleadhach*, 3.7d. *suighighadh* > *suidhioghadh*, 3.27b. *Gaighiul* > *Gaoidhiul*, 4.5b. *maigim* > *maoidhim*, 4.15a. *a ndiaigh* > *i ndiaidh*, 4.46c. *treighibh* > *treidhidh*, 4.51d. *dhimdhaigh* > *dhiomhdhaidh*).
- **dh** > **gh** (e.g. 4.18b. *brid* > *bríogh*, 4.24a. *dá fhuidhill* > *dá fhuighioll*).
- **dh** > **ch** (e.g. 4.14d. *aipdhi* > *aipche*, 4.43b. *ditheal* > *dícheal*).
- **sc** > **sg** (e.g. 1.16c. *do scís* > *do sgís* / *scarthana* > *sgarthana*, 1.17c. *scaradh* > *sgaradh*, 1.40c. *scar* > *sgar*, 4.18a. *scel* > *sgéal*, 4.18b. *sceoil* > *sgeoil*, 4.38d. *in roisc uaine* > *an roisg uaine*).

Nouns

I have inserted lenition in the following instances:

- **feminine singular nouns following the article *an* ‘the’** (e.g. 2.56. *in bean* > *an bhean*, 2.110 *in bas* > *an bhas*, 2.113. *In cuid* > *An chuid*, 4.22a. *An bean* > *An bhean*, 4.38b. *in braighi* > *an bhráighe*).
- **following nominative singular feminine nouns** (e.g. 1.19d. *an fhled broin* > *an fhleadh bhróin*, 2.30. *slat Berri* > *slat Bhéirre*, 2.46. *slat Boindi* > *slat Bhóinne*, 2.53. *inghean Cormac* > *inghean Chormaic*, 2.82. *tuarusbail Cinn Chorad* > *túaruscbháil*).

Chinn Choradh, 3.1a. *In deoch graidh* > *An deoch ghráidh*, 3.4b *in toil mall* > *an toil mhall*, 3.7c. *in lámh deass* > *an lámh dheas*, 3.21a. *Meadbh Cruachan* > *Meadhbh Chruachan*, 3.21b. *Mor Mumhan* > *Mór Mhumhan*, 3.31b. *ben Boroimi* > *bean Bhóroimhe*, 3.37b. *craebh Coirrshlebhe* > *craobh Choirrshléibhe*, 4.4d. *in moirn* > *an mhoirn*, 4.23d. *in bhean-soin Briain* > *an bhean-soin Bhriain*, 4.30b. *crich Fer Muighe* > *críoch Fhear Muighe*, 4.31a. *cuis formaid* > *cúis fhormaid*).

- to denote the **vocative singular case** (e.g. 3.17c. *a ben Bert(h)a* > *a bhean Bhearta*, 3.19a. *a taeibh* > *a thaobh*, 3.27d. *a craebh aithli* > *a chraobh Aithle*, 3.29c. *a troigh reidh* > *a throigh réidh*, 3.30a. *a folt tais* > *a fholt tais*, 4.10b. *a ciab nocht* > *a chiabh nocht*, 4.13d. *a craeb Abrat* > *a chraobh Abhrat*, 4.14c. *a gruid* > *a ghruaidh*, 4.33b. *a cruth mar thshuibh* > *a chruth mar shuibh*, 4.34b. *a troigh mhall* > *a throigh mhall*, 4.35d. *a geg Thoighe Tail* > *a ghéag Thoighe Táil*, 4.37b. *a geg Aine* > *a ghéag Áine*, 4.43d. *a craebh Oiligh* > *a chraobh Oiligh*).
- following **vocative singular feminine nouns** (e.g. 3.24c. *a bhean Banna* > *a bhean Bhanna*, 3.29c. *a troigh réidh bairrleabhar bog* > *a throigh réidh bhairrleabhar bhog*, 4.6b. *a righan Banbha* > *a ríoghan Bhanbha*).
- **nominative plural nouns ending with a slender consonant** (e.g. 3.35b. *ruisc malla* > *ruisc mhall*).
- **nouns following dative singular where lenition would be expected** (e.g. 1.17b. *a lo cengail* > *i ló cheangail*, 1.31b. *arin cumhaid* > *ar an chumhaidh*, 1.37b. *san fuil-sin Briain Bóramha* > *san fhuil-sin Bhriain Bóramha*, 2.20. *ar craibh Corad* > *ar chraoibh Choradh*, 2.24. *cleath Corad* > *cleath Choradh*, 2.116. *ac craibh Corad* > *ag craoibh Choradh*, 2.127. *fa mnai Maistean* > *fa mhnaoi Mhaistean*, 3.3b. *ó Raith Cruachan* > *ó Ráith Chruachan*, 3.5d. *don digh graidh* > *don digh ghráidh*, 3.7a. *Don laimh cle* > *Don láimh chlé*, 3.23a. *od dreich gil* > *ód dhreich ghil*, 3.26b. *do Cloind Carrthaig* > *do*

Chloinn Charthaigh, 3.28a *o fhuil Cein* > *ó fhuil Chéin*, 3.28d. *ar ghael Cais* > *ar ghaol Chais*, 4.19a. *o laechraid Muman* > *ó laochraidh Mhumhan*, 4.22b. *do thigh Briain* > *do thigh Bhriain*, 4.36b. *dod cheibh buig* > *dod chéibh bhuig*, 4.44b. *da mhianach Cuirc* > *do mhianach Chuirc*).

- **nouns in genitive singular ending with a slender consonant** (e.g. 3.17a. *in taibh gil* > *an taoibh ghil*, 4.17b. *an ruisc guirm* > *an ruisc ghuirm* 4.19d. *glun cinid Cais* > *glún cinidh Chais*).

Verbs

I have supplied lenition in the following instances:

- **following the verbal particle *Do***, an essential part of independent active form of past tense in regular verbs (e.g. 1.18d. *do bimis* > *do bhímís*, 1.19d. *do bernamar* > *do bhearnamar*, 1.28a. *Do badar* > *Do bhádar*, 1.29a. *Do badar* > *Do bhádar*, 2.67. *do cennchais* > *do cheannchais*, 2.68. *do fas* > *do fhás*, 3.16d. *do sir* > *do shíor*, 4.9a. *Do bamair* > *Do bhámair*, 4.14a. *Do cur* > *Do chuir*, 4.27d. *do glac* > *do ghlac*).
- **following the preverb *do*** (e.g. 1.11d. *do-cim* > *do-chím*, 3.8b. *do-geib* > *do-gheibh*, 4.12c. *do-cuamar* > *do-chuamar*, 4.13a. *Do bi* > *Do bhí*, 4.18c. *do-geb* > *do-ghéabh*).
- **following the negative particle *ní*** (in Classical Irish, the negative particle *ní* causes lenition on the initial of the verb) (e.g. 1.9c. *ni bi* > *ní bhí*, 2.72. *ni bi* > *ní bhí*, 2.109. *ni celeabh* > *ní cheileabh*, 3.19c. *ni dlighe* > *ní dhlighe*, 3.29b. *ni fuighthe* > *ní fhuighthe*).
- **following the negative past tense particle *níor*** (e.g. 3.7d. *nir mes* > *níor mheas*, 4.45b. *nir fás* > *níor fhás*).
- **following the past tense copula** (e.g. 1.28a. *nír beg* > *níor bheag*, 4.22b. *nír beac* > *níor bheag*, 4.43a. *Nir beac* > *Níor bheag*).

- **following the particle *nár*** (e.g. 2.6. *nár fergaigh* > *nár fheargaigh*, 2.21. *nar fed* > *nár fhéad*, 3.2c. *nar dailti* > *nár dháilte*, 3.30d. *nar glac* > *nár ghlac*, 4.4b *nár taem* > *nár thaobh*, 4.25b. *nar buan séd* > *nár bhuan séad*).
- **following *gur*** (e.g. 3.9c. *gur cuir* > *gur chuir*, 3.12d. *gur fagoibh* > *gur fhágoibh*).
- **following the particle *do/d'*** (e.g. 1.5d. *do chlaochlógh* > *do chlaochlódh*, 1.6d. *d'fulung* > *d'fhulung*, 1.18d. *do be[i]th* > *do bheith*, 2.60. *do tocht* > *do thocht*, 2.76. *is let th'eire d'fostad* > *is leat th'eire d'fhostadh*, 2.90. *d'fostad* > *d'fhostadh*, 3.3a. *do dearluig* > *do dhearluig*, 3.14c. *d'faghail* > *d'fhagháil*, 3.24b. *d'faghail* > *d'fhagháil*, 3.24d. *gan fer d'fagáil m'urrama* > *gan fhear d'fhagháil m'urrama*, 3.38a. *do dail* > *do dháil*, 4.5c. *d'faghail* > *d'fhagháil*, 4.20d. *d'faghail* > *d'fhagháil*).
- **following *nachar*** (e.g. 3.37c. *nacar gabh* > *nachar ghabh*).
- **to denote the relative form** (e.g. 2.118. *chosnus*, 2.120. *thoghbhus*, 3.32a. *tuilleas* > *thuilleas*).

I have added nasalisation in the following instances:

- **following genitive plural** (e.g. 1.25a. *na ciabh scathach* > *na gcíabh scathach*, 1.42b. *na n-inad aibhinn* > *na n-ionadh n-aoibhinn*, 2.43. *ar tocht na filead* > *ar tocht na bhfileadh*, 2.92. *bruigean na cuach clochach* > *bruidhean na gcuach gclochach*, 2.135. *na mur fleaghach* > *na múr bhfleadhach*, 3.11a. *Dún Átha Fén na flegh* > *Dún Átha Fén na bhfleadh*, 3.15a. *na n-arm tais* > *na n-arm dtais*, 3.33c. *ar blath na crand cinil* > *ar bhláth na gcrann gciníl*, 3.22d. *dail na toirbert* > *dáil na dtoirbheart*, 4.30a. *na mbeann corcra* > *na mbeann gcorcra*).
- **following accusative singular** (e.g. 1.10b *mnaoi comuinn* > *mnaoi gcomuinn*, 4.25b. *le mnái Briain* > *le mnaoi mBriain*).

- **following the particle *Dá* ‘If’** (e.g. 1.4d. *da tograd* > *dá dtogradh*, 1.34a. *Da faghuinn* > *Dá bhfaghuinn*, 1.41c. *da faghaind* > *dá bhfághainn*, 2.31. *da cuirter* > *dá gcuirtear*, 3.5a. *da fagad me* > *dá bhfaghadh mé*, 3.7a. *dá cuire mhe* > *dá gcuire mhé*, 3.18a. *Da tegmad* > *Dá dteagmadh*, 3.31b. *da tibreadh* > *dá dtibhreadh*, 3.36b. *da tibraind* > *dá dtiobhrainn*).
- **following the particle *go*** (e.g. 4.6d. *co tibrad tú* > *go dtiobhradh tú*).

Prepositions

I have supplied lenition in the following instances:

- **following the preposition *ar* ‘on, before’** (e.g. 1.44d. *ar cuirm* > *ar chuirm*, *ar comhol* > *ar chomhól*, 2.20. *ar craibh* > *ar chraoibh*, 3.10a. *ar Bricne* > *ar Bhricne*, 3.33c. *ar blath* > *ar bhláth*, 2.111. *ar geis Eamhna* > *ar ghéis Eamhna*, 3.21c. *ar bladhd* > *ar bhladhd*, 3.33.c. *ar blath* > *ar bhláth*, 4.14c. *ar gne* > *ar ghné*, 4.45c. *ar cúl* > *ar chúl*).
- **following preposition *do* ‘to/for’** (e.g. 1.3c. *do cumhaid* > *do chumhaidh*, 1.23d. *d’Feilim* > *d’Fhéilim*, 1.36c. *do [mhn]ai* > *do mhnai*, 2.67. *do mnaibh* > *do mhnáibh*, 2.128. *do craibh cromadh* > *do chraoibh cromadh*, 3.17c. *do ben imtha* > *do bhean iomtha*, *do Cloind Carrthaig* > *do Chloinn Charthaigh*, 3.29d. *do gruadh* > *do ghruadh*, 4.33c. *do croidhe* > *do chroidhe*).
- **following the preposition *mar* ‘as/like’** (e.g. 1.13b. *mar teit* > *mar théid*, 1.24a. *n[ar] tarla* > *mar tharla*, 2.84. *mar Cruachain* > *mar Chruachain*, 3.29a. *mar gloin* > *mar ghloin*, 4.26a. *Mar Mac Liag* > *Mar Mhac Liag*).
- **following the preposition *ó* ‘from’** (e.g. 2.34. *o clar* > *ó chlár*, 2.142. *o cleith* > *ó chleith*, 4.5a. *ó Feruibh Muighi* > *ó Fhearuibh Muighe*).

- **following the preposition *gan* ‘without’** (SNG §10.2) (e.g. 1.7d. *gan cradh* > *gan chrádh*, 1.27d. *gan gnímh* > *gan ghníomh*, 2.26. *gan bronnad* > *gan bhronnadh*, 2.29. *gan cradh* > *gan chradh*, 2.80. *gan cas* > *gan chás*, 3.24d. *gan fer* > *gan fhear*, 3.30c. *gan bronnad* > *gan bhronnadh*).
- **following *fad*** - preposition *fa* + 2nd sg. possessive adjective *do* ‘your’ (e.g. 4.29d. *fad croidhe* > *fad chroidhe*).
- **following ‘*gud*’** = preposition *ag* + 2nd sg. possessive adjective *do* ‘your’ (e.g. 4.13b. *’gut dreich mar ré* > *’gud dhreich mar ré*).
- **following the prepositional pronoun *don*** = preposition *do* ‘to/for’ + *alt* > *don* (e.g. 1.17d. *don cunnrad* > *don chunnradh*, 3.26b. *don cuan cinil* > *don chuan ciníl*).
- **following *san*** - preposition *i* ‘in/into’ + *article an* ‘the’ (e.g. 1.31c. *san glas* > *san ghlas* 1.37b. *san fuil-sin* > *san fhuil-sin*, 2.136. *san cagad* > *san chagadh*).
- **following *id*** - preposition *i* ‘in/into’ + 2nd sg. possessive adjective *do* ‘your’ (e.g. *ad baili* > *id bhaile*).
- **following *fa*** (e.g. 2.119. *fa mnai* > *fa mhnaoi*, 2.127. *fa mnai* > *fa mhnaoi*).
- **following *fam* ‘regarding my’** - *fo* + 1st sg. possessive adjective + *mo* ‘my’ (e.g. 4.13b. *ét fam dan* > *éad fam dhán*).

I have supplied nasalisation in the following instances:

- **following the preposition *i* ‘in/into’** (e.g. 1.3d. *a talmhain* > *i dtalmhain*, 1.14d. *a dtalmhain* > *i dtalmhain*, 2.80. *a cogad* > *i gcogadh*, 2.142. *a cein* > *i gcéin*, 3.25c. *a cleachtadh* > *i gcleachtadh*, 4.22c. *a treisi* > *i dtreise*, 4.23a. *a treisi* > *i dtreise*, 4.26d. *a tam* > *i dtám*, 4.48c. *a taisgidh* > *i dtaisgidh*).
- **following the preposition *ar* ‘on’ + *article*** - (e.g. 4.10a. *ar an cleachtad* > *ar an gcleachtadh*).

- **following *ara*** (preposition *ar* + 3rd pl. possessive adjective *a* ‘their’) (e.g. 1.24a. *ara cinn* > *ara gcionn*).
- **following nasalising relative particle** (e.g. 2.127 *le tic* > *le dtig*, 4.34a. *ré tá* > *ré dtá*).

Other Changes

I have inserted lenition following:

- **1st sg. possessive adjective *mo* ‘my’** (e.g. 1.10b. *rem mnai* > *rem mhnaoi*, 1.35b. *mu comrád* > *mo chomhrád*, 3.1a. *m’feracht* > *m’fhearacht*, 3.5a. *Mu breath* > *Mo bhreath*, 4.17a. *Mo Moirn* > *Mo mhoirn*).
- **2nd sg. possessive adjective *do* ‘your’** (e.g. 2.57. *do clu* > *do chlú*, 2.72. *do clu* > *do chlú*, 3.19c. *do clú* > *do chlú*, 3.21d. *do clú* > *do chlú*, 3.24b. *do treise* > *do threise*, 3.25b *do tresi* > *do threise*, 3.26d. *do gruadh* > *do ghruadh*, 3.29a. *do gruadh* > *do ghruadh*, 4.15b. *ler muchad t’ferg* > *lér múchadh t’fhearg*, 4.35d. *do medh* > *do mheadh*).
- **2nd pl. *bhur* ‘your pl.’** (e.g. 1.13b. *bur n-airi* > *bhur n-aire*, 1.16c. *bur scarthana* > *bhur sgarthana*).
- **the preposition *ag* (‘g’) + 3rd sg. masculine possessive adjective *a* ‘his/its’** (e.g. 2.30. *’ga bronnad* > *’ga bhronnadh*).

I have supplied nasalisation following:

- **1st pl. possessive adjective *ar* ‘our’** (e.g. 1.17b. *ar comuinn* > *ar gcomuinn*, 1.19b *ar ceiddeoch* > *ar gcéiddeoch*, 3.32d. *ar folta* > *ar bhfolta*, 3.37a. *Ar toil* > *Ar dtoil*, 4.9a. *ar toile* > *ar dtoile*, 4.50c. *ar cur* > *ar gcar*).
- ***ar* (*iarⁿ*)** (e.g. 1.24b. *ar techt* > *ar dteacht*, 2.37. *ar teacht* > *ar dteacht*, 2.123. *ar techt* > *ar dteacht*, 2.126. *ar teact* > *ar dteacht*).

- **3rd pl. possessive adjective a ‘their’** (e.g. 1.31b. *a coimed* > *a gcoiméad*, 2.4. *a ceadbladh* > *a gcéadbhladh*).
- **im - i ‘in/into’ + 1st sg. possessive adjective mo ‘my’** (e.g. 3.9c. *am cenn* > *im cheann*).
- **más** (e.g. 4.2b. *mas fir* > *más fhíor*).
- **ar** (e.g. 4.17a. *ar tús* > *ar dtús*).
- **the predicate mór** (e.g. 3.38a. *mór toirbeart* > *mór dtoirbheart*)

I have emended:

- **nar > nárbh** before *f* (e.g. 3.2a. *nar fhiu* > *nárbh fhiú*, 3.24a. *nar fhiu* > *nárbh fhiú*).
- **2nd sg. possessive adjective before a vowel h’ or t’ to th’** (e.g. 3.17d. *h’fer einleptha* > *th’fhear éinleabtha*, 3.19d. *is tu Eimer h’aimsire* > *is tú Eimhear th’aimsire*, 3.23b. *t’anoir* > *th’anoir*, 3.27c. *gne h’aigthe* > *gné th’aigthe*, 4.29c. *ar h’inmhe* > *ar th’inmhe*, 4.38c. *h’uaille* > *th’uaille*).
- **sa > san** (e.g. 3.12a. *sa mbrugh* > *san bhrugh*).
- **nach beith > nach beath** (e.g. 4.28a. *nach beith* > *nach beath* - as *beith* is not a conjunct form).
- **dha > do** (e.g. 4.31a. *ar dha chinn* > *ar do chionn*, 4.36a. *dha-roindeadh* > *do-roinneadh* - I have removed *h* as it is not normal to have lenition on a preverb).
- **Fer Muighi > Fir Mhoighe** - in *ABM* the expansion is incorrect as it is the nominative pl. case, the subject of the line (e.g. 4.33d. *Fer Muighi* > *Fir Mhoighe*).
- **tirthibh > thíribh** (e.g. 4.35a. *don da tirthibh* > *don dá thíribh*).
- **thshuibh > shuibh** (e.g. 4.33.b) In Classical Irish, *tsh-* was used after the article *an* on the initial of nom. sg. and dat. sg. fem. nouns and gen. sg. and dat. sg. masc. nouns in *s-* (see *SNG* IV, §3.5, p. 360). The grammatical tracts fault *tsh-* (*IGT* i §69 / *BST* 213.16–17):

IGT i §69: *Lochdach cadad ar úathadh .s. d’ogham no do gháoidheilg. (‘bean tsháor’ lochtach, bean sháor as cóir ann ‘Delenition of sh is incorrect in writing or in pronunciation; (Bean tsháor is incorrect;) bean sháor is what is correct there.’⁴⁹*

BST 213.16–17: *Ni déntar cadad ar úathadh s: bean tsháor .l. bean sháor .c.; do Dhonnchadh tsháor .l. ; do Dhonnchadh sháor .c.*

Translation and other matters

Translations of all material without translation are my own. Where a text has been published with translation, I utilise that translation unless otherwise stated. Where the translation is that of another scholar, the reference follows the translation.

A colon is used to indicate that two words rhyme. Unless otherwise stated, these words rhyme perfectly (e.g. *gráidh : anáir*).

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

The symbol § refers to a quatrain or stanza, while the letter l. refers to the line numbers in poem 2, *Fada is mná maithe mná Mumhan* ‘Long have the women of Munster been noblewomen’.

References to quatrains and lines are specified by the number of the poem followed by the quatrain number, followed by the line number.

‘Note’ is used to refer to the textual notes for each poem: i.e. ‘see Note 12b’ should be understood as referring to the textual note about line 12b. of the poem under discussion.

⁴⁹ Mac Cárthaigh, E. (2014), pp. 96–7).

POEM 1

OLC AN CUMTHACH AN CHUMHA

Cearbhall (mac Conchobhair) Ó Dálaigh

INTRODUCTION

This elegy is one of three poems in the Book of Fermoy celebrating Mór inghean Mhathghamhna Uí Bhriain, and inghean Mhóire (RIA 1134 (23/E/29), pp. 125–126). It has been discussed by Damian McManus and §§8–20 have been translated by him.⁵⁰ Before concentrating on this elegy, I wish to refer to the two eulogies dedicated to Mór in the Book of Fermoy.

The eulogies dedicated to Mór are *Ó mnáibh ainmnighthear Éire* ‘Ireland is named after her women’ (BPD Poem 1571) and *Ní fá hinmhe is measta Mór* ‘Not by her wealth should Mór be measured’ (BPD Poem 1518). Many of the quatrains in these poems are illegible due to the damaged condition of the manuscript. For this reason, I am omitting a complete edition of these from this thesis. However, McManus (forthcoming) has given a brief synopsis of the subject matter of both of these eulogies. In addition to this, I will briefly highlight some of the particular *topoi* common in Bardic eulogy that are found in both poems.

The first of these eulogies, *Ó mnáibh ainmnighthear Éire* ‘Ireland is named after her women’ appears on pp. 123–124 of the Book of Fermoy. There are two columns on each page. The poem starts at the top of Column 1 on p. 123. This page is severely damaged, especially on the outer edges on both sides. The poem continues on to p. 124 and it ends

⁵⁰ McManus, D., (forthcoming). Special thanks are due to Damian McManus for allowing me access to this unpublished paper. I am drawing on this paper on several occasions in this edition.

about one third of the way down Column 1. The top left-hand part of this page is especially damaged, thus leaving many lines/quatrains illegible.

The poem is without attribution in the manuscript. However, McManus (forthcoming) suggests that the poem may have been written by one of the Uí Dhálaigh who composed the other poems for Mór. The apologue refers to Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh being invited to stay in Munster by the Uí Bhriain. He states that this invitation was *tús ar suirghe re síol Táil* ‘the beginning of our relationship with the *Síol Táil*, i.e. the *Uí Bhriain* (§26) suggesting that this poet’s surname is also Ó Dálaigh.

Mór’s heritage, generosity and beauty are highlighted throughout the poem. There is evidence in the poem that she is the daughter of Mathghamhain and of Mór (e.g. §32a. *inghean Móire ó Mhoi[gh] Mhumhan* ‘the daughter of Mór from Munster’, §42b. *iarfuidh inghean Mhathghamhna* ‘the daughter of Mathghamhain will ask...’).

The poet explains that Mór is descended from the Uí Bhriain - she has the characteristics of the Uí Bhriain: *nach guais duid toirbhearta ó dTáil / mar chuid oighreachta d’fhagháil* ‘It is no disadvantage to you the gift you have got by way of inheritance from the Uí Bhriain’ (§32).⁵¹

He then says that Mór cannot deny her relationship with Brian Mór mac Cinnéidigh (Brian Bóramha) as her flowing locks of hair is evidence that she is related to him:

Dá séantaí libh lá éigin

gaol Briain Mhóir mheic Ceinnéidigh

gach dlaoi fhiar don fholt tais-se

do Bhrian ort is fhiadhnaise

⁵¹ Translation by McManus, forthcoming.

‘If one day you were to deny, the relationship of Brian Mór mac Ceinnéidigh (Brian Bóromha), every curling tress of that soft hair, are evidence of your relationship to Brian’ (§35).⁵²

Her beauty is emphasised - her hair and her teeth are mentioned (e.g. §39d. *fán gcoinnil fhuilt órdhai-sin* ‘under the flames of golden hair’, §40b. *déad ar dhath na níamhuinne*... ‘teeth the colour of pearls’).

She is compared to Mór Mhumhan (§15c), Meadhbh Chruachan (§16c), and Eimhear (§17c). Unfortunately, the manuscript is particularly damaged at these quatrains. All that can be gleaned is *inghin Aedha* ‘the daughter of Aed’ (§15b), who presumably is Áed Bennán, the father of Mór Mhumhan. Similarly, in §16 ...*Eachach Feidhligh* is visible (§16a). Eochaid Feidhleach was the father of Meadhbh Chruachan. In §17 there is no further information. (see notes on Mór Mhumhan, Meadhbh Chruachan and Eimhear on pp. 12–13).

The second eulogy for Mór *Ní fá hinmhe is measta Mór* ‘Not by her wealth should Mór be measured’ appears on pp. 124–125 of the Book of Fermoy. There are two columns on each page. The poem starts about one third of the way down Column 1 on p. 124 (directly after the first eulogy to Mór). All edges of this page are severely damaged rendering many lines or quatrains illegible. The poem ends towards the bottom of Column 1 on p. 125. Again, the edge of the left-hand side of this page is damaged leaving it impossible to decipher the beginning of words/quatrains.

This eulogy is attributed to Eóghan (mac Conchubhair) Ó Dálaigh (see section on Poet below). Cokayne (1890, p. 328) states that Mór is the daughter of an O’Brien. In §31a

⁵² Translation by McManus, forthcoming

there is reference to her being the daughter of Mathghamhain: *Inghean Mhathghamhna*... ‘The daughter of Mathghamhain...’.

Many themes recurring in Bardic eulogy are also present in this poem. For example, the honorand’s heritage, beauty and generosity are highlighted and, as often with praise poems to females, the woman is compared to famous beauties from bygone days. In this poem all of these themes are present. Some examples include:

Mór’s heritage is referenced throughout the poem. She is a descendant of the Uí Bhriain. In §3 the poet claims that only a woman related to the Uí Bhriain would be as generous as Mór: *Ní thibhreadh acht bean d’Íbh Briain / a dtibhreadh re headh an óil* ‘Only a woman of the Uí Bhriain would give everything that she gives at feasting time.’ Again in §9 the families of the Uí Bhriain are mentioned metaphorically:

*Abhla cubhra clanna Briain
a n-ubhla ní cranna gan chluain
ionmhain craobh don fhiodhbhuidh úir
ionmhuin an úir don taobh thuaidh.*

‘Fragrant apple-trees are the families of Brian, their apples, they are not descendants without beguilement; dear is the branch [i.e. Mór] of the fresh wood, dear is the soil to the northern area.’

Mór’s generosity is to the forefront throughout the poem. In §4a/b the poet claims that generosity to poets is a law for her: *Riar na ndámh is dligeadh dí / riar gach fhileadh dob ál lé* ‘Satisfying the poets is law for her, she would like to satisfy all poets.’

As in the first eulogy, Mór is compared to famous beauties from the past, e.g. Mór Mhumhan, Eimhear and Ailbhe (see pp. 12–13). For example, §8a/b the poet asserts that the fame of Mór Mhumhan is comparable to that of Mór: *Mór Mhumhan is meadh dá clú,*

‘Mór Mhumhan is a measure for her fame’. Again in §18 it is said that Mór has affection for both Mór Mhumhan and for Eimhear: *Báidh re Móir Mumhan ’gon mhnaoi.../...is do mhnáibh an einigh hí / is sí a báidh re hEimhir hé*, ‘The woman has affection for Mór Mhumhan...and for noblewomen of honour, she has affection for Eimhear.’

Mór’s beauty is emphasised. For example, in §34 the poet expresses clearly that Mór surpasses all others in beauty:

*Rogha gach dealbha⁵³ a dealbh nua
an dealbh nach dearnadh a cló
a-tá aghadh gach raith ria
cia dá dtabhar maith is mó?*

‘The best of every beauty her form, a form that was never duplicated, she has the countenance of every grace before her, who is it to whom is given greater good?’

There is a citation in the Irish Grammatical Tracts from the poem *Ní fá hinmhe is measta Mór* (IGT iii, 908).⁵⁴

MANUSCRIPT

The Book of Fermoy RIA 1134 (23 E 29)

Returning to the poem being edited here, this elegy *Olc an cumthach an chumha* is found in the Book of Fermoy. It begins on p. 125 on Column 1. It ends halfway down p. 126 on Column 2. The remainder of this column on p. 126 is blank. The bottom of p. 125 is severely damaged, rendering parts of the text illegible.

A diplomatic edition of the poem has been published in *ABM* (Poem 383). I have compared the diplomatic edition in *ABM* to the manuscript. The transcription in *ABM* is an

⁵³ See Introduction p. 15, footnote 21 for information on *rogha dealbha*.

⁵⁴ See Mac Cárthaigh 2016, 196.

excellent replication of the text of the manuscript. My reading of the manuscript is identical to that of *ABM* except for the following instances:

§4c. In *ABM* the diplomatic text reads *ní codladh é gan adbad*. The *-ad* is clearly marked as an expansion. Damian McManus has suggested that if the contraction in the manuscript is expanded as *-ar* as opposed to *-ad*, giving *adhbhar* ‘cause’ / ‘reason’ there is perfect rhyme between *adhbhar* : *tionnabhradh*. This also gives better sense to the couplet: *ní codladh é gan adhbhar / mé dá dtogradh tionnabhradh* ‘it is not sleep without a reason, if I were to choose to sleep’.

§5c. In this line the diplomatic text in *ABM* reads *in cubad ni fhoil 'na ól*. It may be possible that there is a misinterpretation of the contraction in the manuscript. Damian McManus has suggested expanding *cub-* as *cubhar* ‘foam/froth’. This gives more sense to the couplet: *an cubhar ní fhoil 'na ól / mo dhoigh cumhadh do chlaochlódh* ‘drinking the ale, does not change my dart of pain’. It will also restore perfect rhyme *cubhar* : *cumhadh*. I have found six examples of *cubhar* in the Bardic Poetry Database.⁵⁵ These examples are referring to the bright colour of foam or froth as opposed to actual foam. The example here seems to be the only instance referring to the drinking of foam. Here the poet is using ‘foam’ as a *pars pro toto* ‘a part referring to the whole’.

⁵⁵ *BPD* 158 *Ach a Dhaoil* by Gearóid (Iarla) Mac Gearailt for Diarmaid Mac Carthaigh: *gile ná cubhar a chorp* ‘brighter than foam his body’; *BPD* 287 *Beag mac Big on Beag mac Big*: *gile na cubhar a chneas* ‘brighter than foam his skin’; *BPD* 410 *Ceidtreabh Erend Inis Saimher* by Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe for Gofraidh mac Domhnaill Móir Ó Domhnaill: *'s cubhar bán 'na bholgaibh corra* ‘and white foam in round bubbles’; *BPD* 1173 *Lá da rabha os ráith Luimnigh* by Domhnall MacBruaideadha for Conchobhar mac Donnchaidh Ó Briain: *Cubhar geal a glomruibh srian* ‘Bright foam her bridle-bit’; *BPD* 1240 *Mairg as fhial tar eis Cormaic* by Maolmhuire (Bacach) Mág Craith for Cormac Fionn macDomhnaill MacCarthaigh: *budh cubhar tuinne ar ttraghadh* ‘like the foam of waves on the beach’; *BPD* 1576 *Or na mban baincheann Nimhe/Niamh a gruadh* by Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh: *nó re hoighreadh ar eas nglan / a cneas coimhgheal le cubhar* ‘or ice on a clear waterfall, her skin as bright as foam’.

§25c. *or beirbhe > ón Bheirbhe*: On inspection of the manuscript, it seems that the *r* as suggested in *ABM*, is, in fact, an *-n* - thus reading *on*. This amendment would give meaning to the line and the quatrain: *bean ón Bheirbhe dob eadh hí* ‘she was a woman from Beirbhe’

§36a. In this line [...] *duine do dhul as*, *ABM* has a gap which must have contained two syllables before the word *duine*. However, on examination of the manuscript, the letters *eis* are clearly visible. Therefore, I am supplying *éis* and I am assuming that the lost syllable is *Tar*. There is no other word that could be supplied before *éis* that would make sense. This addition also gives the required seven-syllable line.

FORMAL ELEGY ON WOMEN

This elegy *Olc an cumthach an chumha* ‘Grief is a poor companion’ being edited here is among the official elegies dedicated to individual women that has come down to us. Regarding this genre, one of the responsibilities of an *ollamh* or chief-poet was to compose an elegy on the death of his patron or patroness, their spouses or children (see pp. 4–5 where the duties of the chief-poet are outlined by O’ Sullavane in the Introduction to the *Memoirs of the right-honourable the Marquis of Clanricarde*).⁵⁶ McManus (forthcoming) states: ‘As a genre, the elegy is part of the poet’s repertoire and it is clear that an official template must have existed or developed over the years for it. Breatnach (1997, p. 51) claims that this genre of poetry ‘includes extolment of the traits of the deceased, genealogical placement, reference to the circumstances of death and its consequence for the bereaved, as well as other expressions of mourning.’ Simms (1989, pp. 400–11) has outlined some of the typical or standard themes that recur in this genre of poetry. McManus (forthcoming) has listed the formal elegies for women that survive:

⁵⁶ See also Breatnach (1983), p. 54.

- (i) *Ní heasbhoidh acht crádh croidhe* ‘There is no desolation to compare with the heart’s grief’, for Margaret Butler (Butler poem 4, composed between 1566 and 1576);
- (ii) *A-nois caoinfead-sa Clann Táil* ‘Now I will lament the Clann Táil’, for Áine inghean Bhriain Uí Bhriain, 15th century, by Domhnall Óg Ó Maoil Chonaire (*ABM* poem 40);
- (iii) *Galar bunaidh bás Síle* ‘Síle’s death is a permanent blight’, for Síle inghean Ruaidhrí Uí Sheachnasaigh (†1680) by Conchobhar Cam Ó Dálaigh Cairbreach (*ABM* poem 265);
- (iv) *Gearr ó dob inghill mná Mumhan* ‘’Tis not long since Munsterwomen were worthy of top-rank’, for Siobhán (Siu-án) inghean Chormaic (and Aibhilín) Mheic Carthaigh and wife of Muiris de Róiste (*ABM* poem 271);
- (v) *Meinic laghdaighthear Leath Cuinn* ‘Leath Cuinn has suffered many losses’, for Máire daughter of Riocard, 1623 (*ABM* poem 329);
- (vi) *Ní deireadh leóin do Leith Chuinn* ‘There is no end to the suffering of Leath Cuinn’, for Máire inghean Aodha (mhic Mhaghnuis) Uí Dhomhnaill, wife of Tadhg Ó Ruairc and Dáibhíodh a Búrc by Cú Choigcríche (mac Diarmada) Ó Cléirigh (*ABM* poem 362);
- (vii) *Olc an cumthach an chumha* ‘Grief is a poor companion’, for Mór inghean Mhathghamhna Uí Bhriain by Cearbhall (mac Conchobhair) Ó Dálaigh (*ABM* poem 383);
- (viii) *Leasg linn gabháil go Gearrloch* ‘I am reluctant to travel to Gearrloch’ for Caitear Fhíona/Catherina, daughter of Seónóid (Janet; wife of Domhnall Gorm (mac Giolla Easbaig) Mac Domhnaill, 8th Chief and 1st Baronet of Sleat);
- (ix) *Teasta eochair ghlais Ghaoidheal* ‘Ireland’s deliverance is no more’ (Williams 1980: poem no. 2), celebrating the short life of young Gormlaith—daughter of Domhnall Mór Ó Domhnaill (†1241) and his wife Lasair Fhíona—who died at the age of five.

The typical themes associated with this genre (see Introduction p. 11 for a list of these themes) are present in these elegies and are similar to those found in elegies to men. The *topoi* that are evident in this elegy are discussed under Subject Matter pp. 71–7.

It is noteworthy that there are instances in the poem (§13, §20, §31) where the poet speaks directly to the readers and gives his general opinion on life. In §13 he addresses all of us and asks us to understand that nothing in this world lasts forever. He states that he himself was once young and strong, but now he is suffering from grief and sorrow that will never leave him:

*A lucht 'ga bhfuil neart a-niugh
tuigidh mar théid a dheireadh,
bíodh bhur n-aire ribh a-rís,
ag sin an baile i mbímís.*

‘O people who are strong today let you understand how it goes in the end, look at yourselves again, that is the state in which I used to be.’

In §20 he gives a general comment that death is inevitable for everyone and that there should be no need for lamentation:

*A-tá, is ní tuigthear go bhfuil
ó tháinig tús an domhuin,
éag i ndán dá gach duine,
créad dob ál don eolchuire?*

‘Since the beginning of the world, and this is not understood, death is in store for everyone, why the need for lamentation?’

Again in §31 the poet advises us to protect ourselves from grief because, when one is fettered in grief, there is no escape:

Cóir do chách 'gá chloisdin soin

*a gcoiméad ar an chumhaidh;
mairg gabhar san ghlas cumhadh,
as ní faghar fuasculadh.*

‘It would be right for everyone on hearing that to protect themselves from grief;
woe is he who is captured in the fetters of grief as there is no escaping from it.’

POET

This elegy is attributed to Cearbhall (mac Conchobhair) Ó Dálaigh. O’ Donovan (1852, p. 3) claims that there is ‘certainly no family to which the bardic literature of Ireland is more deeply indebted than that of O’Daly.’

The Uí Dhálaigh were a prolific family of Bardic poets through the ages and there were various branches around Ireland:

- (i) Í Dhálaigh Corc Mo-Ruadh,
- (ii) Í Dhálaigh Fhionna,
- (iii) Í Dhálaigh na Midhe,
- (iv) Í Dhálaigh Bhréifne(acha)
- (v) Í Dhálaigh Cairbre(acha).⁵⁷

Hardiman (1831, p. 376) states: ‘The family of O’Daly has, in former times, been eminently conspicuous in Irish literature, and has furnished more bards and chroniclers of note, than any other tribe in the kingdom, not even excepting those in whose families the profession of literature was hereditary.’

The Uí Dhálaigh are referenced on numerous occasions in different annals. Below is a list of the instances where members of the Ó Dálaigh family are mentioned in:

- (i) Annals of the Four Masters (*AFM*),

⁵⁷ See O’ Donovan (1852), pp. 3–15 for the history of the Uí Dhálaigh.

(ii) Annals of Clonmacnoise (ACL),

(iii) Annals of Ulster (AU),

(iv) Annals of Loch Cé (ALC).

The majority of the annals recorded refer to *ollamh/ollamh ré dán/ard-ollamh le dán/saoi/saoi ré dán*, highlighting O'Daly's (1937, p. 23) contention that indeed 'in times past it must have seemed that the Ó' Dálaigh [sic.] were destined to go on as literary scholars through the ages; so consistently did they maintain their exalted reputation not for generations merely but centuries.' I have written below the instances where *ollamh/ollamh ré dán/ard-ollamh le dán/saoi/saoi ré dán* are recorded:

AFM: s.a. 818.4, s.a. 860.2, s.a. 868.11, s.a. 960.10, s.a. 1011, s.a. 1139.2 - *ard-ollamh lé dán*, s.a. 1161.6 - *ollamh Desmhumhan le dán*, s.a. 1185.5 *ollamh Ereann, & Alban...Saoi oirdherc ar dhán*, s.a. 1213.8 - *do thigh an fhilidh Muiredhaigh L_{es}a an Doill Uí Dálaigh*, 1232.10 - *Giolla na Naomh Ua Dálaigh saoi ré dán*, s.a. 1244.3 - *Donnchadh Mór Ua Dálaigh saoi nár sáraigheadh, & nách saireochar lé dán do écc*, s.a. 1245.7, s.a. 1268.6 - *Aongus Ua Dálaigh Saoi fhir dána*, s.a. 1274.5 - *Tadhg mac Cearbhaill Buidhe Uí Dálaigh ollamh Aodha Uí Concobhair lé dán d'ég*, s.a. 1311.11 - ...*Giolla Íosu Ó Dálaigh ollamh le dán d'écc*, s.a. 1323.11, s.a. 1323.12, s.a. 1337.1, s.a. 1350.10 - *Aonghus Ruadh Ua Dálaigh saoi Ereann i n-dán*, s.a. 1377.4, s.a. 1378.7, s.a. 1387.4 - *Goffraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh ard-ollamh Ereann le dán...do écc*, s.a. 1404.9 - *Cearball Ó Dálaigh ollamh Corco Modruadh, Domhnall mac Donnchadha Uí Dhálaigh da n-goirthi Bolg an Dana...d'ég*, s.a. 1408.12, s.a. 1415.2, s.a. 1420.13 - & *Fergal Ó Dálaigh ollamh Corco Modruadh i n-dán do écc*, s.a. 1438.19 - *O Dálaigh Bréifne, .i. Aédh ollamh Uí Raighilligh le dán*, s.a. 1448.13 - *Diarmait mac Eoghain mic Mathgamhna Uí Dálaigh ollamh fear Midhe uile saoi fhoghlaingtigh & fhir dhana d'écc*, s.a. 1459.14 - *Muircertach Ua Dálaigh saoi lé dán d'écc*, s.a. 1466.11, s.a. 1474.23, s.a. 1490.15 - *Ua Dálaigh Breifne, Sean mac Uilliam mic*

Aodha saoi lé dán, s.a. 1493.18, s.a. 1496.19, s.a. 1507.19 - *O Dálaigh Fionn Gofraidh*, *O Dálaigh Cairpreach Aengus (.i. mac Aengusa Caoích)*, s.a. 1514.14 - *O Dálaigh Corcu M' Ruadh Tadhg mac Donnchaidh, mic Taidhcc, mic Cerbhaill, oide lé dán*, s.a. 1589.11.

ACL: s.a. 868, s.a. 1131 - Cowchonnought o'Daly of Meath, cheefe and arch-poet of Ireland, died, s.a. 1136 - o'Daly arch poet of all Ireland, s.a. 1226, s.a. 1236 - Geffery o'Dalie an excellent poet died in pilgrimadge in Sruhir, s.a. 1244 - Donogh More o'Daily chief of Ireland for poetry died, s.a. 1268 - ... Enos o'Dalye arch-poet of Ireland died, s.a. 1274 - Teige mKeruell [Carroll] Boy o'Daly chefe poet of Hugh O'Connor for poetry died, s.a. 1311 - Moyle Issa o'Daly, a wonderfull good housekeeper [keeper of a house of hospitality] and an excellent poet, died, s.a. 1337, s.a. 1350 - ...Enos o'Daly the best learned in Ireland in Irish poetry, died, s.a. 1404 - Keruell [Carroll] o'Daly chief composer of Ireland, dane [poet] of the Contry of Corcomroe, died.

AU: s.a. 820.1, s.a. 863.3, s.a. 868.3, s.a. 870.3, s.a. 906.2, s.a. 963.2, s.a. 999.6, s.a. 1011.8, s.a. 1246.4 - *Cerball Buidhe O Dalaigh quieuit in Christo*, s.a. 1271.8 - *Tadhg h-Ua Dalaigh (idon, mac Cerbhail Buidhe), (d'ar n-doigh), sai maith re dan, quieuit in Christo*, s.a. 1347.6 - *Aengus Ruadh h-Ua Dalaigh (idon, mac Donnchadha mic Aengusa mic Donnchadha Moir), sai gan uiresbaidh, mortuus est*, s.a. 1372.4, s.a. 1387.5 - *Goffraigh Find h-Ua Dalaigh, .i. ollam Erenn re dán, d'eg in bliadhain-si*, s.a. 1405.2 - *Cerball h-Ua Dalaigh, .i. ollam Corco Mruadh, d'eg*, s.a.1415.1 - *Saxanaigh do thecht a n-Erinn in bliadhain-si, .i. Loard Furnumal. & do airg se moran d'aes dana Erenn, .i. h-Ua Dalaigh Mídhe & Aedh Og Mac Raith & Dubthach Mac Eochadha & Muirgis h-Ua Dalaigh*, s.a. 1438.5 - *h-Ua Dalaigh Breifne (.i. Aedh) do eg in bliadhain-si: idon, ollam h-Ui Raighilligh re dan*, 1471.14, s.a. 1490.24 - *h-Ua Dalaigh Brefne (.i. Seaan, mac Uilliam, mic Aedha) do ebhailt, sai h-i m-bairdne, caicthiges ria Samain in t-sainreth*, s.a. 1493.9, s.a. 1496.6

s.a. 1507.9 - & h-Ua Dalaigh Fínn, .i. Gaffraigh & h-Ua Dalaigh Cairbrech, .i. Aonghus...*hii omnes poete hoc anno in Christo dormierunt.*

ALC: s.a. 1181.4 - *Tadhg O Dálaigh, ollam Erenn & Alpan, in Cristo quieuit, s.a. 1185.5 - Mael Isa O Dalaigh, ollam Erenn & Alban, & ard dux Corca Raoidhe, & aon rogha Erenn ar rath, ar dheilbh, & ar maith, do ég a g-Cluáin Iraid agá ailitri, s.a. 1218.2 - In Fer Dána .H. Máil Ríoc, sói a dhána fein o h-Ib Dalaigh síos, mortuus est, s.a. 1232.2 - Gilla na Naom .H. Dálaigh, sói n-dána...do ég in hoc anno, s.a. 1244.6 - Donnchad mór .H. Dálaigh, .i. sói nár sáraiged, & nach sairéchar choidhche re dán, do héc, & a adhlucad a mainistir na Búille, s.a. 1245.8, s.a. 1268.17 - Aonghus .H. Dálaigh, .i. sói ndána, s.a. 1274.7 - Tadhg mac Cerbhaill bhuidhe h-I Dhaluigh, ollam Aodha h-I Conchobair re dán, do ég in hoc anno, s.a. 1311.6 - Máilísa .H. Dálaigh, sói ndána & nenigh, do h-éc in hoc anno, s.a. 1337.12, s.a. 1350.10 - Aengus Ruadh .H. Dalaigh, sai Erend re dán, quieuit, s.a. 1401.26, s.a. 1404.19 - Cerbhall Ua Dalaigh, ollamh dana Corcumdruadh, quieuit, s.a.1404.22 - Domhnall mac Dondchaidh .H. Dalaigh, .i. bolg an dána, mortuus est, s.a. 1507.6 - O Dálaigh Finn, .i. Goffraid, dh'éc, s.a. 1507.7, s.a. 1582.13, s.a. 1589.1, s.a. 1612.1.*

McManus (2015, footnote 34) asserts that this elegy is distinctly the work of a chief poet. It is evident in the poem that this poet enjoyed a special relationship, by contract, with his patroness, Mór. This is evident in §17:

An cunnradh do-rinnis ruinn

i ló ceangail ar gcomuinn,

ósa sgaradh dhuid is damh

falamh mo chuid don chunnradh

‘The contract that you made with me on the day that joined our partnership, since it has separated you and me empty is my part of the contract.’

Hoyne (2019, p. 51) claims that this poet, Cearbhall (mac Conchobhair) Ó Dálaigh, may be the brother of Eóghan (mac Conchobhair) who composed the eulogy *Ní fá himhe is measta Mór* ‘Not by her wealth should Mór be measured’ to Mór. He also states that these two poets, Eóghan and Cearbhall, may be the sons of Conchobhar Ó Dálaigh Corc Mo-Ruadh.

PATRON

This elegy was written for Mór⁵⁸ (§8c, §34c, §36d, §39d), the daughter of *Mathghamhain* (§11b, §44b), and the daughter of *Mór* (§15b, §32b). She was the wife of Maurice Roche, 2nd Viscount Fermoy (see notes on Maurice Roche, The Roche Family p. 29). The poem states that she was descended from the race of *Sadhbh* (§11a), the daughter of Conn Céadchathach and, in her second marriage, the wife of Oilill Olum. In (32c) the poet states that she was a descendant of *Tál*. *Tál Cas* (or *Cas*) was the eponymous ancestor and founder of the Dál gCais from whom all branches of the Dalcassian dynasty claim common descent. According to O’Hart (1892, p. 155), *Tál Cas* was the son of Conall Eachluath and he had twelve sons. *An Leabhar Muimhneach* (Ó Donnchadha 1900, p. 294) states that he had thirteen sons and that he was given the name *Tál* ‘adze’ since he was the foster-son of a wright.

SUBJECT MATTER

⁵⁸ *ABM* (p. xxii) erroneously states that the subject of this elegy is *Mór Mhumhan*.

The opening quatrains of this elegy (§1–3) are mostly illegible due to damage to the manuscript. Therefore, it is impossible to know the precise subject matter of these verses. However, the remainder of the poem, for the most part, is perfectly legible and we have an elegy with distinctive turns of phrase and an insight into the esteem in which this patroness was held.

In this elegy we see, among others, themes such as the poet's unwavering grief, including the inability to sleep, wishing he were dead, the community in the depths of sorrow and the poet grieving at his patron's graveside.

The main theme throughout the poem is that of the poet being grief-stricken on hearing of the death of his benefactress. Sleep at night eludes him (§4, §33). Nothing can change the desolation and dejection that he feels. He even claims that drinking or feasting does not give him relief from this everlasting grief: *an cubhar ní fhoil 'na ól / mo dhoigh cumhadh do chlaochlódh*, 'drinking the ale does not change my dart of pain' (§5).

The poet highlights his grief through the use of a metaphor of partaking in drinking and frequenting an ale-house. The day he learned of the death of his patroness was his first taste of grief for Mór: *An lá tháinig a tásc soin, dob é ar gcéiddeoch dá cumhaidh*, 'The day that the tidings of her death came, that was my first drink of grieving for her' (§19a/b).

Now he says, since the death of Mór, that he often frequents the ale-house – he is permanently in a state of sorrow: *sinn san teagh óil ní hannamh / an fhleadh bhróin do bhearnamar*, 'it is not seldom that I go into the ale-house, I have diminished the feast of sorrow' (§19c/d). Despite making it clear that alcohol does not help his grief, he uses the ale-house and the feast of sorrow as a metaphor for his constant grief.

The poet realises that grief is the way of life now since Mór is deceased. He also realises that it would be pointless for him to try to conceal his grief as people would not believe that he was free from sorrow after the death of Mór (§§6–7). He declares that he

now has nothing only punishment because of the esteem in which he was held when *Mór* lived (§32) and he admits that he is no better off being alive after the death because his grief will be eternal (§34) *biaidh ar mbróin-ne ar beathaghadh*, ‘my grief will be kept going.’ There is no way to escape his devastation: *dá bhfaghainn bearna ar an mbrón / meanma ní fhaghaim dh’iompódh*, ‘even if I were to find a gap in the grief, I cannot find a change of spirits’ (§41).

Eventually, the poet realises that the joy of being held in high esteem by a patron or, in this case a patroness, is not everlasting and only leads to regret and sadness. He compares this esteem to a fallow field that eventually produces a harvest of sadness:

*Bheith fá mhoirn gidh maith le neach
gearr dá éis guma haithreach
nó go dtí ’na tharadh bróin
a branar is hí an anóir*

‘Though a person enjoys being held in esteem, it is not long after that he regrets it; esteem is a fallow field, until it becomes the fruit of sadness.’ (§43).

There is a similar sentiment of regret portrayed by Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn on the death of his patron Tadhg mac Cathail mheic Chathail Ó Conchobhair (d. 1403).⁵⁹ Like the poet in this elegy, Ó hUiginn addresses his patron directly, telling him that by his death he has turned his joy to sadness. He adds that the happiness he felt as his patron has now turned to regret:

*Tugais doimheanma ’n-a díol
mo mhoirn ó mhac an airdríogh,
a bhfuair mé d’aoibhneas ón fhior
sé dá dhaoirmheas fa dheireadh*

⁵⁹ BPD 1430 *Mór mo chuid do chumhaidh Taidhg*.

‘A sorrow, o prince, hast thou inflicted on me, equal to all the joy I ever got from thee; all the happiness I got from him, (by dying) has made it appear regrettable’ (Translation by Simms 1989, p. 404).

Another theme common in elegiac verse is that of the whole country being grief-stricken on hearing of the death of a patron or patroness. With regard to *Mór* it is not only the people of Munster and the people of Meath (§8) who are grieving, but the people of Ireland (§11) are devastated by the loss of *Mór*. The poets are particularly devastated. In *Caoille an Druadh*, the visiting poets referred to as *deoraidh* have left the area as they know that the generosity of *Mór* is now at an end because of her death (§40). Many poets who were held in high esteem are now grieving and as the poet says these poets are *gan aire ar chuirm ná ar chomhól*, ‘have no care for drinking or for feasting’ (§44).

The poet further emphasises how the country is in a state of grief through the inclusion of an apologue (§§21–29) relating the story of the people of Ireland in mourning when *Úna*, the wife of *Féilim Reachtmhar* died (see notes of apologues p. 6). *Féilim Reachtmhar* was the son of *Tuathal Teachtmhar* (§22). When *Féilim* assumed the high-kingship of Ireland he sought a partner from the high-king of *Lochlann*. *Féilim* spent a year wooing *Úna*, the daughter of the high-king. When she finally arrived in Ireland everyone fell in love with her. *Úna*, this beauty from *Beirbhe*, the city of *Bergen* in Norway⁶⁰ bore a son by the name of *Conn Céadchathach*. When *Úna* died the entire country was thrown into the depths of sorrow. There followed a year of mourning where grief prevailed and the country ceased partaking in festivities or merry-making: *gan ghníomh eachraidhe i nUisneach*, ‘without exercising of horses in *Uisneach*’ (§27d).

⁶⁰ In Ó Riain, Ó Murchadha and Murray (2005, 141), *an Beirbhe* is Norway. This is not to be confused with the River Barrow *Beirbhe/Bhearbha*.

I have found 3 examples of *Beirbhe* in Bardic Poetry Database: *Comhla ratha rún Fearghail* (BPD 515), *Éasga an oinigh fán aird toir* (BPD 830), *Gaois Ailbhe i n-inghin Domhnaill* (BPD 1038).

The period of mourning was extended to the second year where the people did not frequent the ale-house or participate in pastimes: *gan ól gan imeirt fhidhcheall*, ‘without drinking, without playing chess’ (§28b) and yet again to the third year where so much grieving was never before experienced: *ní fríoth acu dh’eolchoire / bliadhain do-bhéaradh a geall*, ‘they never had a year that would take its prize for lamentation’ (§29b/c).

Another theme that is evident in the poem is that of nature being in total chaos when the rightful king, or in this instance the rightful queen, is deceased.⁶¹ During the reign of a rightful king or queen, there should be concord and harmony in nature. However, in §12 the poet asserts that when *Mór* was in power nature was bountiful and there was an abundance both on land and in the sea. But now, the forest is not blossoming and the bounty of the sea has disappeared (see Introduction p. 14).

From §§15–18 there is the theme of the poet visiting the grave of his patroness.⁶² This is interesting and noteworthy as here the poet reveals his emotions as he speaks to her grave. He tells of his dejection and depression since her death (see Introduction pp. 11–12). He states that *Mór*’s burial site is more noble because of the fact that she has been laid to rest there (§15). He vows that he will never again enter into a relationship with another patroness. The grief of losing her is unbearable and he would not wish to suffer this grief again (§16). He is now bereft since the contract between himself and *Mór* has come to an end through her death. He claims that if he were granted a wish the only thing he would wish for is that he be as he was before she died: *mhé do bheith mar do bhímís*, ‘that I be as I used to be’ (§18).

A recurring theme that forms part of this elegy is that of the insight into the reputation, nobility and beauty of the patroness being lamented. *Mór*’s name was such that

⁶¹ For a discussion on rightful kingship, see McManus 2006, pp. 61–117.

⁶² For a discussion of this theme in formal elegy, see Simms 1989, 400–411.

any woman would be happy to be renowned as she was after her death (§36). She is compared to the noble beauties of history. In this elegy the poet chooses Eimhear (§37) and Mór Mhumhan (§38) to represent all the great women of Ireland (see pp. 12–13). Eimhear, being the heroine in the Ulster sagas, represents the north of the country and Mór Mhumhan represents the south. When the poet refers to Mór Mhumhan, he invariably writes Mór Mhumhan in order to distinguish her from Mór, his patroness. (In the two eulogies also dedicated to Mór the poet refers to his patroness as Mór, again distinguishing her from Mór Mhumhan of bygone days). Eventually he claims that many noble women who have died could not be compared to Mór: *mór do-chóidh do mhnáibh maithe / láimh re Móir nach measfaihte*, ‘many noble women who died could not be compared to Mór’ (§39).

In §40 the poet asserts that after the death of Mór, his patroness, the visiting poets moved on from *Caoille an Druadh* and only the local poets remained: *níor an díbh acht a ndíleas*, ‘none stayed of them except the natives/locals’ (40d).

The poet is so distraught with the death of Mór that there is a wall of grief surrounding him: *A-tá a timchoill mo chumhadh / fál nach éidir dh’osculadh*, ‘There is surrounding my grief, a fence that cannot be opened’ (§41a/b). He will be forever heart-broken because even if he finds a gap in this wall of grief, it would be of no benefit as his spirits will never be uplifted again.

People advise the poet to avoid the places where good memories of Mór are invoked. Here he personifies the province of Munster. He addresses the province directly saying that grief is now ever-present when he is in Munster: *a Mhumha na magh solos / gar cumha dod chumthanas*, ‘o Munster of the bountiful plains, grief is close in your companionship’ (§42c/d).

The poem ends with the poet relating that many poets are now saddened with the death of Mór and they have no desire for drinking or revelry: *iomdha ’ga raibhe muirn*

mhór / gan aire ar chuir ná ar chomhól, ‘many with whom there was great affection (i.e. other poets), have no care for drinking or for feasting’ (§1.44c/d).

METRE

This poem is composed in *Deibhidhe*, and it fulfils the requirements for *Dán Díreach* (see pp. 18–21). *Deibhidhe* was the most common of metres in use in the Classical Irish period.

In the manuscript the left margin and the bottom of the page (p. 125) are particularly damaged and some lines are illegible or partly illegible (§1b, 1d, §2a, 2c, 2d, §3a, 3b, §5b, §12b, §13b, §14b, §15d, §18d, §20d, §21d, §22c, §22d, §24a, §32c, §35a, §35c, §35d, §36a, §36c, §36d, §37a, 37c, 37d, §38d, §44d).

There are instances of *caoiche*⁶³ ‘rhyme of a word with itself’ in 1.30c/d, and 1.35c/d: *gidh sia ar léin-ne ioná a léan soin / ar léan re chéile is cosmhail* ‘though my sorrow is longer than their sorrow, our grief together is the same’; *mé ag comhrádh gan é ar m’aire / gobhlán é don eolchaire* ‘I am talking without focus, it is a symptom of the grieving.’

The elegy closes with *dúnadh* ‘closure’ echoing the opening of the poem (*Olc an cumthach an chuma / gan aire ar chuir ná ar chomhól*). It is evident from this particular *dúnadh* that vowels need not be the same length.⁶⁴

⁶³ See Ní Dhomhnaill, 1975, 63, §108 and IGT v §8 (*Caic[h]e, a mail ata / Cidh imo cenneoghaind carr / o nach cenneoghaind capall / cenneoghaind fa dho and sin, 7 o nach comardudh eli ata and is eadh do-bher go caech*).

⁶⁴ For discussion on closure in Bardic poetry see Ní Dhomhnaill, (1981), pp. 47–61.

An interesting feature in this poem is the use of an echo between opening and closing couplets in possibly 30 out of 44 quatrains.⁶⁵ McManus (2000, 74–5) states that this phenomenon very often involves ‘a parallelism or an antithesis’ between the opening and closing couplets of poems. In this poem we see:

(a) the same word or related words are used in the first and second couplets: (e.g. §1. *an cumthach / a chumthach, an chumha / a cumha*; §4. *Níor chodlus / ní codladh*; §5. *dh’ól / ól*; §9. *san chumhoidh / carthain na cumhadh*; §12. *rug / rug*; §15. *uaigh / uaigh-se*; §17. *An cunnradh / don chunnradh*; §18. *Mo bhreath / i mbreith*; §21. *in Éirinn / d’Éirinn*; §23. *Féilim / d’Fhéilim*; §29. *bliadhain / bliadhain*; §31. *ar an chumhaidh / san ghlas cumhadh*; §35. *mo chomhrádh / ag comhrádh*; §38. *Ní bhéar breith / ní bhéar bhreith, Móire Mumhan / Móir Mumhan*.

(b) echoing synonyms are used in the first and second couplets: (e.g. §5. *aithríghfeadh / chlaochlódh*; §11. *éag inghine Mathghamhna / an bhean-soin*; §14. *a bhantracht / mná*; §22. *inghin / nuachair*; §25. *Máthair Chuinn / bean ón Beirbhe*; §43. *mhoirn / anóir*.

(c) related words are used in first and second couplets (e.g. §8. *ibhid / ag ól*; §16. *choidche / a-rís*; §26. *Teasda / éag*; §30. *an chumhai-sin / ar léin-ne*; §33. *mh’atoirrse / ar dtoirseaghadh*).

(d) similar sentiments are evident in first and second couplets: (e.g. §8: *An deoch urchra : ag ól na dighe dobróin*; §19. *ar gcéiddeoch / an fhleadh bhróin*; §21. *Cumha / eolchoire*; §27. *cumhaidh / neamhchroidhe*).

There are examples of antithesis in §7. *mo chumhadh / gan chrádh*; §17. *ceangail / sgaradh*; §40. *a dheoraidh / a ndíleas*; §42. *fál / bearna*.

⁶⁵ For information on parallelism/antithesis see McManus (2020), pp. 167–222 and McManus, 2005, 161–163.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. [Olc an c]umthach an chumha
da n-éc [.....]badha
mairg do-chi a cuma isin cruth
[.....] a chumtac.

Olc an cumthach an chumha
dá n-é**ag** [.....]badha
mairg do-chí a cum**h**a isin ch**r**uth
[.....] a chum**th**ach.

Grief is a poor companion

...

Woe is he/she who sees his/her grief in the form...

...

2. [.....] a shuim.
le raibhi dh'aeibnes [againn?]
[.....] a-niugh
mhé [.....].

[.....**e**] a shuim.
le raibhe dh'aoibhneas **againn**
[.....] a-niugh
mhé [.....].

... in short.

with all the delight that we had

...today

me...

3. [.....]

[.....] hingheine

do cumhaid na mná nac mair

ní cumhain o a-ta a talmhain.

[.....]

[.....] hingheine

do **chumhaidh** na mná nach mair

ní cumhain **ó** a-tá **i dtalmhain**.

...

...of the daughter

because of grief for the woman who does not live

I do not remember since she is deceased (in the ground).

4. Nir chodlus o do-chuaidh sin

fiu enoidchi dom aimsir

ní codlad é gan adbad

mé da tograd tindabradh.

Níor chodlus **ó** do-chuaidh sin

fiú **éanoidhche** dom aimsir;

ní codladh é gan adhbhar

mé dá dtogradh tionnabhradh.

I have not slept since she died

even a single night of my time;

it is not sleep without a reason

if I were to choose to doze off.

5. Ní thic dh'aeibnes ná dh'ól fhled
ní fan aithri[ghfeadh m]aigned
in cubad ní fhoil 'na ól
mu dhoigh cumadadh do claochlógh.

Ní thig dh'aoibhneas ná dh'ól fhleadh
ní fán aithrighfeadh m'aigneadh;
an cubhar ní fhoil 'na ól
mo dhoigh cumhadh do **ch**laochlódh.

There does not come from entertainment or from partaking in feasting
anything that would change my spirits;
there is nothing in the drinking of the ale
to change my dart of pain.

6. Is e inntlecht is fherr air
gan a bheith orm 'na fhiachaibh
o tharla in bron ramor rum
a shódh 'sa anshodh d'fulung.

Is é inntleacht is **fhearr** air,
gan a bheith orm 'na fhiachaibh
ó tharla **an** brón ramhór rum
a shódh 'sa anshódh d'**fh**ulung.

The best way of dealing with this,
without it preying on my mind
since this great grief happened to me
is to endure its pleasure and its grief.

7. Tuicim feín nac ferdi dhamh
tairgsin do cheilt mu chumhad
da mbeinn slán is se a deread
mé gan cradh ní creidfider.

Tuigim féin nach feirde dhamh
tairgsin do cheilt mo chumhadh;
dá mbeinn slán – is sé a deireadh –
mé gan chrádh ní chreidfídear.

I understand that it is not better for me
to try to hide my grief;
if I were free of grief – this is the crux of the story –
my being sorrow-free will not be believed.

8. In deoch urcra ibhit sin
cidh fa maeidhfidis Muimnigh
a-ta slogh Midhi tre Mhoir
ag ól na dighi dobroin.

An deoch urchra ibhid sin,
ciodh fa maoidhfidis Muimhnigh?
A-tá slógh Midhe tré Mhóir
ag ól na dighe dobróin.

The drink of grief that they drink,
why would the Munstermen boast of it?
The host of Meath through (because of) Mór
are drinking the drink of sorrow.

9. Do ghabhus ni gerr o shoin
ait chomnaide san chumhoidh
ni bi acht carthain na cumhad
ni as nac faghthair fuasculad.

Do ghabhus, ní gearr ó shoin,
áit chomhnaidhe san chumhoidh;
ní bhí, acht carthain na cumhadh,
ní as nach faghthair fuasguladh.

I took, not long ago,
a place of residence in grief;
there is nothing, except for the love of sorrow,
from which relief cannot be found.

10. Gid eadh dh'aimsir is é a shuim
do scar me rem mnai comuinn
o shoin a-ta 'ga thomhus
la ni fhoil am amhorus.

Gidh eadh dh'aimsir, is é a shuim
do scar mé rem mhnaoi gcomuinn,
ó shoin a-tá 'gá thomhus
lá ní fhoil im amhorus.

In short, whatever length of time
separates me from my female partner,
since then I have been considering [that]
there is not a day when I am not in disbelief.

11. Tosac leoin do shil Shadhba
eg inghine Mathghamhna
ni hí in ben-soin bhudh brigh linn
do-cim a hesbaid d'Eirinn.

Tosach leóin do shíol Shadhbha
éag inghine Mathghamhna;
ní hí an bhean-soin bhudh brígh linn,
do-chím a heasbhaidh d'Éirinn.

The sorrow began for the race of Sadhbh
with the death of the daughter of Mathghamhain;
I would not have thought that woman capable of it,
I see the effects of her loss for Ireland.

12. Blath na fighbaidhi fuair cor
mar rug torad na tal[mhan]
rug le on mhuir a maeine
in te ar ar chuir commaeine.

Bláth na fiodhbhaidhe fuair cor
mar rug toradh na talmhan;
rug lé ón mhuir a maoine,
an té ar ar chuir comaoine.

The blossoms of the forest have been shaken
because she took the fruits of the land;
she took with her the bounty of the sea,
she whom it (the sea) obliged.

13. A lucht 'ga fuil neart a-niugh
tuicidh mar teit a dheir[eadh]
bidh bur n-airi ribh a-rís
ag sin an baili a mbimís.

A lucht 'ga **bh**fuil neart a-niugh,
tuigidh mar **théid** a dheireadh;
bíodh **bhur** n-aire ribh a-rís,
ag sin an baile i mbímís.

O people who are strong today,
let you understand how it goes in the end;
look at yourselves again,
that is the state in which I used to be.

14. Fada o nac facaid misi
a bhanntracht san bh[aile]i-si
caidit na mna o nac mair
nó in mairit o a-ta a talmhain.

Fada **ó** nach facaid**h** mise
a bhantracht san bhailei-se;
caid**hid** na mná **ó** nach mair,
nó **an** mairid **ó** a-tá i dtalmhain?

It is a long time since I have seen
its woman-folk in this place;
where are the women since she has died,
or do they live on since she has been buried?

15. Is e comradh do chan me

ar uaidh inghine Moire

as uaid is uaisli in t-inad (?)

[an u]aigh-si uaibh d'ainmni[u]ghad.

Is **é** comhrádh do chan **mé**

ar uaigh inghine **Móire**:

‘is uaidh is uaisle **an** t-ionadh

an uaigh-se uaibh d’ainmnioghadh.’

This is the conversation that I uttered

at the graveside of the the daughter of Mór:

‘this place is the more noble

because your name is on this grave.’

16. Fiu na hanora fhuair me

ni ghebaind chugumu coid[che]

do scís bur scarthana rind

banchara a-ris da roichind.

Fiú na hanóra fhuair mé,

ní ghéabhainn chugum **choidhche**

do **sgís bhur** sgarthana rinn

banchara a-rís dá roichinn.

Such was the respect that I received [from you],

I would never again take to myself

a female companion (i.e. patroness)

because of the grief of your separating from me.

17. In cundrad do-rindis ruind
a ló cengail ar comuinn
osa scaradh dhuid is dam
falam mu chuid don cunnrad.

An cunnradh do-rinnis ruinn
i ló **che**angail ar **g**comuinn;
ósa sgaradh dhuid is **da**mh,
falam**h** mo chuid don **chun**nrad**h**.

The contract that you made with me
on the day that joined our partnership;
since it has separated you and me,
empty is my part of the contract.

18. Mu bret fein mar bhudh loinn lem
agam ar fhearuibh Eireann
gabhuim a mbreith da mbe a-rís
mhe do beilth mar do bimis.

Mo **b**hreath féin mar bhudh loinn leam
agam ar fhearuibh Éireann,
gabhuim **i** mbreith, **dá** mbé a-rís
mhé do **b**heith mar do **b**hímís.

If I had the choice of anything I desired
from all the men of Ireland,
my choice, if it were to be again
would be that I be as I used to be.

19. In lá thainic a tasc sin
dob é ar ceiddeoch dá cumhaid
sinn san tegh oil ní hannamh
in fhled broin do bernamar.

An lá tháinig a tásc soin,
dob é ar gcéiddeoch dá cumhaidh;
sinn san teagh óil ní hannamh;
an fhleadh bhróin do bhearnamar.

The day that the tidings of her death came,
that was my first drink of grieving for her;
it is not seldom that I go into the ale-house;
I have put a gap in the feast of sorrow.

20. A-ta is ní tuictear gu fuil
o thainic tús in domhuin
ég a ndan da gac duine
cred dob ál don eolchu[ire].

A-tá, is ní tuigtear go bhfuil
– ó tháinig tús an domhuin –
éag i ndán dá gach duine;
créad dob ál don eolchuire?

Since the beginning of the world
– and this is not understood –
death is in store for everyone;
why the need for lamentation?

21. Cumha eli a haithgin sin
tarla a nEirinn fa ingin
ag Felim Rechtmur roime
clechtadh d'Eirinn eolcoir[e].

Cumha **eile** a haithg**hin** sin
tarla **in** Éirinn fá ing**hin**;
ag Féilim Reacht**m**hur roim**he**;
cleachtadh d'Éirinn eol**choire**.

Another sorrow similar to that
happened in Ireland regarding a woman;
it happened to Féilim Reachtmhar in the past;
Ireland is practised in lamentation.

22. D'eis a athar dob e a am
o inghin airdrigh Lochlann
[...]oigin nuacair a-noir
go hoighir T[uathail Teachtmhuir?].

D'éis a athar dob **é** a am:
aoininghin airdr**í**ogh Lochlann
do shoighin nuach**air** a-noir
go hoighir **Tuathail Teachtmhuir**.

It was after his father's death this happened:
the only daughter of the highking of Lochlainn
[came] to the heir of Tuathal Teachtmhar
as a result of a quest to seek a bride in the east.

23. Teit Feilim Rechtmar reime [126]

le haithesc na hingeine

a hEirinn da hiarraidid soin

bliadhuin d'Feilim 'ga hiarraidid.

Téid Féilim Reachtmhar reimhe

le haitheasc na hingheine

a hÉirinn dá hiarraidh soin;

bliadhuin d'Fhéilim 'ga hiarraidh.

Féilim Reachtmhar sets out

with the information regarding the daughter

from Ireland to woo her;

Féilim was a year wooing her.

24. Ga dtu ach[t] n[ar?] tarla ara cinn

ar techt a n-iathaib Eirenn

'nar lin grádh Úna uile

lan sula na sochaide.

Gá dtú acht **mar** tharla ara **g**cionn

iar **d**teacht **i** n-iathaib **h** Éireann,

nár líon grádh Úna uile,

lán **sú**la na sochaid**he**.

In short when she appeared in front of them

after arriving in the lands of Ireland,

didn't love for Úna fill everyone,

a delightful sight for the hosts.

25. Mathair Chuinn na ciabh scathach
re raidhti Cond Cedchathach
ben or beirbhi dob eadh hi
in ben darbh eighri in t-airdri.

Máthair Chuinn na **gc**íabh scathach
– re ráidhte Conn Céad**ch**athach –
bean **ón** Bheirbhe dob eadh **hí**,
an bhean **dár**bh eighre **an** t-airdrí.

The mother of Conn of the beautiful hair
– who was called Conn Céadchathach –
she was a woman from Bergen,
the woman whose son was the high-king.

26. Teasda Una is é a dereadh
tearc aeibhneas nar hísleigheadh
gan trath eicin ag an ecc
ní heidir cach do choimhett.

Teasda **Ú**na is é a **dhe**ireadh,
tearc **ao**ibhneas **nár** hísleigheadh;
gan tráth **éig**in ag an **éag**
ní héidir **cách** do choim**héad**.

In the end Úna died,
seldom is there happiness that did not come to an end;
it is not possible to keep anyone
without death claiming them eventually.

27. Fir Eirenn dob í a riaghail
dá cumhaidh an ceidhbliadain
do lín neamhcroidhi gac nech
gan gnímh echraide a nUisneac.

Fir Éireann, dob í a riaghail
dá cumhaidh an chéidbhliadhain
do líon neamhcroidhe gach neach
gan ghníomh eachraidhe i nUisneach.

For the men of Ireland, it was their custom
that because of grieving her for the first year
there should be no horse-racing in Uisneach;
sorrow filled every being.

28. Do badar nír beg in geall
gan ol gan imeirt fhicheall
mó iná in riaghail reme sin
bliadain eli da n-aimsir.

Do bhádar – níor bheag an geall –
gan ól gan imeirt fhidhcheall
mó ioná an riaghail reimhe sin
bliadhain eile dá n-aimsir.

They were an extra year of their time
without drinking or playing chess,
it was more than the usual practice before that
– and it wasn't easy.

29. Do badar bliagain oili
ni fríth acu dh'eolcoire
bliagain do-bherad a geall
gan denamh fiagaig Eirenn.

29. Do **bhá**dar bliadhain oile
ní fríoth acu dh'eol**cho**ire;
bliadhain do-bh**é**aradh a geall
gan **dé**anamh **fhiad**haigh **É**ireann.

They were yet another year
without hunting throughout Ireland;
they never had a year that would surpass it
for grieving.

30. Ni roibi acht trí bliadna a-bhain
an chuma-sin ar connmhail
gidh sia ar léin-ne ina a len soin
ar len re cheli as cosmail.

Ní roib**he** acht trí bliadhna a-bháin
an chum**ha**-sin ar connmháil;
gidh sia ar léin-ne **ioná** a **léan** soin,
ar **léan** re **chéile** **is** cosm**hail**.

That mourning was only maintained
for three years;
though my sorrow is longer than their sorrow,
our grief together is the same.

31. Coir do chach 'gá cloisdin soin
a coimed arin cumhaid
mairg gabhar san glas cumhad
as ni fagar fuasculadh.

Cóir do chách 'gá **ch**loisdin soin
a gcoimead **a**r **a**n chumhaidh;
mairg gabhar san **gh**las cumhadh
as **n**í faghar fuasculadh.

It would be right for everyone on hearing that
to protect themselves from grief;
woe is he who is captured in the fetters of grief
as there is no escaping from it.

32. Fuarus is as meisdi mhe
ar n-éc inghine Moire
moirn o righain do [fh]reimh Thail
*do dhighail fein a faghail.

Fuarus is **is** meisde mhé
ar n-**é**ag inghine Móire
moirn ó **r**íoghain do **fh**réimh Tháil
mo dhíoghail féin a fagháil.

I got affection from a queen of the descendant of Tál
and I am worse off because of it
after the death of the daughter of Mór
having had it is now my punishment.

33. Suan oidhchi ní heidir dhamh
med *mha toirrsi ní hiongnadh
mor in barr an la leabhar
ní hann a-ta ar toirreaghadh.

Suan oidhche ní héidir dhamh
méid mh'atoirre ní hiongnadh;
mór an barr an lá leabhar;
ní hann a-tá ar dtoirreaghadh.

I cannot sleep at night
as the extent of my great grief is no wonder;
the long day is a lot to deal with on top of that;
it's not then (during the day) that I get tired (i.e. I am already tired after a sleepless night)

34. Da faghuinn ga ferdi sin
a oiret eli d'aim(h)sir
a ndiaigh Moire da marar
biaidh ar mbroin-ni ar bethaghadh.

Dá bhfaghuinn ga feirde sin
a oiread eile d'aimsir;
i ndiaidh Móire dá marar
biaidh ar mbróin-ne ar beathaghadh.

How would it be better
if I were to live for the same length of time again;
after the death of Mór
my grief will still be going.

35. [Bu]dh eigeán damh dhul dá rádh
deacair cin ar mu comrád
me ag [c]omradh gan e ar m'airi
goblan é [don?] eolchairi.

Budh éigeán damh dhul dá rádh
deacair cion ar mo **chomhrádh**;
mé ag **comhrádh** gan **é** ar m'aire;
gobhlán é **don** eolchaire.

I will have to admit
that it would be difficult [for anyone] to have an interest in my conversation;
I am talking without focus;
it is a symptom of the grieving.

36. [...] duine do dhul ass
a airimh is ann fhhasas
dobo lór do [mhn?]ai nar mhair
mar do bhai Mór (?) ar marrtain.

Tar éis duine do dhul **as**
a **á**irimh is ann **fh**ásas;
dobo lór do **mh**naoi **nár** mhair
mar do bhai **Mór** iar marrthain.

After a person dies
it is then that his reputation grows;
it would be enough for a woman who never lived
to be as Mór was after living.

37. [.....] uaisli a fola
san fuil-sin Briain Bóramha
[.....]gidh eadh
[...si?] ní d'enbraít is Eimear.

[.....] uaisle a fola
san **fhuil**-sin **Bhriain** Bóramha;
[.....]gidh eadh
[...se?] ní d'**éanbh**rait is Eim**hear**.

[.....] nobility of his blood,
in that blood of Brian Bóramha;
[although]
[...si?] it is not of the same ... as Eimhear.

38. Ní bhér breith ní berthi dhamh
le a n-agaid Moiri Muman
ní bher bhreit le Moir Muman
[’s ní?] coir beith ’gam breagnugad.

Ní bhéar breith ní beirthe dhamh
lé **i** n-**aghaidh** Móire Mumhan;
ní bhéar bhreith le Móir Mumhan,
’s ní cóir **bheith** ’gam **bhréagnughadh**.

I will not give a judgement, I should not give a judgement
of her against Mór Mhumhan (I will not compare her to Mór Mhumhan);
I will not give a favourable judgement of Mór Mhumhan,
and it is not right to refute me.

39. Da mbeinn 'ga n-airimh uile
righna innsi hÚghuine
mor do-choidh do mhnaibh maithi
láimh re Moir nach measfaithe.

Dá mbeinn 'ga n-áirimh uile
ríoghna Inse hÚghuine:
mór do-chóidh do mhnáibh maithe
láimh re Móir nach measfaithe.

If I were mentioning them all
all the queens of Inis Úghuine:
many of these noble women who died
could not be compared to Mór.

40. Re Caeilli in Druadh 'na dhiaigh soin
do dheighlidur a dheoraid
lia dho scar risin tir thes
nír an díbh acht an dileas.

Re Caoille **an** Druadh 'na dhiaidh soin
do dheidhliodur a dheoraidh;
lia dho scar risin tír theas;
níor an díbh acht **a** ndíleas.

Its visiting poets parted
from Caoille an Druadh after that;
more departed [than stayed] from the territory in the south;
only the natives stayed there.

41. A-ta a timchill mu chumhadh
fal nach eidir dh'osculad
da faghaind bearna ar in mbron
meanma ni fhaghaim dh'impogh.

A-tá **i** **dt**imchioll **mo** chumhadh
fál nach **é**idir dh'oscul**a**dh;
dá **bh**faghain**n** bearna ar **a**n mbrón,
meanma ní fhaghaim dh'**i**ompó**d**h.

There is surrounding my grief
a fence that cannot be opened;
even if I were to find a gap in the grief,
I cannot find a change of spirits.

42. A-tathar riamh 'gá radh rinn
seacna na n-inad aibhinn
a Muma na magh solus
gar cumha dod chumthonus.

A-táthar riamh 'gá rádh rinn
seachna na n-ionadh **n**-aoibhinn;
a Mhumha na magh solus,
gar cumha dod chomthonus.

They are always saying to me
to avoid the delightful places;
o Munster of the bright plains
grief is close when I am in your company.

43. Beith fa mhoirn gidh maith le nech
gerr da eis guma haithreac
no gu tí 'na tharad broin
a branar as hi in anoir.

Bheith fá mhoirn gidh maith le neach,
gearr dá éis go mba haithreach;
nó go dtí 'na tharadh bróin
a[n] branar is hí an anóir.

Though a person enjoys being held in esteem,
it is not long after that he regrets it;
esteem is a fallow field
until it becomes the fruit of sadness.

44. Fuaramar fochain doghra
d'eg inghine Mathgomna
imdhá 'ga raibhi muirn mhor
gan airi a[r] cuirm na ar comhol. Olc ...

44. Fuaramar fochain doghra
d'éag inghine Mathghomhna;
iomdha 'ga raibhe muirn mhór
gan aire ar chuirm ná ar chomhól. Olc an cumthach
in cu...

I have cause for lamentation
with the death of the daughter of Mathghamhain;
many who had great affection (i.e. other poets)
have no care for drinking or for feasting.

NOTES

This poem is partly illegible due to damage to the manuscript. The following lines are illegible or partly illegible: §1a, b, d; §2; §3a, b; §5b; §12b; §13b; §14b; §15d, §16b; §18d; §20d; §21d; §22c, d; §24a; §32c; §35a, c, d; §36a, c; §37a, c, d; §38d; §44d. However, *ABM* has made some suggestions in some of these lines (i) to provide the required number of syllables in particular lines, (ii) to satisfy the rhyming pattern of *rinn* and *airdrinn*, a requisite of *Deibhidhe* metre, and (iii) to make sense of quatrains. I am following these suggestions in the following lines: §1a, §2b, §5b, §12b, §13b, §14b, §15d, §16b, §18d, §20d, §21d, §22d, §32c, §35a, c, d, §36a, c, §38d, §44d.

§1a. We can deduce from the end of the poem that the first line is [*Olc an c*]*umthach an chumha*. At the end of poems scribes had a tendency to repeat the first line of the poem. I am accepting the suggestion of *ABM* to insert *Olc an c*...

§2a. This line is particularly damaged. The letter *e* can be seen before *a shuim* as in **§1.10a**.

§5c/d. Here the word *doigh* is a variant of *DIL* s.v. *daig* II ‘pang, stitch, or other pain’

§6c/d. Regarding the rhyme in this couplet, there is perfect rhyme between *ramhór* : *anshódh* since the *-sh-* in *anshódh* disappears and does not count for rhyming purposes.

§11c/d. The negative effects of death on the country, i.e. the landscape, stocks of fish, etc. are highlighted here (see Introduction pp. 16–18).

§12b. *ABM* suggests adding [*mhan*] to *tal*-. However, I have inspected the manuscript and the letters *-mh-* can be deciphered. I am accepting the suggestion of the editors of *ABM*; this generates the word *talmhan* while creating *rinn* and *airdrinn* rhyme with final *cor* in the previous line *cor : talmhan*.

§13. Interestingly, in this quatrain, the poet is addressing all of us and inviting us to learn from this that nothing in this world is permanent (see Introduction p. 66).

§14b. In *ABM* there is doubt about *san bh[aile]i-si*. However, on inspection of the manuscript, *bhaili-si* can be seen.

§16b. In this line, *ABM* suggests adding *-che* to *coid*-.: *ni gheband chugum coid[che]*. On inspection of the manuscript, the second *c* in *choidche* is visible. I am accepting the suggestion in *ABM* and, thus, generating the word *choidhche* ‘never/ever.’

§18d. In this line I am following the suggestion in *ABM* by inserting *i* in *be[i]th* in order to create perfect rhyme with *breith* in the previous line. The poet alternates between the 1st sg. and 1st pl. when referring to himself. This is standard practice in Bardic poetry. There are many examples of 1st pl. when the poet is talking about himself throughout the poem (§11c; §13d; §16c; §17a; §18d; §19b, c, d; §33d; §34d; §42a; §44a). Poets also used 2nd sg. or 2nd pl. when referring to the subjects of their poetry. In this poem this occurs in §16c.

§19b. In this line there is a metrical reason for the use of 1st pl. *ar* when the poet is referring to himself. If he were to use *mo* he would create a line of eight syllables. With the use of

ar, the *a* of *ar* may be elided, thus a line of seven syllables: *dob é ar gcéiddeoch dá cumhaidh*, ‘that was my first drink/experience of grieving for her’.

19d. Here the poet says that he has put a gap in the feast of sorrow. For the sense ‘partake of a feast’ see *AiD* 88.8:⁶⁶

Fleadh grás dá bhríogh do bearnadh

le bás an ríogh do-roighneadh

‘The love-feast provided by the Lord's death was partaken of’

Another example where ‘partake of a feast’ can be found is in the elegy *Cionnas tig Éire gan Aodh?*⁶⁷ by Conchobhar Ruadh Mac an Bhaird for his patron Aodh mac Néill Ó Domhnaill:

Níor an dearc re dearbhadh sgéal,

is fleadh ar bearnadh an brón

‘No eye awaited confirmation of the tidings; grief is a feast that has got underway (?)’⁶⁸ (§24a/b).

§20. This verse is another instance where the poet addresses us directly, telling us that death is inevitable (see Introduction p. 66).

§20c. *Dá* is the common form in Classical Modern Irish preceding *gach*.

⁶⁶ McKenna, L., 1939/40, 88.8, 201.

⁶⁷ Breatnach, P. A. and R. A. Breatnach., 2005.

⁶⁸ The editors (Breatnach, P. A. and Breatnach, R. A., 2005) have a question mark regarding the meaning of *ar bearnadh* (see note 24b, 50).

§22b. Mícheál Hoyne has suggested that *oinghin* in the manuscript may be a mistake for *oin[in]ghin*, i.e. *aoininghin* ‘only daughter.’ I am accepting this emendation as it gives better sense to the quatrain.

§22c. Part of this line is illegible [...] *oigin nuacair a-noir*. However, if I were to insert *do sh* to create *do shoighin* (*DIL* s.v. *saigin*), this would create a line of seven syllables, a requisite of *Deibhidhe* metre. It would also satisfy internal rhyme with *hoighir* in the following line *shoighin : hoighir*.

§22d. In this line *gu hoighir T[uathail Teachtmhuir?]* there are four syllables missing. The previous line ends with a monosyllabic word so we can assume that the final word of this line is a disyllabic word in order to meet *rinn* and *airdrinn* requirements. Also, the final letter at the bottom right-hand side of the page in the manuscript is the letter *T*. I am following the suggestion in *ABM* and inserting *uathail Teachtmhuir* giving us the name *Tuathal Teachtmhur*. This, in turn gives sense to the line *gu hoighir T[uathail Teachtmhuir?]* ‘to the heir of Tuathal Teachtmhar’ referring to *Féilim Reachtmhar*, the son of *Tuathal Teachtmhar*, who is the subject of the apologue here.

23a. The poet uses the form *Féilim* as opposed to *Feidhlimidh/Feidhlim* (§21c, §23a, §23d). This form creates perfect rhyme in **§21c/d**: *Féilim : d’Éirinn* and in **§23c/d**: *hÉirinn : d’Fhéilim*.

§24a. In this line *Ga dtu ach[t] n[ar?] tarla ara cinn*, the *n* of *n[ar]* is not very clear in the manuscript. It could be read as ‘*nár*’ a negative interrogative (*in ná ro*) - *Gá dtú acht ‘nár tharla ara gcionn*. This letter could also possibly be an *m*. If *nar* is read as *mar*, this would

also give sense to the line *Gá dtú acht mar tharla ara gcionn* ‘In short when she appeared in front of them’.

§25c. Damian McManus has suggested reading *or beirbhe* as *ón Bheirbhe* ‘from Bergen’. On inspection of the manuscript, it seems that the *-r* of *ABM* is, in fact, an *-n*. This reading provides good sense.

§27c. Here the poet creates a compound word *neamh + croidhe*. This he does to ensure the requisite perfect rhyme in the couplet (*neamhchroidhe : eachraidhe*). I am assuming that *gan ghníomh eachraidhe* ‘without exercise of horses’ means that there were no festivities or occasions where horses and chariots were in use (horse-racing) during the time of mourning for Úna.

§27d. In this line (also in **§28b** and **§29d**) there are references to the pastimes associated with the hero sagas in Irish literature. The activities of horse-racing, drinking and playing chess were traditionally among the requisite activities of the king. The Old Irish legal tract *Críth Gablach* concerning the principles of legal rank and status in early Irish society, focusing on the free and noble classes, sets out seven occupations of a king: *Ata dna secht mónail i corus rí: .i. Domnach do ól corma, ar ní flaith techta nad ingella laith ar cach ndomnich; Luan, do breithemnas, do choccertad tuath; Máirt oic fídhchill; Cétuín do deicsiu milchon oic toifonn; Taradaín do lanamnas; Aindíden do sethaib ech; Satharn do brethaíib*, ‘There are, now, seven occupations in the law of a king–viz., Sunday, at ale-drinking, for he is not a lawful Flaith who does not distribute ale every Sunday; Monday, at legislation, for the government of the tribe; Tuesday, at chess; Wednesday, seeing greyhounds coursing; Thursday, at the pleasures of love; Friday, at horse-racing; Saturday,

at judgement.’⁶⁹ There are numerous examples of these pastimes in the literature. For example, in *Macgnímrada Con Culainn* in the famous tale of *Táin Bó Cuailgne*, drinking and playing chess are mentioned as two of Conchobhar’s activities.⁷⁰ In the same text there is a reference to Bricriu being injured while playing chess.⁷¹ Similarly in the Fenian Cycle there is reference to drinking, playing chess and hunting as the pastimes enjoyed by the Fianna. One example of this can be seen in *Laoidh Oisín ar Thír na nÓg* ‘The Lay of Oisín on the Land of the Young’ (§§ 44–45) where Oisín relates to St. Patrick of the happy days spent by himself, his father Fionn, and the Fianna playing chess, drinking, listening to music, hunting and in combat.⁷²

⁶⁹ Cited in O’ Curry (1873), pp. 506–507.

⁷⁰ *Táin Bó Cuilgne* from the Book of Leinster:

Dáig is amlaid domeil Conchobor in rígi óro gab rígi in rí .i. mar atraig fó chétóir cesta & cangni in chóicid d’ordugud; in lá do raind i trí asa athli: cétna trian de fó chétóir ic fégad na maccaem ic imbirt chless cluchi & immánae, in trian tánaise dond ló ic imbirt brandub & fidchell, & in trian dédenach ic tochathim bíd & lenna conda geib cotlud for cách Áes cíuil & airfitid dia thálgud fri sodain ‘For this is how Conchobor spends his time of kingship since he assumed sovereignty: as soon as he arises, settling the cares and business of the province, thereafter dividing the day into three, the first third of the day spent watching the youths playing games and hurling, the second third spent in playing brandub and fidchell and the last third spent in consuming food and drink until sleep comes on them all’ (Translation by O’Rahilly, C. (1967), ll. 741–7).

⁷¹ *Táin Bó Cuailgne* from the Book of Leinster:

Acus darala eturru ic imbirt fidchilli & Fergus & atrubairt-sium aithis móir ra Fergus. Dabert Fergus béim dá durn dó-som & dind fir baí ‘na láim goro thoilg in fer ‘na chind go róebriss cnáim ina chind. In fat ra bátar fir Hérend i slúagiud na Tána, ésiuim ‘gá leiges i Crúachain risin ré sin. Acus in lá tháncatar din tslúagud, is és lá ra érig-sium ‘And a quarrel arose between him and Fergus as they were playing chess, and Bricriu spoke very insultingly to Fergus. Fergus struck him with his fist and with the chessman that he held in his hand and drove the chessman into his head and broke a bone in his skull. While the men of Ireland were on the hosting of the Táin, Bricriu was all that time being cured in Crúachu, and the day they returned from the hosting was the day Bricriu rose from his sickness.’ (Translation by O’Rahilly, C. (1967), ll 4864–9).

See Ó Siochfhradha (1941), pp. 213–226 at p. 217.

§31. Here is yet another instance where the poet addresses us directly and tells us that there is no escape from grief (see Introduction p. 66).

§32d. In this line *do dhíoghail féin a fagháil*, *ABM* suggests that *do* be read as *mo*.

§33b. In the line *med *mha toirrsi ní hingnadh*, *ABM* suggests reading *mha toirrsi* as *mh'atoirrsse*. With this amendment there is now the requisite uaim: *mh'atoirrsse h'iongnadh*.

§34b. There is a suggestion in *ABM* to remove *h* from *aim(h)sir*. I am accepting this suggestion.

§36a. In this line [...] *duine do dhul as*, *ABM* has a lacuna before the word *duine*. However, on examination of the manuscript, the letters *eis* are visible. Therefore, I am supplying *éis* and I am assuming that the lost syllable is *Tar*. There is no other word that could be supplied before *éis* that would make sense. This addition also gives the required seven-syllable line.

§36c. *dobo lór do [mhn?]ai nar mhair*: In *ABM* there is a question mark after *mhn-*. On inspection of the manuscript, the letter *n* can be seen directly before the letters *-ai*.

§36d. In the line *mar do bhai Mór (?) ar marrtain*, there is a symbol above the *o* in the manuscript. This symbol seems to look like the *ur* symbol.

§37d. [...se?] *ní d'éanbhrait is Eimhear* ‘...not of the same ... as *Eimhear*.’ Here the poet has begun to compare *Mór* with famous beauties from the past.

§38b/c. See Introduction pp. 12–13 for notes on *Eimhear* and *Mór Mhumhan*.

§40b. In this line *do dheidhlíodur a dheoraidh* ‘the visiting poets left’, I am assuming that by using *deoraidh*, the poet is referring to visiting poets. In *DIL* s.v. *deorad* is defined in general as outlaw, exile, stranger, wanderer. I am assuming that the strangers here are the visiting poets who came to *Caoille an Druadh* because of the reputation of *Mór* as a generous patroness. This is in contrast to the use of *díleas* (§40d) ‘locals, natives.’ In *DIL* s.v. 1 *díles*, one of the meanings given is (c) of people faithful, loyal, true, trustworthy, giving the sense of faithful or loyal to one’s area. On the death of *Mór*, the visiting poets left while the poets local to the area remained.

§40c. In this line *lia dho scar risin tír theas* the preverb *do* is lenited. This may be owing to the fact that *scar* cannot be lenited in the relative clause. It is noticeable that *do scar* is written in **§10b**.

POEM 2

FADA IS MNÁ MAITHE MNÁ MUMHAN

Ó Maothagáin (O Maothagan .cc.)

INTRODUCTON

This poem *Fada is mná maithe mná Mumhan* ‘Long have the women of Munster been noble women’ is the first of three poems in the Book of Fermoy dedicated to Caitilín, daughter of Tadhg MacCarthy, wife of Dáibhíoth, third Viscount Roche of Fermoy.

A diplomatic edition of the poem from the Book of Fermoy has been published in *ABM* (Poem no. 223). Variant readings from an eighteenth-century manuscript (RIA 781 (23 G 5)) are provided after each quatrain.

I have supplied an introduction, a discussion of manuscripts, the poet, the patron, the subject matter and metre of the poem.

The poem consists of different sections dealing with topics including Caitilín's nobility, ancestry, generosity, beauty and her house. Each section has been marked by the scribe with a capital letter written in the margin (Section 1 - ll. 1–10, Section 2 - ll. 11–20, Section 3 - ll. 21–30, Section 4 - ll. 31–38, Section 5 - ll. 39–48, Section 6 - ll. 49–60, Section 7 - ll. 61–82, Section 8 - ll. 83–96, Section 9 - ll. 97–112, Section 10 - ll. 113–122, Section 11 - ll. 123–128, Section 12 - ll. 129–134, Section 13 - ll. 135–146). I follow the scribe's markings in my edition of the poem.

MANUSCRIPTS

This eulogy is found in two manuscripts, (i) RIA 1134 (23/E/29) and (ii) RIA 781 (23/G/5). Both of the manuscripts are preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

(i) RIA 1134 (23/E/29)

The poem is found on pp. 199–200 of the Book of Fermoy. There are two columns on each page. The poem begins about one-third of the way down on p. 199 of the manuscript. This page is in excellent condition and most of the text is very clear. However, the bottom right-hand corner of this page has some damage, rendering l. 77–78 partly illegible. The poem continues on p. 200, also in excellent condition. All lines except for the first letter of l. 121 are legible. The poem ends on the second column of p. 200. The remaining third of this column has been left blank. There are two line spaces between the end of the poem and the *iargcomharc*. At the beginning of the poem there is a blank space presumably for an illustrator or an illuminator, to return and insert an ornate capital F. However, there is a smaller letter *F* in the margin.

(ii) RIA 781 (23 G 5)

This manuscript is an elegant late eighteenth-century vellum manuscript copied from older sources. According to the information on the Book of Fermoy on the Royal Irish Academy website,⁷³ Michael Casey, a herb doctor from County Limerick and a collector of medical manuscripts was the scribe of this manuscript (see note on Michael Casey - Herb Doctor and Collector of Medical Manuscripts p. 31). *BPD* names M. Ó Cathasaigh, 1797 as the scribe. Knott (1912, p. 241) asserts that this manuscript was written by Casey around 1798.

There are three instances of the signature of Ó Cathasaigh in the manuscript:

- (i) Page 35: Half-way down the page is ‘*Geneal– Iarla Cille Dara annso* - with a genealogy provided, is written: Copied from the Rev.^d Owen Keeffe’s manuscript

⁷³ <https://www.ria.ie/collections/manuscripts/irish-language-manuscripts/book-of-fermoy/>

which he extracted from the Mc Brodine's original by me this 14th Jan 7 1790/1798. Micheál Casey'.

- (ii) Page 38: - *as leabhar an Athar Mhagh nus Ui Dhomn...*(?) followed by the initials M. C. 1798 (?) is written at the bottom of the page.
- (iii) Page 39: At the end of this page is written *m.d.cc.l.xxxviii* M. Ó Caitheasaigh. (1000 + 500 + 200 + 50 + 40 + 5 + 3 = 1798).

This manuscript contains copies of a number of poems on the Roches of Fermoy, including the present poem *Fada is mná maithe mná Mumhan* 'Long have the women of Munster been noble women.'

The poems to the Roches are:

- (i) *Cionnas íocthar séad súirghe* by Brian Ó hUiginn for David mac Muiris and mac Siuán de Róiste (No. 57, pp. 120–121).
- (ii) *Gach fonn go Fearuibh Muighe* by Seaán Óg Mac Craith for David de Róiste (No. 58, pp. 122–123).
- (iii) *Fada is mná maithe mná Mumhan* by Ó Maothagáin for Caitilín inghean Taidhg, wife of Dáibhíoth de Róiste (No. 59, pp. 123–124).
- (iv) *Dlighim íoc as m'fhearacht*⁷⁴ *gráidh* by Cormac mac Eoghain Ó Dálaigh for Caitilín inghean Taidhg, wife of Dáibhíoth de Róiste (No. 60, pp. 124–125).
- (v) *Formad ag cách ré clú Muiris* by Seán Ó Maothagáin for Muiris mac Dáibhíoth mac Muiris de Róitse (No. 61, pp. 125–126).

These poems appear in the same order in both manuscripts. In the information on the Book of Fermoy on the Royal Irish Academy website, it states that Casey's manuscript

⁷⁴ Written *m'fhearsacht* in the manuscript.

‘contains copies of a number of poems on the Roches of Fermoy, most of which are otherwise only known from the Book of Fermoy.’⁷⁵

In the Book of Fermoy the order of poems to the Roches is:

- (i) *Cionnas íocthar séad suirghe* (pp. 194–197).
- (ii) *Gach fonn go Fearaibh Muighe* (pp. 197–199)
- (iii) *Fada is mná maithe mná Mumhan* (pp. 199–200)
- (iv) *Dlighim íoc as m’fhearacht gráidh* (pp. 201–202)
- (v) *Formad ag cách re clú Muiris* (pp. 202–203)
- (vi) Blank except for some scribblings - scribes names (pp. 204)
- (vii) *Díleas gach éanduine a eidhreacht* (pp. 205–206).

POET

The poem is attributed to Ó Maothagáin (*O Maothagan .cc.*) in the Book of Fermoy. There is another poem attributed to a poet of the same surname in this manuscript: *Formad ag cách re clú Muiris*, a eulogy for Muiris (mac Dáibhíth) de Róiste by Seaán Ó Maothagáin (*Ua Maethagan cecinit .i. sean*, 202). There are two further poems attributed to poets of this surname in different manuscripts: (i) *Marthain le mac Conchobhair* by Eóin Másach Ó Maothagáin for Diarmaid (mac Conchobhair) Ó hEidirsceoil, [TCD H 4.22 (1363), p. 154]; (ii) *Neart Banbha’ga Barúnaibh*, which has been edited by Deirdre Nic Chárthaigh (2020) also attributed to Ó Maothagáin (*o maotagain cecinit*) [Stonyhurst MS A II 20, II b] for Pádraigín Mac Muiris. It is noteworthy that these poems are written in Brúilingeacht (*Fada is mná maithe mná Mumhan* and *Formad ag cách re clú Muiris* are written in Deachnadh Mór, Brúilingeacht and *Marthain le mac Conchobhair* and *Neart Banbha ’ga*

⁷⁵ <https://www.ria.ie/library/catalogues/special-collections/medieval-and-early-modern-manuscripts/book-fermoy-book-roche>

Barúnaibh written in Casbhairdne, Brúilingeacht) leading Nic Chárthaigh (2020, p. 42) to suggest that Ó Maothagáin may have been a family of poets composing poetry in these rare metrical forms of Brúilingeacht. It is also interesting to note that the poet Eóin Másach Ó Maothagáin, to whom the poem *Marthain le mac Conchobhair* is attributed, wrote for the Munster celebrand Diarmaid (mac Conchobhair) Ó hEidirsceoil.⁷⁶ These Ó Maothagáin poets were, therefore, connected with Munster.

Regarding poets or families of poets specialising in certain metre-types, there are some examples from the corpus to substantiate this school of thought. For example, Hoyne (2021, pp. 351–352, note 48a) argues that ‘*brúilingeacht* was practised by educated poets lower in status than the professional praise-poets who practised *dán díreach*.’

The following couplet from *Foraois na gCliar Clann Mhaoil Ruanaigh* by Duibheagán Ó Duibheagáin (Hoyne, 2021, pp. 110–111) for Tomaltach mac Conchobhair mhic Aoidh Mac Diarmada seems to indicate that there were specialists in this type of metre: *Buidheach gach bard ’s gach brúlinntidh / do bhaidhbh Shionna* ‘Every bard and poet of brúilingeacht, is grateful to the hero of the Shannon’ (§48).

In the Bardic Poetry Database there are eleven poems written in Deachnadh Mór, Brúilingeacht. Of these poems, five are ascribed to Seithfín (Mór)/Seiffín: (i) *Beannacht don ti do mhuin Murchadh* (ABM 67), (ii) *Briathra cogaid ’gon cath Laigneach* [IBP, 40], (iii) *Croinn a hean-bun aicme Fergais* (TCD 1363 (H.4.22) Seithfín Duanaire, 139), (iv) *Eolaigh in cogaidh clann Fhearghais* (ABM 213), (v) *Measdar teach innse re hOileach* (ABM 328), two ascribed to Seithfín Óg: (i) *Lionn gan traghadh einech Ulltach* (ABM 300) and (ii) *Meanma siobhail ag siol Eoghain* (ABM 327) and one ascribed to Maoilsheachlainn mac Seithfin (i) *Cia a-nois ’ga n-oilter an t-enech* (ABM 90). Hoyne (2014, p. 194) asserts

⁷⁶ The Ó hEidirsceoil were rulers of the Dáirine sept of the Corcu Loíghde in Cork until the early modern period.

that Seithfin Mór may have specialised in *brúilingeacht* metre. He further believes that Seithfin Óg and Maoilsheachlainn may have been the sons of Seithfín Mór. If they were the sons of Seithfín Mór, it seems that the sons were following in the footsteps of their father.

PATRON

This poem was composed for Caitilín (l. 13, l.31, l.32), daughter of Tadhg (l. 11, l.43) wife of Dáibhíoth a Róitse (l. 137), Dáibhíoth being the son of Muiris (l. 135), 3rd Viscount Roche of Fermoy (†1539). Cokayne (1887–98, Vol iii, p. 327) states that David Roche, 3rd Viscount of Fermoy was son and heir of Maurice Roche and his first wife, Joan (i.e. Muiris and Siubhán). He further adds that David married Catherine, daughter of Teige Mac Carty-More (see The Roches of Fermoy pp. 28–29). The information on the Book of Fermoy on the Royal Irish Academy website states that the poem was composed for ‘a Caitilín, daughter of Tadhg, who was descended from Diarmaid Mór [MacCarthy?].’ If Caitilín is descended from Diarmaid Mór MacCarthy, there is no question regarding her nobility.

According to O’Hart (1892, p. 107) the origins of the MacCarthy dynasty begin with *Carthach*, an *Eóganacht Chaisil* king, who died in 1045 in a house fire deliberately started by the grandson of Longarcán, son of Dunchuan and members of the Eóganacht’s arch-enemies, the Dál gCais. Carthach’s death is recorded in *AFM*: s.a. 1045.14: *Carthach, mac Saoirbhrethaigh, tigherna Eoghanacht Chaisil do loscadh i t-taigh teinedh d’ua Longarcáin, mic Duinn Cuain co n-daoinibh oile a maille fris*, ‘Carthach, son of Saerbhreathach, lord of Eoghanacht-Chaisil, was burned in a house set on fire by the grandson of Longarcán, son of Donnucuan, and other persons along with him.’⁷⁷ MacCarthy,

⁷⁷ The death is also recorded in *AU*: s.a. 1045.5 and in *AI*: s.a. 1045.8.

(1922, p. 2) states that Carthach's son Muireadhach was the first member of the sept to assume the name 'MacCarthy'. There is a reference to his death in *AFM*: s.a. 1092: *Muiredhach mac Carrthaigh, tigherna Eoghanachta, d'écc*, 'Muireadhach Mac Carrthaigh, lord of the Eoghanachta, died'⁷⁸

After the Treaty of Glanmire in 1118, the kingdom of Munster was divided into Desmond and Thomond.⁷⁹ The Treaty of Glanmire is recorded, in *AFM* s.a. 1118:⁸⁰ *Slóighedh lá Toirdhealbhach Ua Conchobhair, rí Connacht, & la Murchadh Ua Maoileachlainn, rí Temhra, & la h-Aodh Ua Ruairc isin Mumhain go Glenn Mhaghair, co t-taratt Desmhumha do Mhac Carthaigh, & Tuadhmhumha da mhacaibh Diarmada Ui Bhriain, & do-beart a n-gialla díbhlinibh*, 'An army was led by Toirdhealbhach Ua Conchobhair, King of Connaught, who was joined by Murchadh Ua Maeleachlainn, King of Teamhair, and by Aedh Ua Ruairc, as far as Gleann-Maghair in Munster; and he gave Desmond to Carthaigh, and Thomond to the sons of Diarmaid Ua Briain, and carried off the hostages of both.'

The kingdom of Desmond was ruled by the MacCarthy dynasty for almost five centuries. McCarthy (1911, pp. 393–394) lists the four major branches of the MacCarthy dynasty:

- (i) The MacCarthy Mór,
- (ii) The MacCarthy Duhallow,
- (iii) The MacCarthy Reagh of Carbery,
- (iv) The MacCarthy Muskerry.

⁷⁸ See also note g in *AFM* p. 943.

⁷⁹ For an account of the Treaty of Glanmire see Jefferies (1983), pp. 85 ff.

⁸⁰ The Treaty of Glanmire is also recorded in *AI*: s.a. 1118.8, *ALC*: s.a. 1118.6, *AT*: s.a. 1118.3, and *AU*: s.a. 1118.36.

Regarding the MacCarthy Mór, and Teige McCarthy Mór in particular, I cannot find a reliable reference to a Tadhg MacCarthy having had a daughter called Catherine/Caitilín.

CAITILÍN'S HERITAGE

Information is gleaned from the poem as to Caitilín's heritage. It is clear that she has an impressive and distinguished heritage. For example, she is descended from the heroes of Kincora (l. 20, l. 24, l. 116) and the likes of *Eochu* (l. 99), *Éimhear* (l. 105), *Corc* (l. 101), *Mogh Nuadhad* (l. 107) and *Cas* (l. 109).

The most obvious hero of Kincora must be the famous Brian Bóromha. Kincora (Ceann Coradh) was the royal stronghold of Brian Bóramha, the High King of Ireland who reigned from 1002–1014. According to the Annals of the Four Masters Brian built his royal palace in Ceann Coradh in 1012: *AFM*: s.a. 1012.16: *Daingin iomdha do dhénamh lá Brian, .i. Cathair Cind Choradh, & Inis Gaill Duibh, & Inis Locha Saighleand* 'Many fortresses were erected by Brian, namely, Cathair-Cinn-coradh, Inis-Gaill-duibh, and Inis-Locha-Saighleann.' He was slain in the Battle of Clontarf in 1014: *AFM*: s.a. 1014: *An cédbhliadhain do Mhaoileachlainn Mór, mac Domhnaill, os Erinn iar marbhadh Bhriain, mic Cinneittigh* 'The first year of Maelseachlainn Mór, son of Domhnall over Ireland, after the killing of Brian, son of Ceinneidigh.'⁸¹

⁸¹ *The death of Brian is also recorded in AI*: s.a. 1014.2 *Cocad mór eter Brian & Gullu Atha Cliath co ruc Brian iarum morthinol fer n-Erend co Ath Cliath. Is iar sain doratsat Gaill Atha Clíath cath do Brian corro marbad Brian mc. Cennetich, & a macc Murchad rigdamna h-Erend, & a mc.-side, .i. Tairdelbach...* 'Great warfare between Brian and the foreigners of Áth Cliath, and Brian then brought a great muster of the men of Ireland to Áth Cliath. After that the foreigners of Áth Cliath gave battle to Brian, son of Cennétig, and he was slain, with his son Murchad, royal heir of Ireland, and Murchad's son, namely, Tairdelbach...', in *ALC*: s.a. 1014.3: *Do-rorchuir ann, din, a b-frithghuin in chatha-sin ó Goeidhelaibh, Brian mac Ceindeidig mic Lorcaín, airdrigh Goeidel Erenn & Gall Brettan, & August iarthair tuaiscert Eorpa uile, & a mac .i. Murchad, & a mac-sidhe .i. Toirrdhelbach...* 'There fell there, also, in the mutual wounding of that battle, of

Eochu or Eochaidh Feidhlioch was a High King of Ireland, according to medieval Irish legends and historical traditions. He is best known as the father of the legendary queen Meadhbh of Connacht. In *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (Dinneen 1908, ll. 2876–2878) it states that this Eochaidh was the first person to divide Ireland into provinces: *Agus is é an t-Eochaidh Feidhlioch-so do roinn is do orduigh cúigeadhaigh ar Éirinn ar dtús*, ‘And this Eochaidh Feidhlioch it was who first divided Ireland into provinces and instituted provincials.’ His first year in the kingship of Ireland is recorded in *AFM*: s.a. 5058: *An céid-bliadhain d'Eochaidh Feidhleach h-i righe ós Erinn*, ‘The first year of Eochaidh Feidhleach in the sovereignty over Ireland.’ The death of Eochaidh is also recorded in *AFM*: s.a. 5069: *Iar m-beith da bliadhain décc h-i righe n-Ereann d'Eochaidh Feidhleach, mac Find, mic Fiondlogha, at-bail i t-Teamhraigh*, ‘Eochaidh Feidhleach, son of Finn, son of Finnlogha, after having been twelve years in the sovereignty of Ireland, died at Teamhair Tara.’

Éimhear (a variant of Éibhear ‘Heber’) was one of the sons of the legendary Míl Espáine (or Milesius), the mythical ancestor of the Milesians, the ancestors of today’s Irish people. O’ Hart (1892, pp. 50–55) gives details of Milesius and of the Milesian invasion of Ireland where the sons of Míl Espáine travel to Ireland to avenge the slaying of their brother who, when visiting Ireland, was killed by the Tuatha Dé Danann.

Corc mac Luigthig (also known as Conall Corc, Corc of Cashel or Corc mac Láire), was said to be the king of Cashel and the ancestor of the Eóganacht dynasties.⁸² Hull (1941,

the Gaeidhel, Brian, son of Cenneidigh, son of Lorcan, supreme king of the Gaeidhel of Erinn, and of the Foreigners of Britain, and the Augustus of the whole north-west of Europe, and his son, i.e. Murchadh, and his son, viz. Toirrdhelbhach....,’ and in *AU*: s.a. 1014.2: *Do-rochuir immorro a fritguin o Gaidhelaibh: .i. Brian m. Cenneitigh ardrí Gaidhel Erenn & Gall & Bretan, August iartair tuaiscirt Eorpa uile; & a mc., .i. Murchad; & a mc.-sidhe, .i. Toirrdelbach...* ‘Of the Irish moreover there fell in the counter-shock Brian son of Ceinnétig, over-king of the Irish of Ireland, and of the foreigners and of the Britons, the Augustus of the whole of north-west Europe, and his son Murchad, and the latter's son, i.e. Tairdelbach....’

⁸² For information on Eóganacht dynasties see Sproule (1984), pp. 31–37.

pp. 937–8) provides a list of literature relating to Conall Corc from various periods. Downey (2005, pp. 22–29) gives an overview of some of the medieval literature regarding Conall Corc. In *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (Comyn, 1902, ll. 58–66) it states that Conall Corc was the founder of Cashel: *Iar rochtain na sceul so go Corc mac Luighdheach, tig gan fuireach go Síothdhuim, agus do rinne Longphort ann, d’a ngairthí Lios na Laochraidhe; agus ar mbeith ’na rígh Múmhan dó, is ar an gcarraig d’á ngairthear Carriag Phádraic anois do ghlacadh a chíos ríoghda. Is aire gairthear Caiseal do’n charraig sin, óir is ionann Caiseal agus Cíosáil: áil, iomorro, ainm do charriag; gonadh aire sin gairthear Caiseal, eadhon, carraig an chíosa, do’n hit sin, ‘These stories having reached Corc, son of Lughaidh, he comes without delay to Síothdhuim, and he built a fortress there which was called Lios-na-laochraidhe; and on his becoming king of Munster, it is on the rock which is now called Carraig Phádraic he used to receive his royal rent. It is hence that rock is called Caiseal, for Caiseal and Cíosáil are equivalent: áil, indeed, a name for a rock; so that, therefore, that place is called Caiseal, i.e. tribute rock.’*

Mogh Nuadhad, according to O’Hart (1892, p. 67), fought and won a fierce battle with Conn Céadchathach at *Magh Nuadhad* ‘Maynooth’ where he forced Conn to divide the kingdom of Ireland with him in two equal parts. There is a reference to this division of Ireland in *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (Dinneen, 1908, ll. 70–77) *An seachtmhadh roinn: eadhon, roinn Chuinn Chéadchathaigh agus Mógha Nuadhat. Do roinn Conn agus Mógh Nuadhat Éire leathach eadorra, mar atá, a bhfuil ó Gaillimh agus ó Áthcliath budh thuaidh, agus Eisgir Riadha do theorainn eadorra, ag Conn; agus is de sin táinig Leath Chuinn do thabhairt ar an taoibh budh thuaidh; agus Leath Mhógha ag Mógh Nuadhat; agus is de sin tugadh Leath Mhógha ar an leith budh dheas, ‘The seventh division, namely, the division of Conn Céadchathach and Mógh Nuadhat. Conn and Mógh Nuadhat divided Ireland into halves between them, that is to say, all that is from Gaillimh and from Áthcliath northwards,*

and Eisgir Riadha for a boundary between them to Conn: and it is from that came Leath Chuinn to be given to the side which was north; and Leath Mhógha to Mógh Nuadhat; and it is from that was given Leath Mhógha to the half which was south.’

Cormac Cas or Cas was the son of Oilill Ólom and brother of Eoghan Mór, the eponymous ancestor of the Éoganachta. He has been associated with the rise of the Dál gCais. For example, in *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (Dinneen, 1908, ll. 4273–4274) it states *An dara mac d’Oilill Olom ar a dtáinig sliocht mar atá Cormac Cas ó dtángadar Dál gCais...* ‘The second son of Oilill Olom who left issue was Cormac Cas, from whom sprang the Dál gCais...’. In the same source there is the allusion to the generosity of Cas to the poets: *Is é thug naoi n-uinge agus cúig chéad uinge d’airgead i n-aon ló d’éigsibh agus d’ollamhnaibh tré n-a mholadh*, ‘He gave in one day nine ounces and five hundred ounces of silver to bards and learned men for praising him’ (ibid., ll. 4292–4295). To be associated with or to have been descended from any or all of these elite of society who held the top positions of power would be a privilege for anyone. It would surely bolster one’s nobility and one’s status in society.

SUBJECT MATTER

The poet elevates Caitilín to being the most beautiful, the most noble, the most generous of all the noble women, not only in Munster but throughout Ireland. Her nobility, generosity and beauty are emphasised throughout the poem.

The poem opens (ll. 1–10) with the assertion that the noble women of Munster have long-since been noble women. These women are beyond reproach (*gan éanlocht ar a neineach*, ‘without fault on their honour’, l. 3) and their *céadbhladh* ‘original fame’ has lasted through the ages (ll. 3–4). These women, we are told, were generous to a fault with

poets reluctant to leave when they were in their employ. These generous, noble women of Munster are too numerous to mention and they cannot be outdone in generosity (ll. 7–9).

In the next section (ll. 11–20), we read that Caitilín, the daughter of *Tadhg Mac Carthaigh*, represents all the noble and generous women of Munster who went before her. Her generosity is such that she entices master-poets to be in her entourage (ll. 12–14). The poet knows of no woman to rival her (ll. 19–20).

From ll. 21–30 the poet goes on to say that the ever-generous Caitilín does not shirk her position as a generous patroness. She is described as *Bean nach iar áth ar an eineach*, ‘A woman who seeks not to avoid generosity’ (l. 25). The *áth* ‘ford’ makes the crossing of a river easy, but Caitilín does not look for an *áth* or an easy way to avoid giving gifts to poets. At her banquets, the wine flows freely and livestock does not have the opportunity to mature on her lands because of its constant bestowal on the poets (ll. 29–30).

In the section from ll. 31–38 Caitilín’s reputation is extended from Munster to the rest of the country. Her reputation has been celebrated all around Ireland but any challenge by any province is met by her. There is no equal to her in Ulster, Munster, Meath, Leinster or Connacht. She surpasses the women of Munster and Connacht (ll. 33–34). Similarly, in Leinster, if she is challenged, she herself knows that there is no competition (ll. 35–36). In Meath, Caitilín is so generous that she is continuously laid bare of goods / gifts (ll. 37–38).

The section from ll. 39–48 highlights Caitilín’s honour. In the same way as in the previous section, her reputation extends to the territory of Ulster (ll. 39–40). Her generosity is such that with the arrival of poets to Caitilín’s dwelling place, nobody is turned away (ll. 43–44). At her banquets, if a person leaves without having over-indulged, it is their own fault (ll. 47–48) as these banquets are bountiful. Caitilín, therefore, is excellent in her duty as a patroness.

In the following section (ll. 49–60) the poet addresses Caitilín directly (ll. 49–50) and tells her that she is worthy of praise over every other woman and if anyone wished to draw a comparison, it would be an impossible task as there is no woman to equal this patroness (ll. 51–52). As was customary in bardic elegy and eulogy, here the continues his laudations by comparing *Caitilín* to the famous beauties from Irish literature of by-gone days. *Ailbhe*, the daughter of *Cormac mac Airt* was ever-generous to the master-poets (see Introduction pp. 13). However, Caitilín is this woman’s equal both in beauty and in ingenuity (l. 55). Similarly, Caitilín is compared to the beautiful *Eimhear* from the Ulster Cycle (see Introduction p. 12). She, like *Eimhear*, is favoured by the master-poets: *tú Eimhear na n-ollamh* ‘you are the *Eimhear* of the master-poets’ (l. 58). As with *Ailbhe* and *Eimhear*, *Mór Mhumhan* (see Introduction p. 13) only has precedence over Caitilín in being born before her (l. 60).

The section from ll. 61–82, gives a detailed description of Caitilín’s dwelling-place. Her reputation and fame as a generous benefactress is emphasised. Her generosity knows no bounds and even grumpy guests are welcomed in her dwelling place: *fuair cáinte arna aithne id iostadh / fáilte i n-aice orsan*, ‘after the satirist was recognised (as a satirist) in your house/dwelling place, he was welcomed at the doorpost’ (ll. 63–64). She has earned fame for all the women of Munster. The gifts she bestows are bounteous be they the first or the last gifts she bestows (ll. 71–72). The reputation that she has received from master-poets is a burden that no other woman could maintain (l. 76) and her dwelling-place is equated to the great fortresses of the kings from by-gone days (ll. 77–78). It is a beautiful place that is not troubled by strife (ll. 79–80). Just like *Ceann Coradh* this is a flourishing and ever-giving place (ll. 81–82).

There follows a section from ll. 83–96 where the poet continues to compare Caitilín’s dwelling-place to the ancient dwelling-places of *Ceann Coradh*, *Cruacha*

Connacht and *Eamhain Mhacha*. These were the homes to ever-generous and noble kings. As with these famous dwelling-places, the poet reiterates that Caitilín's house is well-established as a house of peace, generosity and abundance. There is no scarcity of poets here and it is known as a house where poets are retained (l. 90).

The section from ll. 97–112 informs us of Caitilín's beauty. Her beauty is beyond compare. She has received her beauty from her ancestors. These ancestors who are associated with Munster, Caitilín's ancestral home, include *Eochu*, *Éimhear*, *Corc Caisil*, *Mogh Nuadhad* and *Cas*. Her beautiful green eyes and shapely brows come from *Eochu* (ll. 99–100), her flowing, curling hair she gets from *Corc* (ll. 101–102), the blood of *Éimhear* and of *Mogh Nuadhad* flows through her veins (ll. 105–108) and her fair complexion is owing to *Cas* (ll. 109–110) (For information on the above ancestors see pp. 104–108.)

Thereafter, from ll. 113–122 we are told about both Caitilín's ancestral home by the River Lee and her marital home in Fermoy. She hails from *an chuid is aoibhne* 'the most beautiful part' of Munster, on the banks of the River Lee (l. 115). Now, since her marriage to Dáibhíoth de Róiste, she lives in *Caoille an Druadh*, in the Fermoy area of County Cork. It is interesting to learn that both these territories are under her control: *a-táit ar-aon fa mhnaoi Mhaistean / cís an dá thaobh thobhgbus*, 'they are both under the control of the woman of Maistiu / who exacts the rents of both' (ll. 119–120). This highlights Caitilín's status and power. This section ends with images of righteous kingship although the celebrand here is a woman (see Introduction pp. 16–18). The rightful king, or in this instance, the rightful queen, commands peace and bounty in the land. We see that the streams are *balbh* 'silent' (l. 121) as the water has evaporated with extreme heat and lack of rainfall that comes with rightful kingship. The weir-baskets are overflowing with an abundance of fish (l. 122).

The next section (ll. 123–128) provides more images of righteous kingship. The boats are marooned due to the waterways having dried up. It is not because of shame that branches are bending but because they are laden down with fruit.

The final laudation of Caitilín comes in ll. 129–134 where the poet asserts that even though she is not from the area, she has become well-known for her generosity as a patroness.

The final section of the poem (ll. 135–146), we see the convention of an *iargcomharc* or complimentary and complementary verses dedicated to Caitilín's husband, Dáibhíoth de Róiste. It is noteworthy that the theme of the *iargcomharc* echoes the theme of the main poem where the poet praises Dáibhíoth de Róiste for his reputation as a generous, noble and honourable man. We read of his generosity as a host, his prowess in battle, his reputation in his military career. We also learn that poets become arrogant because they are treated so well by Dáibhíoth. The poem ends with the poet's assertion that he himself will remain with Daibhíoth de Róiste owing to his extreme generosity.

METRE

This poem is written in *Deachnadh Mór, Brúilingeacht*. *Brúilingeacht* is one of the three styles of bardic poetry (see Introduction – Metre, pp. 21–2). *Dán Díreach* is the highest level of difficulty followed by *Brúilingeacht*. The third style is *Ógláchas*. According to Ní Dhomhnaill (1975, p. 76), when composing in *Brúilingeacht*, imperfect rhyme and imperfect consonance was favoured. Although the rhyming schemes were not as strict as those of *Dán Díreach*, there were strict rules and metrical requirements to be fulfilled.

I have decided arrangement of the poem by line rather than by quatrain (See Introduction to the poem p. 109). To arrange the poem in quatrains would create metrical

faults that do not exist. For example, the requirement that the final line of a quatrain have *fíoruaim* (alliteration between the final and penultimate stressed word of the final line of a quatrain) would not be fulfilled in some lines (e.g. l.16. *bean ar nach bí cogur*, l.56. *an bhean do bhaoi romhat*, l.104 *an trácht ná an taobh solus*). This arrangement of poems, according to Bergin (*IBP* 40), ‘is rare in MSS’ (*IBP* p. 154). In his presentation of the poem *Briathra cogaid ‘gon cath Laigneath*, Bergin (*IBP* 40) chose not to divide the poem into stanzas. In the poem *Fada mé ar mearughadh sligheadh* Ó Cuív (1946, 50) adopted the same procedure.

This metre requires a syllable count of $8^2 + 6^2$ and this is fulfilled throughout the poem except for l. 77. which is illegible owing to damage to the manuscript. The requirement of alliteration is always met by our poet. Alliteration is present in each line of the poem. 87% of the examples comprise *fíoruaim* with the remaining 13% of lines having *uaim ghnúise*.

End-Rhyme: The pattern of imperfect end-rhyme is consistent throughout the poem. The finals of even lines make imperfect rhyme with one another. The vowel in the first, stressed syllable of the final words of the even lines is always -o- (e.g. ll. 2, 4 *moltar* : *cosnadh*, ll. 14, 16 *ollamh* : *cogur*, ll. 38, 40 *lomadh* : *ndobhart*, ll. 86, 88 *a-dobhart* : *thoghus*). The finals of odd lines make imperfect consonance with one another and with the finals of the even lines (e.g. ll. 5–8 *ndeithneas* : *ollamh* : *n-iomad* : *mholadh*, ll. 11–14 *n-ionadh* : *osgladh* : *cleachtadh* : *ollamh*).

In the *iargcomharc* the stressed vowel in even lines changes from **o** to **a**. Here the vowel in the first, stressed syllable of the final words of the even lines is always -a-, while the vowel in the second, unstressed syllable is -a- (e.g. ll. 136, 138 *chagadh* : *alladh*, ll. 140, 142 *tachar* : *Adhar*, ll. 144, 146 *annamh* : *anfadh*).

Internal Rhyme: There is internal rhyme (perfect and imperfect) in every couplet where the stressed words of the even lines rhyme with stressed words in the preceding odd lines. Although the Grammatical Tracts prohibit perfect rhyme in poems in brúilingeacht, there are many instances of perfect internal rhyme in couplets in this poem.⁸³ There is perfect internal rhyme in approximately one-third (32%) of couplets (e.g. ll. 9, 10 *mnáibh* : *dáibh*, ll. 11, 12 *Taidhg* : *aird*, ll. 15, 16 *meadh* : *bean*, ll. 17, 18 *meadh* : *bean*, ll. 19, 20 *iomtha* : *fhionnfa*, ll. 23, 24 *díobh* : *shíor*, ll. 25, 26 *áth* : *tráth*, ll. 27, 28 *craoibhe* : *naoidhe*, ll. 43, 44 *Taidhg* : *aird*, ll. 55, 56 *meadh* : *bhean*, ll. 57, 58 *teimheal* : *Eimhear* / *chlú* : *tú*, ll. 61, 62 *meadh* : *bean* / *féin* : *fhreimh*, ll. 63, 64 *cáinte* : *fáilte*, ll. 65, 66 *clú* : *tú*, ll. 71, 72 *dí* : *bí*, ll. 75, 76 *eile* : *th'eire*, ll. 91, 92 *muirear* : *bruidhean*, ll. 99, 100 *ghaol* : *caol*, ll. 101, 102 *Chorc* : *folt*, ll. 109, 110 *cás* : *bás*, ll. 111, 112 *Eamhna* : *ndealbha*, ll. 119, 120 *ar-aon* : *thaobh*, ll. 131, 132 *eadh* : *bean*). This would lead us to ascertain that although imperfect rhyme (e.g. ll. 5, 6 *dhearmaid* : *fheargaigh*, ll. 13, 14 *Caitilín* : *aithirthír*) was favoured in this style, the prohibition in the Grammatical Tracts was not observed by poets. Ní Dhomhnaill (1975, p. 64) states that despite the fact that it was a fault, it was often in brúilingeacht metres: *Sin comhardadh slán san áit ar chóir comhardadh briste, uaithne nó amas, a bheith. Bíodh gur locht é, is minic in aistí brúilingeachta é (§111).*

All internal stressed words must have rhyming partners, but the first and occasionally the first and second words in the first line of the couplet may be left outside the rhyming (and therefore the alliterating) scheme; such a word is labelled *urlann*. The phenomenon of a double *urlann* in bardic poetry is rare in certain metres (See McManus 2017, p. 61). In this poem there are only four examples (4% of our poem) of a double *urlann* (l. 1 *Fada, mná*, l. 53 *Ailbhe, inghean*, l. 59 l. 87 *teach, bí*, l. 107 *d'fhuil, Mogha*).

⁸³ IGT v §117...gabhann 7 anand comhardudh dana dirigh 7 ni dligheann beth isa brulingeacht mar nach dligheand comhardudh brulingeachta beth isa dan direach...

There are examples throughout the poem where consonantal quality differs: (e.g. ll. 17, 18 *heineach* : *eitigh*, ll. 33, 34 *mhnáibh* : *chlár*, ll. 59, 60 *Móir* : *Mór*, ll. 67, 68 *mhnáibh* : *fhás*, ll. 73, 74 *féin* : *séad*, ll. 83, 84 *uathadh* : *Chruachain*, ll. 107, 108 *Nuadhad* : *gruadh-sain*, ll. 117, 118 *dual* : *buaidh*).

There are examples of internal rhyme throughout the poem where final consonants are absent in one of the rhyming words. The quality of the vowels match, i.e. if the missing consonant is matching a broad one in the other word the vowel before the missing consonant anticipates a broad consonant (e.g. ll. 5, 6 *dámh* : *mná*; ll. 11, 12 *a-tá* : *dámh*; ll. 15, 16 *díbh* : *bí*; ll. 19, 20 *mhnaoi* : *chráoibh*; ll. 25, 26 *iar* : *bhia*; ll. 35, 36 *crích* : *dí*; ll. 39, 40 *crích* : *dí*; ll. 51, 52 *so* : *chor*; ll. 55, 56 *ghaois* : *bhaoi*; ll. 71, 72 *tús* : *chlú*; ll. 79, 80 *a-tá* : *chás*; ll. 91, 92 *rua* : *gcuach*; ll. 95, 96 *tocht* : *do*; ll. 115, 116 *laoi* : *craoibh*; ll. 127, 128 *mhnaoi* : *chráoibh*; ll. 129, 130 *tír* : *dí*; ll. 135, 136 *múr* : *clú*; ll. 137, 138 *réidh* : *hé*; ll. 139, 140 *clú* : *tús*; ll. 145, 146 *sé* : *géig*).

Breacadh - There are some instances of the use of the metrical ornament of *breacadh* ‘speckling’ employed by poets to offset the occurrence of the metrical fault known as *caoiche*. ‘rhyme of a word with itself’ (e.g. ll. 1, 2, 3 *mná* : *mná* : *mná*; ll. 87, 88, 90 *teach* : *teach-sain* : *teach*, thus allowing the poet to use *éiceas* : *n-éiceas* in ll. 89, 90).

ll. 1, 2, 3: The words *mná* and *maidhe* in l. 1 are rhyming with themselves in l. 2. However, the metrical fault of *caoiche* is avoided by the poet’s use of *breacadh* ‘speckling’ and his repetition of the word *mná* (highlighted in red) in l. 3.

Fada is mná maidhe mná Mumhan,

a mná maidhe moltar

mná gan éanlocht ar a n-eineach

ll. 87–90: Here below there is another example of *breacadh*. In ll. 89–90 the word *éigeas* rhymes with itself. However, the metrical fault of *caoiche* is again avoided by using the word *teach* (highlighted in red) for a third time in l. 90:

teach arnach bí easbaidh fhileadh

an *teach*-sain do thoghus

ní tearc éigeas isin iostadh

teach na n-éigeas d'fhostadh.

Caoiche: As with poem 1 (see notes on *Caoiche* p. 77), there are some examples of words rhyming with themselves throughout this poem (e.g. ll. 31, 32 *Caitilín* : *Caitilín*; ll. 49, 50 *mnaoi* : *mnaoi*; ll. 67, 68 *clú* : *clú*; ll. 79, 80 *teach* : *teach*; ll. 97, 98 *cuma* : *cuma* / *mná* : *mná*; ll. 103, 104 *taobh* : *taobh*; ll. 105, 106 *Éimhir* : *d'Éimhear*; ll. 113, 114 *d'iath* : *t-iath*. Though these words appear to rhyme with themselves, the words do not have the same meaning (with the exception of ll. 79, 80 and ll. 97–98). This phenomenon is called *claochládh céille* ‘difference of meaning,’ and avoids the metrical fault of *caoiche* (see *GGBM* ll. 2531–2). However, in ll. 79, 80 the word *teach* rhymes with itself with both of the words in the nominative case and also in ll. 97, 98 *mná*, the genitive sg. of *bean* appears twice.

Compound words: Here we see the poet having to be inventive as the name *Caitilín* proved to be a difficult name to rhyme in full rhyme. The poet has shown his creativity by creating some interesting compound words in order to create rhyme with the name of his patroness. Her name is not easy to rhyme in full rhyme as opposed to *rinn/airdrinn*. Therefore, he has to be inventive, and he creates a trisyllabic word to rhyme perfectly with *Caitilín*. In ll. 13, 14 we see that *Caitilín* makes imperfect rhyme with *aithirthír*, a three-syllable compound of *athair* + *tír*.⁸⁴ Again in ll. 133, 134 another three-syllable compound

⁸⁴ For a discussion of compound word constructions see *SNG* pp. 68–71.

word (*aistirmhín*), a compound of *aister* + *mín*, has been created to achieve imperfect rhyme with *Caitilín*.

Dúnadh: The poem in praise of Caitilín comes to a close at l. 134. There is no *dúnadh* here (*Fada is mná maithe mná Mumhan / is aistirmhín ollamh*). However, there follows an *iargcomharc* dedicated to Caitilín's husband Dáibhíoth a Róitse (l. 137). This *iargcomharc* supplies the *dúnadh* 'closure' to the poem, where the final syllable of the poem is echoing the opening syllable of the poem: ***Fada*** is mná maithe mná Mumhan / ag géig Annla ***anfad***.

With the change of the vowel-pattern in the *iargcomharc* (see End Rhyme above p. 124), the poet emphasises, with ingenuity, the esteem in which both Caitilín, his patroness, and her husband, are held. Firstly, he retains a specific vowel pattern throughout the poem in praise of Caitilín. Thereafter (ll. 135–146), when he sets about the verses in praise of Dáibhíoth a Róitse, he cleverly adopts a new vowel-pattern, thus showing that Dáibhíoth a Róitse is held in the same regard as Caitilín, his patroness.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

ABM

CRITICAL EDITION

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Fada is mna maithi mná Muman 2. a mna maithi moltair 3. mna gan enlocht ar a n-eineac 4. a ceadbladh do cosnadh. 5. mna 'gar dearmad damh a ndeithnes 6. mna nar fergaigh ollam 7. ní bhiu 'ga n-airimh le n-imat 8. na mna(i)-sin do moladh 9. ní ruca bean tar mnaibh Muman 10. ga beag daibh a ndobhart. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Fada is mná maithe mná Mumhan, a mná maithe moltar, mná gan éanlocht ar a n-eineach, a gcéadbhladh do cosnadh. Mná 'gar dhearmaid dámh a ndeithneas, mná nár fheargaigh ollamh; ní bhiú 'ga n-áirimh le n-iomad na mnái-sin do moladh; ní racha bean tar mnáibh Mumhan, ga beag dáibh a ndobhart? |
|---|--|

l. 3. aonlocht, n-eineach; l. 4. cosnadh; l. 5. daimh, ndeithneas; l. 6. feargaigh, ollamh; l. 7. imath; l. 9. raca; l. 10. doibh.

1. Long have the women of Munster been noble women,
2. her [i.e. Munster's] noble women are praised,
3. they are women without any blemish on their honour,
4. their original fame has been preserved.
5. They are women with whom poets forget their haste,
6. women who did not anger any ollamh;
7. I will not be enumerating them because of their number
8. those women who were praised;
9. no woman can exceed the women of Munster,
10. how is what I have said insignificant for them?

11. Ag inghin Taidg a-ta a n-inad
12. damh os aird 'ga osgladh
13. bregaidh Caitilin do cleachutadh
14. o aithirthir ollam.
15. ga ben dib is meadh dá maithes
16. bean ar nac bi cogur
17. cia is medh da heneac ní fheadar
18. bean nar eitigh ollam
19. beith da mnai imtha 'na histadh ?
20. ní fhinnfa ar craibh Corad

- Ag inghin Taidhg a-tá a n-ionadh,
dámh os aird 'ga osgladh;
bréagaidh Caitilín dá cleachtadh
ó aithirthír ollamh.
Gá bean díbh is meadh dá maitheas?
Bean ar nach bí cogur;
cia is meadh dá heineach ní fheadar,
bean nár eitigh ollamh.
Beith do mhnaoi iomtha 'na hiostadh
ní fhionnfa ar chraoibh Choradh.

l. 11. inghean, Taidhg, a n-ionad; l. 12. daimh, osgladh; l. 13. breagaidh, Caitilín; l. 15. gach, díbh, maitheas; l. 16. nach; l. 17. mead, heneach, fheadar; l. 18. eaitigh; l. 19. histear; l. 20. craoibh, Coradh.

11. The daughter of Taidhg has inherited their place,
12. poets proclaim it publicly;
13. Caitilín entices by her practice
14. an ollamh from his homeland.
15. What woman of them is a measure for her nobility?
16. A woman that nobody whispers about;
17. I do not know who is a measure for her honour,
18. a woman who never refused a poet.
19. That there is a woman-rival for her in her house
20. you will not hear of such to challenge the branch of Cora.

21. Bean nar fed duini do deradh
 22. ni tren uirri acht ollam
 23. is terc bean dibh mar a-duba(i)rt
 24. do shir acht cleath Corad
 25. bean nac iar ath ar an eineac
 26. trath ni bhia ga[n] bronnad
 27. gebhuidh ac cuirm ma craibhi Maisten
 28. cuirn naidi 'ga nochtad
 29. tuc gan cradh d'erghi 'na hoireacht
 30. slat Berri 'ga bronnad

Bean **nár fhéad** duine do dhearadh,
 ní **tréan** uirre acht ollam**h**;
 is tearc bean **díobh** mar a-dub**hart**
 do shíor acht cleath **Choradh**.
 Bean nach iar **áth** ar an eineach**,**
 tráth ní bhia gan **bhronnadh**;
 géabhuidh **ag** cuirm craoib**he** Maistean
 cuirn naoid**he** 'ga nochtad**h**.
 tug gan **chradh** d'**éirghe** 'na hoireacht,
 slat **Bhéirre** 'ga **bhronnadh**.

l. 21. fead; l. 22. trean, ach, ollamh; l. 23. tearc; l. 24. ach, Coradh; l. 25. nach, iaradh, eineach;
 l. 26. ttrath, ni bhiadh, gha, bronadh; l. 27. geabhuidh, ag, cuirim; l. 28. nochtadh; l. 29. d'eirgi;
 l. 30. Beirri, bronad.

21. A woman who could refuse nobody,
 22. there is nobody capable of influencing her except an ollamh;
 23. it is few of these women as I said
 24. who were as long-lasting except the leader of Coradh [i.e. Caitilín].
 25. A woman who seeks not to avoid generosity,
 26. she will not be bestowing it any time;
 27. at the ale-feast of the branch of Maistiu
 28. new goblets she will display.
 29. They do not mature on her farms,
 30. because the scion of Béirre [Caitilín] gives so many cows away.

31. Geall re Caitilin da cuirter
 32. Caitilin 'ga cosnamh
 33. in geall beris o mhnaib Mumhan
 34. beirid o clar Connacht.
 35. in geall cuireis ré crich Laigean
 36. di tuicter a torad
 37. ar teacht na cleri a measg Mhigeac
 38. breath le-si 'ga lomad

Geall re Caitilín dá gcuirtear,
 Caitilín 'ga cosnamh;
 an geall **bheireas** ó mhnáibh Mumhan,
 beiridh ó **chlár** Connacht.
 An geall **chuireas** ré crích Laighean,
 dí tuigtear a toradh.
 Ar **dteacht** na cléire i measg Mhidheach,
 breath léi-se 'ga lomadh.

l. 31. Caitilín; l. 32. Caitilín; l. 33. beiris, ó, mhnaibh, Maistean; l. 35. cuireas; l. 36. tuictear, toradh; l. 37. cleiri.

31. If Caitilín were challenged,
 32. Caitlin would be defending it;
 33. just as she surpasses the women of Munster,
 34. she does the same with those of Connacht.
 35. Her challenge with the boundary of Leinster,
 36. to her the outcome is understood;
 37. When the company of poets came among the people of Meath,
 38. the judgement going with her lays her bare [of goods].

39. Teit a coimmes tar crích Ulad
 40. ní roibeag di a ndobart
 41. ní tugad le habacht eiteach
 42. 'na haras ar ollam.
 43. ingean Taidg ar tocht na filead
 44. scol is gac aird fhosdus
 45. mar budh moidi in cradh a caithem
 46. slat Boindi 'ga brondad
 47. muna tuc duine nach dlighfedh
 48. guth uirre ní homan.

Téid a coimeas tar crích Ulabh,
 ní roibheag dí a ndobhart;
 ní tugabh le hábhacht eiteach
 'na háras ar ollambh.
 Ingbhean Taidbg ar dtocht na **b**hfileabh
 scol **a**s gacbh aird fhosdus;
 mar budh móide **a**n cradh a **ch**aitheambh,
 slat **B**hóinne 'ga **b**hronnadh;
 muna **th**ug duine nach dlighfeadh
 guth uirre ní hombhan.

l. 39 coimheas, Uladh; l. 40 ní; l. 41 tugadh, habhacht; l. 42 ollamh; l. 43. Thaidg, filead l. 45.
 crud, caitheamh; l. 46. gha; l. 47. tug, dlighfeadh; l. 48. Blank.

39. Comparison with her goes past Ulster,
 40. what I have said is not too trivial for her;
 41. no master-poet is refused even in jest
 42. in her dwelling place.
 43. On the arrival of the poets, the daughter of Tadhg
 44. engaged poets from every direction;
 45. because wealth is greater for being spent,
 46. the scion from the Boyne bestowing it;
 47. if a guest did not take more than his due
 48. there is no fear of criticism of her.

49. Canfaid misi re mnai Maisten

50. sibh-si os gac mnai moltair

51. ní fhuil so ara nert dod neimced

52. ben do chor ad comar

53. Aillbi inghean Cormaic cnes roigheal

54. bean 'gar orrdraic ollam

55. tu a meadh ar gais is ar glicus

56. in bean do bhai romhat.

57. Temeal ar do clu ní creitter

58. tu Emher na n-ollamh

59. ac so a fuil tort ac Moir Muman

60. Mor do tocht ar tosac.

Canfaidh mise re mnaoi Maistean

sibh-se os gach mnaoi moltar;

ní fhuil so ara neart dod neimhchead

bean do chor ad chomhar.

Ailbhe inghean Chormaic cneas roigheal,

bean 'gar orrdhraic ollamh,

tú a meadh ar ghaois is ar ghliocus,

an bhean do bhaoi romhat.

Teimheal ar do chlú ní chreidtear,

tú Eimhear na n-ollamh;

ag so a fuil tort ag Móir Mumhan,

Mór do thocht ar tosach.

l. 49. Canfadh, mna, Maistean; l. 50. moltar; l. 51. bhfuil, neimcead; l. 52. bean; l. 53. Aillbhi, cneas; l. 55. gaois; l. 57. ní; l. 58. Emhear; l. 58. bhfuil, ag; l. 60. tosach.

49. I will say to the woman of Maistiu

50. you are praised over every woman;

51. even if they wanted to, the thing that is not in their strength

52. is to compare a woman with you.

53. Ailbhe of the very bright complexion, the daughter of Cormac,

54. a woman with whom an ollamh was [ever] celebrated,

55. you are equal to her in wisdom and in cleverness

56. the woman who came before you.

57. A blemish on your fame is not believed,

58. you are the Eimhear of the master-poets;

59. this is all Mór Mhumhan has over (i.e. better than) you,

60. that Mór came first.

61. As tu fe <u>in</u> is medh da maithes	Is tú féin is meadh dá maitheas,
62. g <u>ac</u> ben dod [fh]re <u>im</u> ro <u>mat</u>	gach bean dod fhréimh romhat;
63. fuair cainti <u>arna</u> aithne at istadh	fuair cáinte arna aithne id iostadh
64. failti a n-aice orsan.	fáilte i n-aice orsan.
65. Tu is <u>airmhighi</u> clu dot cineadh	Tú is áirmhighe clú dot chineadh ,
66. tu is air <u>ni</u> d'oll <u>am</u>	tú is áirne d'ollamh;
67. do cenn <u>chais</u> clú do mnaibh Mu <u>man</u>	do cheannchais clú do m <u>hnáibh</u> Mum <u>han</u>
68. o <u>n</u> clu do fas orat.	ón chlú do fhás orat.
69. Sed arna aithne ar a fheabhus	Séad arna aithne ar a fheabhus,
70. ad baili 'ga bronn <u>ad</u>	id bhaile 'ga bhronnadh .

l. 61. meadh, maitheas; l. 65. dod; l. 66. airmhigh, ollamh; l. 67. ceannchais; l. 68. gclu, fhas, ort; l. 69. sead.

61. You yourself are the measure of their nobility,
62. every woman from your race before you;
63. after the satirist was recognised (as a satirist) in your dwelling place
64. he was welcomed at the doorpost.
65. You have the most famous reputation for your race,
66. you are the _____? for an ollamh;
67. you purchased fame for the women of Munster
68. from the fame that grew on you.
69. After it was recognised for its excellence,
70. the treasure is bestowed in your house.

71. as <u>inann</u> <u>tús</u> dí <u>et</u> <u>deredh</u>	Is ionann tús dí is deireadh,
72. ní bi <u>ar</u> do clu cogur	ní bhí ar do chlú cogur;
73. tu fe <u>in</u> is o <u>man</u> da athbrath	tú féin is omhan dá athbhrath,
74. in sed fhosta o oll <u>am</u>	an séad fhosta ó ollamh,
75. an ngebhudh be <u>an</u> ele h'in[adh]	an ngéabhudh bean eile h'ionadh?
76. is let th'eire d'fost <u>ad</u>	Is leat th'eire d'fhostadh
77. do chuir[t ...] fhir na n-in <u>ad</u>	do chúirt-se, más fhíor, 'na n-ionadh,
78. du <u>inti</u> na righ r[omhat].	dúinte na ríogh romhat.
79. Aibhinn in tech a-ta agat	Aoibhinn an teach a-tá agat,
80. teach gan cas a cogad	teach gan chás i gcogadh,
81. bruigean tirm buaballbhlaith bleigeac	bruidhean tirm buabhallbhláith bleidheach,
82. tuaruscbail Cinn Chorad.	tuaruscbháil Chinn Choradh.

l. 71. deire; l. 72. ní, bhi; l. 73. omhan, athbhrath; l. 74. fosta; l. 75. ngeabhudh, eile, h'ionad;
l. 76. leat, t'aire; l. 77. cuirti, fir, n-ionad; l. 78. na righe, romhad; l. 79. Aoibhin, teach; l. 80.
cogadh; l. 81. bruighean, tirim, bleigheach; l. 82. tuaruscbhail.

71. The beginning is the same for her [it, i.e. your fame] as the end,
72. there is no criticism about your fame;
73. you are the one to fear its revelation,
74. the unwavering respect from a poet,
75. would another woman [willingly] take your place?
76. You must retain the burden of the fact that
77. your court, if it is true, has taken the place of them,
78. the forts of kings before you.
79. Beautiful is the house that you have,
80. a house not troubled by strife,
81. a house that is cosy, flourishing and abounding in drinking horns,
82. the likes of Kincora.

83. Is uathad ben aga mbraitter
 84. tech mar mar Cruachain Connacht
 85. raith na hEmna is meadh da mhaithes
 86. in tech dearbhtha a-dobhart.
 87. teach arnac bi esbaid fhilead
 88. an teach-sain do thoghus
 89. ní terc eices isin istadh
 90. tech na n-eces d'fostad.
 91. teach a rua muirer na Muman
 92. bruigean na cuach clochach
 93. rath is uaisle ana gac istadh
 94. nac buailfe dam dorus
 95. tocht tarin tegh ní budh tuirseac
 96. ac nac beg do a ndobart.

Is uathadh bean aga mbraithtear
 teach mar **Chru**achain Connacht,
 ráith na hEamhna is meadh dá mhaitheas
 an teach dearbhtha a-dobhart.
 Teach arnach **bí** easbaidh fhileadh
 an teach-sain do thoghus;
 ní **tearc éigeas** isin iostad,
 teach na n-**éigeas** d'fhostadh.
 Teach a rua muirear na Mumhan,
 bruidhean na **gcuach gclo**chach;
 ráth is uaisle **ioná gach** iostadh
 nach buailfe **dámh** dorus.
 tocht tarin **dteagh** ní budh tuirseach,
 ach nach beag do a ndobhart.

l. 83. bean; l. 84. teach; l. 85. hEamhna, mhaitheas; l. 86. teach, a-dubhart; l. 87. easbaid, file;
 l. 89. teirc, eiceas, iostadh; l. 90. teach, n-eceas; l. 91. muirear; l. 92. brui~~gean~~, gcuach; l. 93.
 iostadh; l. 95. teagh, ní, tuirseach; l. 96. beag, a ndabhairt.

83. It is few women with whom one would associate
 84. a house like Cruacha Connacht,
 85. the fort of Eamhain is the measure for its nobility
 86. that distinguished house that I spoke about.
 87. A house where there is no lack of poets,
 88. that house that I have chosen;
 89. there is no scarcity of poets in the dwelling,
 90. the house of retaining poets, i.e. where poets are retained.
 91. A house to where the company of Munster will come,
 92. the house of the jewelled goblets;
 93. a house [ráth] more noble than any dwelling
 94. where a host of poets does not [willingly] leave;
 95. praising the house would not be tiresome,
 96. but what I have said of it is no small tribute to it.

97. Ticfat <u>tar</u> cuma mna Maisten	Tiocfad tar cuma mná Maistean,
98. <u>cuma</u> na mna molfat	cuma na mná molfad;
99. da ros <u>g</u> glasa do ghael Echach	dá rosg glasa do ghaol Eachach,
100. mala cael <u>nar</u> comadh.	mala caol nár comadh.
101. <u>fuair</u> o Corc da n- <u>agra</u> aiseac	Fuair ó Chorc, dá n-agra aiseag
102. in folt casta clogac	an folt casta clogach;
103. ni <u>nar</u> don taebh asa tugad	ní nár don taobh asa dtugadh
104. in <u>tract</u> na in taebh <u>solus</u> .	an trácht ná an taobh solus.
105. <u>fuil</u> Eimhir san <u>ucht</u> do haithneadh	Fuil Éimhir san ucht do haithneadh
106. d'Eimher <u>tuc</u> a thorad	d'Éimhear tug a thoradh.
107. d'fuil Mogha Nuad <u>at</u> do nigeadh	D'fhuil Mogha Nuadh <u>ad</u> do nigheadh
108. <u>in</u> <u>gruad</u> -sain <u>nac</u> gontar	an gruadh-sain nach gontar.
109. do geal <u>ad</u> ? le cas ni celeabh	Do gealadh le Cas, ní cheileabh,
110. in bas sheda sholus	an bhas sheadha sholus;
111. ma a-ta <u>ar</u> geis Emhna ni fhedar	má a-tá ar ghéis Eamhna ní fheadar,
112. <u>beim</u> ndealba <u>acht</u> <u>mar</u> do <u>bart</u> .	béim ndealbha acht mar do h art.

l. 97. Tiocfad, Maistean; l. 98. molfad; l. 99. Eachach; l. 101. aiseach; l. 102. cloghac; l. 103. tugadh; l. 104. taobh; l. 106. d'Eimhir; l. 107. Nuadhat; l. 108. an, gruadh, gointear; l. 110. bhas, sheada, solus; l. 111. geais, Eamhna, ní, fheadar; l. 112. ndealbha, ach, dubhart.

97. I will speak of the appearance of the woman of Maistiu,
98. the appearance of the woman I will praise;
99. two green eyes she inherited from the descendant of Eochu,
100. slender brows that were never wounded (by satire).
101. She received from Corc, should he desire to reclaim them
102. the curly bell-shaped hair;
103. it is no shame for the side from which they came
104. the foot or the bright side.
105. The blood of Éimhear was recognised in her breast
106. for Éimhear gave this.
107. With the blood of Mogh Nuadhad
108. that cheek that is never wounded (with satire) was washed.
109. It was whitened by Cas, I will not hide it,
110. the slender fair hand;
111. if there is a blemish on the swan of Eamhain I do not know,
112. the gift of beauty except as I have described it.

113.	<u>In</u> cuid is aibhne d'iath <u>Mumhan</u>	An chuid is aoibhne d'iath Mumhan
114.	<u>in</u> t-iath faiti is follus	an t-iath faoithe is follus,
115.	<u>in</u> <u>crich</u> fa lai na lerg slaitgheal	an chríoch fá Laoi na learg slaitgheal
116.	a sealbh ac craibh Corad.	i sealbh ag craoibh Choradh .
117.	Caille <u>in</u> Druagh asa dual coimmes	Caoille an Druadh asa dual coimeas
118.	buaidh gac <u>críche</u> cosnus	buaidh gach críche chosnus ;
119.	a-tait <u>ar-aen</u> fa mnai Mhaisten	a-táit ar-aon fa mhnaoi Mhaistean
120.	cis <u>in</u> da taebh togbus	cís an dá thaobh togbhaidh;
121.	<u>iomdha</u> [b]albhshruth san iath idhan	iomdha balbhshruth san iath iodhan
122.	on <u>tarbac</u> cliabh Coradh.	ón tarbhach cliabh coradh.

l. 113. d'iaith; l. 114. faide, folus; l. 115. learg, shlaithgheal; l. 116. sealb, ag, cruibh; l. 117. Druag, coimhmeas; l. 118. gach; l. 119. ataid, aon, mhnai Maistean; l. 120. taobh, togbhus; l. 121. iomdha, balbhshruth, iodhan.

113. The most beautiful part of the territory of Munster,
114. it is clear that the territory is in her control,
115. the territory of the Lee of the white-branched sloping expanses
116. is in the possession of the branch of Coradh.
117. Caoille an Druadh, which it is fair to compare [to other sites],
118. holds its lead over every other territory.
119. they are both under the control of the woman of Maistiu
120. who exacts the rents of both.
121. There are many silent streams in the perfect land
122. from which the weir basket benefits

123.	Budh dimbuan <u>ar techt</u> don tesbach	Budh diombuan ar dteacht don teasbach
124.	sreabh indfhuar fa fhoth <u>lacht</u>	sreabh ionnfhuar fa fhothlacht
125.	beiridh teas gan fhis o eathar	beiridh teas gan fhios ó eathar
126.	sribh ar teact a tobar	sriobh ar dteacht a tobar.
127.	le tic do blath fa mnai Maistean	Le dtig do bhláth fa mhnaoi Mhaistean ,
128.	ni nar do craibh cromadh.	ní nár do chraoibh cromadh.

l. 123. diombuan, teacht, teasbach; l. 124. sreab, iondfuar, fhoithleacht; l. 127. tic, bhlath; l. 128. ní.

123. When the summer heat comes short-lived will be
 124. the cool stream under the brook-lime;
 125. a stream having come from its source unnoticed
 126. cools a boat.
 127. With all that blossoms under the woman of Maistiu
 128. it is not shameful for the branch to be bending.

129.	Ni don tír a-tam 'ga thuiremh	Ní don tír a-tám 'ga thuireamh,
130.	ga ttam di <u>acht</u> a ndobart	gá dtám dí acht a ndob hart ;
131.	esgaidh ach nach eadh a sibul	éasgaidh acht nach eadh a siob hul ,
132.	bean Edair go hollamh	bean Éadair go hollamh;
133.	o Chaitilín ar na clectadh	ó Chaitilín ar na chleachtadh
134.	is aistirmhin ollamh. ^x	is aistirmhín ollamh.

l. 129. tuireamh; l. 130. a ndubhart; l. 131. easgaid, siubhal; l. 132. Eadair; l. 133. ó, cleachtadh;
 l. 134. ais tir mhín.

129. In short, she is not from the country I am describing,
 130. but that which I [already] mentioned;
 131. except that it is not easy for her to travel,
 132. the woman of Éadar [would go] to a master-poet.
 133. a [once] comfortable master-poet
 134. is eager to go on a journey because of Caitilín [i.e. to journey to her house].

135.	Oighri Muiris na mur fleaghach	Oighre Muiris na múr bh fleadhach
136.	tuillidh clu san cagadh	tuillidh clú san ch agadh;
137.	Daibhith a Roitsi is reidh eineach	Dáibhíoth a Róitse is réidh eineach
138.	oigi he ina a alladh.	óige hé ioná a alladh.
139.	gur ceann <u>chad</u> clu le cleith Maistean	Gur ceannchadh clú le cleith Maistean
140.	leis tuss in gach tachar	leis tús in gach tachar,
141.	faicfidh sein da eis a eineach	faoig fidh sein dá éis a eineach
142.	a cein o cleith Adhar.	i gcéin ó chleith Adhar.
143.	teit cliar a n-uallcha 'na istadh	Téid cliar i n-uallcha 'na iostadh
144.	a triall uadha is annamh	a triall uadha is annamh
145.	os se is ann <u>sa</u> le gach n-oll <u>am</u>	Os é is annsa le gach n-ollamh,
146.	ac geig Andla anfad. Fada ...	ag géig Annla anfad. F.ad.a.is.m.

l. 136. tuillidh; l. 138. oige, iona; l. 139. cleath; l. 142. a gcein, ó, cleaith; l. 143. teaith, iostadh;
l. 144. uatha.

135. The descendant of Muiris of the castles given to feasting?
136. earns fame in battle;
137. Daibhíoth de Róiste whose generosity is easy
138. he is younger than his fame.
139. Until fame was secured by the warrior of Maistiu
140. he had led the way in every battle,
141. that will leave behind him his honour
142. in far-off places, the warrior of Adhar.
143. The poets become arrogant in his dwelling-place
144. their leaving him is seldom.
145. Since he is most beloved of every master-poet,
146. I will stay with the hero from Annla.

NOTES

l. 2. I have emended *moltair* > *moltar* to facilitate rhyme with *cosnadh* in **l. 4.** (*moltar* : *cosnadh*) as when imperfect rhyme occurs, normally final consonants must be of the same quality.

l. 5. In this line, the context is that poets are treated so generously in Caitilín's house, they are reluctant to leave or they forget that they must be on their way. (*DIL* s.v *deithnes* n [o, m.] speed, haste, eagerness).

l. 5–6. I have emended *'gar dearmad* to *'gar dhearmaid* in order to rhyme with *fheargaigh* in the following line as, when there is imperfect rhyme, normally final consonants must be of the same quality.

l. 8. In the line *na mna(i)-sin do moladh* 'those women who were praised,' *ABM* recommends removing the *i* from *mna(i)-sin*. However, I am retaining this *i* as the internal rhyme is clearer.

l. 9. I am emending *ni ruca* > *ní racha* to make sense of this line. I note that form in the later manuscript is *raca*.

l. 11–12. The poet asserts that Caitilín has inherited or taken the place of the great women of Munster and that the poets proclaim it publicly, literally that poets out loud open this opinion [to the public].

l. 13. The manuscript reads *do cleachtadh* but I have changed *do* > *dá* in order to make sense of this section.

l. 14. For *ó aithirthír* I have read *ó a aithirthír* ‘from his homeland’ as this makes more sense (the *a* is elided for syllable count). It is noteworthy that the poet has generated some interesting compound words in the poem in order to create a rhyming partner with the name of his patroness: *aithirthír* : *Caitilín* (ll. 13–14), *aistirmhín* : *Chaitilín* (ll. 133–134) (see Metre p. 127–8).

l. 15–16. In these lines the poet asks is there a famous woman to equal her nobility as she is a woman that nobody whispers about, i.e. the poet is saying that there is no whisper of criticism about Caitilín. There is another instance of *cogur* in l. 72. where the poet asserts that there is no whisper of criticism about Caitilín.

l. 19. In this line *da* may be *do*, the idiom being *bheith do mhnaoi*: the verbal noun + the preposition *do* introduce the agent in the sentence.

l. 22. In this line is the phrase *trén ar* (see *DIL* s.v. *trén* (c) *trén ar* ‘powerful over’). There are some other examples of this phrase in (i) *Ceithearn coilleadh clann Ádhuimh* (Mac Cionnaith, L., 1938, 33, 10.27) - *Tréan tú ar gach éinní eile*, ‘You are powerful over everybody else’; (ii) *A Íosa an éisdir mo dhán?* (McKenna, 1919, 21, 20.4) - *tú as tréan ar gach ní fa nimh*, ‘Thou hast power o’er all things ‘neath Heaven’; (iii) *Fóir a Mheic Mhuire mo ghuais* (McKenna, 1919, 24, 22.11) - *Fearann toghtha na sé sluagh, Míchéal ortha is é bhus tréan*, ‘The choice country of the six hosts - Michael will rule thereover!’

l. 23. I am following the suggestion of *ABM* and I have emended *mar a-duba(i)rt* to *mar a-dubhart* in order to ensure that final consonants are of the same quality.

l. 25. The poet uses an interesting way to emphasise the generosity of his patroness: *Bean nach iar áth ar an eineach*, ‘A woman who is not looking for a ford on generosity.’ In *DIL* s.v. 1 *áth* we get *fo-gaib áth ar* ‘finds a way to achieve’, a metaphorical use of the word for ‘ford’. Here we have a phrase which might mean ‘finding a way to avoid it’. If so the meaning would be ‘a woman who seeks not to avoid generosity’.

l. 26. The word *tráth* probably means ‘hour’ or ‘occasion’ here. The question is do we read *ga* or *ga[n]*? *tráth ní bhia gan bhronnadh*. With *ga* we have ‘she will not be bestowing it any time’. With *gan* ‘she will not be an hour without bestowing’. It all depends therefore on how we take the two lines (25/6) together. I am following the suggestion in *ABM* to include the *n* in *gan* as this makes the best sense. Note that the later MS. reads *gha*.

l. 29. One meaning of *éirghe* is ‘maturing’ (see *DIL* s.v. *éirge* (d) ‘growing up, maturing’). Perhaps the sense here is ‘because the lady of *Béirre* (Caitilín) gives so many cows away, they do not mature on her farms’.

l. 37–38. The poet claims that the poets who were in the company of Caitilín were so impressed by her generosity that they informed their counterparts in Meath. Caitilín will be laid bare of goods as now all Meath poets will be calling on her to avail of her generosity.

l. 44. The form *is gach* is the form the preposition *i* takes before *gach* ‘in every.’ If emended to *as gach* ‘out of / from every’ it makes better sense.

l. 47 / 48. I am taking *guth* + *uirre* as ‘criticism or slander of her.’ In *DIL* we have s.v. *guth* II aspersion, blame, censure, slander.

l. 50. I have emended *moltair* to *moltar* in order to ensure final consonants of the same quality. Here also is another example where the poet uses the 2nd pl. pronoun in place of the 2nd sg. pronoun in order to satisfy the syllable count (see note §18d of poem 1 p. 102).

l. 51. In this line we have the phrase *dod neimhchead*. There is an example of *da neimced* in *Beannacht don tí do mhúin Murchadh* [TCD 1363 (H.4.22) The ‘Seithfín’ Duanaire, 134] on Murchadh (mac Eoghain, mac Roisi, mac mic Murchaid) Ó Madadháin: *Airdi a oil mana bí um Bencher / ní hí in choill is cinntac / acht fás do-ní a-núas da neimced / a cnuas di gur dingbadh*, ‘If there is no height in the forest around B. [sic.] it is not the forest that is to blame; she must grow downwards despite herself until she unburdens herself of her fruit.’ The sense of *da neimced* here seems to be ‘despite itself’⁸⁵ (ll. 97–100; translation in McManus, 2006). In this couplet *dod neimhchead* might mean ‘despite you’ or ‘even if they wanted to’.

l. 62. In this line I am following the suggestion in *ABM* and I am inserting *fh-* to give *fhréimh*. This gives meaning to the sentence while the insertion of *fh* does not impact on alliteration between *fhréimh* and *romhat* as lenited *f* is silent.

⁸⁵ Micheál Hoyne (personal communication) asserts that ‘*Neamh-* is a handy way of making negatives in Classical Modern Irish and can be attached to verbs, adjectives or nouns: *sgaraid* ‘parts’, *neamhsgaraidh* ‘does not part’; *cruaidh* ‘hard’, *neamhcruaidh* ‘not hard’; *ní* ‘something’, *neimhní* ‘nothing’. In front of a palatal consonant *neamh-* becomes *neimh-*. *Do chead X* means ‘with X’s permission’, ‘having consulted X’... *Neimhchead* is just the negative of that. *Do neimhchead X* therefore means ‘without X’s permission’, ‘despite X’.’

l. 63. *cáinte*: *DIL* s.v. *cáinte* n io, m. ‘satirist, lampooner’. See Fergus Kelly (2016, p. 49).

l. 71. I am inserting *is*, the short form of *agus*, for Latin *et*.

l. 71 / 72. *dí* is referring to *do chlú* in the following line as *clú* may be both masculine and feminine (*IGT* ii. §108.98).

l. 75. *ABM* suggests that *-adh* be added to *h’ion[adh]*. I am following this suggestion as the line makes sense and the quality of final consonants.

l. 77. I have emended l. 77. by inserting *-se más: do chúirt[-se más] fhíor*. This restoration generates eight syllables, *fíoruaim*, imperfect rhyme between *chúirt-se : dúinte*, perfect rhyme between *fhíor : ríogh* and imperfect rhyme between *n-ionadh : romhat*. The later manuscript reads *romhad*; this form was acceptable in Classical Irish.

l. 95 - 96. In these lines the word *do* is a stressed word. This is clear as it makes perfect rhyme with *tocht* in the preceding line. Hoyne (2016, p. 197) asserts that ‘in EModIr there is no phonotactic constraint against stressed monosyllables ending in a short vowel.’ It also provides alliteration (*°do, n°dobhart*).

l. 109. The editors of *ABM* have a question mark after *do gealad*.

l. 112. *béim ndealbha* ‘the gift of great beauty’: this is a variant of *buaidh ndealbha / rogha ndealbha* (see Introduction p. 16).

I. 117. Caoille an Druadh is the name given to the ancient kingdom of Fermoy. *The Historical Dictionary of Irish Placenames* (2008, p. 49) states that this was the territory equivalent to the baronies of Fermoy and Condons and Clangibbon, County Cork. O’Keeffe (1926–1928, p. 183, note 1) states that the territory of Fermoy or some portion of it was once known as *Caoille an Druadh* ‘the wizard’s caille’. This wizard was known as Mogh Ruith, the son of Sonasc. O’Keeffe states that he was a ‘celebrated wizard who is said to have studied magic under Simon Magus. In the siege of *Druim Dámhghaire* he is said to have helped Fuacha Muillethan, the king of Munster, and, for his efforts, he was rewarded with the territory of Fir Muighi Féne (Fermoy). Both O’Keeffe (1926–1928) and McCotter (2011) analyse a twelfth-century topographical tract, *Críchad in Chaílli*, which gives, as McCotter (2011, p. 211) states ‘uniquely detailed information on the local kingdom of Fir Maige in Munster, its subdivisions, its lineages, and its churches.’

II. 117–120. Every stressed word in even lines must have a rhyming partner in the previous line. It seems that **Caoille** rhymes with **críche** (ll. 117–118), **Druadh** and **dual** are rhyming with **bua(i)dh**. The word buadh is a variant of buaidh. (ll. 117–118). In the following couplet **ar-aon** makes perfect rhyme with **taobh** (ll. 119–120) leaving **mhnaoi** rhyming with **cís** (ll. 119–120). This shows that *aoi* is pronounced like *í*.

II. 121–128. In these lines we are dealing with symptoms normally associated with righteous kingship. This concept is being used as if brought about by a woman (see Introduction pp. 16–18).

I. 121. In the line I am following the suggestion in *ABM* and I am inserting *b* in *balbhshruth* ‘silent stream’. In *DIL* we find s.v. *balb* (b) Of water, weather, etc. still, calm, silent.

I. 122. Regarding the word *coradh* in the line *ón tarbhach cliabh coradh* ‘from the profitable weir-basket’, it has been suggested to me by Damian McManus that although there are many places called *Cora*, gen. *Corad*, in this instance, the meaning of *cora* is ‘weir’, *cliabh coradh* then being ‘weir-basket’ in which fish are caught. There are some other examples where *cliabh coradh* /*caradh* means ‘weir-basket’ – for example, in *Foraois na gcliar Clann Mhaoil Ruanaigh* [RIA 739 (24/P/9), 282] (Hoyne, 2021, pp. 110–111) by Duibhgenn O Duibhgennáin:

Ára Éireann

iath Mhuighe Luirg is trom toradh

is foraois éisg ’san fiadh iodhan

gach cliabh coradh

‘The fruitful land of Magh Luirg whose fruit is great, is the Aran of Ireland; every weir-basket is a forest of fish in the perfect land’ (§44).

In the eulogy *Tugam aghaidh ar Mhaol Mhórdha* for Maolmhórdha Mac Suibhne (Breatnach 1941, 266–70) is the line:

gabhtar bradán i gcliabh caradh

‘salmon is caught in a weir basket’

Similarly, in the eulogy *Neart Banbha ’ga barúnaibh* (Ní Chárthaigh, 2020, 52–55):

ag gabháil tre ghealchoraidh

bradáin ag na braghallaibh

‘the cormorants catch salmon as they travel through a white weir’ (§6) and again

in

meas is iasg ar aoinshiobhal

ag teacht i gcliabh chaolchoradh

‘mast and fish travel together into the basket of a slender weir’ (§8).

l. 131. Here I am changing *ach* to Classical Irish *acht*.

l. 134. There is an x at the end of this line in the diplomatic text from *ABM*. This denotes the unmarked *dúnadh* at the end of the part of the poem dedicated to Caitilín.

l. 135. This line is the beginning of the *iargcomharc* to Dáibhíoth de Róiste, Caitilín's husband. In the manuscript the *iargcomharc* is distinguished from the main poem by a line space.

l. 138. The sense here is that Dáibhíoth had achieved fame at a very young age.

l. 143/144. In this couplet the sense is that the poets become arrogant or haughty because they are treated so well in Dáibhíoth's dwelling-place.

POEM 3

DLIGHIM ÍOC AS M'FHEARACHT GRÁIDH

Cormac (mac Eóghain) Ó Dálaigh

INTRODUCTION

This eulogy *Dlighim íoc as m'fhearacht gráidh* 'I owe a debt for the patronage given me' is the second of three poems in the Book of Fermoy (RIA MS 1134, 23 E 29) dedicated to Caitilín daughter of Tadhg MacCarthy, wife of Dáibhíoth de Róiste, 3rd Viscount Roche of Fermoy.⁸⁶ The poem has been discussed by Damian McManus and §§3–8 have been translated by him.⁸⁷ The poem comprises thirty-seven verses dedicated to Caitilín with two complementary verses to her husband Dáibhíoth.

A diplomatic edition of the poem has been published in *ABM* (Poem no. 178). I have compared the diplomatic edition in *ABM* to the manuscript. The transcription in *ABM* is an excellent replication of the text of the manuscript. My reading of the manuscript is identical to that of *ABM* except for the following instance: §13b. In this line *bean Oillill anba an anáir* 'Oilill's wife, great was the honour' *ABM* reads *arba*. I have examined the manuscript and this is merely a misreading of *anba* 'very great, huge, vast'. I note that the later manuscript (RIA 781 (23 G 5)) the word is *anba*.

Variant readings from (RIA 781 (23 G 5)), the eighteenth-century manuscript are provided after each quatrain.

I have supplied the diplomatic edition from *ABM*, a critical edition, translation and notes on text, accompanied by introduction, information on manuscripts, poet, patron, metre and subject-matter.

This poem, *Dlighim íoc as m'fhearacht gráidh* 'I owe a debt for the patronage given me' is not lacking in the terminology associated with the roles of the chief-poet and patron

⁸⁶ Caitilín is also the celebrand in Poem 2, p. 98. and in Poem 4, p. 183.

⁸⁷ McManus (forthcoming).

as outlined by Breatnach (1983) (see Subject Matter pp. 153–65). Here we see the chief-poet lauding his patron in verse and revelling in the generosity and privileges he received. The poet emphasises that he is indebted to his patroness and that he must repay her generosity since the relationship he holds with his patroness has reciprocal responsibilities and he states: *ní buan anáir nach íocthar* ‘unrequited respect is not long-lasting.’

Throughout the poem it is evident that this poet is an *ollamh* ‘chief-poet’ to Caitilín. He enjoys the privileges due to a chief-poet as opposed to those due to a visiting poet (see Introduction pp. 7–10). These privileges include *an deoch ghráidh* ‘the drink of affection’, the *anáir* ‘respect’ and *moirn olloimh* ‘affection due to a chief-poet’, *fios a rúine* ‘her confiding in me’, *an lámh dheas* ‘the right-hand side’ at banquets’. This terminology highlights the fact that he enjoys the special chief-poet-patron relationship with Caitilín. McManus (forthcoming) claims that this poem ‘is important mainly... as one of the clearest expressions we have of the special relationship between poet and patron extending to poet and patron’s wife.’ I will discuss this terminology further in Subject-Matter below.

MANUSCRIPTS

This poem is found in two sources (i) RIA 1134 (23 E 29) and in (ii) RIA 781 (23 G 5).

(i) The Book of Fermoy RIA 1134 (23 E 29).

The poem starts on p. 201 of the manuscript and there are two columns on the page. This page is in excellent condition and all lines are legible. Each quatrain is clearly marked by a hanging indent and a capital letter. The poem continues on p. 202, also having two columns. This page is also in excellent condition. The poem ends towards the bottom of the first column. There is a blank space at the top left-hand side of p. 201, presumably intended for

the illustrator or the illuminator to return at a later date to insert an ornate letter *D*. There is a tiny letter *D* scribed on the extreme left of this page of the manuscript.

(ii) RIA 781 (23 G 5)

The poem is found on pp. 124–125 of RIA MS 781 (23 G 5). On p. 124 there are three columns. The poem starts approximately quarter-way down on Column 1. It continues to the other two columns and on to p. 125. This page also has three columns. The poem continues for the length of Column 1 and it ends on the 2nd line of Column 2. In a similar way to the text in the Book of Fermoy, each quatrain is denoted by a hanging indent and a capital letter (see notes on this manuscript on pp. 110–12).

POET

In the Book of Fermoy the poem is ascribed to Cormac (mac Eóghain) Ó Dálaigh. Doubtless another of the great Ó Dálaigh family of Bardic poets (see notes on Poet in poem 1, pp. 67–71).

PATRON

The poem was composed for Caitilín (§26b, §33d) inghean Taidhg Mhéig Carthaigh (§§ 5b, §17a, §32a), wife of Dáibhíoth (§39a), son of Muiris (§38b), 3rd Viscount Roche of Fermoy (†1539). Cokayne (1887–98, Vol. iii, p. 327) states that David Roche, 3rd Viscount of Fermoy (see pp.30–1) was son and heir of Maurice Roche and his first wife, Joan. He further adds that David married Catherine, daughter of Teige Mac Carty-More. The catalogue to the Book of Fermoy refers to §26 of this poem where Clann Charthaigh are mentioned, suggesting that Caitilín is a Mág Carthaigh:

Ar dháil tusa, a fholt mar fhail

do thuill bladhd do Chloinn Charthaigh

‘What you have given, o curly-haired one, has earned fame for Clann Charthaigh’.

Caitilín’s ancestry is documented throughout the poem. She is *ua na ríogh ó Ráith Chruachan* ‘the descendant of the kings from Rathcroghan’⁸⁸ (§3b). She is descended from the great Munster chiefs as the poet states that she has earned fame *do Chloinn Charthaigh* ‘for the Clann Charthaigh’ (§26b). Her eyes give away that she is descended from *Cian* (§28a) while her smooth hair and her tall stature reminds the poet of the heritage of *Cas* (§28d) (see notes on Caitilín’s ancestors pp. 116–19).

Cian was the son of Oilill Olum and brother of both Eóghan Mór and Cas (Cormac Cas) (see p.119). *Foras feasa ar Éirinn* states: *An treas mac d’Oilill ar a dtáinig sliocht .i. Cian. Is ar sliocht an Chéin sin atá Ó Cearbhaill agus Ó Meachair, Ó hEadhra agus Ó Gadhra agus Ó Cathasaigh agus Ó Conchubhair Ciannachta*, ‘The third son of Oilill who left issue was Cian. From this Cian are descended O Cearbhaill and O Meaghair, O hEadhra and O Gadhra and O Cathasaigh and OConchubhar of Ciannachta’ (Dinneen 1908, ll. 4296–4299).

SUBJECT MATTER

This poem *Dlighim íoc as m’fhearacht gráidh* ‘I owe a debt for the patronage given me’ includes terminology associated with the roles of the chief–poet and patron (see Introduction pp. 7–9).

The poet claims that he has a hereditary right (Breatnach 1983) to receive *anáir* ‘special favour’ but that he should reciprocate this *anáir* by composing poetry in praise of his patron or in this case, his patroness (§1, §3–4).

⁸⁸ McManus, 2013, p. 118, note 1. states that *ua* may also be used too denote a female descendant.

It becomes apparent in §3 that the patron in question is a woman. This discovery is interesting in its rarity as, historically, this *anáir* ‘special favour’ was most common with master-poet and male patron. The patroness is *ua na ríogh ó Ráith Chruachan* ‘the descendant of the kings from Rathcroghan’ (§3). In §5. we learn that the woman in question is Caitilín inghean Taidhg. The catalogue to the Book of Fermoy adds (Mhéig Carthaigh).⁸⁹ To learn that a female is the subject of this laudation is pleasing as it portrays the esteem in which this patroness was held in a male dominated society.

From §§3–7 we are given an insight into the privileges enjoyed by the chief-poet (as outlined by Breatnach 1983) in contrast to those of a visiting poet. In §3 when the poet says *An deoch ghráidh* ‘The drink of love,’ this is a metaphorical reference to the special favour reserved for a chief-poet. This *deoch ghráidh* ‘drink of love’ or special favour has not been dispensed on many as it is part of the contract between patron and chief-poet: *ní mór ar ar dháil an ndigh* ‘there are not many on whom she served the drink.’

The *topos* of the lover-poet is brought to mind here with the poet’s use of the word ‘love’. The conceit of the poet as patron’s wife or lover (or widow in the case of a deceased patron)⁹⁰ has been explored by Simms (2015, pp. 247–60). However, in this poem, rather than playing the part of the patron’s wife or lover, the poet is in the role of husband or lover of a woman. Here the poet adapts the conceit to his own circumstances.

The image of Caitilín dispensing a *deoch ghráidh* ‘drink of affection’ on her chief-poet (§3.3a. p. 159) has similar sentiments in tales regarding the bestowal of the drink of sovereignty by a female symbol of sovereignty on a prospective king. McCone (1990, p. 109) asserts that ‘female symbols of sovereignty are not infrequently represented as bestowing a drink upon kings-to-be.’ For example, this bestowal of the drink of sovereignty

⁸⁹ Catalogue to the Book of Fermoy, ISOS Website: <https://www.isos.dias.ie/english/index.html>

⁹⁰ See also Simms (1989), pp. 400–411.

is evident in the medieval Irish tale *Baile in Scáil* ‘The Phantom’s Frenzy’ where an Otherworld phantom prophesies the future kings of Tara that would descend from Conn Céadchathach. Here the sovereignty goddess appears as a beautiful girl dispensing the drink:

Lotar íarum isin tech co n-acatar an ingin macdachta isin toig ⁊ barr órda for a mullach. Dabach aircit co cerclaib órda impe ⁊ sí lán do derglind. Escrai óir for a ur. Copán di ór for a beólai... Ocus ba sí an ingen bóí isin tig for a ciond Flaithi Érenn co práth... (Meyer (1901, pp. 459–60).

‘They went into the house and saw a young girl, and a crown of gold was on her head. There was a silver vat with hoops of gold around it, full of red ale. There was a dipper of gold on its lip... And the girl who sat before them in the house was the Sovereignty of Ireland...’

Similarly, in the eleventh-century Middle Irish prose text *Echtra mac nEchach Muigmedóin* ‘The Adventures of the Sons of Eochaid Muigmedón’ is the image of the sovereignty goddess dispensing the drink of succession on a future king.⁹¹ Here the sovereignty goddess is a loathsome hag who, by a process of metamorphosis, turns into a beautiful young woman when Niall consummates a union with her. McManus (2006, p. 61) states that ‘... the sovereignty figure appears initially in an unpromising or disordered state, requiring the intervention of the rightful king to restore her to her former glory, an allegorical expression of the expectation or hope that the incoming king will bring order and harmony to chaos.’

Antan immorro ro shill fuirri iarsin ⁊ ní raibi forsin domun ingen bid chaime tachim nó tuarascbail inda si... Cia tusa? or in mac. Misi in flaithius, or si... ’ ⁊ ber usce lat, ⁊ chena bid lat ⁊ lad chlaind co brath in rigi ⁊ in forlamus....’

⁹¹ See Toner (2018, pp. 7–14) for a discussion of *Echtra mac nEchach Muigmedóin*.

‘But then, when he looked at her, there was not in the world a damsel whose gait or appearance was more loveable than hers...’ Who art thou,’? says the boy. ‘I am the Sovranty,’ she answered... ‘and take water with thee, and the kingship and the domination will for ever abide with thee and thy children...’⁹²

It is noteworthy that the sovereignty goddess in this tale is called *in Flaithius* ‘The Sovereignty’: she is the embodiment of sovereignty. In this poem, the image of Caitilín dispensing the *deoch ghráidh* symbolises Caitilín being equated to the beautiful sovereignty goddess. This would not have been lost on a contemporaneous audience: Caitilín would have been elevated even more in the eyes of her contemporaries.

Both of these tales exemplify the importance of the bestowal of the drink on people of high status in society and in turn, demonstrate the esteem in which Caitilín was held at that time.

Another interesting point here is that of the women as cupbearer. The woman as cupbearer is a feature in Anglo-Saxon literature as is evident in *Beowulf*, the Old English epic poem set in Scandinavia. In ll. 612–16 *Wealhtheow*, the queen of the Danes dispenses the mead, first on Hrothgar the king, and then to the others in the feasting hall in order of their societal status:

Wealhtheow came in, Hrothgar's queen, observing the courtesies.

Adorned in her gold, she graciously saluted

the men in hall, then handed the cup

first to Hrothgar, their homeland's guardian’ (Translation by Heaney 2000, pp. 41–3).

⁹² Stokes (1903, pp. 198–201).

In this poem, however, the cup-bearing woman has much more agency. Here the drink that Caitilín bestows on the poet represents her wealth, her control and her position as benefactress to the poet.

In §5 the poet refers to *mo bhreath féin* ‘my request’ and this is contrasted to *don digh ghráidh* ‘the drink of love/affection (§5d). These phrases are clearly being used in a technical or metaphorical sense. The phrase *mo bhreath féin* refers to the payment a poet (chief-poet or visiting poet) received from his patron. In contrast *don digh ghráidh* ‘the drink of love/affection’ is the special favour reserved for a chief-poet. The poet boasts that he would expect to have *mo bhreath* ‘my request’ honoured, i.e. that he would receive payment for his poetry as well as enjoying the *deoch ghráidh* ‘drink of affection’, that extra-special chief-poet-patron relationship with the daughter of Tadhg. Here we see the reciprocal *dúan* for *dúas* that lies at the heart of the relationship between poet and patron (see Introduction p. 5, *Memoirs of the right-honourable the Marquis of Clanricarde*). In addition, Breatnach (1983, p. 37) states that the chief-poet is obligated to his patron by contract and this ‘obliges the ollamh to compose poems on fixed occasions and to supply eulogy unelicited.’

Similarly, in §6 the poet illustrates another special privilege reserved for a chief-poet. Here the poet claims that he has *fios a rúine* ‘the knowledge of her secret’ where his patroness confides in him (see Introduction pp. 7–9). Breatnach (1983, p. 37) states: ‘It is his privilege to be allowed to sit at his chief’s shoulder (*guala*) at drinking time, and to share his confidences (*cogar, rún*)’. The fact that Caitilín confides in him shows greater intimacy and the status of chief-poet than merely *dáil a séad* ‘the distribution of her wealth.’

Another privilege of a chief-poet that the poet refers to here is that of the right of a poet to sit at his patron’s right-hand side at drinking time (see Introduction p. 7–9). He explains that if he were to be placed at Caitilín’s *lámh chlé* ‘left-hand side’ this would not

suggest that the *lámh dheas* ‘right-hand side’ was not his rightful place at banquets, but that Caitilín merely wished to appease or to accommodate some visiting poet: *Don lámh chl   d   gcuire mh   / d’eagla ollumhan eile / an l  mh dheas n  rbh    mh’ionadh / n  or mheas s   ’gar suidhioghadh*, ‘Were she to place me at her left-hand side, for fear of some other poet, she would not be implying that her right-hand side was not the appropriate place for me.’ Breatnach (1983, p. 47) states that according to tradition ‘*leath-ghuala r  ogh   ireann*, being the right to sit beside the king of Ireland, as well as *t  s dighe*, or precedence in drinking on ceremonial occasions, were ceded to the three Collas and their descendants the Oirgialla as a condition of their loyalty and assistance in arms.’ This right appears in *Leabhar na gCeart* ‘The Book of Rights,’ a twelfth-century text detailing the laws, rights and tributes of the kings of Ireland:

acus foradh righ Airghiall l  mh r   foradh righ Erind i (d)Tailltin agus a n-Uisneach agus ar fhes na Samhna; agus iseadh a thomhas coma rua a chlaidheamh l  mh righ h-Erind; agus is leis tidhnocol cach threas chu  rn do roa co righ Teamhrach.

‘...and the seat of the king of the Oirghialla, next to the seat of the king of   ire at Taille and at Uisneach and at the feast of Samhain; and the distance [between them] is such that his sword would reach the hand of the king of   ire; and it belongs to him to present every third drinking-horn that is bought to the king of Teamhair.’ (O’Donovan 1847, pp. 136–7).

Evidently being seated at the right-hand side of a chief or king was an age-old privilege and it determined one’s status in a hierarchical society.

Again in §8 the poet makes the distinction between the privileges of the chief-poet in contrast to the transient privileges of the visiting poet. He reiterates that he receives *duas* ‘a gift’ of the kind made to a visiting poet in addition to the *moirn ollaimh* ‘special favour

due to a resident chief-poet’: *Duas mar aoidhidh uaithe soin / do-gheibh mise is moirn olloimh*, ‘I get a gift similar to a visiting guest-poet from her, as well as the affection due to a [resident] ollamh’ (see above §5). From the table below, it is clear that the chief-poet enjoys privileges not bestowed on a visiting poet:

Chief-Poet	Visiting Poet
<i>mo bhreath féin</i> ‘my request’	<i>mo bhreath féin</i> ‘my request’
<i>dáil a séad</i> ‘distribution of her wealth’	<i>dáil a séad</i> ‘distribution of her wealth’
<i>duas</i> ‘payment’	<i>lámh chlé</i> ‘left-hand side’
<i>deoch ghráidh</i> ‘drink of affection’	<i>duas</i> ‘payment’
<i>fios a rúine</i> ‘the knowledge of her secret’	
<i>lámh dheas</i> ‘right-hand side’	

The fact that the poet enjoys both privileges is noteworthy as it illustrates and emphasises:

- (a) that special relationship between chief-poet and patron;
- (b) the high esteem in which the poet is held which is extremely beneficial to his status in society;
- (c) the extraordinary generosity of his patroness.

In §9 the poet worries that his demands as payment may be excessive and that this will cause people to go against him. He realises that it is not often that privileges do not dwindle: *Le méid m’ainbhreath uirre soon / eagal leam an lá a-déarthoir / gur chuir mise cách im cheann; / ní gnáth treise nach tráigheann*, ‘With the extent of my excessive demands of her, I fear the day when it will be said, that I put everyone against me, it is not usual to have a privilege that does not ebb.’ The demands of poets on their patrons were excessive and *ainbhreath* is the word they used for this theme. Breatnach (1983, p. 39) states that it is ‘a commonplace of medieval Irish verse that such indulgence should extend

to manifestations of poetic unruliness (*aindligheadh*), arrogance (*uabhar*) and exorbitant demands of all kinds (*ainbhreath*).’ There are many instances in the corpus referring to poets’ excessive demands of their patrons. For example, in the poem by Eochaidh Ó hEóghasa, *Mór an t-ainm ollamh flatha* ‘A chief’s ollamh is a great title’, the poet claims that a chief-poet is entitled to excessive demands: *Dlighidh bhós beagán ainbhreath, / rún flatha, fonn comhroighneach*, ‘He (i.e. the ollamh flatha) is entitled to a few exorbitant claims; to a prince’s secret; to a choice estate’ (Breatnach 1983, p. 56).

An opportune apologue follows from §§10–16 (see Introduction p. 6–7) where the poet, in order to highlight his message, recounts an episode from the famous Irish saga *Táin Bó Flidhaise* ‘The Cattle Raid of Flidhais.’⁹³ The main characters of this tale are *Meadhbh*, queen of Connacht and her husband, *Oilill Fionn* ‘Oilill the Fair’, king of the *Gamhanradh* tribe,⁹⁴ his wife *Flidhais*, *Fearghus mac Róigh*, a former king of Ulster and *Bricne*, *Ollamh Connacht agus na Cruachna agus Eirenn ar chena* ‘the Ollamh of Connaught and Cruachan and all Ireland’.

This apposite tale relates how *Bricne Nimhtheanga* ‘poison-tongued Bricne,’ while a guest at *Ráth Cruachan*, *Dún Átha Fén* and *Ráth Morgáin*,⁹⁵ caused much trouble which instigated *Táin Bó Flidhaise*. However, for the purposes of this thesis I will focus on the message that our poet wishes to impress upon Caitilín, his patroness. He emphasises the

⁹³ The story has been translated by Professor Donald MacKinnon, and published over four volumes of a Scottish historical publication known as *The Celtic Review*. The section of *Táin Bó Flidhaise*, for the purposes of this thesis, can be found in *The Celtic Review*, Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 296–315, *The Celtic Review*, Vol. 2, No. 5, pp. 20–33 and *The Celtic Review*, Vol. 2, No. 6, pp. 100–121.

⁹⁴ Ó hUiginn (2013, 79) states that ‘The Gamhanradh are depicted in Irish literature as a population group belonging to the Erris district (Iorras Domhnann) of North-West Connacht.’

⁹⁵ *Flidhais Fholtchain* resided in the fortress of *Ráth Morgáin*, north west of Bangor Erris, Co. Mayo, and on the west side of Carrowmore Loch which lies 3 km north-west of Bangor Erris. See Aldridge 1961, p. 119.

great generosity of *Flíodhais Fholtchain* ‘Flíodhais of the lovely soft hair’ as patroness, and he advocates that Caitilín’s generosity should echo that of Flíodhais.

In the tale, a feast was prepared by Meadhbh and Oilill in *Ráth Cruachan*, their royal fortress. Many guests attended, including Fearghus Mac Róigh⁹⁶ and Bricne. During the feast Fearghus and Bricne were engaged in conversation where Bricne chastised Fearghus on account of his lack of resources for his people. Fearghus was irate because of Bricne’s criticism.

The following morning Bricne announced that he wished to visit the fortress of Oilill Fionn and Flidais Fholtchain: *dol d’iarraidh edala agus innmais ar maithibh na Gamannraidí* ‘to seek presents and treasure among the nobles of *Gamhanradh*’ (*Celtic Review* Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 300–301). With Meadhbh’s permission Bricne set forth with his entourage to *Dún Átha Fén*, the fortress of Oilill Fionn and Flíodhais.

On his arrival at *Dún Átha Fén*, Bricne and his entourage were warmly welcomed and a banquet was prepared for them. They spent three days and three nights at *Dún Átha Fén* and they were given the best of everything: *tugadh nua gacha bidh agus sen gacha dighe is in m-bruidin* ‘the freshest of every kind of food and the oldest of every kind of drink were brought into the hostel’ (*Celtic Review* Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 304–305).⁹⁷

Bricne then travelled to *Dún Morgáin*, the fortress of Flíodhais. Here again he was welcomed and a similar banquet was prepared for himself and his followers. After reciting a song in honour of Flíodhais, her generosity to Bricne was remarkable as she bestowed on

⁹⁶ Fearghus mac Róigh is an Irish hero and a character in the Ulster Cycle. He held the kingship of Ulster until he was deceived by Conchobar mac Nessa. He joined queen Meadhbh of Connacht in *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. For a discussion of Fearghus Mac Róigh, see Byrne 2001, pp. 51–52.

⁹⁷ This phrase occurs in other texts e.g. Stokes’ *Acallam na Senórach: Ocus tangadur-sin reompo ceithri cet óclach & ceithri cet gilla cona conaib co Síd Ban Find, & do-chuadur issin síd solus-mór anund, & ro canad fír-cháin faeilte friu gan meing & gan meail ann, & tucad doib nua gacha bídh & sen gacha dighi, & do badur ann re teora lá & re teora aídchi* (ll. 2793–2798). Translation by Dooley and Roe 1999.

him jewels and treasures in payment for his song: *agus tugad a breath fen do (Bricni ar an) duain sin do shedaib agus d'innmasaib o Flidais, mnai Oilella Finn* 'and his own reward was given in jewels and treasure to Bricne for his song by Flidais the wife of Oilill the Fair' (Celtic Review Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 312–313).

After spending a week in the fortress of Flidhais, Bricne and his entourage returned to *Dún Átha Féin*. It is clear that he was treated very generously by Flidhais: *agus ní ruc Ollam o banntracht riam edail...* 'and never did an *Ollamh* carry away (such) wealth from women before' (Celtic Review Vol. 2, No. 5, pp. 26–27).

The poet believes that this tale from bygone times emphasises the power and influence of poets: *táinig tréan an olluimh as* 'the power/influence of the poet is evident in it' (§10c). It highlights the esteem in which Bricne, a visiting-poet was held when he visited the fortress of Flidhais. Because of the generosity of *Flidhais*, other patrons emulated her generosity. In §11 the poet says that *Bricne's* visit to the fortress of *Flidhais* elevated the *anóir* 'respect' given to poets. In §14, when Bricne arrived at *Ráth Morgáin*, Flidhais was exceedingly generous as she bestowed many gifts on Bricne *nár chasmhail d'fhagháil gan fhios* 'unlikely for one to get without being known (to the giver)' (§14).

The great generosity of Flidhais is emphasised with many gifts bestowed on Bricne although he was only visiting her fortress. In this poem the poet claims that his circumstances differ from those of Bricne in that Bricne was only on a fleeting visit, whereas he himself is in a life-long relationship with his benefactress (§16): *Gidh mór tionnlagadh tug soin / ar son molta meic Carbhoidh, / is mó ár ndíol gach uair budh áil, / ní do shíor fhuair an anáir* 'Though she gave many gifts, in return for the praise of the son of Carbhadh, greater is my treatment every time I receive it, the respect he received was not permanent' (§16).

The poem continues with the poet's unfettered praise of Caitilín. He compares her to the beautiful women from Irish literature. He mentions Ailbhe, the daughter of Cormac mac Airt (§18) (see p. 13), Eimhear, the daughter of Forghall Manach and wife of Cú Chulainn (§§19–20) (see p. 12). He contends that although Eimhear was born first (i.e. Eimhear is in the past whereas Caitilín is in the present), Caitilín's fame does not deserve to be last/second but that she is *Eimhear th'aimsire* 'the Eimhear of your time' (§19d). He also mentions Meadhbh Chruachan and Mór Mhumhan (§21) (see Introduction p. 13). Although these famous beauties were generous and reputable, Caitilín's fame and generosity far exceeds theirs.

In §22 we are told that various gifts bestowed by Caitilín have had advantageous repercussions for both the poet and herself. In the first instance, others equalled Caitilín's generosity, increasing the poet's wealth while Caitilín herself extended her reputation for generosity.

As with all poems of praise, our poet lavishes predictable compliments on his patroness. This is the *duinedhíoglaim* (see McManus 2009, p. 58) where the physical attributes of the patron are highlighted. There are many references to Caitilín's physical beauty. From §§23–30 we see references to Caitilín's bright face (§23), her curly-hair (§25), her coloured cheek (§26); her beautiful eyes (§27), her tall side (§28), her smooth foot (§29) and her curving eyelashes (§35). She is a beauty to behold by these accounts and the poet does not hold back in his unbridled compliments.

In §24 the poet admits that he has received special respect due to a chief-poet from others even though he deems himself not worthy to receive it. The reason for this *orruim* 'respect' is Caitilín's influence. Poets benefited from receiving patronage from powerful, influential people. Others then copied them and also bestowed *orruim* 'respect'. However,

despite having been criticised for benefiting from Caitilín's influence, the esteem in which he is held has become standard practice and he is no longer being criticised (§25).

Throughout the poem we are given an insight into Caitilín's ancestry (§3, §5, §17, §24, §26, §27, §28, §33, §36, §37). Caitilín is *ua na ríogh ó Ráith Chruachan* 'the descendant of the kings from Ráith Chruachan' (§3). In §5, §17 and again in §32 she is referred to as *inghin Taidhg* 'daughter of Tadhg'. In §17 she is referred to as *a bhean Bhanna* 'o woman of Banna.' Her family, *Clann Charthaigh* have earned fame because of her generosity as a patron (§26). Her heritage comes *ó aicme Gaoidhiul*⁹⁸ 'from the Irish race' (§27). In §28 she is said to be *ó fhuil Chéin* 'from the blood of Cian' and from *croinn uaisle fhine Ghaidhiol* 'the noble people of the Gaelic race' (§33). In §32 the poet recognises that because of his *molta mná Adhar* 'praising the woman of Adhar' the women of Munster have grievances. In §35 we hear of the *ruisc mhalla mná Maonmhoighe* 'gentle eyes of the woman of Maonmhagh.' In §37 the poet enjoys the special relationship between himself and Caitilín who is *craobh Choirrshléibhe* 'the branch of Coirrshliabh' (§37). At the end of the poem the poet reiterates his opening sentiments that he owes a debt for the affection and the special treatment given to him: *ní hí an toil nachar ghabh greim / ní foil dhamh acht mar dligheim* 'the affection got a hold and it is everlasting, it is for me just as I am entitled to it' (§37).

An *iargcomharc* for David Roche, Caitilín's husband, follows (§§38–39). These complimentary and complementary verses to the spouse (see McManus 2015, p. 147) praise David for his generosity. The poet boasts that he received the best gift from David – a

⁹⁸ This point is noteworthy as Caitilín's husband, David Roche is from *aicme Gall* 'Anglo-Norman race'. For example, in poem 4 *Díleas gach éanduine a eighreacht* 'Everyone is entitled to his inheritance', the *iargcomharc* is dedicated to her husband Dáibhióth de Róiste where the poet states: *Dáibhióth Róitse is í a eighreacht, / uaisle bhfola is féile Ghall* 'The heritage of Dáibhióth de Róiste is / the noble blood and generosity of the Anglo-Normans.'

privilege reserved for the chief-poet – that of the patron placing his trust and confiding in his chief-poet *taiscidh rúin nach roindfeam* (§38) ‘keeping a secret that I would not share’ (see Introduction pp.7–9).

This poem demonstrates effectively this poet’s ability to elevate his patron as the most beautiful, generous and respected patron while exhibiting his excellence in meeting the strict rules of *Deibhidhe, Dán Díreach*. Bergin (1970, p. 15) says that when bardic poetry was at the peak of its existence, ‘the position of the official poet was secure, and his confidence in it unshaken. He respected himself and demanded that others should respect him.’ Our poet exemplifies the medieval bardic poet in these respects.

METRE

The poem edited here is composed in *Deibhidhe* and fulfils the requirements for *Dán Díreach*. The principal requirements of *Deibhidhe* are met in the poem (see Introduction pp. 20–1). There are 7 syllables in each line. The couplets in the poem generally follows the syllabic pattern 7¹, 7² or 7², 7³.

There is *rinn* and *airdrinn* rhyme (final words of each line within a couplet are to be linked by a special type of rhyme called *rinn* and *airdrinn* where the final word of the final line of a couplet is a syllable longer than the final word of the line previous) in all couplets.

There is perfect internal rhyme in the final couplet of quatrains where all stressed words in the second line of final couplets have a rhyming partner in the preceding line. There are some instances of *urlann* where, occasionally, the first or the first and second words in the first line of the couplet are left outside the rhyming scheme in the form of *urlann* or a double *urlann* at the beginning of the line before any rhyming word. There are 24 couplets with *urlanna* omitted from the rhyming scheme.

There is alliteration in each line of each quatrain. There is *fíor-uaim* ‘true alliteration’ between the final word of the final line and the penultimate stressed word of each quatrain. There is *uaim ghnúise* ‘alliteration between the penultimate stressed word and the stressed word preceding it’ between the penultimate stressed word and the stressed word preceding it. There is always *fíor-uaim* in the final line of each quatrain, a requisite of this metre and of every metre at *Dán Díreach* level.

There is *dúnadh* ‘closure’ at the end of the poem, where the final sound of the poem must echo the opening sound or word of the poem in some way (***Dlighim*** *íoc as m’fhearacht gráidh...ní foil dhamh acht mar dligheim*). There is also *dúnadh* at the end of the *iargcomharc* (***Dlighim*** *íoc as m’fhearacht gráidh...ar n-aithniomh is dó dlighim*). Ní Dhomhnaill (1975, p. 13) states that a poem should end with the repetition of the line (see *IGT* i §61: *An deigheanach dhúnas ar an ttosach* ‘The final [couplet] that closes on the opening line’),⁹⁹ or part of the line, on which it started but that often only the first word or part thereof is found: ‘Is minic nach bhfaightear de dhúnadh ach an chéad fhocal den líne tosaigh, nó cuid den chéad fhocal, b’fhéidir litir nó dhó as, nó arís, focal cosúil leis.’¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Mac Cárthaigh 2014, pp. 92–3.

¹⁰⁰ See also Ní Dhomhnaill 1981, p. 47–61.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

ABM

CRITICAL EDITION

1. Dlighim ic as m'feracht graidh
ni sirtha a n-aiscidh anair
a faghail gemadh dual damh
ni buan anair nach ictar.

- Dlighim íoc as m'fhearacht gráidh,
ní siortha i n-aiscidh anáir
a fagháil gémadh dual damh,
ní buan anáir nach íocthar.

1a. ioc, m'fearsacht. **1b.** ni siortha. **1c.** ge madh. **1d.** iocthar.

1. I owe a debt for the patronage given to me,
respect should not be sought for free
even if I deserved it,
unrequited respect is not long-lasting.

2. Fuarus aiscidh nar fhiu mhe
fuarus failti fhecht oile
fuarus ni nar dailti damh
gidh hi an fhailti ni hicthar.

- Fuarus aiscidh nárbh fhiú mhé,
fuarus fáilte fheacht oile,
fuarus ní nár dháilte damh,
gidh hí an fháilte ní híocthar.

2a. nar bh'fiu. **2b.** feacht. **2c.** nidh. **2d.** an failti, ní hiocthar

2. I received a gift which I was not entitled to,
I received welcome at another time,
I received something that should not be given to me,
even the welcome is unrequited.

3. In deoch graidh do dearluig damh
ua na righ o Raith Cruachan
ní mor ar ar dhail an ndigh
gerbh ail a hol a n-aisgid.

- An deoch ghráidh do dhearluig damh
ua na ríogh ó Ráith Chruachan,
ní mór ar ar dháil an ndigh,
géarbh áil a hól i n-aisgidh.

3a. dam. **3d.** gearbh.

3. The drink of affection that was poured for me
by the descendant of the kings from Rathcroghan,
there are not many on whom she served the drink,
although one would like to drink it free of charge.

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|---|---|
| <p>4. Cengal na toili tic as
in toil mall as hi anas
feirdi <u>in</u> ti da tabhuir toil
n<u>a</u>c faghuir hi mar <u>ia</u>rthoir.</p> | <p>Ceangal na toile tig as,
an toil mhall is h<u>í</u> anas,
feirde an t<u>í</u> dá dtabhuir toil
nach faghuir h<u>í</u> mar iarthoir.</p> |
|---|---|

4a. Ceangal (dot over n?), tig. **4b.** mhall. 4c. ttabhuir. **4d.** nach.

4. The binding of a relationship built on affection is its outcome,
affection with consideration is the one which lasts,
the one on whom affection is bestowed is better
for not getting it as requested.

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|---|---|
| <p>5. Mu b<u>re</u>ath fein da fag<u>a</u>d me
o ingin Taidhg fhe<u>ch</u>t ele
ni do sin a-bhain do bhe<u>in</u>d
<u>a</u>ch<u>t</u> don<u>ig</u>h g<u>ra</u>idh do-gheibheim.</p> | <p>Mo bhreath féin dá bhfaghadh mé
ó inghin Taidhg fheacht eile,
ní dó sin a-bháin do bheinn,
acht don digh ghráidh do-gheibheim.</p> |
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5a. Mo, féin, fagadh. **5b.** feacht, eile. **5c.** a-bháin, do bheinn. **5d.** do geibheim.

5. If I were to receive my request
on another occasion from the daughter of Tadhg,
that is not the only thing I would be concerned with,
but with the drink of affection which I get.

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| <p>6. Fuar<u>u</u>s anair dob f<u>er</u>r l<u>in</u>d
dail a sed ni he airmh<u>im</u>
fiss a ruine do dhail damh
nair duinne muna dilt<u>a</u>r.</p> | <p>Fuarus anáir dob fhearr linn,
dáil a séad ní hé áirmhim,
fios a rúine do dháil damh,
náir dúinne muna dhíoltar.</p> |
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6a. dob fearr; linn. **6b.** sead. **6c.** fios. **6d.** dúinne, dioltar.

6. I have received respect which I prefer,
the distribution of her wealth is not what I'm talking about,
but that she confided in me,
it would be a shame if I do not require that.

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| <p>7. Don laimh cle dá cuire mhe
d'egla ollumhan ele
in lámh deass nárbh í mh'inad[h]
nir mes si 'gar suighighadh.</p> | <p>Don láimh chlé dá gcuire mhé
d'eagla ollumhan eile,
an lámh dheas nárbh í mh'ionadh
níor mheas sí 'gar suidhioghadh.</p> |
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7a. láimh (dá cuire mé is missing). **7b.** d'egla, eile; **7c.** deas, nar bhi, m'in— = suspension stroke; **7d.** nior, meas, gur.

7. If she were to place me at her left-hand side
for fear of another [guest] poet,
she would not be supposing
that her right-hand side was not the proper place for me.

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| <p>8. Duas mar aighidh uaithi soín
do-geib misi is moirn olloim
ní hail gan riar desi damh
tresi nacar iar ollam.</p> | <p>Duas mar aoidhidh uaithe soín
do-gheibh mise is moirn olloimh,
ní háil gan riar deise damh,
treise nachar iar ollamh.</p> |
|---|--|

8b. do geibh, is - missing from this line, olloimh. **8c.** ní. **8d.** treisi, nach ar, ollamh.

8. I receive a gift from her similar to a visiting guest-poet
as well as the affection due to an ollamh,
she is not happy not to give both to me,
a privilege that no ollamh requested.

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| <p>9. Le med m'ainbreath uirri soín
egal leam in la a-derthoir
gur cuir mesi cach am cenn
ní gnath tresi nac traigenn.</p> | <p>Le méid m'ainbhreath uirre soín,
eagal leam an lá a-déarthoir
gur chuir mise cách im cheann –
ní gnáth treise nach tráigheann.</p> |
|--|--|

9a. méd, m'ainbhreath. **9b.** egal; ionlaigh, a dearthoir; **9c.** ceann. **9d.** ní, treisi, nach, traigheann.

9. With the extent of my excessive demands of her,
I fear the day when it will be said
that I put everyone against me –
it is not usual to have a privilege that does not ebb.

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| <p>10. Sgel <u>ar</u> Bricne na mbreath ngrinn
fuair misi 's ar mhnai Oilill
tainic tren <u>in</u> olluim as
ni scel gan orraid<u>[h]</u> fhuaras.</p> | <p>Sgéal ar Bhricne na mbreath ngrinn
fuair mise 's ar mhnaoi Oilill,
táinig tréan an olluim<u>h</u> as –
ní scéal gan orraid<u>h</u> fhuaras.</p> |
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10a. Sgeal, Bhricne. **10b.** mnai. **10c.** táinic, trean, olluimh; **10d.** sgeal, gann, orra.

10. I have got a story about Bricne of the accurate judgements
and about the wife of Oilill,
the influence of the master-poet came from it –
it is not an unverified story that I received.

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|---|---|
| <p>11. Gu Dun Atha Fén na fleg
Bricne gid beg do sailead<u>[h]</u>
teit <u>in</u> uair-sin o [fh]reim<u>h</u> Roigh
ceim do uaisligh <u>ar</u> n-anoir.</p> | <p>Go Dún Átha Fén na bhfleadh
Bricne gid<u>h</u> beag do saoil<u>eadh</u>,
teid an uair-sin ó fhréimh Róigh,
céim do uaisligh ar n-anóir.</p> |
|---|---|

11a. Go, bfleagh. **11b.** gidh, beag, sail— = suspension stroke. **11c.** teid, ó, reimh.

11. At that time Bricne went to Dún Átha Fén, renowned for its feasts
[being] from the branch of Róich,
though little was expected of it,
it turned out to be a move which greatly increased our (i.e. poets') standing.

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| <p>12. O <u>nac</u> fuair Bricne sa <u>m</u>brugh
Flighais <u>nar</u> etigh ollam<u>[h]</u>
ní mor gur toirind is-toigh
slogh Oilill no gur fagoibh.</p> | <p>Ó nach fuair Bricne san bhrugh
Fliodhais nár eitigh ollam<u>h</u>,
ní mór gur thoirinn is-toigh
slógh Oilill nó gur fhágoibh.</p> |
|--|---|

12a. nach, san. **12b.** ollam__. **12c.** toirinn, is togha.

12. Since Bricne did not find in the castle
Fliodhais who never refused a master-poet,
Oilill's company had scarcely settled in the house
when they left.

13. Mar fuair Bricne na mbreath caidh
ben Oillill arba an anair
da reir do athraigh tar ais
da cathraig fein le Flidhais.

Mar fuair Bricne na mbreath gcáidh
bean Oillill – anba an anáir,
dá réir do athraigh tar ais
dá cathraighh féin le Flidhais.

13b. bean, anba

13. When Bricne of the noble judgements
found Oilill's wife – great was the honour,
he returned at her request to be entertained by her
to her fortress with Flidhais.

14. Ben Oilill fa hordraic blad[h]
tuc bronnata d'ollam[h] Uladh
nar chasmail d'faghail gan fhi[o]s
casnaidh d'anair na n-eigi[o]s.

Bean Oilill fá hordhraic blad[h]
tug bronnata d'ollamh Uladh
nár chasmhail d'fhagháil gan fhios,
casnaidh d'anáir na n-éigios.

14a. Bean, hoirdraic, blath. **14b.** d'ollamh. **14c.** fhios. **14d.** dan air, n'eaigis.

14. The wife of Oilill whose fame was renowned
gave gifts to the master-poet of Ulster
which it were unlikely for one to get without it being known,
a boon to the honour of poets.

15. O mhnai Oilill na n-arm tais
re n-imteacht d'ollam Fherghais
frith gac aiscidh ar ar an
gur scith n-aistir in t-ollamh.

Ó mhnaoi Oilill na n-arm dtais
ré n-imtheacht d'ollamh Fhearghais,
fríoth gach aiscidh ar ar an
gur scíoth n-aistir an t-ollamh.

15a. mnai, taisl + suspension stroke. **15b.** ní muirteacht, d'ollamh, Fearghais. **15c.** gach.

15. Every gift on which she agreed was got
from the wife of Oilill of the smooth weapons,
before the departure of Fearghus's master-poet
so that the master-poet was reluctant to leave.

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| <p>16. Gidh mor t<u>in</u>dlacadh tuc so<u>in</u>
 <u>ar</u> son molta me<u>ic</u> Carbhoidh
 is mo <u>ar</u> ndil g<u>ac</u> uair budh ail
 ni do sir fhu<u>air</u> in anair.</p> | <p>Gidh m<u>ó</u>r t<u>ionn</u>lacadh tug so<u>in</u>
 ar son molta meic Carbhoidh,
 is m<u>ó</u> ar nd<u>íol</u> gach uair budh áil,
 ní do sh<u>íor</u> fhuair an anáir.</p> |
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16a. tiodhlacadh, tug. **16b.** mac. **16c.** gach. **16d.** siar.

16. Though she gave many gifts
in return for the praise of the son of Carbhadh,
greater is my treatment every time I request it,
the respect he received was not permanent.

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| <p>17. Re hing<u>in</u> Taidg <u>in</u> taibh gil
 a-der os damh is aithnidh
 do ben imtha a ben Bert(h)a
 ni fh<u>in</u>dfa h'f<u>er</u> einlep<u>th</u>a.</p> | <p>Re hing<u>h</u>in Taid<u>h</u>g an taoibh <u>gh</u>il
 a-d<u>é</u>ar os damh is aithnidh,
 do b<u>he</u>an iomtha, a b<u>he</u>an B<u>he</u>arta,
 ní fh<u>ionn</u>fa th'f<u>he</u>ar éinle<u>ab</u>tha.</p> |
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17a. Taidhg. **17b.** a-dear, aithneadh. **17c.** bean, a bean Bhearta. **17d.** finnfa, h'fear, a?oin leartha

17. To the daughter of Tadhg of the bright figure
I will say since I know it,
your husband will not find, o woman of Bearta
a woman to rival you.

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| <p>18. Da teg<u>ma</u>d a thab<u>air</u>t duit
 d'oighreac<u>ht</u> ing<u>ine</u> Cormuic
 sealbh na teasta fhu<u>air</u> Aillbhe
 ni huain ceasta com<u>air</u>le.</p> | <p>Dá dteagm<u>had</u>h a thabh<u>air</u>t duit
 d'oighreacht ing<u>h</u>ine Cormuic,
 sealbh na teasta fhuair Ailbhe
 ní huain ceasta com<u>h</u>airle.</p> |
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18a. Da tea—— - Blank - space left in ms., tabairt. **18c.** Ailbhe. **18d.** comhairle.

18. If it happened that it was given to you,
as an inheritance from the daughter of Cormac,
to have the fame that Ailbhe received
it is not the time to question the advice.

19. Do-chuaidh tú tairsi a taebh geal
gidh tusca tainic Emhear
do clú ar dereadh ní dlighi
is tu Eimer h' aimsire.

Do-chuaidh tú tairse, a **thaobh gheal**,
gidh **túsca táinig** Eimhear
do **chlú** ar deireadh ní **dhlighe**,
is **tú** Eim**hear** **th'**aimsire.

19a. taeb. **19b.** Eamhear. **19c.** clu; deireadh. **19d.** Eimhir.

19. You excelled her, o bright-sided one,
although Eimhear came first
your reputation does not deserve to be last,
you are the Eimhear of your time.

20. Inghen Fhorgaill nár ér nech
gid hí dob airdi eineach
do an bladhd an einigh ort
a bladhd d'Eimhir gur iasocht.

Inghean Fhorg**haill** **nár** éar neach,
gid**h** hí dob airde eineach,
do an bladhd an einigh ort
a bladhd d'Eimhir gur iasocht.

20a. Inghean, Forghaill, nár, er, neach.

20. The daughter of Forghall (Manach) (Emer) who never refused anyone,
although it is she who was most noble,
the fame of nobility remained with you
so that Emer's fame was not permanent.

21. Meadhbh Cruachan nár eitigh fher
Mór Mumhan ger mhó a hairemh
do chinn tu ar bladhd na mban-sain
nac an do clú a gcomharsain.

Mead**hbh** Chruachan **nár** eitigh fhear,
Mór M**humhan** gér mhó a háireamh,
do chinn **tú** ar b**hl**adhd na mban-sain,
n**ach** an do **chlú** i gcomharsain.

21a. fhear. **21b.** a haireamh. **21c.** na mbann sain. **21d.** nach; ag comharsain.

21. Meadhbh of Cruacha who never refused a man,
Mór of Munster though greater is her reputation,
you exceeded the fame of those women,
your fame is not in the neighbourhood.

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| 22. Gach toirb <u>e</u> rt dá tug <u>a</u> d libh
le <u>a</u> ntar ort ag na h <u>i</u> nsibh
do-chaidh a n-oigre <u>a</u> cht oruibh
dail na toirb <u>e</u> rt tugobhair. | Gach toirb <u>h</u> ear dá dt ugadh libh
le <u>a</u> ntar ort ag na hinsibh;
do-cháidh a n-oigh <u>h</u> reacht oruibh,
dái <u>l</u> na dt oirb <u>h</u> ear tugobhair. |
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22a. toirbear, tugadh. **22b.** leantar, heigsibh. **22c.** oigreas. **22d.** dáil, tug obhair,

22. Because of all the treasures you brought with you
they are still going on about you in the fastnesses;
their heritage has gained you fame,
distributing the gifts that you gave.

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| 23. Nir ghabhtha damh od d <u>r</u> each gil
t'anoir d'fagá <u>i</u> l m <u>a</u> r aighidh
gem <u>a</u> d nuaidhe a <u>r</u> n-anair ass
buain <u>e</u> a faghail m <u>a</u> r fuar <u>a</u> s. | Níor ghabhtha damh ód d <u>h</u> reich g <u>h</u> il
th' anóir d' fh aghá <u>i</u> l mar aoidhidh,
gémadh nuaidhe ar n-anáir as
buaine a faghá <u>i</u> l mar fuaras. |
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23a. Nior. **23b.** d'fagháil. **23c.** ge madh, as. **23d.** 's, fagháil.

23. I should not have accepted from your bright face
your respect as a guest-poet,
even if respect was new
it is more lasting to receive it as I received it.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 24. Fuar <u>u</u> s orruim n <u>a</u> r fhiu me
d'faghail a huch <u>t</u> do t <u>r</u> aise
dom an <u>a</u> ir a bhean Bann <u>a</u>
gan fer d'fagá <u>i</u> l m'urrama. | Fuarus orruim nár bh fhiú mé
d' fh aghá <u>i</u> l a hucht do th reise;
dom anáir, a bhean Bh anna,
gan fh ear d' fh aghá <u>i</u> l m'urrama. |
|--|---|

24a. oirim; nar bhfiu, **24d.** fear, m'urama.

24. I received respect which I was not worthy to receive
because of your influence;
it is a sign of the respect I hold, o woman of Banna,
no man receives the respect I received.

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| <p>25. Da lentai orm a fholt cas
do <u>t</u>resi in trath fa fuaras
<u>a</u>r moirn a cle<u>c</u>htadh do-chaidh
na<u>c</u> lentar oir<u>n</u> <u>a</u>r n-anair.</p> | <p>Dá leantaí orm, a fholt cas,
do threise an tráth fá bhfuaras,
ar moirn i gcleachtadh do-cháidh
nach leantar oirn ar n-anáir.</p> |
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25a. leantai. **25c.** cleachtadh. **25d.** nach; leantar.

25. If I had been called to account, o curly-haired one,
for benefiting from your power at one time,
the affection in which I am held has become standard
so that my honour is not called into account.

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| <p>26. Ar dail tusa a fholt <u>m</u>ar fhail
do thuill blad<u>h</u> do Cloi<u>n</u>d Carr<u>th</u>aig
cuid molta don cuan cinil
do gruadh corcra a Caitilin.</p> | <p>Ar dháil tusa, a fholt mar fhail,
do thuill blad<u>h</u> do Chloinn Charthaigh;
cuid molta don chuan cinil
do ghruadh corcra, a Chaitilín.</p> |
|--|---|

26a. a folt, fail. **26b.** do tuill, Cloinn, Car____. **26d.** Caitilín.

26. What you have given, o curly-haired one,
has earned fame for Clann Charthaigh;
a portion of praise for the ancestral family
is your rosy countenance, o Caitilín.

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| <p>27. Gibe ele a errla tiugh
th'oighre<u>c</u>ht ó aicme Gaighiul
gne h'aighthi no aebh na nd<u>e</u>rc
a craebh aithli is don oig<u>r</u>each<u>t</u>.</p> | <p>Gibé eile, a earrla tiugh,
th'oighreach<u>t</u> ó aicme Gaoidhiul,
gné th'aighthe nó aobh na nd<u>e</u>arc
a chraobh Aithle, is don oigh<u>r</u>each<u>t</u>.</p> |
|--|---|

27a. eile, earrla. **27b.** th'oighreacht, h'aighthi, 27d. ____

27. Whatever else, o thick-haired one,
is your heritage from the Irish race,
the appearance of your face and the beauty of the eyes
is also part of that heritage, o branch of Aithle.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>28. Mas dot'oigreach<u>t</u> o fhuil Ce<u>in</u>
 <u>in</u> rosc corr [nar?] thuill toi[bhéim?]
 in folt tais no in taebh leab<u>h</u>ar [202]
 ar ghael Cais is cuimhneaghadh.</p> | <p>Más dot oighreacht ó fhuil Chéin
 an rosc corr nár thuill toib<u>h</u>éim,
 an folt tais nó an taobh leabhar
 ar ghaol Chais is cuimhneaghadh.</p> |
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28a. ó fuil. **28b.** in rosc corcra; do tuill. **28d.** cuimhneagadh.

28. As for your heritage from the blood of Cian
that is the sharp eye that did not earn reproach,
the soft hair or the tall side
these remind me of the heritage of Cas.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>29. Muna be<u>im</u> do gruadh <u>mar</u> glo<u>in</u>
 ni fuighthi le <u>techt</u> toroibh
 a <u>troigh</u> reidh bairleab<u>h</u>ar bog
 be<u>im</u> re aibhleg<u>ad</u> orod.</p> | <p>Muna béim do ghruadh mar ghloin
 ní fuighthe le teacht toroibh,
 a throigh réidh bhairleabhar bhog,
 béim ré aibhleag<u>hadh</u> orod.</p> |
|---|---|

29a. muna beidh. **29b.** teacht. **29c.** bairleabar. **29d.** aibhleagham.

29. Unless your beautiful cheek is considered a fault,
an examination of you will find no fault,
o smooth, long-in-stepped, soft foot
to advertise on you.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>30. Nir an aguibh a folt tais
 d'eis gach daim<u>h</u>e <u>dar</u> dilais
 gan bronnad <u>acht</u> in brat sroill
 <u>nár</u> glac ollam<u>h</u> <u>mar</u> anoir.</p> | <p>Níor an aguibh, a fholt tais,
 d'éis gach dáimhe dár dhíolais,
 gan bhronnadh acht an brat sróill
 nár ghlac ollam<u>h</u> mar anóir.</p> |
|---|--|

30a. Níor fhan. **30b.** daime, díolais, gan bronnadh. **30c.** an brat.

30. There remained not with you, o soft-haired one,
after every company of poets that you paid,
anything un-bestowed except the satin cloak,
that no master-poet accepted as payment.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 31. Nir ingnad aisgidh oili
da tibread[h] ben Boroimi
dailid[h] si ar son a molta
a tol gid hi as iongonta. | Níor iongnadh aisgidh oile
dá dtibhreadh bean Bhóimhe,
dáilidh sí ar son a molta
a tol, gidh hí is iongonta. |
|--|---|

31a. Níor iongnadh, oile. **31b.** da tabhraidh, bean Boroimhi. **31c.** dail— = suspension stroke. **31d.** gidh, iongonta

31. It would not be strange for the woman of Bóroimhe
to give any gifts that she might give;
when, in return for her praise, she is happy
to bestow her affection, the most unusual gift of all.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 32. Fa ingin Taidg thuilleas blad
falta rim ac mnaibh Muman
d'aithle molta mna Adhar
ar folta a-ta ag tromaghad. | Fá inghin Taidhg thuilleas bladh,
falta riom ag mnáibh Mumhan,
d'aithle molta mná Adhar
ar bhfolta a-tá ag tromaghadh. |
|---|---|

32a. inghin Taidhg, thuilleas, blath. **32b.** mná, Mumhan. **32d.** tromagh

32. Because of [my relationship] with the daughter of Tadhg, who is due great fame,
the women of Munster have grievances with me,
as a consequence of my praising the woman of Adhar
their grievances towards me have increased.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 33. Gibe blath do bhi ar an fidh
croind uaisle fhine Gaeighil
tuicti ar blath na crand cinil
barr o chach ag Caitilin. | Gibé bláth do bhí ar an fhiodh,
croinn uaisle fhine Ghaoidhiol,
tuigthe ar bhláth na gcrann gciníl,
barr ó chách ag Caitilín. |
|---|--|

33a. ar an bhfidh. **33b.** croinn. **33c.** na gcrann, ciníl. **33d.** ó, cach.

33. Whatever [other] flower there may have been on the wood,
the trees that are the nobility of the Gaelic race,
it is clear from the flower of the noble trees,
that Caitilín surpasses everyone.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>34. Da fosta ac fuire<u>ac</u> re dail
sed buadha <u>ara</u> mbí anair
ní fhost geg abaidh o fhir
sed <u>acht</u> re hagu<u>id</u> n-aighidh.</p> | <p>Dá bhfosta ag fuireach re dáil,
séad buadha ara mbí anáir,
ní fhost géag Abhaidh ó fhior
séad acht re haghaidh n-aoidhiodh.</p> |
|--|---|

34a. ag, **34b.** sead. **34c.** geag. **34d.** sead, haghaidh.

34. If she holds back from bestowing
a valuable gift worthy of honour,
the branch of Abhadh denies no man
a gift except one she reserves for a [guest] poet.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>35. A-tait re tabhach toili
ruisc malla mna Maenmoighi
abhra fiar ler toibhgheadh toil
níamh <u>mar</u> oighreadh san aghoidh.</p> | <p>A-táid re tabhach toile,
ruisc mhalla mná Maonmhoighe,
abhra fiar lear toibhgheadh toil,
níamh mar oighreadh san aghoidh.</p> |
|---|---|

35a. toile; **35c.** abhraidh, lear.

35. The modest, gentle eyes of the woman of Maonmhagh,
her curving eyelashes,
and the icy glow of her face,
are all so attractive as to levy affection.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>36. Ní thuigim da mbein<u>d</u> 'ga brath
cia dibh da tibra<u>in</u>d to<u>sac</u>
na fola lé fhu<u>air</u>-si geall
mogha uaisli da n-<u>air</u>nhem.</p> | <p>Ní thuigim dá mbeinn 'ga brath
cia díobh dá dtiobhrainn tosach
na fola lé bhfuair-si geall
modha uaisle dá n-áirmheam.</p> |
|---|--|

36a. Ní, da mbeinn, go. **36b.** da tibrainn, tosach. **36d.** n-airmheain.

36. I do not understand if I were to describe her
to which of the noble ways with which she won the prize [of beauty/nobility]
I would give priority,
if I were to list them.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>37. Ar toil comuin<u>d</u> da chele
 misi & craebh Coirshlebhe
 ní hi in toil na<u>ca</u>r gabh greim.
 ní foil dhamh a<u>ch</u>t ma<u>r</u> dligheim. Dligim</p> | <p>Ar dtoil comuin<u>n</u> dá chéile,
 mise is craobh Choirshléibhe,
 ní hí an toil nacha<u>r</u> ghabh greim,
 ní foil dhamh acht mar dligheim. Dlighim...</p> |
|--|--|

37a. comuinn, da ceile. **37b.** mise, agus, Coirshlebhe. **37c.** ní, hí, nach ar, gab.

37. Our affection for one another,
myself and the descendant of Coirshliabh,
the affection got a hold and it is everlasting,
it is for me just as I am entitled to it.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>38. Gidh mor toirbe<u>a</u>rt do dail damh
 ma<u>c</u> Muiris na mur línmha<u>r</u>
 ní thug du<u>in</u> aisgidh bhudh fhe<u>a</u>rr
 in taiscidh ruin na<u>c</u> roin<u>d</u>fem.</p> | <p>Gidh mór dtoirbheart do dháil damh
 mac Muiris na m<u>úr</u> líonmhar,
 ní thug dúin aisgidh bhudh fhearr
 an taiscidh rúin nach roinnfeam.</p> |
|---|---|

38b. lionmur. **38c.** duinn. **38d.** taisgidh, nach, roinnfeam.

38. Though the son of Muiris of the numerous castles
bestowed a great number of gifts on me,
he did not give me a greater gift
than keeping a secret that I would not share.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>39. Daibhith a Roitsi rosc glan
 gur thogh <u>in</u>d tar ga<u>c</u> n-olla<u>m</u>
 do shaer so <u>a</u>r ga<u>c</u> n-a<u>in</u>ci<u>n</u> <u>in</u>n
 <u>a</u>r n-aithnimh is do dlighim. D ...</p> | <p>Dáibhíoth a Róitse rosc glan
 gur thogh ind tar gach n-olla<u>m</u>h,
 do shaor só ar gach n-a<u>in</u>ch<u>ion</u> inn,
 ar n-aithniomh is dó dlighim. D...</p> |
|---|--|

39b. ind > missing in ms. gach; n-ollamh. **39c.** shaor. **39d.** dligim.

39. Dáibhíoth de Róitse [who has] the bright eye,
that he chose me before any other ollamh,
this saved me from every enmity,
I owe my wealth to him.

NOTES

§1a. In the Bardic Poetry Database, the title of this poem is *Dlighim ioc as m'fhearacht graidh* (or '*fearsacht*'). In the manuscript the contraction $\bar{T}$ is used. This s symbol with a suspension above denotes *-acht*. This may be the reason that there is an s in the word in the title of the poem. In *BPD* both forms are given.

§1b. There are 16 examples of the use of *sirthe* in the Bardic Poetry Database (*BPD* 301.5, 408.30, 531.23, 608.32, 665.39, 770.14, 809.24, 837.9, 954.10, 995.34, 1297.20, 1325.9, 1595.29, 1611.59, 1852.57, 1870.5) and there are three examples of the use of *siortha* (*BPD* 933.54, 1104.32, 1751.17). The form used in the later manuscript is *siortha*.

§3b. In this line *ua na ríogh ó Ráith Chruachan* 'by the descendant of the kings from Rathcroghan', it is clear that the poet is referring to a female. The word *ó* means 'grandson' / 'descendant' - however *ó/ua* may be used to denote a female relative (see footnote 88, p. 146).

§3b. *Ráth Cruachan*, anglicised 'Rathcroghan' the ancient royal seat of Connacht. In *OG* *Ráth Cruachan* is identified as Rathcroghan near Balanagare, SW. Tulsk, Co. Roscommon. He states that it is so called from Cruacha, Meadhbh's mother. Queen Meadhbh of Connacht had her royal residence in *Ráth Cruachan*. There is a description of *Ráth Cruachan* in the Glenmason Manuscript:

Uair ni uil an Eirinn tech t-samlaiges na cudromaighes ris ar a med agus ar a caime agus ar a cumdach; ar imad a urrsgair agus a imdadh agus a fhuinneóg; ar imad a oir agus a indmais agus a leg logmar. Uair is ann sein ataid tri caogait prim-imdadh fa m'imdaid caim, cruth-alainn, cumdach-ghloin-si fodeisin, con a

ceitheora uaithne orda, co n-geim do lice loinnerda logmair a cenn gacha h-uaithni dib sein, go n-ceit(h)ri cumdaightib egsamlaib impa o maidin go fesgar.

‘For there is not in Ireland a mansion that equals or compares with it in size and beauty and adornment; in the number of its courts and rooms and windows; in the amount of its gold and treasure and precious stones. For there are to be seen thrice fifty principal rooms surrounding my own fair, beautifully-shaped, crystal-adorned room, with its four golden pillars, the top of each mounted with gems of flashing precious stones, which are covered with four diverse coverlets from morn till eve.’¹⁰¹

§10a. Bricne (earlier Bricriu) was a hospitaller, troublemaker and poet in the Ulster Cycle of Irish mythology. As well as the *Táin Bó Flíodhaise* saga which is referred to in the apologue in this poem, Bricne also appears in the Ulster Cycle saga *Fled Bricrenn*. Cross and Slover (1996, p. 254) state that this tale ‘consists of a series of episodes describing various tests of valour which the three bravest warriors of Ulster – Cú Chulainn, Conall, and Loegaire – undergo in order to determine who is most worthy of the choicest portion of a feast prepared by Bricriu of the Poison Tongue, the Thersites of the cycle.’

§10b. Flíodhais is the wife of Oilill Fíonn, the king of the Gamhanradh tribe (see footnote 94, p. 160).

¹⁰¹ The Irish and the English sections here are in two separate volumes of *The Celtic Review*, Vol. 2, No. 5 (Jul., 1905), p. 32–33 and in *The Celtic Review*, Vol. 2, No. 6 (Oct., 1905), p. 100–101.

§10c. Regarding *táinig* in this line, verbs which did not use *ro* in the past tense are not lenited in Classical Irish. Irregular verbs such as this one began to adopt *do* towards the end of the Classical Irish period (see *SNG* IV §7.16, p. 409).

§10d. In this line *ní scéal gan orraidh fhuaras* ‘it is not a story without verification I got’, the poet uses a double negative, therefore ‘it is a story with verification’. See note on **§37c**.

§11a. Dún Átha Fén was the principal residence of Oilill Fionn, the king of the Gamhanradh tribe. Aldridge (1961, pp. 117–127) has examined the routes described in *Táin Bó Flidhais* and gives information on Dún Átha Fén, stating that it was situated ‘on the western side of Loch Conn’ (p. 119).

§12a. Here *sa mbrugh* > *san bhrugh* (*IGT* ii § 29) - strictly speaking this would be *san bhrugh*. Note that the variant reading from the later manuscript is *san*. McManus (2019, p. 167–69) has studied the use of the article after *i* ‘in(to)’, i. e. *’sa* and *’san* (and *isa/isan*) ‘in(to) the’ in various manuscripts to investigate to what extent is the nasal preserved or lost after the article before consonants. We would expect the dative here, not the accusative suggested by the nasalisation in the manuscript.

§13b. The word *bean* is the object of the verb although it is in the nominative (acc. *mnaoi*). The reason that the nominative case is used may be due to the separation of the object from the verb (*fuair*) by *Bricne na mbreath cáidh* (see *SNG* §4.4, p. 362).

§14b. In this line *tug bronnta d’ollamh Uladh* ‘gave gifts to the master-poet of Ulster.’. Here is another example of a verb which did not use *ro* in the past tense not being lenited in Classical Irish (see note **§10c** above).

§14c/d. I am following the recommendation of the editors of *ABM* and inserting *o* in the words *fhi[o]s* and *n-éigi[o]s*.

§14d. In this line, I am unsure of the meaning of the word *casnaidh*. On inspection of the manuscript, the word is clearly *casnaidh*. However, Damian McManus suggests *cosnaidh* from *DIL* s.v. *con-sní*, ‘contends, contests, strives for, wins, gains: later also defends, costs’. This would give sense to the quatrain in that he says that the gifts given by Fliodhais were so extravagant for a visiting poet, that this was a victory for all poets.

§15d. In this line *gur scíth n-aistir an t-ollamh* ‘that the master-poet was reluctant to leave’ there is a predicative adjective followed by a nasalised genitive *scíth n-aistir* possibly meaning ‘weary regarding journeying’ and therefore, possibly ‘reluctant to leave.’ This would be suitable for the story: given the generosity of Fliodhais, Bricne was reluctant to leave her dwelling-place. This phrase is similar to *tnúthach gcogaidh* ‘eager for war.’ The phrase can be seen in the poem *Tógaibh eadrad is Éire* ‘Raise the veil from Ireland’ by Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn for Conn (mac an Chalbhaigh) Ó Domhnaill:

*Urusa dhuit déanaimh cean,
tnúthach gcogaidh Meic Mhíleadh;
beag na faghla, a fhir Eithne,
do-bhir Banbha buaidheirthe.*

‘It is easy for thee to win triumphs, the Sons of Míl are eager for war; it needs few forays, thou man of the Inny, to stir up Banbha’ (§45) (Knott 1922, p. 7).

§16a. I am assuming that *soin* is referring to Flíodhais and her generosity.

§16c. Here the poet is comparing his treatment by Caitilín to Bricne’s treatment by Flíodhais. As with the contrasting *mór* ‘many’ in the first couplet and *mó* ‘more’ in the second couplet of this quatrain, *gach uair* ‘every time’ captures another difference between the circumstances of the poet and those of Bricne in the apologue, namely, Bricne’s was a fleeting visit, whereas the poet here is in a life-long relationship (he hopes) with his benefactress, Caitilín.

§17a. In the description ...*an taoibh ghil* ‘of the bright figure’, *taobh* generally means ‘side’, but by metonymy, *taobh* often denotes the body or figure.

§17c. In *DIL immad*, gen. *imtha* means ‘the act of contending; envy, jealousy, rivalry, strife.’ Here *do bhean iomtha* would have the meaning ‘a woman to rival you.’

§17d. *th’fhear éinleabtha* ‘a man of the same bed’ / ‘a woman’s husband.’ Sometimes this is said of a patron’s chief-poet as the chief-poet is said to have the privilege of sleeping on the couch next to the patron. The notion of the relationship between poet and patron as a marriage is discussed by Breatnach (1983, 40–41) and also by Simms (2015, pp. 249–50).¹⁰²

¹⁰² See also Carney, 1955, pp. 243–75, where he contends that the poem *Féuch féin an obairsi*, a *Aodh* is actually a eulogy where the poet is called upon to praise both his patron O’Rourke and the visitor, Costello.

§18c. Ailbhe was the daughter of Cormac mac Airt, one of the beauties of bygone days (see Introduction p. 13).

§19b. Eimhear was the daughter of Forghall Manach, another of the beauties from times past (see Introduction p. 12).

§20c/d. In this couplet there is a case of *caoiche* (rhyme of a word with itself) where *bladh* in line c rhymes with itself in line d. The words *an* : *bladh* would make perfect rhyme but would leave *bladh* in line c without a rhyming partner.

In this quatrain, the poet asserts that compared to Caitilín’s fame, Emer’s fame looks ‘borrowed’ and therefore not permanent as implied by *do an* ‘remained / stayed.’

§21a. I am retaining the lenition of the initial of *fhear* to ensure alliteration (*eitigh* : *fhear*). The initial consonant of an undefined direct object of a verb is lenited (*réim connsuine*) if its acc. form is not the same as its nom. (*focail asa dtéid a réim* ‘words whose *réim* (acc. sg. form) goes out of them’) and optionally otherwise (*IGT* i, §81).¹⁰³

The patron is portrayed as the poet’s husband and Costello as the lover; Carney (1967, pp. 12–13), where he contends that Eochaidh Ó hEóghasa considered his chief–poet–patron relationship with Hugh Maguire as a marriage; Carney (1970, pp. 227–42) ‘The so-called “Lament of Créidhe”’ and Carney (1968, pp. 22–32) ‘Two Poems from *Acallam na Senórach*’.

¹⁰³See Mac Cárthaigh (2014, §81, pp. 106–107): *Gac[h] ainm úathaidh nó iollraidh feirinnsgne nó baininnsgne, cáol nó leathan, a n-anann a réim, cóir a réim connsuine do dhénamh nó gan a dhénamh mur so: ‘do-chiú fear’, ‘do chiú fhear’; ‘bris súil gheal’, ‘bris shúil ngil’.*

‘Every nominative singular or plural, masculine or feminine, slender or broad, that is not inflected in the accusative, it is correct to lenite it or not to lenite it when it is the object of a verb, like this: *do-chiú fear*, *do-chiú fhear*; *bris súil gheal*.’

§21d. This line may mean that Caitilín's fame is more widespread than that of Meadhbh and Mór. Note that Meadhbh and Mór have names restricting them to Cruacha and Mumhan respectively; thus, Caitilín's fame is not restricted to the immediate neighbourhood.

§22b. In *DIL* one of the meanings given for s.v. 1 *inis* is 'an island (often artificial) used as a storehouse or fort.' The meaning seems to be that people are talking about the treasures that Caitilín brought with her to Fermoy and stored them in a fastness or storehouse.

§22d. In this line the 2nd pl. form is used in place of 2nd sg. In Bardic poetry the plural form was frequently used in place of the singular form for rhyming purposes (*oruibh* : *tugobhair*). There are examples of 1st pl. / 2nd pl. prepositional pronouns being used for 1st sg. / 2nd sg. of rhyming purposes in §6a/b. *linn* : *áirmhim*, §6c/d. *rúine* : *dúinne*, §22a/b. *libh* : *hinsibh*, §25c/d. *moirn* : *oirn*, §29a/b. *ghloin* : *toroibh*, §38c/d. *dúin* : *rúin* (see also note **§18d** poem 1, p. 102).

§23a/b. In this couplet it seems that the poet is reinforcing the difference between the treatment a guest poet receives, which is very respectful but short-lived, as compared with the special treatment afforded the chief-poet (see Table denoting the differences between chief-poet and guest-poet p.159).

§23a. In *ód dhreich ghil* I am marking lenition. This is a case of *cadad* where lenition is written but not pronounced when two homorganic consonants come together. (see *SNG IV*, §3.2 (d)) (*IGT* i §50).¹⁰⁴

§24c. *Banna* here is the river Bandon in West Cork (see Ó Riain et al 2005, 77–9).

§26b. I have normalised *rr > r* (*Cloinn Charthaigh*) as historically there was not a double *r* in the spelling.

§27d. *a chraobh Aithle*: I cannot source information on *Aithle*. In *OG* there is an entry from the Book of Ballymote: ‘Elím King of Cnuca slain in the battle of Aithle’, Bb. 32a.

§28b. In this line *in rosc corr [nar?] thuill toi[bhéim?]* I am accepting the suggestion in *ABM* and inserting *nár* and *-bhéim* - *in rosc corr nár thuill toibhéim* ‘the sharp eye that did not earn reproach.’

§29d. I presume *aibhleaghadh* is a form of the word given in *eDIL* under the headword *aidbliugud*.

¹⁰⁴ Mac Cárthaigh (2014, §50, pp. 88–9): *Ag so cadad le cceiltar séimhiug[h]adh an fhocail bhíos 'na dhiaigh mur so do G[h]áoidheilg: 'bean throm', 'bean dhubh', 'cos thinn', 'lámh mhín', 'súil dhearg', 'sgíán dhíreach[h]', 'féoil the'.*

Ní cóir na séimhigthe-sin náid a leithéide eile do rádh do G[h]áoidheilg, giodh cóir d'ogham iad.

Here are examples of delenition by means of which the lenition of the following word is suppressed in pronunciation: *bean throm*, *bean dhubh*, *cos thinn*, *lámh mhín*, *súil dhearg*, *sgíán dhíreach*, *féoil the*.

Such lenition should not be expressed in pronunciation, though it is correct in writing.

§32c. I am assuming that *Adhar* is *Magh Adhair* ‘Adair’s plain’ located near the village of Quin, County Clare. Weir (2002, p. 9) states that *Magh Adhair* indicates ‘the inauguration place of the Dalcassian kings, including Brian Boru.’¹⁰⁵

§34c. *géag Abhaidh*: I cannot identify this place-name.

§35b. *OE* states that *Maenmag* is in the barony of Clanricard in County Galway. O’Mullally (1941, p. 40) claims that ‘This kingdom or principality comprised that extensive and fruitful plain occupying a great part of the baronies of Lochriabhach or Lochrea and Liath-dhruim or Leitrim (gray ridge) in south-eastern Galway. Its southern boundary was the Sliabh Echtghe (Slieve Aughty Mountains) and County Clare, and its northern limits reached beyond the town of Magh fhoid or Moyode (a grassy plain); while it extended from Loch Dergh-erc or Loch Derg (the lake of the red eye) on the Sionainn or Shannon and the barony of Longphort or Longford (a harbor) on the east to the diocese of Cill Mac Duagh or Kilmacdaugh (the church of St. Colman the son of Duach) on the west.’

§36c. In manuscripts of this period, *fh-* often stands for *bhf-*.

§37b. In *OE* (s.v. *coirrrshlíab*) *Coirrrshliabh* (na Seaghsa) identified as being the Curlew Mountains in Roscommon and Sligo.

§37c. There is a double negative in this line: *ní hí an toil nachar ghabh greim*, ‘it is not that the affection didn’t take hold’, i.e. it is that the affection took hold.’ See note on §10d above, p. 182.

¹⁰⁵ See Frost (1893, pp. 35–6) for information on the history of *Magh Adhair*.

§37c/d. Here is is evident that the scribe uses eye-rhyme *-eim - greim : dligheim*. Meyer (1905, p.84) asserts: ‘in order to mark more clearly both final and internal assonance, Irish scribes of all ages are accustomed to change the ordinary spelling of a word by leaving out, or adding, or altering letters.’¹⁰⁶

§38c. Either *nn/n* was acceptable for rhyming purposes (*dúinn : rúin*) as the distinction between *nn* and *n* disappears after long vowels.

¹⁰⁶ See also SNG III, §2.11, p. 230.

POEM 4

Díleas gach éanduine a eidhreacht

INTRODUCTION

This poem *Díleas gach éanduine a eidhreacht* ‘Everyone is entitled to his heritage’ is the third poem of praise in the Book of Fermoy, RIA 1134 (23 E 29) dedicated to Caitilín, daughter of Tadhg MacCarthy, wife of Dáibhíoth, third Viscount Roche of Fermoy. There are forty-six quatrains dedicated to Caitilín, a descendant of Diarmaid Mór Mág Carthaigh (§44a, c), three quatrains dedicated to David Roche, son of Muiris and Siobhán (§§47–49) one quatrain to a person named Conn (§50), one to St. Francis and the final quatrain is to the Blessed Virgin Mary.

A diplomatic edition of the poem has been published in *ABM* (poem no. 171). The transcription in *ABM* is an excellent replication of the text of the manuscript. Some lines are illegible/partly illegible (e.g. §31d, §32d, §34d, §50a, §51a, b, §52a). I have consulted both the manuscript and *ABM*. For the most part *ABM* provides an accurate representation of the manuscript. There are suggested emendations made in *ABM* regarding:

- (i) lines/words that are illegible and where suggested words/parts of words would accommodate the syllable count and/or the rhyming scheme and would give sense to translations (i.e. §3d, §6c, §15d, §18b, §18d, §20d, §21a, b, §28d, §30d, §32d, §33d, §34c, §34d, §41d, §44d, §46a, §49a, §51a, §52b).
- (ii) letters that should be removed from words (i.e. §12b, §15c, §15d, §20b, §48a).

I agree with and I am accepting those suggestions in *ABM* in the quatrains above. However, in the following instances I am emending the text of *ABM* (i.e. §30a, §33c, §33d, §35a, §37c, §49a, §49b).

§30a. I am removing the mark of lenition in *Bároidheach* > *Baróideach*. On inspection of the manuscript, it is clear to me that the mark above the *d* is merely an ink-stain unlike other distinctive marks of lenition in the poem.

§33c. I am amending *ina chin* > *ma-chin*. I have looked again at the manuscript and I believe that we can read *ma-chin* here. Quin (1978, 16) claims that this phrase is a development of *mad-chin* (*cinid*). Later (*DIL* (c), ‘In phrases. *mad-cin* (later *mo chin*) x happy, blessed is x’) it was apparently understood as compound of 1 sg. possessive pron. and *cin* ‘love, favour’. Therefore, *ma-chin* can be understood as ‘blessed is’ or ‘hail to’ as in this couplet from another poem in the Bardic Poetry Database:

budh daor libh is budh [daor] damh

a Aodh mo-chin dot chonnradh! (BPD 519. 13c. Connradh do cheanglas re hAodh).

‘It will be dear to me and dear to you, O Aodh, hail to your contract.’ (Translation by Damian McManus).

A hyphen has been inserted in *ma-chin* as *-chin* is the stressed part of the word as indicated by alliteration and rhyme.

§33d. I am reading *Fer Muighi* in this line as the nominative *Fir Mhoighe*. In the manuscript there is an expansion stroke which may be *-er* or *-ir*. In this context the expansion should be the nominative pl. *-ir* as *Fir Mhoighe* is the subject of the line.

This generates perfect rhyme between *ma-chin* of the previous line and *Fir* of this line. Also, by amending *Muighi* > *Mhoighe*, there is perfect rhyme with *chroidhe* in the previous line.

§35a. I am amending *tirthibh* > *thíribh*. The form *tírtibh* is the modern dat. pl. of the word (*tírthe*). The poet may have had the older form *tíribh*, but the scribe may have inserted the more modern form of *tírtibh*. Originally the plural form of *tír* was *tíre*. However, this plural was not distinct enough and *-th-* plurals began spreading in the language. This may be the reason for the modern dat. pl. *tírtibh* (*IGT* ii §45).

§37c. I am amending *an dath-sin* > *andath sin*. *ABM* is reading this as the definite article *an* ‘the’ with a demonstrative suffix *sin* attached to *dath* ‘colour’. However, it is clear that *sin* cannot be a suffixed demonstrative; it must be a stressed independent word in order to rhyme with *dhligh* in the following line.

§49a. In this line *Da bhfaghadh [laidh uaim?] gac n-aenla* *ABM* suggests *laidh uaim*. The word *uaim* is clearly visible in the manuscript. However, from my reading of the manuscript, *lai* is visible and not *laidh* as suggested by *ABM*. I am emending *lai* > *laoidh* giving the Classical Irish form of the word.

§49b. In *ABM* *airdri Roiteac* is given. On examination of the manuscript an *-s-* is clearly visible, giving *Roitseac*.

The poem has been discussed by Damian McManus, and §§3, 4, 11, 13–4 and 18–28 have been translated by him.¹⁰⁷ As with the other poems being edited here, I have been influenced by the translations of some quatrains of the poem translated by McManus in my interpretation and translation of the poem.

¹⁰⁷ McManus, forthcoming.

Below is the diplomatic edition from *ABM*, a critical edition, translation and notes on text, accompanied by introduction, information on the manuscript, patron, metre and subject-matter.

MANUSCRIPT

This poem appears in the Book of Fermoy, RIA 1134 (23 E 29) beginning on p. 205. It is written in a single column. (This poem is one of the few entries written in single columns. The material on pp. 81–82, 117–122, 143, 147–154, 165–168 are also in single columns.) There is some damage to the bottom right-hand corner of this page, rendering some words/lines illegible (see Introduction to this poem above). The poem continues on p. 206 and ends about halfway down this page. There is some damage to this page leaving parts of the poem illegible.

POET

The poem is without attribution in the manuscript.

PATRON

This poem was composed for *Caitilín* (§11b, §46a), daughter of *Tadhg* (§4b, 26b) and for her husband *Dáibhíoth*, (§44a), son of *Siubhán* and *Muiris*, 3rd Viscount Roche of Fermoy (†1539).

Caitilín's lineage is highlighted throughout the poem. She is referred to as the granddaughter of the kings of Roscrea (§29b), descendant of the House of *Tál* (§35d) (see note on Patron in poem 1 p. 71) and the granddaughter of the kings of *Ráth Luirc* (§39b) (see note §39b. p. 235)

SUBJECT-MATTER

In the first part of the poem from §§1-17, our poet explains to Caitilín that he has hereditary rights as a chief poet. He is at pains to impress upon Caitilín that he has enjoyed the position of chief poet in Fermoy long before her arrival in the place. While he explains to Caitilín that he has benefited from the ever-generous privileges and gifts bestowed on him by the Roche family, he asks her to continue with these privileges that he has become accustomed to.

The poet praises Caitilín's beauty in almost every verse in this section of the poem (*a ucht mar ré* 'o breast like the moon' (§5), *a rosc gorm* 'o blue-eyed one' (§7), *a fholt sliom* 'o smooth-haired one' (§8), *a thaobh mar ré* 'o body like the moon' (§9), *a chiabh noch* 'you of the flowing hair' (§10), *a rosc mall* 'o modest, gentle-eyed one' (§12), *dhreich mar ré* 'face like the moon' (§13), *earla shliom* 'smooth-haired one', *ar ghné na cailce* 'white/fair of complexion' (§14), *a fholt fann* 'o soft haired one' (§15), *an ruisc ghuirm* 'of the blue eye' (§17)). While these phrases are complimentary, they are also metrically convenient.

In the opening quatrains of the poem (§§1, 2) the poet exhibits his knowledge of the convention with his claim that every chief-poet has hereditary rights (Breatnach, 1983). These rights are seldom denied and our poet argues that to deprive someone of their right of inheritance would be as impossible as attempting to stop the ebb and flow of the tide: *cur 'na aghuidh má uair uime, / samhuil do bhuain tuinne ar thráigh* 'if one found someone going against it (objecting to it) / it is like depriving the waves from beating on the shore' (§2).

The poet tells us in §3 that he has received *anóir* 'respect' as a chief poet of the Roche family. Chief-poets had the right to receive *anóir* 'respect/special privileges' from their patrons/patronesses (see Breatnach 1983). This, he claims is his hereditary right: Ó

aois leinimh is liom d'eidhriocht / anóir Róidsioch... 'Since childhood I have enjoyed by right of inheritance / the *anóir* of the Roches...' When Caitilín arrives in Fermoy he appeals to her to maintain the privileges that he was both accustomed to and entitled to as a chief poet (§4).

In §5 the poet boasts that he owes the privileges he receives to Caitilín although he has had the right of sitting on the right-hand side of the patron since his youth. The poet hopes that Caitilín will continue to bestow on him the privileges he has enjoyed. Here we see reference to one of the privileges enjoyed by a chief poet, namely the privilege of sitting at *guaille ríogh* (see Breatnach 1983 p. 37, pp. 45–46. See also Introduction pp. 7–9) 'the king's shoulder'. He explains to Caitilín in §6 that it would be of no great wonder if the generosity to which he is accustomed were to continue under her patronage.

From §7–10, Caitilín is made aware of the extent of the *anáir* 'respect' lavished upon our poet before her arrival in Fermoy. In §7 the poet asks Caitilín to continue the bestowal of this *anáir* 'respect' on him. He then asserts that there is no shame in requesting privileges and that he is not the only one demanding their right of inheritance (§8). Since our poet has had privileges in Fermoy, he again asks that Caitilín follow this custom (§9). Yet again in §10 our poet beseeches Caitilín to continue in the practice in which he is accustomed because there would not be true *anáir* 'respect' if he were to embark on demanding this respect: *ná tabhair oirn m'fhaláir ort* 'do not cause me to have to urge myself on you'.

In §11 Caitilín is informed that the poet expects that his privilege as a chief-poet will be upheld by herself: *as é as mí aoibhill dom anáir, / gach ní shaoilim dh'fagháil uaibh* 'the highlight of my esteemed position / will be in the treatment I expect to get from you.'

There seems to have been some animosity on the arrival of Caitilín in Fermoy. The poet bravely states that Caitilín was aggrieved that she wasn't given pride of place in his praise poems. Although she was diplomatic and did not openly reveal the cause of her grievance, it was apparent from her demeanour that she was displeased. However, it turned out that the relationship between the two improved: *an uair inab aipche ionn* 'with the ripening of our relationship' (§§13, 14).

We learn from §§15-17 that Caitilín's anger was assuaged by becoming the object of the poet's adulation. However, he wonders if Caitilín would continue the generosity to which he had been accustomed as a chief poet: *an méid-se fós d'fholaídh ann* 'there was still some lingering enmity [towards me]'

There follows from §18–28 an apologue in order that the poet may buttress his argument that he is entitled to the *anáir* 'respect' that he is used to (see notes on this apologue p. 7). It is evident that this poem is of great importance historically in that it reveals much about poet-female patron relationship and the position of women in the household at the time of its writing. It shows the power and influence of women in society. If a woman, in this case, Caitilín, had no power or influence, why then would this poet be worried about himself as a poet?

The poet relates the story of Mac Liag, *ollamh Chinn Choradh* 'chief-poet of Kincora' on the arrival at Kincora of Brian Bóramha's new wife from Leinster (see p. 116 for information on Brian Bóramha). This tale is fitting to his argument as it shows that Mac Liag found himself in much the same predicament as our poet (§18). He tells of the fretting of Mac Liag in Kincora when Brian Bóramha brought his new wife to live at Kincora. Mac Liag was anxious as to whether or not Brian's new wife would arrive with her own entourage of poets. It transpired that Mac Liag need not have been anxious.

In §§19–20 we learn that Mac Liag was indulged with everything his heart desired, though these demands may have been excessive: *an méad ainbhreath dob áil lais* ‘whatever excessive demands he desired’. He received *a mhoirn féin is anáir oile* ‘his due affection and other rewards’. This message, our poet hopes, will resonate with Caitilín and she will reciprocate the generosity shown by *laochraidh Mhumhan* ‘the Munster warriors.’

In §§21–22 we learn that Brian Bóramha married the daughter of *airdrí Laighion* ‘the high-king of Leinster’ and brought her to Kincora where Mac Liag was enjoying the privileges as chief-poet. The arrival of the new wife caused uncertainty and doubt for Mac Liag regarding his position as chief poet.

However, it is revealed in §23 that Mac Liag had no need to worry because *níor oil é acht an bhean-soin Bhriain* ‘nobody supported him but that wife of Brian.’ Furthermore, in §24 the Leinsterwoman showed her true nature as a patroness of generosity with Mac Liag’s excessive demands being met with this extravagant generosity. This revelation would surely inspire Caitilín’s generosity, that she be as generous, if not more so, as her predecessor.

In §25 it is stated that although Mac Liag was held in high esteem in Kincora before Gormfhlaith arrived, he was promoted to an even higher level on her arrival: *Do hardaigheadh ollamh Muimhneach / le mnaoi mBriain...* ‘The Munster chief-poet was elevated / by Brian’s wife...’. Our own poet reminds Caitilín of this in the hopes that she will do as her predecessor did.

In §26 it is clear that our poet is happy with his treatment by Caitilín. He asserts that their relationship echoes that of Mac Liag and Gormfhlaith (see Introduction p. 6). It is clear that our poet is held in high regard by Caitilín, his ever-generous benefactress: *ní fhuil acht fíis ’na bhfuair meise / uaibh a-rís don treise i dtám* ‘what I have received from you is no more than a reflection / of the esteem in which I am held.’

In §27 Caitilín is elevated to being more bountiful in her generosity than Gormfhlaith was with Mac Liag. This is high praise indeed given that Gormfhlaith's generosity was renowned as being *aidhbhseach* 'extraordinary'. This felicitous apologue comes to a close in §28 with our poet claiming that others will be envious of Caitilín's gift-giving.

In the following section (§30–35) the poet describes Caitilín's journey from her ancestral home-place in southern Cork to her marital home in Fermoy. She commences her journey in *Iath Baróideach* 'Barrett's country', where she beholds beautiful sights while passing the purple-coloured peaks (§30). She then travels through *Magh na nUamhan*. In this quatrain, the poet claims that it will be a cause of envy for many as Caitilín will be ruling in her marital home as well as ruling in her own home-place (§31).

Her journey takes her to Cuan Laoi. Here the poet includes the idea that the rivers are *balbh* 'silent' with the inauguration of a righteous ruler (see Introduction p. 18). McManus (2006, p. 27) states that 'silence (or murmur) was the code of the rivers of Ireland in the standard welcome for a new king' and he quotes Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe in his eulogy *Táinig tairngire na n-éarlamh* 'The prophecy of the saints has come to pass' to Aodh mac Domhnaill mhic Eigneacháin Ó Domhnaill:

*Longnadh ó uisgeadhaibh Fódla,
fáilte í Chonaill ó Charn Fraoich;
is beag nach balbh gach sruth sléibhe
do mharbh bruth na gréine an ngaoith.*

'It is a wonder that the waters of Ireland can welcome the descendant of Conall from Carn Fraoich; given that every mountain stream is almost mute; the warmth of the sun has killed the wind.' (Williams 1980, poem 6, §21, p. 68).

Caitilín's next destination is *Sliabh Abhrad* (§32) as she makes her way to her final destination of Fermoy.

As she continues her journey, Caitilín leaves Cork behind and travels northwards where Fermoy, Cork stretches in front of her (§33). She arrives in *Caoille an Druadh* (see note 2.117, p. 139–40), her marital home in the barony of Fermoy (§34).

When she arrives in her marital home, the onus is on her to rally the two territories under her charge. She must ensure that the people in both territories are happy with her reign. The poet has no doubt that she will succeed, stating that any woman who can manage two territories is a match for his patroness: *is bean do fhéad an dá oire / do mheadh, a ghéag Thoighe Táil*, 'and a woman who is able to carry the two burdens, she is a match for you, o branch of the House of Tál' (§35).

The following section (§§36–43) deals with Caitilín's beauty. Caitilín has been bestowed with *buaidh ndealbha* (§36d, §42d) or *rogha deilbhe* (§45a) 'the gift of great beauty.'¹⁰⁸ She has long, flowing, curling tresses (*dod chéibh bhuig* §36b, *a bharr na lúb* §38b, *do choinneall chas fhionnmhaoth fhuilt* §39d, *a chiabh na lúb* §40b, *H'earrla maoth* §41a, *a fholt fann* §45b). Caitilín's skin/hand is bright as if she were a sculpture the colour of limestone (§37c). Her skin is also described as being the colour of foam: *ná an gruadh tana, a chneas mar chuip* 'or the slender cheek, o skin like foam' (§42b).

Again, in this quatrain, the poet includes the idea that the cosmos depends on the good king, or queen in this case. Caitilín is recognised as the rightful leader of the territory as the oak tree bows low because of its burden of fruit caused by the behaviour of a good king, here transferred to a woman: *dar fhill dair* 'to whom the oak-tree bows low' (see Introduction pp. 17–18 and also 2.127–128, p.140). Her beautiful neck (§38b) doesn't take

¹⁰⁸ The word *dealbh* 'shape, form', frequently means 'beauty' in bardic poetry and *buaidh* 'victory' before it means 'gift', therefore *buaidh ndealbha* means 'gift of [great] beauty.' See also footnote 21, p. 16.

away from her beautiful green eyes (§38d, §40b). She has shapely, curved eyebrows (§40a, §41a) and long extensive eyelashes (§42a).

Caitilín's heritage is clear from §43–46. She is a descendant of *Corc Caisil* and if *Corc* were to deny the relationship between them, his denial would be betrayed by merely looking at Caitilín: *Níor bheag... dath an dá thaobh isin troighidh / dá bhrath a chraobh Oiligh ort* 'Not insignificant...the colour of the two sides in the foot, to betray him, o branch of Aileach' (§43) (see p. 117–8 for information on Corc Caisil. He is also mentioned in poem 2.101–102, p. 138). She is also descended from Diarmaid Mór Mág Carthaigh (see note §44a/c, pp. 236 and footnote 126) as is evident from her soft, flowing hair (§44). For generations Caitilín's ancestors have had the reputation of generosity, a characteristic inherited by Caitilín herself (§45).

From §47–49 is the complimentary *iargcomharc* dedicated to *Dáibhíoth a Róitse*, Caitilín's husband. Like his wife, *Dáibhíoth* has noble blood and the generosity of his ancestors (§47). He earned his fame through his generosity; he did not hoard his wealth but distributed it generously: *ní hé a chradh do-chuaidh i dtaisgidh / ní bladhf fuair i n-aisgidh í* 'it is not his wealth that went into storage (i.e. that was hoarded; he is very generous), it is not fame that he received free of charge.'

The final three quatrains (§50–52) comprise quatrains dedicated to (i) a person named Conn, (ii) St. Francis and (iii) the Blessed Virgin Mary.

In §50 the poet claims that he has a duty to compose a complimentary quatrain for this person, Conn, a contemporary of the poet. It was customary practice for poets to add complimentary duty quatrains for their patrons at the end of poems to other people. Carney (1973, p. 238) states: 'The bardic poet might have an appointment as poet to a particular ruler. But he did not compose for him alone, although he had a very special relationship with him. He undertook poetic circuits, travelling widely, giving other rulers the benefit of his

art and receiving hospitality and payment. Under these circumstances he frequently felt obliged to insert into every poem a single quatrain in praise of the lord from whom he had his appointment.’ This would have given his patron positive publicity. The poet Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh had an arrangement with Conchubhar Ó Briain as outlined in his poem *Teach carad dochiu folamh* (*Dioghluim Dána*, no. 116.20-21). This inspired the contract between Eochaidh Ó hEódhasa and Aodh Mág Uidhir as outlined by Carney (1967, pp. 15–16).¹⁰⁹

Because this poem is without attribution, it is difficult to research who Conn, a contemporary of the poet, might have been. In the Book of Fermoy (RIA 1134 (23 E 29), p. 27), there is another poem *Gearr ó dob inghill mná Mumhan* ‘It is not long since the women of Munster were worthy of praise’ (*BPD* 1065) for Siuán daughter of Cormac Mág Carthaigh and Aibhilín. This poem is also with attribution. Interestingly, like our poem, the final verses are dedicated to (i) a person named Conn (mac Aodha) (§§38–39), (ii) St. Francis (§40) and (iii) the Blessed Virgin Mary (§41). Could this be the same poet who composed the present poem – a poet with another patron called Conn, who invoked St. Francis and who revered the Blessed Virgin Mary?

In §51 he claims that St. Francis interceded on behalf of his enemies so that they would not face the wrath of God. In *BPD* there are a number of poems containing an envoi to St. Francis.¹¹⁰ There are also a number of poems with quatrains dedicated to both St. Francis and St. Micheal the Archangel.¹¹¹ There is another poem containing a quatrain dedicated to St. Francis, Dominic and Patrick (*BPD* 4).

¹⁰⁹ See also Breatnach P.A., 1993, pp. 59–66 and Ó Concheanainn 1974, pp. 235–251.

¹¹⁰ *BPD* 553, 726, 1031 1033, 1294, 1489, 1553, 1592, 1908, 1916, 1936.

¹¹¹ *BPD* 308, 391, 416, 665, 764, 1028, 1068, 1281, 1304. In the case of poem 1281 and poem 1304, there is a question mark regarding St. Francis. It is not clear from the quatrains if the subject is indeed St. Francis.

The final quatrain (§52) is dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The poet states that Mary did not earn the glory of God's house free of charge; she had to witness the grief of her only son: *diachair a huain uile dh'fhaiscin* 'she had to witness the grief/sorrow of her lamb (i.e. Jesus)'. McManus (2015, p. 138) states: 'Devotion to the Virgin Mary was so great among poets that no person, male or female, has more poems of this genre dedicated to him or her, nor more complimentary quatrains to him or her, than does Mary.' Furthermore, McManus (2013, p. 504) states that there are 'over sixty poems to or about her' and that it is difficult to enumerate 'how many complimentary quatrains in strictly secular verse are addressed to her, but there are very, very many.' Many themes relating to Mary are evident as McManus (ibid.) states: 'The Annunciation, the Immaculate Conception, the Nativity, Mary's suffering at her son's Passion, all figure very strongly in the poetry...' In *BPD*, a search of Motif 87. Envoi: to God, saints or angels returns 401 entries. Of these 401 entries, 162 contain an envoi to the Blessed Virgin Mary.¹¹² One such envoi is to be seen in the religious poem *Lá saoire corp an Choimheadh* 'The Feast-day, the Body of the Lord' where the poet advocates for a feast-day for the Blessed Virgin Mary:

Is oircheas do Mhuire mhóir
féasda uasal fhuair anóir;
géag naoidhe gan diall re droing
créad nach biadh saoire ag saorchloinn.

¹¹² *BPD* 24, 38, 85, 91, 98, 110, 117, 126, 140, 153, 170, 178, 188, 205, 212, 231, 241, 262, 271, 273, 278, 291, 295, 321, 325, 360, 416, 442, 445, 461, 477, 479, 507, 526, 539, 541, 571, 576, 590, 592, 596, 600, 619, 636, 645, 659, 688, 699, 708, 717, 718, 732, 750, 755, 759, 800, 803, 815, 818, 834, 845, 849, 895, 896, 907, 915, 939, 941, 952, 959, 967, 1000, 1008, 1034, 1064, 1065, 1085, 1097, 1113, 1114, 1120, 1129, 1135, 1146, 1172, 1177, 1201, 1204, 1212, 1219, 1220, 1221, 1245, 1246, 1251, 1278, 1279, 1280, 1284, 1309, 1319, 1333, 1334, 1338, 1367, 1369, 1382, 1401, 1421, 1423, 1452, 1467, 1468, 1469, 1476, 1490, 1496, 1498, 1528, 1536, 1537, 1549, 1551, 1553, 1556, 1557, 1558, 1581, 1593, 1600, 1604, 1630, 1633, 1635, 1643, 1645, 1676, 1692, 1719, 1738, 1741, 1745, 1762, 1770, 1772, 1792, 1819, 1826, 1838, 1842, 1848, 1881, 1886, 1906, 1922, 1931, 1935, 1936, 1939, 1942, 1944, 1946.

Adhbhar ainmnighthe saoire

do mháthair Dé dhealbhnoidhe

ní dhearna i gclí cionta mná

's do-ní fhiorta gach n-éanla. Lá (§§34–35).

‘Proper to great Mary is a noble honoured Feast-day; should not a noble progeny,
that fair branch, so different from the (rest of the) folk, have a feast-day?

The reason why a feast is devoted to the beauteous Mother of God is that she when
living sinned not as other women, and that she performs wondrous works every
day.’ (McKenna, 1939, poem 94, p. 211).

METRE

The poem has been composed in Séadna (8², 7¹) and fulfils the requirements for Dán Díreach. There are eight syllables in lines a and c of each quatrain, ending in a disyllabic word. Lines b and d comprise seven syllables, with these ending in a monosyllabic word.

There is alliteration in each line of the poem (e.g. 4.1: *éanduine* : *eidhreacht*; *eólaigh* : *hiúl*; *chách* : *chleacht*; *iarraidh* : *é*).

A feature of this metre-type is *lorga*¹¹³ ‘connecting alliteration’ between the final word of the opening line of a quatrain and the first stressed word of the second line. This requirement is met in all legible quatrains (e.g. 4.1ab. *eidhreacht* : *d’úil*, 4.15ab. *mholta* : *múchadh*, 1.27ab. *Banbha* : *bronnta*, 1.40ab. *dhatha* : *deirc*)

There is perfect rhyme between the final word of line b with the final word of line d.

¹¹³ See McManus 2005, 147–149; Ní Dhomhnaill 1975, 36.

Every stressed word in the interior of the final line of each quatrain must have a rhyming partner in the previous line (e.g. 4.1c/d. *chách* : *gnáth*; *chleacht* : *ceart*; *riaghuil* : *iarraidh*). It is essential that there is *Aicill* rhyme (the final word of line c rhyming with the penultimate word of line d) in every quatrain (e.g. *riaghuil* : *iarraidh*).

There is *dúnadh* ‘closure’¹¹⁴ in the poem both at the end of the panegyric for Caitilín (*Díleas gach éanduine a eidhriocht : fáth rogha do dhéinimh **dhí***) and in the final quatrain to the Blessed Virgin Mary (*Díleas gach éanduine a eidhriocht : fhuair Muire i n-aisgidh **í***) (see p.166).

¹¹⁴ See Ní Dhomhnaill 1975, 13.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

ABM

CRITICAL EDITION

1. Diles gac enduine a eidricht
 d'iúl gac eólaig ní hiul clé
 cí do chach nar chlecht an riaghuil
 ceart nach gnath ar iarraide.

- Díleas gach **é**anduine a eidhriocht,
 d'iúl gach **é**olaigh – ní hiúl clé,
 cí do chách nár chleacht an riaghuil –
 ceart nach gnáth ar iarraidh **é**.

Everyone is entitled to his heritage,
 every wise man knows that – this is not incorrect,
 who on earth has not observed this rule –
 it is a right that is seldom absent.

2. Duthchus in tí 'ga ta in eidricht
 mas fír riam do riaghuil caigh
 cur 'na aghuidh 'ma uair uime
 samhuil do bhuain tuinne ar traigh.

- Dúthchus **an** tí 'ga **dtá an** eidhriocht
 más fhíor riamh do riaghuil **cháigh**,
 cur 'na aghuidh **má** n-uair uime,
 samhuil do bhuain tuinne ar **thráigh**.

It is a privilege for the one who has the heritage,
 if your law was ever everyone's rule, if true,
 if one found someone objecting to it,
 it is like depriving a wave on the beach.

3. O áis leinim as lim d'eidricht
 anoir Roidsich ní rem gann
 gibé 'ga mbe slat na seilbi
 dar lat [is] se is eidri ann.

- Ó** aois leinimh is liom d'eidhriocht
 anóir Róidsioch – ní réim gann;
 gibé 'ga mbé slat na seilbhe,
 dar lat **is sé** is eidhre ann.

From childhood I have had, as a result of inheritance
 the special favour of the Roches - not scarce the gifts;
 whoever has the wand of possession,
 you would think him the rightful heir.

4. Do-chí tú mar a-ta mh'eidricht
a ingen Taidhg nar taem locht
moirn eili oirb gé do iarruinn
in moirn reme iarruim ort.

Do-chí tú mar a-tá mh'eidhriocht,
a inghean Taidhg nár thaobh locht,
moirn eile oirbh gé do iarruinn,
an mhoirn reime iarruim ort.

You can see how my inheritance is,
o daughter of Taidhg who never came near a fault,
if I were to ask a second affection from you,
I still want the first affection also.

5. Met m'aintresi o Feruibh Muighi
maigim ort a ucht mar ré
guaille righ as m'oigi d'fagail
moidi ar ndil dot anair e.

Méad m'aintreise **ó Fhear**uibh Muighe,
maoidhim ort, a ucht mar ré,
guaille **ríogh** as m'óige d'**fhagháil**,
móide ar ndíol dot **anáir** é.

The extent of my great esteem from Fermoy (the Roche family),
I impress on you, o breast like the moon,
sitting beside the king since my childhood,
more-so am I worthy of your *anáir*.

6. An t-aincleachtadh uarus romat
a righan Banbha is beo clú
ga nech do gh[e]ab é 'na ingnad
sé nó a mhegh co tibrad tú.

An t-ainchleachtadh **fh**uarus romhat,
a **ríogh**an Bhanbha is beo clú,
gá nech do-gheabh é 'na iongnadh
sé nó a mheadh go dtiobhradh tú?

The great generosity that I received before you arrived,
o queen of Banbha whose fame lives,
what person finds that a wonder
that you would give it or its likes to me?

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| 7. | Do-chluine le cuid dar n-eolchuib
m'anóir romat a rosc gorm
tu do char fhoinnim san anáir
sloinnidh dam 'gut fhaláir orm. | Do-chluine le cuid dar n-eolchuibh
m'anóir romhat, a rosc gorm,
tú do char fhoinnimh san anáir
sloinnidh damh 'gut fhaláir orm. |
|----|--|--|

You hear from some of our learned men
 about the respect I enjoyed before you came here, o blue-eyed one,
 tell me that you will put energy into the *anóir*
 as you impose yourself on me.

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|----|--|---|
| 8. | Ni leicfi mé moirín da hisle
gan agra ort a fholt slim
ní mé a-main do mheall in cleachtad
ní nair leam a lentur lim. | Ní leicfe mé moirn dá hísle
gan agra ort, a fholt sliom,
ní mé a-mháin do mheall an cleachtadh,
ní náir leam a leantur liom. |
|----|--|---|

I will not leave affection however small
 without demanding it from you, o smooth-haired one,
 it is not only myself whom this practice has beguiled,
 it is not shameful for me to keep up what I do.

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| 9. | Do bamair ar breith ar toile
sa tír-sí a tá a thaeb mar re
fa rinn ainchleachtaid in uair-sí
aithchleachtfaidh sinn uaib-sí e. | Do bhámair ar bhreith ar dtoile
san tír-se i dtaoi, a thaobh mar ré,
fá rinn ainchleachtaidh an uair-se,
aithchleachtfaidh sinn uaibh-se é. |
|----|---|--|

I was used to having my way
 in this country in which you are now, o body bright like the moon,
 at the end of this present lapse [in my good treatment],
 I will re-learn how to live the good life from you.

10. Na caill ar an cleachtad fuarus
fecuidh am choinne a ciab nocht
moirn tabaig (?) oirn ní bhud anair
na tabaig (?) oirn m'fhalair ort.

Ná caill ar an **gcleachtadh** fuarus,
féachuidh im choinne, a **chiabh** noch**t**,
moir**n** tab**haigh** oir**n** ní bhud**h** anáir,
ná tab**hair** oir**n** m'fhaláir ort.

Do not fail [me] in the practice I am used to,
look after me, you of the flowing hair,
levied affection would not be *anáir* towards me,
do not cause me to have to urge myself on you.

11. Ge fuarus romat rinn chadhuis
a Chaitilín chleachtus buaid
as é as mí aibill dom anair
gac ní sháilim dh'fhagail uaib.

Gé fuarus rom**hat** rinn chádhu**is**,
a Chaitilín chleachtus buaid**h**,
is é as mí aoib**hill** dom anáir
gach ní shaoilim dh'fhagháil uaib**h**.

Although I received the best of honour before you,
o Caitilín who is practised in generosity,
the pinnacle of my esteem
will be everything I hope to receive from you.

12. Dom feracht gráid ot ghnuis fhailid
'man uabur roim a ro(u)sc mall
is troigh osa chinn do-cuamar
dar lim ní fhoil fhuarad ann.

Dom **fhearacht** gráid**h** ót ghnúis fháilid**h**
'man uab**hur** róim**h**, a rosc mall,
is troigh ósa chionn do-**chuamar**
dar liom ní fhoil fhuarad**h** ann.

For my patronage from your cheerful countenance
I think that there is no cessation,
I went a step too far
with my pride before you, o gentle-eyed one.

13. Do bi gen gur bhraithis d'fhuighlib
 ét fam dan 'gut dreich mar ré
 do thuic gac aen ort 'na fhormat
 a tocht a craeb Abrat (?) e.

Do **bhí gion** gur bhraithis d'fhuighlibh
éad **fam dhán**, 'gut **dhreich** mar **ré**,
 do thuig **gach aon** ort 'na **fharmad**
it ocht, a **chraobh Abhrat**, **é**.

Although your words did not betray
 your jealousy regarding my poetry, o face like the moon,
 everybody understood it from you as envy
 in your heart, o beauty from Abhra.

14. Do cuir (?) ort an uair nach tucas
 tús m'egsi dot erla shlim
ferr a gruaid ar gne na cailci
 se an uair inab aipdhi inn.

Do **chuir** ort an uair nach tucas
 tús m'**éigse** dot earla shliom,
 fearr, a **ghruaidh ar ghné** na cailce
 sé an uair inab aipche ionn.

It bothered you when I did not give
 pride of place in my poetry to your smooth tresses,
 it became better, o fair-cheeked one,
 at the time when our relationship ripened.

15. Baeghal dam ar ndiaigh in mholta
 ler muchad t'ferg a fholt fann
mar do-chuaid m'egsi ar to(u)s toruib
in met-si fo(u)s d'fholaid [ann].

Baoghal dam **i ndiaidh an** mholta
 lér **múchadh t'fhearg**, a fholt fann,
 mar do-chuaidh m'**éigse** ar **tós** toruibh,
an méid-se fós d'fholaidh ann.

There is still danger for me after the praise
 with which your anger was suppressed, o soft-haired one,
 because my poetry had ignored you at first,
 there was still some lingering enmity [towards me].

16. Fechtur éicis innsi Cobhthaig
cuid dom aintren ard in stair
cia ann nach dígnad ler nduais-ne
's ní hígnad barr uaibsi air.

Féachthur éigios innse Cobhthaigh,
cuid dom aintréan – ard an stair –
cia ann nach díognadh lér nduais-ne,
's ní híognadh barr uaibhse air.

Look at the poets from the island of Cobhthach,
part of my [reason for being] over mighty – great is the tale –
who among them would not be happy with my reward?
and it is no wonder that I receive more from you for it.

17. Mo moirn ar tús tarla ar bisich
a bhadb Railenn an ruisc guirm (?)
ar n-uair gan turnam na tresi
ar cunnrad fuair mesi muirn.

Mo mhoirn ar dtús tarla ar bhisigh,
a bhadhbh Raoileann an ruisc ghuirm,
ar n-uair, gan turnamh na treise
ar cunnradh fuair meise muirn.

My former affection began to recover,
o blue-eyed raven of Raoileann,
in time, and without any reduction of influence
I got *muirn* by contract.

18. Ollam tuasud tainic romuinn
as ris benus *brid an sceoil
do-geb ar chomrad nach caithfim
scel 'na ghoblan aithgerr e[oil].

Ollamh thuasad táinig romhuinn
– is ris bheanas bríogh an sgeoil –
do-ghéabh ar chomhrád nach caithfeam
sgéal 'na ghobhlán aithghearr eoil.

Regarding a chief poet from our past
– to him belongs the focus of the story –
I will tell as a digression
a very short illustrative anecdote.

19. Fuair Mac Liag o laechraid Munan
in met ainbret dob ail lais
gan tnuth altruimh ag an fhilid
re daltuib glun cinid Cais.

Fuair Mac Liag **ó** laechraidh **M**humhan,
an méad ainbhreath dob áil lais;
gan **tnúth** altruimh ag an fhilidh,
re daltuibh glún cinidh Chais.

Mac Liag received from his Munster warriors,
whatever excessive demands he desired;
he did not need to compete for affection,
with poets fostered by the race of Cas.

20. Do cleachtad d'ollam Chinn Chorad
ó(u)s cinn fhiled Innsi Fail
a mhoirn fein is anair *ele
d'faghail o fhein T[o]ighi Tail.

Do cleachtadh d'ollamh Chinn Choradh,
ós cionn fhileadh Innse Fáil
a mhoirn féin is anáir oile
d'fhagháil **ó** fhéin Toighe Táil.

More than all the poets in Ireland,
the chief-poet of Kincora was accustomed to
receiving affection due to him and other honours
from the house of Tál.

21. Tarla dh'inghin airdrigh Laighi[o]n
gur loidh le Brian in bhá[i]rr thais
dob (urra) orradh re hanáir núaidhe
d'fhadhail d'ollam chuaine Chais.

Tarla **d'**inghin airdríogh Laighion
gur loigh le Brian **an** bhairr thais,
dob orradh re hanáir nuaidhe
d'fhagháil d'ollamh chuaine Chais.

It happened that the daughter of the king of Leinster
lay with Brian of the soft hair,
this was an occasion for a new source of affection
for the poet of the race of Cas.

22. An bean 'na cheann in trath tucadh
do thigh Briain nír beac in stair
do bhí in draí mar tam a treisi
's as dágh do bhái in fheissi air.

An **b**hean 'na cheann **an** **tráth** tugadh,
do thigh **B**hriain – nír **b**heag **an** stair;
do bhí an draoi, mar **tám**, **i** **dtreise**
's **is** d'ágh do **b**haoi **an** **fheis-se** air.

At the time when the woman was brought
to the house of Brian to meet him (mac Liag) – this was not of insignificance –
he was, as I am, held in high esteem,
and this affair was a matter of strife on him.

23. Mac Liag a treisi Chinn Choradh
ac cloind Oilill nár ob ghliaidh
gé fúair sé ar a thoil in tegh-soin
nir oil é acht in bhean-soin Briain.

Mac **Liag** **i** **dtreise** Chinn Choradh
ag cloinn Oilill **nár** ob ghliaidh,
gé **fuair** sé ar a thoil **an** teagh-soin,
níor oil é **acht** **an** bhean-soin **B**hriain.

Mac Liag had great influence at Kincora
with the family of Oilill who never refused combat,
although he received all he wished in that house,
nobody supported him quite like that wife of Brian.

24. Nír híaradh leis lór dá fhuidhill
ollam úaibhrech fhine Chais
dá mbeth nachar iar acht ainbreath
breath nac biadh in Laighneac lais.

Ní**or** **h**iarradh leis, lór dá fhuighioll
ollam**h** uaibhreach fhine Chais,
dá mbeath nachar iarr **acht** ainb**h**reath,
breath **n**ach biadh **an** Laighneach**h** lais.

It is enough to say that no request
that the noble poet of the Dalcassian race made,
even if what he requested was excessive,
was refused by the Leinsterwoman.

25. Da hardaighedh ollam Muimneach
le mnái Briain ag nar buan sed
tig dham na scela do scailed
a rélla bhan Gaigel nGreg.

Do hardaigheadh ollamh Muimhneach,
le mnaoi mBriain ag nár bhuan sead,
tig dhamh na sceala do scaoileadh,
a réalla bhan Gaoidheal nGréag.

The Munster chief-poet was elevated
by the wife of Brian with whom no treasure was long-lived,
I can relate this story,
o guiding star of the Grecian Gaels.

26. Mar Mac Liag 'gud leithéid eile
a inghean Taidhg nar theib dhán
ní fhuil acht fis 'na bhfuair meisi
uaibh a-rís don treisi a tam.

Mar Mhac Liag 'gud leithéid eile,
a inghean Taidhg nár theib dhán,
ní fhuil acht fis 'na bhfuair meise,
uaibh a-rís don treise i dtám.

Like Mac Liag with another woman like you,
o daughter of Tadhg who never avoided patronage,
what I have received from you is no more than a reflection,
of the esteem in which I am held.

27. Gidh áidhbhseach ag eigsibh Banbha
bronnta na céadmhná is cúis chlú
tar a bfuair Mac Liag on Laighnigh
do glac siad ar tairbhir tu.

Giodh aidhbhseach ag éigsibh Banbha
bronnta na céadmhná is cúis chlú,
tar a bhfuair Mac Liag ón Laighnigh,
do ghlac siad ar thairbhir tú.

Though the poets of Banbha regard
the gifts of the first woman as excellent and worthy of fame,
they consider what you give
to be more than what Mac Liag received from the Leinsterwoman.

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| 28. Da mbeth <u>nac</u> beith ag na ríghnaibh
ní ró dham <u>h</u> a ndub <u>airt</u> me
éd a stúadh Ab <u>ra</u> d ret in <u>m</u> he
dual <u>fa</u> rmad re ndin[<u>gne</u>] de. | Dá mbeath nach beath ag na ríoghnaibh,
ní ró dhamh a ndubhairt mé
éad a stuadh Abhrad ret inmhe,
dual farmad re ndingne dé. |
|--|--|

If it were that other noblewomen
were not jealous of your wealth, o stately one from Abhra,
this is not an exaggeration for me to say
that it will be a cause of envy what you will do with your wealth.

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| 29. Do fhlaithes nír lór dot ein <u>e</u> ach
a úa na rígh o Ros Cre
*sta bhiadh gac bean oile ar h'in <u>m</u> he
fad c <u>ro</u> idhe is <u>ed</u> im <u>re</u> e. | Dá fhlaitheas níor lór dot eineach,
a ua na ríogh ó Ros Cré,
's do bhiadh gach bean oile ar th'inmhe;
fad chroidhe is eadh imre é. |
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Two kingdoms would not be enough for your generosity,
o descendant of the kings of Roscrea,
and every other woman would depend on your generosity;
you travel across it [all] for your generosity's sake (?).

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| 30. Iath Bá <u>ro</u> idheach na mbenn <u>u</u> corc <u>ra</u>
is c <u>ri</u> ch Fer Muighe is mín c <u>re</u>
ort do an eire in da oig <u>re</u> acht
blad oile dot oirb[heart é?]. | Iath Baróideach na mbeann gcorcra,
is críoch Fhear Muighe, is mín cré,
ort do an eire an dá oighrecht,
blad eile dot oirbheart é. |
|---|--|

The territory of Barrett of the purple peaks,
and the land of Fermoy, its earth smooth,
the burden of the two heritages has fallen to you,
it is another token of your fame.

31. A-ta ar dha chinn is cuis formaid
d'éis imthechta a earla nocht
o chlar min muighi na nUaman (?)
tir oile bhus [.....].

A-tá ar **do** chionn is cúis **fh**ormaid,
d'éis imtheachta, a earla nocht;
ó chlár mín **Moighe** na nUamhan,
tír oile bhus **uamhan ort**.

After leaving from the smooth plains of Magh na nUamhan,
o flowing-haired one,
there is another land that will also be of concern to you,
a reason for envy.

32. Cuairt agaib is adhbur croidhe
go Cuan Lai na linntedh máll
an dara seal co Sliabh Abrad
gá bean r[iamh.....].

Cuairt agaibh is adhbhur croidhe
go Cuan Laoi na linnteadh mall,
an dara seal **go** Sliabh Abhrad,
gá bean **riamh**.....

Your journey to Cuan Laoi of the slow-moving currents
is a reason for joy,
the second destination to Sliabh Abhrad,
what woman ever.....

33. Cul re Corcaig in clair uaine
in uair cure a cruth mar thshuibh
do croidhe ina chin darb amarc
Fer Muighi na radh[arc ruibh?].

Cúl re Corcaigh an chláir uaine
an uair **chuire**, a **chruth** mar shuibh,
do chroidhe **ma-chin** darbh amharc,
Fir Mhoighe 'na radharc **ruibh**.

When you leave Cork of the green plain,
behind you, o complexion like berries,
blessed is the heart to whom that is a view,
Fermoy is the view before you.

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| <p>34. On tír theas ré tá do dhúthchas
ag dul budh thuaidh a troigh mhall
Caille <u>in</u> Druadh <u>in</u> uair-si d'f[haicsin?]
[.....ai?]stir ann.</p> | <p>Ón tír theas, ré dtá do dhúthchas,
ag dul budh thuaidh, a throigh mhall,
Caoille an Druadh an uair-se d'fhaicsin
[.....aistir ann.</p> |
|---|---|

From the land in the south, where your home is,
going northwards, o gentle-footed one,
seeing Caoille an Druadh now
[.....] journey there.

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| <p>35. Tath gac thire don da tirthibh [206]
a-ta ort is ni he a-mhain
is ben do fhed <u>in</u> da oire
do medh a geg Thoighe Tail.</p> | <p>Táth gach thíre don dá thíríbh,
a-tá ort is ní hé a-mháin,
is bean do fhéad an dá oire
do mheadh, a ghéag Thoighe Táil.</p> |
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Rallying each of the two territories
that have fallen to you and not only that,
and a woman who is able to carry the two burdens
she is a match for you, o branch of the House of Tál.

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| <p>36. Mar dha-roin<u>de</u>adh gac rath eile
d'eis a cheile dod cheibh buig
mar sin a choi<u>n</u>del Chuain Leam<u>n</u>na
do-roin<u>ne</u>d<u>h</u> buaidh <u>n</u>dealba duid.</p> | <p>Mar do-roin<u>ne</u>adh gach rath eile
d'éis a chéile dod chéibh bhuig,
mar sin, a choin<u>ne</u>al Chuain Leam<u>h</u>na,
do-roin<u>ne</u>adh buaidh ndealbha duid.</p> |
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As every other gift was bestowed,
one after another on your soft hair,
it is like that, o beacon of Cuan Leamhna,
that the gift of great beauty was bestowed on you.

37. Gid be saer do gheal na glaca
 a geg Aine dar fhill dair
 an dath-sin tar ael nir haithnedh
 nir dhlig in saer aithfer air.

Gidh be saor do gheal na glaca,
 a **ghéag** Áine dár fhill dair,
andath sin tar aol níor haithneadh,
 níor dhlig an saor aithfhear air.

Whoever the craftsman was who made the hands bright,
 o branch of Áine to whom the oak tree bows low,
 that gleaming colour was not recognised as different from limestone,
 the craftsman did not earn criticism for it.

38. Ni hiongnadh uaill d'eirghe eisti
 gidh í in braighi a bharr na lub
 ní luidh choisg ar aghnadh h'uaille
 amladh in roisc uaine ud.

Ní hiongnadh uaill d'eirghe eiste,
 gidh í an **bhráighe**, a bharr na **lúb**,
 ní luidh choisg ar aghnadh **th**'uaille,
 amhladh an roisc uaine **úd**.

It is no wonder that pride grows from it,
 though it is only the neck, o curly-haired one,
 it does not place a hindrance on the kindling of your pride,
 the ornamentation of yon green eye.

39. Diultur o dhoirsibh in earrla
 a ua na righ o Raith Luirc
 in bhas ré mboingenn a himghaeth
 do choindeall chas fhinnmhaeth fhuilt.

Diúltar **ó** dhoirsibh an earrla,
 a ua na **ríogh ó** Ráith Luirc;
 an bhas ré mboingeann a hiomghaeth,
 do choinneall chas fhionnmhaeth fhuilt.

The hand which touches its whirlwind (?)
 o granddaughter of the kings from Ráth Luirc,
 is turned away from the doors of [your] hair
 that is a curly, fair, soft candle.

40. A-ta comla do chluim dhatha
 fan deirc cúbra a chiabh na lub
 is díol sin do dhín na deirci
 's ní dín ar dhigh seirci sud.

A-tá **com**la do chlúim**h** dhatha
 fán deirc cubhra, a chiabh na lúb;
 is díol sin do dhíon na deirce,
 's ní **díon** ar dhigh seirce **súd**.

There is a brow of splendid plumage
 around the beautiful eye, o curly-haired one,
 that brow is worthy of protecting the eye
 and it is not a protection from yon drink of love.

41. H'earrla maeth os malaigh ndruimnigh
 ag dín t'aighthi ar eatail te
 dearc ina deoidh aga dheghain
 searc fa deóidh ag denaimh [de?].

H'earrla maoth os malaigh ndruimnigh,
 ag **díon** t'aighthe ar eatail te,
 dearc ina **dheóidh** aga dheaghain,
 searc fá **dheóidh** ag **déanaimh de**.

The soft tresses above the curved eyebrows
 protecting your face from a sudden rush of sunshine,
 the eye gazing after it,
 desire aroused by it.

42. Na hairim in t-abra gegac
 na in gruadh tana a chneas mar chuip
 bíth 'na enar uaibh in t-earla
 *'sta-beradh buaidh ndealbha dhuit.

Ná háirimh an t-abhra géagach,
 ná **an** gruadh tana, a chneas mar chuip,
 bíoth 'na **éanar** uaibh **an** t-earla,
 's **do-bhéaradh** buaidh ndealbha dhuit.

Do not include the extensive eyelashes,
 or the slender cheek, o skin like foam,
 even if the head of hair was only included,
 it would give the gift of great beauty to you.

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| <p>43. Nir <u>beac</u> da m<u>bedh</u> aga dhiultadh
 ditheal deit co <u>ndearna</u> Corc
 dath <u>in</u> da thaebh isin troighidh
 da <u>brath</u> a <u>craebh</u> Oiligh ort.</p> | <p>Níor bheag, dá mbeath aga dhiúltadh
 dícheal deit go ndearna Corc,
 dath an dá thaobh isin troighidh
 dá bhrath a chraobh Oiligh ort.</p> |
|---|--|

If Corc were to deny
 that he had anything to do with you,
 the colour of the two sides of your foot would be enough
 to betray [your relationship to one another], o branch of Aileach.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>44. Di<u>armaid</u> Mor fad mhalaig ndiga<u>ing</u>
 a dherc mhall dá mhí<u>an</u>ach Cuirc
 gidhbe is cháí duid-si re Di<u>armaid</u>
 ga tuigsi od dlai fh[iarbhuig?] fhuil[t?].</p> | <p>Diarmaid Mór fad mhalaigh ndioghainn,
 a dhearc mhall do mhianach Chuirc;
 gidh bé is chaoi duid-se re Diarmaid,
 'ga tuigse ód dhlaoi fhiarbhuig fhuilt.</p> |
|---|--|

Diarmaid Mór is around your extensive eyebrows,
 o noble-eye of the stock of Corc,
 whatever relationship you have with Diarmaid,
 it is to be understood from your truly-soft tresses of hair.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>45. Rogha deilbhe is uadha fhu<u>ar</u>ais
 nir fás <u>um</u>ad a fholt fá<u>nn</u>
 d'fhe<u>in</u> Ghaigheal <u>ar</u> cúl a chéile
 gl<u>un</u> gan laidheadh th'fhéile and.</p> | <p>Rogha deilbhe is uadha fhuarais,
 níor fhás umad, a fholt fann,
 d'fhéin Ghaoidheal ar chúl a chéile
 glún gan laoidheadh th'fhéile ann.</p> |
|---|---|

The great gift of beauty you received from him,
 there did not grow around you, o soft-haired one,
 a generation without your reputation for generosity
 among your Irish ancestry, generation after generation.

46. Fuair Caitilín [is cúis?] meanman
meín na haicme dár fhas si
cach agá togha asa treighibh
fáth rogha do dheinimh dhí. Dilis ...

Fuair Caitilín is cúis meanman,
méin na haicme dár fhás sí,
cáth agá togha asa tréidhibh,
fáth rogha do dheinimh dhí. Dilis gac...

Caitilín received, and it is a reason for delight,
the quality of the race from which she grew,
everyone chooses her for her qualities,
that is the reason why a choice was made of her.

47. Daibhith a Roitsi is i a eigreacht
uaisle bhfolá is féile Ghall
ní slighi chael roimh do riaghail
doibh ar-aen ri hiaraidh ann.

Dáibhíoth a Róitse is í a eighreacht
uaisle fhola is fhéile Ghall;
ní slighe chaol róimh do riaghail,
dóibh ar-aon re hiarraidh ann.

David Roche has inherited
nobility of blood and Norman generosity;
they are both to be found in him,
ruling a chief's residence is not cheap.

48. An cead(a)bhladh uair eigre Muiris
mac Siubhán da slecht gac ri
ní hé a cradh do-chuaidh a taisgidh
ní bladh fuair a n-aisgidh i.

An céadbhladh uair eighre Muiris
mac Siubhán dá sléacht gach rí;
ní hé a chradh do-chuaidh i dtaisgidh,
ní bladh fuair i n-aiscidh í.

The heir of Muiris and Siobhán to whom every king curtsies
got that same fame;
it is not his wealth that was hoarded,
it is not fame that he received free of charge.

49. Da bhfaghadh [laidh uaim?] gac n-aenla
airdri Roiteac ruc gac buaidh
 le barr nEine ní bhudh anair
 's gan rann eile dh'fhadhail uaim.

Dá bhfaghadh **laoidh uaim** gach n-aonlá,
 airdrí Róitseach rug gach buaidh,
 le barr nEine ní bhudh anair
 's gan rann eile dh'fhagháil uaim.

If the ever-victorious high-king Roche received,
 a poem from me every single day,
 with the king of Eine it would not be honour
 if he did not receive another (duty) quatrain from me.

50. Conn [.....]
 rann eile dhim dhlighis se
 ar cur fa eire do fhiachaig(?)
 bladh eile dom fhiachaibh é.

Conn [.....],
 rann eile dhíom dhlighis sé,
 ar gcar fá eire do fhiachaigh,
 bladh eile dom fhiachaibh é.

Conn [.....]
 another verse from me that he is entitled to,
 he has earned that we be put under a complement,
 it is another token of my dues.

51. San Froi[nsias.....]
 [.....] gu n-íaradh sé
 tug in naem ar breith da bhidhbaid
 a bheith saer ar dhimdhaigh nDé. Diles

San Froinsias.....,
 [.....] go n-iarradh sé;
 tug an naomh ar bhreith dá bhiodhbhaidh,
 a bheith saor ar dhiomdhaidh nDé. Díleas...

Saint Francis
 [.....] _____,
 the saint gave judgement over his enemy,
 to be free from God's wrath. Díleas...

52. A [.....]
[g?]loir a thighi do tuill si
diachair a húain uile dh'fhaiscin
ní fhuair Muire a n-aisgidh í.

A [.....]
glóir a thighe do **thuill** sí,
diachair a **huain** uile dh'fhaiscin,
ní fhuair Muire **i** n-aisgidh í.

O [.....]
she earned the glory of his household,
she had to watch the grief of her lamb (Jesus),
Mary did not receive it free of charge.

NOTES

§1b. I am retaining the length mark in *eólaigh* as either spelling is acceptable in Classical Irish.

§2a. In this line *Dúthchus an °tí 'ga d°tá an eidhriocht* ‘It is a privilege for the one who has the heritage’, in the deictic particle *an té/an tí* from the OI *int-í*, the *t-* is treated as part of the word. See *SNG* III, §10.22, p. 227 and *SNG* IV, §3.4, p. 360.

§2a/b. I am inserting lenition after *más* as lenition is standard thereafter. This also facilitates *lorga* alliteration with the final of l.1 and the word at the beginning of l.2, a requisite of *Séadna* metre (*eidhriocht* : *fhíor*) (see *SNG* IV, §7.27, p. 417).

§3c. Here is a reference to the inauguration of a king.¹¹⁵ Carney (1967, p. 11) refers to the inauguration of a king and he claims that ‘Practices of pagan origin live on and in certain families it was an ollav who presided at an inauguration and who handed the prince the rod or wand¹¹⁶ which symbolised his mystic union with the land, with growth and fertility.’¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ O’Daly, 1853, pp. 342–343: a section of a prose tract describing the inauguration at Carnfree, Co. Roscommon, of the Ó Conchobhair kings of Connaught:

Do Ó Mhaolconaire is cóir slat na ríge do thabhairt a láimh Í Chonchubhair an lá sin gheabhas ríge Connacht, agus ní dligheann aon duine do mhaithibh Chonnacht bheith ina fhochair ar an g-Carn an tan sin, acht Ó Maolconaire amháin, agus Ó Connachtáin as ucht Í Mhaoilchonaire; nó iar bhfhíor as ucht Í Mhaoilbhreanuinn, ag dóirseoireacht an chairn

‘It is the privilege of O’ Mulconaire to place **the royal rod** in the hands of O’Conor, the day on which he assumes the sovereignty of Connaught, and it is deemed unlawful for any individual of Connaught to be along with the king on the Carn on that day, except O’ Mulconaire himself, and O’ Connachtain fronting O’ Mulconaire, or, more truly, fronting O’ Maelbreanainn, keeping the door of the Carn’.

¹¹⁶ For information on the origins of the wand/rod of possession see Hore 1857, p. 225.

¹¹⁷ For examples of *slat na seilbhe* / *slat na ríge* see *BPD*: 163.40/d, 201.36c, 738.12c, 1040.22c, 1254.27c, 1426.42a, 1625.8c, 1682.4b.

§4b. I cannot make sense of this line with *taem*. However if we emend to *nár thaobh locht* ‘who never came near a fault’, it gives meaning to the line. This shows the confusion of *mh* and *bh* where the scribe sometimes writes *mh* for *bh*.

§4c/d. Here is an example of the 2nd pl. form *oirbh* of the preposition *ar* ‘on’ been used for the 2nd sg. form *ort* (see also poem 1, note 18d; poem 2, note l. 50; poem 3, note §22d). This generates perfect rhyme between *oirbh* : *mhoirn*. Other examples of the use of the 2nd pl. preposition instead of 2nd sg. are 4.9c/d. *uair-se* : *uaibh-se*, 11b/d. *buaidh* : *uaibh*, 12b. *róimh*, 15c/d. *toruibh* : *d’fholaigh*, 16c/d. *nduais-ne* : *uaibhse*, 26c/d. *bhfuaire* : *uaibh*, 33b/d. *shuibh* : *ruibh*, 42c/d. *uaibh* : *buaidh*. Another example of this practice is found in **§7c/d**. The word *sloinnidh* is the 2nd pl. imperative of *sloinnidh* ‘names, tells’ being used for 2nd sg. imperative. This was common in the Classical Irish period for the poet to use 2nd pl. for 2nd sg. In **§9a**. there is an example of the use of the 1st pl. for the 1st sg. past tense of the verb *attá*. Similarly, in **§12c/d**. we have an example of the use of the 1st pl. of the verb being used for the 1st sg. form. This was done in order to provide perfect rhyme. *do-chuamar* : *fhuaradh*.

§5a. In this line *ó Fhearuibh Muighe* is a reference to the Roche family of Fermoy.

§5c. The phrase *guaille ríogh* ‘sitting at a king’s shoulder’ is referring to one of the privileges enjoyed by the chief-poet (see pp. 7–10 and poem 3, §7, p. 169).

§6b. In this line *is* is the relative copula which normally causes lenition. This is in accordance with bardic teaching which requires lenition after *is/as* (*IGT* i, §90¹¹⁸ and *BST*

¹¹⁸ Mac Carthaigh 2014, pp. 112–3: *An uair bhíos ‘ní’ ar a dhiúltadh so: ‘as’, lomadh as cóir ‘na dhiaigh, mar so: ‘as fearr mé iná thú’: fearn lom air. An uair bhíos ‘nac[h]’ ar a dhiúltadh so: ‘as’, séimhiog[h]adh*

199.11). However, it is noteworthy that non-lenition after relative *as* became a feature of later bardic poems (see *SNG* IV, §3.2, p. 358). Mac Cárthaigh (1997, p. 75) gives examples of non-lenition after *as* being metrically fixed.¹¹⁹ As lenition is not supplied in the manuscript and to ensure minimal interference with the original manuscript form, I am leaving *is beo clú* unlenited. Similarly, in §27b. lenition has not been supplied in the manuscript and therefore I am leaving *is cúis chlu* unlenited.

§9b. *sa tír-se > san tír-se*: Here is an example of the loss of the nasal following the article before consonants. McManus (2019, p. 169) asserts that ‘one of the features of the modern article, that is, the dropping of the nasal before consonants, has a long history in the language.’

In the phrase *a thaobh mar ré* ‘o body bright like the moon’ *taobh* can mean ‘body’ (see note §17a. poem 3, p. 184).

§10. In this quatrain the poet is petitioning Caitilín to continue the generosity to which he had grown accustomed. He asks that there be no reason for him to have to demand her affection as if he has to demand it, it is not true *anáir*.

§10d. I am expanding the manuscript contraction form *na tabaig oirn > ná tabhair oirn* as this makes better sense of the line.

as cóir 'na dhiaigh, mur so: as mór as fhearr mhé iná thú', ós 'nac[h]' a-tá ar a dhiúltadh so: 'as fhearr' ann.

‘When *ní* is its negative counterpart, *as* should be followed by non-mutation, like this: *as fhearr mé iná thú*, with an unlenited *f*. When *nach* is its negative counterpart, *as* should be followed by lenition, like this: *as mór as fhearr mhé iná thú*, since it is *nach* that is the negative counterpart of *as fhearr* there.’

¹¹⁹ *Ós aige as fhearr fios na sgél* (Butler 114), *port as fhearr dá bhfacaidh neach* (Butler 238), *an ghéag neamhlag as fhearr fós / nar mheall dearmad ón dúthchós* (*Roinnfíod cách re cléir Banbha*, C iv 1, 174 and 186, q. 13).

§10c/d. The poet offsets the metrical fault of *caoiche* by introducing *breacadh taidhbhse* where the same word occurs twice in a half-quatrain and makes perfect rhyme with a single rhyming partner (*moirn : oirn : oirn*):

*moirn tabhaigh oirn ní bhudh anáir,
ná tabhair oirn m'fhaláir ort.*

This also happens in **§40c/d.** where again the poet offsets the metrical fault of *caoiche* whereby the poet uses the same word twice in a half-quatrain making perfect rhyme with a single rhyming partner (*díol : dhíon : díon*):

*is díol sin do dhíon na deirce
's ní díon ar dhigh seirce súd*

According to Ní Dhomhnaill (1975, VIII, p. 55) ‘*Is éard é breacadh taibhse, dhá mhacasamhail is focal a gcuibhis, agus iad suite in ionad ar bith i leathrann cuibheasach, nach féidir tarraingt a fheidhmiú ann... Beidh macasamhail amháin as an bpéire i líne eile seachas an focal cuibhis. Fágann sin focal amháin ag cuibheasú le dhá fhocal...’.*

§12a. Here the scribe writes *t* to represent the *d* of the possessive *do* with the preposition (*ó + do > ót*). Usually *t* represents *d* following a vowel but this occurs overwhelmingly with prepositions and the possessive adjective in the poem, irrespective of the following vowel or consonant (e.g. §5d. *dot anáir*; §12a. *ot ghnuis*; §13b. *'gut dhreich mar ré*; §13d. *it ocht*; §14b. *dot earla shliom*; §15b.; §28c. *ret inmhe*; §29a. *dot eineach*; §30d. *dot oirbheart*; §41b.; §45d). There are some instances where *t* does not represent *d* (e.g. 26a. *'gud leithéid eile*; §36b. *dod chéibh*; §36d. §44d. *ód dhlaoi*).

§12b. Interestingly, the scribe writes *ou* to represent *o/ó* or *u/ú* in *'man uabhur róimh a ro(u)sc mall* ‘with my pride before you, o gentle-eyed one. This also happens in **§15c/d.** *'mar do-chuaidh m'éigse ar to(u)s / an méid-se fo(u)s d'fholaigh ann* ‘because my poetry

had ignored you, there was still some lingering enmity [towards me]’ and in **§20b.** *ó(u)s cinn fhiled Innsi Fail* ‘over all the poets in Ireland’. I am accepting the recommendation in *ABM* and I am removing the *-u-* from all examples: *ro(u)sc* > *rosc*, *to(u)s* > *tós*, *fo(u)s* > *fós*, *ó(u)s* > *ós*. In the manuscript all the instances of unexpected *ou* are occur with the *us*-symbol: it is likely that the scribe is simply using the *us*-symbol as another form of *s*.

§13c. I am emending *’na fhormat* > *’na fharmad* in order that there be *Aicill* rhyme between *fharmad* : *Abhrad* in lines c/d. Both forms *formad* and *farmad* are permissible in Classical Irish.

§13d. In this line *a tocht a craeb Abrat (?) e*, I am changing the word division of *a tocht* to *it ocht*. The preposition *i* ‘in(to)’ is often written as *a*. I am amending this to *i* ‘in(to)’ + 2nd sg. possessive adjective *do* ‘your’ (see note on **§12a.** above p. 225).

§16a. For information on *innse* (*IGT* ii, §3) and *inis* (*IGT* ii, §150) see Mac Cárthaigh (2016, p. 105, n. 26c). *Inis Cobhthaigh* ‘the poets from the island of Cobhthach’ may refer to the territory in west Cork or it could also be a Bardic name for Ireland here.

§17b. Here Caitlin is referred to as *a bhadhbh Raoileann* ‘o raven of Raoileann.’ This is the gen. sg of *Raoiliu*. This place-name is not mentioned in *OG*. The earlier form is *Raoireann* but there was some interchange between *l* and *r* in Irish. The earlier form has been dissimilated to *Raoileann*.¹²⁰ In the apology *Nodlaig do-chuamair don Chraoibh* to Toirdhealbhach (Luineach, mac Néill) Ó Néill by Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn, *fear rianmhuighe Raoileann* is mentioned. Knott has translated this as ‘the lord of Raoiliu’s pathed plain.’

¹²⁰ *Raoileann* (gen.) is mentioned in *BPD* 164.14b, 206.1d, 14d, 254.21d, 360.15d, 376.6b, 442.37b, 538.30b, 700.24d, 732.5d, 957.5d, 965.31d, 34b, 1104.5b, 1559.19a, 1568.6d, 1618.5b, 1639.22b, 1647.15d, 1658.16d, 1815.16d, 1859.2d.

*Tarfas duinn ag dol inte
gur thuit froigh na firminte,
le tairm ngreagh srianbhuidhe seang
fa fear rianmhuighe Raoileann.*

‘It seemed to us, when entering, as if the wall of the firmament had fallen, from the tumult of the sleek, yellow-bridled steeds around the lord of Raoiliu’s pathed plain.’ (Knott 1922, poem 8, §6).

§18a. Here is the beginning of the apologue regarding Mac Liag (see also 4.19a, 4.23a, 4.26a, 4.27c) *Ollamh thuasad táinig romhuinn* ‘A chief-poet who came before me’ refers to Mac Liag, the chief-poet of Brian Bóromha (see Introduction p. 7). The death of Mac Liag (1015/1016) is recorded in *AFM*, *AU*, *LC* and *CS* (*Chronicon Scotorum* 256–7).¹²¹

§18b. *ABM* has suggested that *brid* be amended to *bríogh* - *bríd an sceoil* > *bríogh an sceoil*. This shows the confusion of *dh* and *gh* (see *dh* > *gh* emendations p. 45).

¹²¹ **AFM:** s.a. M1015.7: *Mac Liacc .i. Muirchertach, mac Con Certach árd-ollamh Ereann an tan-sin, d'écc. Ba h-é céd rann Mic Liacc annso, Muirchertach Becc, mac Maoil Certach, / baoid acc ionghaire na m-bó, / as é as indraic nachas iomlaid, / tabhair sgenach findraip dó. Ba h-é a rann deidhenach annso, A chluic ata i cind m'adhairt, / dot is ní teccait caraitt, / ge do-né tu do ding dang / as dít scenter an salann*, ‘Macliag, i.e. Muirchertach, son of Cuceartach, chief poet of Ireland at that time, died. The following was Macliag’s first quatrain: Muirchertach Beag, son of Maelcertach, / who has been herding the cows / It is more worthy that he retaliates not / —give him a handful of findraip. His last quatrain was this: O Bell, which art at the head of my pillow / to visit thee no friends come; / Though thou makest thy ‘ding dang,’ / it is by thee the salt is measured.’ **AU:** s.a. 1016.3: *Macc Liag, ard-ollamh Erenn, mortuus est* ‘Mac Liag, chief ollav of Ireland, died.’ **LC:** s.a. 1016.1 *Mac Liag, ard-ollam Erenn, mortuus est*. ‘Mac Liag, chief poet of Erinn, mortuus est.’ **CS:** s.a. 1016: *Mac Liag .i. Muircertach ard ollamh Erenn, optimus homo, moritur i nInis Gaill Duiph for Sinainn. Ced rann Mic Liag:— Muircertac beg mac Mailcertaigh, / bís ag ingaire na mbo, / as e an tinnraic nach aimsi loit; / tabair sgeanadh finnraip dho* ‘Mac Liac i.e. Muirchertach, chief ollamh of Ireland, an excellent man, dies in Inis Gaill Duibh on the Sinna. Mac Liac’s first verse: Little Muircertach, son of Maelcertach, / Who is wont to be herding the cows— / He is the innocent who attempts not to wound; / Give him a handful of finnraip.’

§18c/d. In these lines I am interpreting the spelling as *caithfeam*. In unstressed position, <i> can occur between a palatal and a broad consonant, i.e. represent the *schwa* which we normally spell <ea>. This facilitates perfect *Aicill* rhyme with *aithghearr* in the following line.

The use of '*na ghobhlán* has echoes of Cáilte's famous observation *gablánach in rét an scéluighecht* 'story-telling is a complicated affair' in the Middle Irish narrative *Acallam na Senórach* 'Colloquy of the Ancients.'¹²²

§19b. Here is a reference to *ainbhreath* 'excessive demands' made by poets (see p. 159–60 where *ainbhreath* is discussed).

§19c/d. Regarding the abstract verbal noun *altruimh*, see McManus (forthcoming, footnote 21) where he notes that there are no unambiguous examples in *DIL* of *altram(m)* with a lenited final *m*. However, he gives the examples of *gloin : altroim[h]* in *ABM* 143.27cd and *altruimh : hantair* in *IGT* iii 654 (*Fear ar n-altruimh as é soin . nor hantair mhé ré a marbnaidh*) where the .l. tag does not apply to *altruimh*.

§19d. *Cas* was the eponymous ancestor and dynastic founder of the Dál gCais clan from whom all branches of the Dalcassian dynasty claim descent. *Cas* is also mentioned in **§21d.** *ollamh chuaine Chais* 'the poet of the race o Cas' and in **§24b.** *ollamh uaibhreach fine Chais* 'the noble poet of the Dalcassian race.' *Cas* also appears in poem 2.109, p. 138 and in poem 3.28d, p. 176 (see also notes on *Cas* p. 119).

¹²² Translation by Dooley and Roe (1999, p. 111).

§20b. *Inis Fáil* was a poetic name for Ireland.

§20c. I am amending *ele* > *oile*. Both are acceptable variants of earlier *aile* (see *DIL* s.v. 1 *aile*). This emendation facilitates perfect rhyme with *Toighe* in the following line.

§20c/d. Here there is a case where the metrical fault of *caoiche* is avoided as both words have different meanings (*féin* : *fhéin*). This is also the case in **§41c/d.** (*i ndeóidh* : *fá dheóidh*).

§21a. In this couplet the name of the daughter of the king of Leinster is not mentioned. McManus (forthcoming, footnote 22) states that she is ‘presumably Gormfhlaith daughter of Murchadh mac Finn, king of Leinster.’ The death of Gormfhlaith is recorded in *AFM*: s.a. 1030.21, *AT*: s.a. 1030.15 and *AI*: s.a. 1030.4.¹²³

§21c. In the manuscript the scribe has written the corrected form *dob orradh* above the unsatisfactory *dob urra*. The word *orradh* enters into perfect rhyme with *d’ollamh* in the following line.

¹²³**AFM: s.a. 1030.21:** *Gormlaith, inghen Murchadha, mic Find, máthair rígh Gall .i. Sittrig, & Donnchaidh mic Briain, rígh Mumhan, & Choncobhair, mic Maoilechlainn, rígh Temhra, d'écc. As í an Gormlaith-si ro ling na trí léimeannae, dia n-ebradh: Trí léimeanna ro ling Gormlaith, ní lingfedh ben co bráth, léim i n-Ath Cliath, léim i t-Temhraigh, léim i c-Caisel carn-maigh ós cach, ‘Gormlaith, daughter of Murchadh, son of Finn, mother of the king of the foreigners, i.e. of Sitric; Donnchadh, son of Brian, King of Munster; and Chonchobhar, son of Maeleachlainn, King of Teamhair, died. It was this Gormlaith that took the three leaps, of which was said: “Gormlaith took three leaps, which a woman shall never take again, a leap at Ath-cliaith, a leap at Teamhair, a leap at Caiseal of the goblets over all.”’ **AT: s.a. 1030.15:** *Gormlaith ingen Murchadha meic Floind, máthair Sitriuca meic Amlaim, rig Gall, & Dondchada meic Briain, rig Muman, mortua est, ‘Gormlaith daughter of Murchadh son of Fland, mother of Sitric son of Olaf, king of the Foreigners, and of Donnchadh son of Brian, king of Munster, died.’ **AI:s.a. 1030.4:** *Ingen Murcha[da] m. Find, rigan Muman, moritur, ‘The daughter of Murchad son of Finn, queen of Mumu, dies.’***

§23b. *Clann Oilill*, ‘the race of Oilill’: Oilill Olum was the son of Mogh Nuadhad.

§24d. In this quatrain, *Laighneach* denotes Leinsterwoman. Ní Úrdail (2003, p. 33, n. 5d) claims that the use of *Laighneach* meaning Leinsterwoman is unusual.

§27a. Ó Riain et al. (2005, p. 76) state that *Banbha* was originally an alternative name for *Breagha* but that it is more commonly used as a poetic name for Ireland.

§28a. I am emending *nach beith* > *nach beath* as *beith* is not a conjunct form (see SNG IV, §7.26, p. 416).

§28c. In *OG* it states of *Cenn Abrat* ‘by some said to be Sliab Riach, by others the Ballyhoura hills on borders of Cork and Limerick.’

§29a. Here there are two possible interpretations of MS *do*. It could mean 2nd sg. possessive adjective ‘your’ or it could be a mistake for *dá* ‘two.’ Either of these would give meaning to this quatrain. The poet could be (i) telling Caitilín that her kingdom was not enough for her generosity or that (ii) two kingdoms were not enough for her generosity. I am emending *do* > *dá*. This emendation is based on the ensuing quatrains. The following quatrain (§30) tells us that the burden/charge of two kingdoms (*Iath Baróideach* and *críoch Fhear Muighe*) is upon Caitilín, while §31 says that when she leaves *Magh na nUamhan* she will be in charge of another territory.

In *OG* *Ros Cré* is identified as being Roscrea, Co. Tipperary. *Ros Cré* appears in *AFM* (e.g. s.a. 826.6, s.a. 1133.4, s.a. 1157.10, s.a. 1212.13).

§29c. I am emending *sta bhiadh* > *'s do bhiadh* as suggested in *ABM*. This is in order to make better sense of this line. The form *-st* was often written for *-sd* and the scribe often used *da* for *do*. There is another instance of this in **§42d.** *'sta-beradh* (*ABM* suggests emending this to *'s do-bhéaradh* in order to give meaning to the quatrain). Again in **§44b.** I am emending *dá mhianach* > *do mhianach*.

§30. At this section of the poem the poet is focusing on Caitilín's family background which he adds to her new circumstances making her a person of considerable standing,

§30a. *Iath Baróideach* 'Barrett's country': Cairney (1989, 152) asserts that the Barretts came to Ireland during 'the Anglo-Norman invasion and settled as two families of the same Welsh stock, one of which seated at Castle Barrett, became influential in central County Cork, where they were large landowners down to the year 1691.'

30d. I am amending *oile* > *eile*. This creates perfect rhyme with *eire* 'burden' in the previous line. The scribe has used the correct word but not the correct form. Both these forms are permitted variants of *DIL* s.v. 1 *aile* 'other, one of two, second' (see note on §20c. above).

The suggestion in *ABM* *oirb[heart é]* generates the word *oirbheart* (*DIL* s.v. *airbert* (b) 'heroic deed, exploit'). This creates a line of seven syllables with a final monosyllabic word. The requirement of *Aicill* rhyme with *oighreacht* suggests *oirbheart*. In addition, the metre requires a final *é* to create end rhyme with the final word of line b: *cré : é*.

§31a. I am amending *ar dha chinn* > *ar do chionn* ‘of concern to you’ as this gives sense to the quatrain. Here is an instance where the scribe uses *da* for *do* (cf. note on **29c** above). I have also emended **§36a.** *Mar dha-roindeadh* > *Mar do-roinneadh*.

I am adding lenition in *cuis formaid* > *cúis fhormaid* as the noun *cúis* is feminine causing lenition on the following word. The lenition also ensures linking alliteration between ll. 1–2 *fh^oormaid d^oéis*. Alliteration between the final of line a. and the initial of line b. is a requisite of *Séadna* metre (see p. 22).

§31c. I have been unable to identify *Magh na nUamhan*. I am emending *Muighe* to *Moighe* to achieve perfect rhyme with *oile* in the following line. I am also doing the same in **§33d** to create rhyme with *chroidhe* in the previous line.

§31d. Here Damian McManus has suggested adding *uamhan ort* ‘a burden on you’ to the line. This gives the required syllable-count for *Séadna* metre of 7¹. It also generates perfect rhyme with the final of b: *nocht* : *ort*. There is now *Aicill* rhyme between *nUamhan* : *uamhan*. The metrical fault of *caoiche* is avoided as both words have different meanings. In addition, it gives meaning to the quatrain as a whole: Caitilín is moving from her ancestral home where she is influential. She will now also be in charge of the lands in Fermoy, her marital home.

§32b. *Cuan Laoi* = Cork Harbour. *An Laoi* is the River Lee, Co. Cork. Connellan (1866–1869, 452) states that this river issues in Guagane Barra and flows through Cork city.

Here there is reference to the topic of righteous rule. When a righteous ruler reigns, the weather is clement and the water of rivers is low and therefore the currents are slow-moving (see p. 18).

§32c. In *OE* it is stated that *Sliabh Abhrad* is in Munster.

§33b. I am removing *th* from *mar thshuibh* (see *SNG IV*, §3.5, p. 360).

§34c. O’Keeffe (1926–1928, p.183, note 1) states that the territory of Fermoy or some portion of it was once known as *Caílle an Druadh* ‘the wizard’s *caílle* [a division of land]’. This wizard was known as *Mogh Ruith*, the son of *Sonasc*. O’Keeffe states that he was a ‘celebrated wizard who is said to have studied magic under Simon Magus. In the siege of *Druim Dámhghaire* he is said to have helped *Fuacha Muillethan*, the king of Munster, and, for his efforts, he was rewarded with the territory of *Fir Muighi Féne* (Fermoy). The 12th century topographical tract *Crichad an Chaoilli*¹²⁴ opens with the quatrain:

*Crichad an Caoilli gu cruaidh,
in fuil uaibh nech noimluaidh?
tucad do mac Sonaisc sin
ar an forbhais d’fhoiridhin.*

‘The exact boundary of the Caoille, is there anyone of you who would describe it? It was given to the son of *Sonasc*, for assisting at the *Forbais*.’

McCotter (2011, p. 212) asserts that this kingdom is now ‘represented by the area of much of the baronies of Fermoy and of Condons & Clangibbon, in Co Cork, and small neighbouring portions of counties Limerick and Waterford.’

¹²⁴ This topographical tract is preserved in two manuscripts: (i) Derbyshire, Chatsworth House, Book of Lismore, ff 140–141 and (ii) London, British Library, Egerton 92, ff 13b–14.

§33d. I am reading *Fer Muighi* in this line as the nominative *Fir Mhoighe*. In the manuscript there is an expansion stroke which may be *-er* or *-ir*. In this context the expansion should be *ir* as the nom. pl. is required.

§35d. For *Tál* see p. 71.

§36a. I am amending *Mar dha-roindeadh* > *Mar do-roinneadh*. The conjunction *mar* causes lenition but it is not normal to have lenition on a preverb.

§36c. *Cuan Leamhna*: logainm.ie states that *An Leamhain*, the River Laune (gen. *na Leamhna*) is in Co. Kerry. Connellan (1866–1869, 451) translates this as ‘The Elm Tree River’. There is a reference to the eruption of this river in *AFM*: s.a. 4169.2:

As a n-aimsir Siorna dna tobruchtadh Sciortaghe i Laighnibh, Doailte h-i c-Crich Roiss, Nithe i Maigh Muirthemhne, Leamhna i Mumhain & Sláine la h-Uibh Cremthainn.

‘It was in the time of Sirna, also, happened the eruption of the Scirtach, in Leinster; of the Doailt, in Crich Rois; of the Nith, in Magh Muirtheimhne; of the Leamhain, in Munster; and of the Slaine, in Ui Creamhthainn.’

In the poem *Beir eolus dúinn a Dhomhnaill* by Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh for Domhnall (mac Cormaic mhic Dhomhnaill) Mág Carthaigh there is a reference to Cuan Leamhna:

*Tar Carrthaigh, tar cuan mBeithbhe
cuir aghaidh na himeirche,
tar cuan Leamhna, tar Loch Léin,
a sgoth Eamhna, bhar n-eichréidh.*

‘Across the Carthach and Beithbe’s banks, lead the departing host; across the Leamhain and Loch Léin, o pride of Eamhain, lead thy horse charge.’ (McKenna, 1938, poem no. 74, §49, p. 233).

§37b. Here there is another reference to the topic of the righteous rule. During the reign of a righteous ruler the trees bow low with an abundance of fruit. McManus (2006) contends that this is the most common image of the king’s bounty in Bardic poetry (see Introduction p. 16–18).

Géag Áine ‘the branch of Áine’ may be a reference to Éoganacht Áine. Sproule (1984, pp. 32–3) contrasts Éoganacht Ua Fidgeinte and Éoganacht Ua Liatháin with ‘the names of the descendants of Corc: Éoganacht Chaisil, Éoganacht Locha Léin, Éoganacht Áine... all deriving the second half of their sept-names from geographical locations.’ Byrne (2001 p. 177) states that the *Éoganacht Áine Cliach* were seated ‘at Knockaney (Cnoc Áine) in Limerick...’. logainm.ie states that *Áine* is a district in Co. Limerick.¹²⁵

§39b. There is reference in this line to *Ráth Luirc*. Binchy (1961–3) shows that this was a Bardic kenning for Ireland or Munster, later wrongly used to ‘de-anglicise’ the name of Charleville (earlier Rathcogan/Rathgogan), Co. Cork. Billing (1997, p. 160) states: ‘The name of this market town close to the Limerick border was changed for a time to Charleville in honour of Charles II (1630–85).

§39. This is a difficult quatrain. The poet appears to be describing Caitilín’s hair. The whirlwind may be a reference to a whorl or something similar. The hand seems to be ‘refused’ because her shiny, fashioned hair is so well set.

¹²⁵ See McCotter 2006 pp. 59–76 for information on Éoganacht septs.

§42d. For discussion on *buaidh ndealbha* see Introduction p. 16 and footnote 21.

§43a. I am expanding *da mbedh* > *dá mbeath*, the Classical Irish form. The manuscript text may be expanded either way.

§43b. I am emending *ditheal* to *dícheal(l)* as I cannot make sense of this word the word *ditheal*.

For information regarding *Corc* see p. 117–18.

§43d. Here Caitilín is being referred to as *a chraobh Oiligh* ‘branch of Aileach’, presumably a reference to the famous Grianán.

§44a/c. Diarmaid Mór Mág Carthaigh was king of Desmond from 1144 until his death in 1185. His death is recorded in *AFM* s.a. 1185.11: *Diarmaid Mag Carthaigh tighearna Desmumhan, do mharbhadh la Gallaibh Corcaighe* ‘Dermot Mac Carthy, Lord of Desmond, was slain by the English of Cork.’ and in *AC* s.a. 1185.14 *Mac Cormaic meic meic Carrthaigh, ri Muman, do marbad do Gallaibh Corcaigi* ‘The son of Cormac, son of Mac Carthaigh, king of Mumha, was slain by the Foreigners of Corcach.’¹²⁶

§47. Here begins the *iargcomharc* or complimentary quatrains to *Dáibhíoth a Róitse* (§47a), the husband of Caitilín.

¹²⁶ For further information on Diarmaid Mór Mac Carthaigh, see <https://www.dib.ie/biography/mac-carthaigh-diarmait-mor-a5004>.

§48. This quatrain is of significance as we know that the father of *Dáibhíoth a Róitse*, the subject of the *iargcomharc* in the previous quatrain in this poem, was *Muiris* (§48a) and that his mother was *Siubhán* (§48b). McManus (forthcoming)¹²⁷ points out that there are at least three Davids Roche in question and each of them the son of a Muiris, and thus, covering five generations of Roches. He has linked members of the family to the pedigree in the Complete Peerage.¹²⁸

David Roche ‘the Great’ of Fermoy	son and heir of Maurice Roche by Amy , daughter of Donald Oge Mac-Carty-More, Viscount Roche of Fermoy in the reign of Edward IV, married Johanna , daughter of Walter de Burgh.
Maurice Roche	son and heir of above, second Viscount Fermoy, married first Joan , daughter of James FitzThomas FitzGerald and secondly More , daughter of O’Brien.
David Roche	son and heir of above by first wife, third Viscount Fermoy, married Catherine , daughter of Teige Mac-Carty-More.
Maurice Roche	son and heir of above, fourth Viscount Fermoy, called ‘the Mad’, living 1541, married Grany , daughter of Cormac Mac Teige Mac-Carty, chief of Muskerry (?).
David Roche	son and heir of above, fifth Viscount Roche of Fermoy, married Ellen , daughter of James Butler of Dunboyne.

We can identify from the above that David Roche, to whom the *iargcomharc* is written, is the son and heir of Maurice and Joan, and who married Catherine (Caitilín), daughter of Teige Mac-Carty-More.

¹²⁷ McManus, forthcoming.

¹²⁸ Cokayne, 1887–98 Vol. iii, p. 327.

§49c. Here Dáibhíoth de Róiste is being referred to as *barr nEine* ‘the king of Eine.’ This may refer to *Magh Eine*, ‘Moygenny’.

§50a. Conn in this quatrain should not be taken as *Conn Céadchathach* mentioned in 1.25b (p. 91).

§50c. Here I am amending *cur* > *car*, another variant of *DIL* s.v. 1 *cor*. This facilitates perfect rhyme with *bladh* in the following line.

§51a. This is an example of an invocation to St. Francis. For information on St. Francis see p. 200.

§52. Here is a quatrain to the Blessed Virgin Mary. For information on the Blessed Virgin Mary see p. 201–2.

§52c. Here *diachair* is being used as substantive (see *DIL* s.v. *tíachair*).

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ABBREVIATIONS

- ABM* *A Bardic Miscellany*, ed. D. McManus and E. Ó Raghallaigh (2010). Dublin.
- AC* *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 (ITS 37, 40). Dublin.
- ACL* *The Annals of Clonmacnoise, being annals of Ireland from the earliest period to A.D. 1408*, ed. D. Murphy (1896). Dublin.
- AI* *The Annals of Ireland from the Year 1443 to 1468. The Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society*. Vol. 1, (1846).
- AIF* *The Annals of Inisfallen* ed. S. Mac Airt (1988). Dublin.
- ALC* *The Annals of Loch Cé*, ed. W.M. Hennessey (1871). London.
- AU* *The Annals of Ulster [...]*, ed. W. M. Hennessy and B. Mac Carthy (1887–1901). Dublin.
- BPD* Bardic Poetry Database (<https://bardic.celt.dias.ie/>).

- BST* *Bardic Syntactical Tracts*, ed. L. McKenna (1944). Dublin.
- BUTLER* *Poems on the Butlers of Ormond, Cahir, and Dunboyne (A.D. 1400-1650)*, ed. J. Carney (1945). Dublin.
- CS* Hennessy, W. M., [ed. and tr.], ‘*Chronicum Scotorum: a chronicle of Irish affairs from the earliest times to A.D. 1135: with a supplement containing the events from 1141 to 1150*’, London: Longmans, 1866.
- DD* *Dioghluim Dána*, ed. L. Mac Cionnaith, (1938). Dublin.
- DIL* *Dictionary of the Irish language based mainly on Old and Middle Irish materials (1913–75)*. Dublin. (dil.ie).
- GGBM* *Graiméir Ghaeilge na mBráthar Mionúr*, ed. P. Mac Aogáin (1968). Dublin.
- IBP* Osborn Bergin ed. *Irish Bardic Poetry: Texts and translations, together with an introductory lecture by Osborn Bergin with a foreword by D.A. Binchy compiled and edited by David Greene & Fergus Kelly* (1970). (Dublin).
- IGT* *Irish Grammatical Tracts*, ed. O. Bergin (1916-55) in supplements to *Ériu* 8–10, 14, 17.

- ISOS* Irish Script on Screen (<http://isos.dias.ie>)
- OG* *Onomasticon Goedelicum locorum et tribuum Hiberniae et Scotiae: an index, with identifications, to the Gaelic names of places and tribes*, E. Hogan, Dublin, 1910. (publish.ucc.ie/doi/locus).
- PDI* Placenames Database of Ireland (logainm.ie).
- SNG* *Stair na Gaeilge in ómós do Pádraig Ó Fiannachta*, ed. K. McCone, D. McManus, C. Ó Háinle, N. Williams, L. Breatnach (1994). Maynooth.

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