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TWELVE POEMS ATTRIBUTED TO FLAND MANISTRECH FROM THE BOOK OF LEINSTER

Ph. D. THESIS

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SCHOOL OF IRISH

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN

JULY 1999

VOLUME I (OF TWO VOLUMES)

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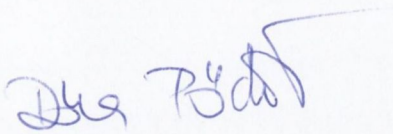

Dóra Pődör

SUMMARY

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

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

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

The thesis contains the texts, the translations, the notes, an analysis of the metrics, and the linguistic analysis.

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INTRODUCTION

1. Aim and scope of this thesis

The aim and scope of this thesis are the following:

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

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

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

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

2. Manuscripts

As this thesis intends to examine Fland Manistrech's language, the texts presented here are mostly based on manuscripts which can be dated close to his lifetime. The early MSS in which his poems have survived are all dated to the Middle Irish period of the language (*LL, LU* and *R*). I have mostly relied on the *Book of Leinster*, which is the only manuscript in which all the twelve poems can be found; and I have provided variant

readings from *Lebor na hUidre* and *Rawlinson B502* for the four poems which appear in them, too (note that there is remarkably great variation in the readings of even these MSS). Readings from later manuscripts are only referred to when the evidence of the metre shows that some kind of emendation is necessary, but the Middle Irish manuscripts provide no help, or when the version from the MIr MS does not make sense. I have also included certain stanzas in my edited texts that appear in *R* but are omitted in *LL* if I thought it very likely that they were an integral part of the original poem. Between these three MSS and the ones which come next in chronological order (*The Book of Lecan* and *The Book of Uí Maine*), there is a gap of several centuries, so the evidence provided by them is often not relevant to the linguistic analysis in this thesis.

3. The poems

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

Volume I:

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

LL I 11^{a}18-11^{b}39, pp. 41-46. 152

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

LL I, 16^{a}9-16^{b}1, pp. 60-62. 72

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

LL I, 27^{b}54-28^{a}49, pp. 108-11. 100

Volume III:

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

LL III, 131^{b}37-132^{b}4, pp. 504-508. 140

"Rīg Themra tōebaige īar tain"--on the Christian kings of Ireland from Lóegaire to Máel Sechnaill, successor of Brían Bóruma.

LL III, 132^{b}5-133^{b}10, pp. 509-515. 208

(F11) "Mugain ingen Chonchraid chain"--on the miraculous birth of Áed Sláne.
LL III, 145^{b}20-145^{b}19, pp. 590-591. 60

(F12) "Inn eól dúib in senchas sen"--on the kings of Cashel.
LL III, 150^{a}48-150^{b}25, pp. 635-636. 60

Volume IV:
(F1) "Cīa trīallaid nech aisnīs senchais Ailig eltaig"--on the dynasties of Ailech, Mide and Brega.
LL IV, 181^{a}1-181^{b}12, pp. 782-784. 140

(F2) "Cind cethri ndíni īar Frigrind forraig gleōgal"--as above.
LL IV, 181^{b}13-182^{a}22, pp. 785-787. 136

(F3) "Ascnam nī seōl sadal"--as above.
LL IV, 182^{a}23-182^{b}11, pp. 788-790. 92

(F4) "Aní do-rōnsat do chalmu clanna Eōgain"--as above.
LL IV, 182^{b}12-183^{b}17, pp. 791-796. 276

(F5) "A ngluind a n-ēchta a n-orgni batar infir"--as above
LL IV, 183^{b}18-184^{b}19, pp. 797-802. 276

(F6) "Mide magen clainne Cuind"--on the kings of Meath.
LL IV, 184^{b}20-185^{a}60, pp.803-809. 204

(F7) "Síl Áeda Sláne na sleg"--on the kings of Brega.
LL 185^{b}1-186^{a}10, pp. 810-814. 142

Total (in *LL*): 2058

Four of these poems also appear in other MSS from the Middle Irish period: *Mide*

magen, Síl Áeda Sláne and *Inn eól dúib* in *R*, and *Mugain ingen* in *LU*. As I believe that some of the stanzas found in these MSS but omitted in *LL* constituted an integral part of these poems (see Introduction to each poem), I have included these in the main text. This of course means that in my edition some of these poems are longer than in *LL*; for example, in *Síl Áeda Sláne* I have 146 lines instead of *LL*'s 142, and in *Inn eól dúib* 68 instead of *LL*'s 60.

4. Previous editions

Nine poems from the list above have already been edited from *LL* and translated into English. (Concerning the details, see the introductory section on each poem.) They are: *Ēstid a eōlchu* (p. 233), *Toīsig na llongse* (p. 263), *Cīa trīallaid nech* (p. 1), *Cind cethri ndíni* (p. 27), *Ascnam nī seōl* (p. 50), *Aní do-rōnsat* (p. 71), *A ngluind a n-ēchta* (p. 113), *Mide magen* (p. 154), and *Síl Áeda Sláne* (p. 202). *Mugain ingen* (p. 304) was edited by Windisch from both *LL* and *LU* and translated into German. These ten poems can also be found in this thesis.

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

Of the other three poems, only the *LL* diplomatic edition exists. Due to limitations which keep a Ph. D. thesis within certain bounds, I can only present one of these three poems here (*Rīg Themra dīa tesband tnú*--p. 263). I intend to deal with the remaining too, *Rīg Themra tōebaige īar tain* and the particularly challenging *A gillu gairm* in the near future.

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

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

5. Ascription and Authorship

In the case of poems dating from the Middle Ages, authorship is often difficult to establish with absolute certainty. This applies to the works of Fland Manistrech, too.

In *LL* the following ascriptions can be found.

The phrase "Fland Manistrech *cecinit*" appears before the following poems: *A gillu gairm, Ēstid a eōlchu (F8), Rīg Themra dīa tesband tnú (F10).*

Toīsig na llongse (F9) is preceded by the following sentence: *Is do haidedaib na toisechsa anuas ro chan in senchaid so sis.* with the word *senchaid* glosssed as ".i. Fland Man*istrech*".

The phrase "Fland *cecinit*" appears before *Rīg Themra tōebaige īar tain, Mugain ingen (F11)*, and *Inn eól dúib (F12).*

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

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

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

In *LU Mugain ingen (F11)* is preceded by the following sentence: *Conid do chumnigud in gnima sin 7 día thaiscid hi cumni do chách ro chan in senchaid inso .i. Fland Manistrech.*

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

> "This poem [*Síl Áeda Sláne*] contains several errors: for instance, it omits Conaing mac Flainn (†849) and his son Dúnchad (†831), who are both recorded as kings in the annals. More serious is the total disarray in the chronology of the regnal years assigned to each king. MacNeill[1] took note of the discrepancies, stating: `In [poem] VII., which deals with the dynasty of Brega, Flann is in his own district, and does not depend on our chronicle,[2] indeed is often remarkably at variance with it. No doubt the

[1] 1913: 43.

[2]Byrne's note: "I. e. `the selfsame ancient chronicle which forms the common ground, *verbatim*, of the "Annals of Ulster" and the "Annals of Tigernach" down to the lacuna 767-973 in Tigernach'--*ibid.*, p. 43."

manuscripts of Monasterboice afforded plenty of data, authentic and otherwise, about the kings of Brega.' This attempt at an explanation is unsatisfactory, for the annals, as we have seen, appear to derive from a Brega chronicle and their general accuracy seems unimpeachable. Furthermore, the poem ends with Muirchertach ua Congalaig (†995), and the final quatrain is an admission of ignorance as to the subsequent regnal succession:

> Íarra lat iarmothá sein
> a baird Fhiontain a ēolaig
> ōr nach fail sunda co se
> sāegul síl Āeda Slāne.
>
> (LL 186a 9)

`Search for what is there besides, bard Fintan, thou learned man,
since there is no longer here the age of Áed Sláne's race.'[3]

The reference to `bard Fintan', which puzzled MacNeill, is probably to be understood in the light of the Middle Irish text `The settling of the manor of Tara' published by Best in *Ériu* (1910) 121-72, in which the antediluvian Fintan mac Bóchra relates the pre-history of Ireland and the correct division of the provinces to an assembly of the Uí Néill at Tara. Less probably, it may refer to the author of the poem.

It is reasonably certain that the ascription to Flann Mainistrech is a libel on that scholar's learning. It is true, as MacNeill remarks, that Máelsechnaill, like his predecessors of the Clann Cholmáin, waged a bitter feud against the Síl nÁedo Sláine, and that in the eleventh century the kingship of Brega often passed out of their hands, but it is not correct to imply that the dynasty had died out in Flann's own lifetime. It was represented by the families of Ua Cellaig and Ua Congalaig, several of whom are accorded the title of king of Brega in the annals down to the Norman invasion [FN omitted]. *Síl Áeda Sláne na sleg* is the last of a group of seven poems in the Book of Leinster. [...] Poems VI [*Mide*

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

magen] and VII [*Síl Áeda Sláne*], unlike the others, are also found in Rawlinson B502. Poem VI, *Mide magen clainne Cuind*, deals with the Clann Cholmáin; a scribal ascription to Flann Mainistrech has been erased in LL.[4] Poem VII bears no ascription, and neither poem seems earlier than the Rawlinson manuscript itself, which was written in the first half of the twelfth century.[5] There is therefore no reason to saddle Flann Mainistrech with responsibility for its blunders."

First of all, I do not think that the fact that these two poems, unlike the others, can also be found in *R* could be used as proof against the authorship of Fland, as there is another poem by him to be found in this MS (*Inn eól dúib*). In fact, these three poems follow one another in *R* in the following order: *Inn eól dúib, Mide Magen, Síl Āeda Sláne*. Secondly, *Síl Āeda Sláne* says the following in l. 87: "oc Manistir móir molaim" `it was at great Monasterboice that I praise', which seems to point to the fact that the author was actually Fland (see Section **6** below). Thirdly, *Mide magen* is shorter in *LL* than in *R*, and in the former one it stops at the king who was still reigning when Fland died (see Introduction to this poem, pp. 154-155). Fourthly, setting up genealogical tables is a difficult task even for modern scholars, and Jaski (1994: 169) has noted some inaccuracies in Byrne's genealogical tables of Síl nÁedo Sláine published at the end of the article cited above, so I do not think that this can be used for arguing against Fland's authorship either. And finally, the linguistic features displayed in these two particular poems do not give us any reason to doubt that they were actually written before 1100 (see Vol. II, pp. 186 and 188).

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

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

---

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

[5] Byrne's note: "The Ulidian regnal poem which forms part of the same group in the MS seems to have been composed not earlier that 1113 x 1127; see *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, xxix (1964) 381 f."

He died in 1056, and in *AU 1056* he is described as `eminent lector and master of the historical lore of Ireland', and in *T ii 289* as `the Gaels' author, both in literature and history and poetry and versification'.

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

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

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

7. Structure of the thesis

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

8. Ordering of poems in the thesis

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

9. General Remarks

1. The poems are numbered from 1 to 12.

2. When I refer to *T*, I use the pagination of the reprinted version.

3. Citations that are longer than three lines are indented.

4. In the poems written in *dechnad cummaisc* (F1, F2, F4 and F5), I have followed the editors of *LL* in that I have also printed the quatrains in the form of two long lines, with a *caesura* after the 4th or the 8th syllable.

5. In the Corpus and the Linguistic Analysis only the initial letter of a proper noun is capitalised, while in the edited text the first letter of each stanza is capitalised.

6. The order in which the material is presented in the Linguistic Analysis more or less follows that in the chapter on Middle Irish in *SNG*.

7. As in Middle Irish poetry it is extremely difficult to decide whether a certain verbal form is relative or not, I have only marked a verb rel. if it appears in the special rel. form, or if it is absolutely certain that the construction would require a relative verb even in MIr.

8. Note that MacNeill does a battle-identification in his edition, which I have not done here.

9. In my translation, hiatus words appear with a diphthong.

10. In the translation I normally present a personal name in its normalised form--for example, F8. 90 has Coirchend, which appears as Corrcend in my translation.

11. I do not normally translate sobriquets.

12. In the analysis of consonant clusters, I have followed Thurneysen (Thur. §120), according to whom **<r>, <l>** and **<n>** represent class **L** (**L**^{v}) consonants in certain consonant groups.

10. General editorial principles

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

53; but they are printed with an upper-case initial in F4. 73, 110 and 125.

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

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

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

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

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

7. Compound verbs are hyphenated.

8. I do not capitalise **mac** or **hūa** when they are a part of a name, even if the latter word is used in the sense `descendant' and not `grandson'.

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

11. The Corpus

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

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

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

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

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

figuratively of God.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

13. Prepositions which took only the dat. in OIr + o-stem nouns with a -u- in the unstressed syllable appear under the dat. sg. of o-stems (e.g. i mmulluch Cerna--F7. 116).

PART I

METRICAL ANALYSIS,

TEXTS,

NOTES,

TRANSLATION

CĪA TRĪALLAID NECH (F1)

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

MSS (based on Gwynn, 1924: 100):
LL 181[a]1
Re
BB
Lc
M
S (D ii 2)
S3
H

LL is clearly legible all through.

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

ANALYSIS OF THE METRE

Metre and stanza structure

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

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

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

End-rhyme

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

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

66-67).

We can only get *f. f.* in 34+35 (ll. 68-69) if we read **ní fil** for **ní fil** in l. 69.

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

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

Concerning F1. 7*b* and 8*d*, see Notes on p. 13.

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

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

Wherever there is alliteration in *d*, it is always between the last two stressed words in the line. (Note that in F1. 58 **Ailech** alliterates with **Ailech**--one of them refers to the girl, and the other to the place.)

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

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

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

FIRST LONG LINE

Internal rhyme (3)

breith : sreith (F1. 31)

Hēr*ind* : glēbind (F1. 43)

rúaid : úaill (F1. 49)

[1] Note that each long line is divided into two short ones, and these are marked by *ab* and *cd* respectively. I have taken into consideration only those lines which contain more than one stressed word.

Aicill (1)
crí : ní (F1. 69)

There seems to be imperfect *aicill* between **da-ringned** and **Frigrend** (F1. 61). See Note on p. 20.

Úaitne (3)
eire :. slige (F1. 31)
roglain :. ergnaid (F1. 49)
uile :. glaine (F1. 43)

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

SECOND LONG LINE (either *aicill* or *úaitne* must be present--SMF, Vol. II, pp. 105-109: **1.2**)
Aicill (13/35=37%)
áin : lláim (F1. 2)
sóer : gáel (F1. 8)
amra : Dagda (F1. 16)
ail : sain (F1. 32)
airmend : fairmend (F1. 48)
ergnaid : rebraid (F1. 62)
trá : lá (F1. 66)
cund : sund (F1. 4)
lecht : fecht (F1. 12)
opair : cotaig (F1. 18)
druine : chlune (F1. 44)
chlochair : fochaid (F1. 54)
glór : ór (F1. 64)

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

Úaitne (27/35=77%)
airech :. graigech (F1. 6)
Cicuil :. gletin (F1. 14)
aile :. bine (F1. 20)
Dagda :. Temra (F1. 24)
búada :. Āeda (F1. 28)
dindgna :. tarla (F1. 34)
glaine :. uile (F1. 38)
allaid :. congaib (F1. 42)
trebaid :. domain (F1. 46)
armaig :. ernaig (F1. 50)
chlochair :. athair (F1. 54)
debech :. Ailech (F1. 58)
ergnaid :. roblaid (F1. 62)
reä :. ciä (F1. 70)
domna :. Dagda (F1. 10)
opair :. chetaig (F1. 18)
fecht-sain :. ulc-sin (F1. 22)
thoil-seom :. guin-seom (F1. 26)
chórad :. ēin[f]er (F1. 30)
brethach :. cathach (F1. 36)
glandsa :. lind-sea (F1. 40)
druine :. aile (F1. 44)
airmend :. Frigrend (F1. 48)
fondgel :. ingen (F1. 52)
band-sa :. dind-sa (F1. 56)
anacht :. toracht (F1. 60)
thairthim :. Imchill (F1. 68)

In F1. 6 **airech** makes full rhyme with **graigech**. See a discussion of this feature (*rudrach*) and other similar examples in the SMF in Vol. II, p. 122: **2.7**.

Internal rhyme (17/35=49%)

armslán : Garbān (F1. 6)
āeth : báeth (F1. 20)
trá : andā (F1. 26)
ainm : airm (F1. 34)
gibis : inis (F1. 38)
tomsech : torsech (F1. 46)
cnis : fis (F1. 54)
ngargbrut : arggut (F1. 64)
rīaguil : chīanaib (F1. 70)
fer : ndel (F1. 10)
díth : bíth (F1. 24)
bert : lecht (F1. 28)
ben : cned (F1. 36)
Dagda : amra (F1. 44)
hór : óg (F1. 50)
ūair : úaid (F1. 58)
samail : adaig (F1. 66)

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

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

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

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

Analysis of rhyming consonant clusters (using Ó Cuív's classification--1966: 94-103; 1987: 109; see also SMF, Vol. II, pp. 111-112: **2**):
1. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L + ^{h} (rules 1, 2, 3):
$L^{v}P^{h}$--$C^{v}P^{h}$; $C^{h}P^{h}$--$C^{h}P^{h}$; $L^{v}P^{h}$--$C^{h}P^{h}$; $C^{h}P^{h}$--$L^{v}P^{h}$
eltaig : Ercail (F1. 1-2) (e. r.)
lecht : fecht (F1. 12) (*a.*)
Fothart : toracht (F1. 59-60) (e. r.) (imperfect because of medial consonant)
bert : lecht (F1. 28) (i. r.)
anacht :. toracht (F1. 59-60)
anacht :. Fothart (F1. 59-60) (imperfect because of medial consonant)

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

L^vL^v--C^vC^v; C^vC^v--L^vL^v; L^vC^v--C^vC^v; C^vC^v--C^vC^v; C^vL^v--C^vL^v; C^vL^v--L^vL^v; L^vC^v--L^vC^v

nderna : Temra (F1. 23-24) (e. r.)
imgel : ingen (F1. 51-52) (e. r.)
amra : Dagda (F1. 16) (*a.*)
ainm : airm (F1. 34) (i. r.)
ingell : Frigrend (F1. 47-48) (e. r.)
Dagda :. Temra (F1. 24)
nderna :. Dagda (F1. 23-24)
roglain :. ernaig (F1. 49-50)
airmend :. Frigrend (F1. 48)

Dagda : tarla (F1. 33-34) (e. r.)
foglaig : roblaid (F1. 61-62) (e. r.)
airmend : fairmend (F1. 48) (*a.*)
Dagda : amra (F1. 44) (i. r.)
domna :. Dagda (F1. 10)
armaig :. ernaig (F1. 50)
fondgel :. ingen (F1. 52)
fondgel :. imgel (F1. 51-52)

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

L^vS^h--L^vS^h; C^vS^h--C^vS^h

muin-seom : guin-seom (F1. 25-26) (e. r.)
indsa : dind-sa (F1. 55-56) (e. r.)
thoil-seom :. guin-seom/muin-seom (F1. 25-26)
gland-sa :. lind-sea/inse (F1. 39-40)

inse : lind-sea (F1. 39-40) (e. r.)
tomsech : torsech (F1. 46) (i. r.)
band-sa :. dind-sa/indsa (F1. 55-56)

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

L^vC^h--L^vC^h; C^vC^h--L^vC^h

findchill : Imchill (F1. 67-68) (e. r.)

thairthim :. Imchill\findchill (F1. 67-68)

5. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L (rules 1 and 2): L^vP^v--C^vP^v

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

6. One consonant corresponds to two: a consonant from class **l** (C^v) is added:

C^vC^v--C^v; L^v--C^vC^v

cāemna : nĀeda (F1. 27-28) (e. r.)
glanda :. domna (F1. 9-10)[1]

glanda : Dagda (F1. 9-10) (e. r.)

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

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

L^vL^v--$C^vC^vC^v$; $C^vL^vC^v$--C^vC^v; $L^vC^vC^v$--$L^vL^v\backslash C^vC^v$; $C^vC^vC^v$--C^vC^v; C^vL^v--$C^vC^vC^v$

ndernad : febglan (F1. 11-12) (e. r.)

armṡlán : Garbān (F1. 6) (i. r.)

[1] Note that **nd** = **nn**.

dindgna[2] **:. tarla\Dagda** (F1. 33-34)
roglain\armaig :. ergnaid (F1. 49-50)
ergnaid :. roblaid\foglaig (F1. 61-62)

ergnaid : ernaig (F1. 49-50) (e. r.)
ergnaid : rebraid (F1. 62) (*a.*)

b) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L (rules 1 and 2): $C^vP^vC^vC^v$--C^vP^v
ngargbrut : arggut (F1. 64) (i. r.)

c) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + S + C/L + ^{h} (rules 1, 3, 4, 5):
$C^hP^hS^h$--$C^vP^hS^h$: **luc[h]t-sin : ulc-sin** (F1. 21-22) (e. r.)
$C^hP^hS^h$--$C^hP^hS^h$\$C^vP^hS^h$: **fecht-sain :. luc[h]t-sin\ulc-sin** (F1. 21-22)

Elision

a) Unstressed short vowel preceded by another vowel: five examples. Elision is required in four cases: in F1. 21*b*, 24*c* (see Note on p. 15), 26*d* (see Note on p. 16) and F1. 56*d*. In F1. 69*b* the metre does not require elision. (4/5=80%)

b) **do\de + V; do\de + f**: seven examples. In one of these (F1. 2*c*) the metre requires elision; while in six cases (F1. 32*c*, 47*a*, 52*c*, 64*d*--x3) the metre requires that the vowel in the preposition should be pronounced. (1/7=14%)

c) Dropping of the initial vowel of an unstressed word (prep. + poss. pron.\article):
I. After vowels: F1. 7*a*, 66*d* (***ocus* lá 'na**) (or read ***is* lá [i]na**). (2)
There is no dropping in F1. 57*a*.
II. After consonants: F1. 21*a*, 61*b*. (2)
III. At the beginning of a line/after *caesura*: there is no dropping in F1. 17*b*.

d) Dropping of the final vowel of an unstressed word (prep. + rel. particle):
This is required in F1. 10*c* (before a consonant). On F1. 9*a*, see Note on p. 13. (1)

Dúnad

The poem opens with the conjunction **cīa** (monosyllabic), and it ends with disyllabic **ciä**, the pronoun. Note that the meaning and the sound are not identical in these two words, so this is not a regular *saigid*-type *dúnad* (Murphy, 1961: 44); however, it is still based on a single word (Ní Dhomhnaill, 1981: 57). See also SMF, Vol. II, p. 129: **5.2**.

[1] Provided that this is a compound of **dind**--see *DIL*.

TEXT

Cīa trīallaid nech aisnīs senchais Ailig eltaig
d'éis Echdach áin is gait (a) chlaidib a lláim Ercail[1].

Ermōr neich ro īarfaig uli ō Māel Choluim
Eochaid īar cund ro sluind rīa sund do druing Dobuill.

Derb mār(o) īarfaig cīasu[2] sóer do-rōni Ailech
nī cheil Eochaid armslán airech Garbān (is) graigech.

Cīa ro buī aice 'ca dēnam Imchell fin[f]er
is Garbān sóer ōa Gairb ō gáel fáel no figed.

Fég cīa las' ndernad īarum in gním glanda[3]
in fer las' tucad a domna i ndel Dagda.

Dā n-īarfaigther cīasu[4] fochond ara ndernad
a meic im lecht condail(t) ro fecht in fert febglan.

Fēgthar cid dīa n-apar Ailech airdairc aitir
dond ail tūargaib Corrcend Cicuil torged gletin.

Geguin Corrgend mac Flatheman ō Chrūach clunid
Āed ard amra ropo mac don Dagda dulig.

Dīa ndechaid Āed co mnaī Corrgind inna lepaid
ba holc opair ūair nāch fer cotaig ro chetaig.

Cechaing Corrgend īarna chrád for lár a th(a)ige
coro marb Āed īar n-āeth aire[5] ba báeth bine.

---

[1] Hectoir *LL*

[2] cīa *LL*

[3] *See Note on p. 13.*

[4] cīa *LL*

[5] aile *LL*

Bātar óic Hēr*end* 'cō īarair amra in luc[h]t-sin
cona fūaratar dond fecht-sain īarsind ulc-sin[1].

Oirggther or cách nā hanagar dāig na nderna
nín-tā-ne[2] a díth ol in Dagda fo bíth Temra.

Acht tōcbaid in marb ro mudaig fora muin-seom
is[3] ferr dún trá trell dīa thoil-seom andā a guin-seom.

Co rraib fo mēla fon marb-sin cen nach cāemna
co fagba līcc bas b*er*t búada for lecht nĀeda.

Arigis líc ōs Loch Febail ba feidm fēinned
co tūargaib súas co crúas chórad ūais int ēin[f]er.[4]

Ed as-bert oc breith ind eire dar sreith slige
ach ach do ail is do sain do-maid mo chride.

Coïr cid Ailech do rád ris ol in Dagda
corop ed a[5] ainm in dindgna airm i tarla.

Techtad[6] Néit m*ac* Induī Ailech brāthair athar
ocus Nemain a ben brethach na cned cathach.

Corop Ailech Nēit as-berthar[7] ō ce*ch* duine
gibis glaine ōr is leis ind inis uile.

Īarfais nech and cīa díne ro gab in inse
tan do-ringned in gním gland-sa ōsind lind-sea.

---

[1] isind luc-sain *LL*

[2] ní thā *LL*

[3] *om. in LL*

[4] *See Note on p. 16.*

[5] a *om. in LL*

[6] Techt *LL*

[7] *or* as-bērthar

Lánmemor lim it Tūatha Dé Don*and* drongaig
im Néit mac Induī in allaid cona congaib[1].

Cīa rí (ro) buí for Hēr*ind* uile glēbind glaine[2]
(acht in) Dagda druine nī chlune nach n-amra n-aile.

A n-amm[3] i ndernad in dindgna demni dolaid
tomsech trebaid in tres amser torsech domain.

Do-rócht mór ndíne do Ailiuch i mbíd ingell[4]
ailig airmend co tánic in fairmend Frigrend.

Frigriu m*ac* Rudi rúaid roglain co n-úaill ergnaid
tuc la hór a Alpain armaig[5] óg a ernaig.

Ergnaid in cerdd dīarbo aindir Ailech imgel
cīarbo do Fubthaire fondgel ropo ingen.

I n-athiud dos-fuc[6] dar muir m*ac* Rudi rathaig
īar cnis chlochair rop fochaid cen fis dīa hathair.

At-r*a*acht Fubthaire dīa īarair cīarbo indsa
glicc in band-sa co toracht conice in dind-sa.

Do sin bretha isin daingen co[7] nglúair ngraigech
ūair ba debech rucad úaid[8] Ailech i nAilech.

And ba hūamon ri Fubthaire Frigriu Fothart

---

[1] cona ngáïb cona scíathaib cona congaib *LL*

[2] glaine *om. in LL*

[3] an amser *LL*

[4] Imchell *LL*

[5] ergnaid *LL*

[6] do-fuc *LL*

[7] co *om. in LL*

[8] ro fucad *LL*

Fīacha Sroptine rod n-anacht nóco toracht.

Tech da-riṅgned and 'má mnaí la Frigrend foglaig
ropo ergnaid ōs roí rebraid ara roblaid.

Ro gníd do dergibur dr*u*mnech īarna dlugu
co ṅgargbrut glór de arggut de ór de umu.

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

Mad-ṅgiūil di ṡein Ailech Frigrend fēgaid findchill
Ailech Néit ní tréic tre thairthim Ailech Imchill.

Ní fil i crí ro-fessad cach ní acht Diä
rīaguil reä ro-fit*ir* ō chīanaib ciä. C.

NOTES

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

F1. 1. Gwynn takes cīa as the indefinite pronoun. However, in this case one would expect cīa to be followed by the conjunct\prototonic form of the verb, which does not happen here. I would prefer to take this as the conjunction, with the lenition mark omitted because of the abbreviation of r. Also, if we accept Gwynn's interpretation, then I do not see how we could fit nech into the sentence.

F1. 2. There is an extra syllable in this line: based on some of the other MSS, Gwynn omits the a and reads gait claidib for *LL* gait a chlaidib (only *LL, Lc* and *Re* have the a). I have accepted this emendation; however, as gait is a fem. noun, I think one should preserve the lenition of c.
Based on the other MSS, the editors of *LL* suggest that we read Ercail instead of Hectoir, which is what Gwynn has, too. *LL* is the only MS with Hectoir. I have accepted this solution, as eltaig and Hectoir would not make perfect rhyme (there is no continuant in Hectoir to balance the l in eltaig--see the rules for rhyming consonant clusters in SMF, Vol. II, pp. 111-112: **2**), while eltaig and Ercail would.

F1. 5. In the form this line appears in *LL*, the *caesura* must come after an unstressed word, do-. I believe that this has to be avoided whenever it is possible, as the same phenomenon occurs only in ten other long lines in these poems--and for seven of these no other MS evidence is available (see SMF, Vol. II, p. 108: **1.2 c**). The other problem is that with the exception of *S*, all the other MSS have cīaso instead of *LL* cīa.
For *LL* māro īarfaig, *Re* has derb ro fīarf*aig*, and *Lc* and *S* derb mar fhīarfaid, which allows the *caesura* to come after this verb. There is no problem with the *caesura* either in *S3*, as this MS has derb mā do fīarfaidh cīaso sóer do-ngnī Ailech. *B, H* and *M* have mar ro, mā ro, and mar do respectively as well as cīaso, which gives us an extra syllable in the line. I believe that there are two solutions for the problem in *LL*--both of these will give us the correct syllable count and the *caesura* will come after a stressed word, īarfaig: a) to read mār(o) and cīasu, which will give us the correct syllable count and the *caesura* will come after a stressed word, īarfaig; b) or read mār(o), and cīa as a disyllable. Based on the evidence of the other MSS cited above, I have opted for the first solution; though

I admit that mār(o) is a problematic reading, as although there are examples cited for the dropping of the o in ro after a conjunct particle in MIr in *SNG*: 279-280: 11.3; as well as examples of the dropping of the o in ro even when it is not preceded by a conjunct particle in MIr poetry (*SNG*: 280: 11.6), still there are no examples of this phenomenon cited with má in *SNG*. Maybe this is (im)mar, conj., `when'? Concerning cīasu, see also the Note on F1. 11, p. 14.

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

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

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

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

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

(Note that according to *DIL*, glanbda means `bright (?), clear (?)'.) As the *LL* version

makes perfect sense I suggest that we read lasa and do not alter anything in the line.

F1. 10. Based on some of the other MSS (*B, H* and *Re*), Gwynn reads i ndeil (dat. sg.) for *LL* i ndel (acc. sg.), which I think is fixed by rhyme (:fer).

F1. 11. *LL* is the only MS with the reading cīa; the others have cīasu, just like in F1. 5. I have followed the other MSS here, just like the editors of *LL*, as this will give us the correct syllable count. Although note that even without su it would be possible to read cía as a disyllable, as in F1. 70, and this will also give us the required number of syllables.

F1. 12. The t in condailt seems to be a scribal error--*LL* is the only MS with this reading. This word is either an adj. qualifying lecht or an adverb qualifying ro fecht.

F1. 14. Based on three of the other MSS (*Lc, M* and *S*), Gwynn has torgenn for *LL* torged, which is the only MS with this reading (*B* has torrted, *H* tortenn, *Re* toirted, and *S3* toirrteann). Torgenn would make perfect rhyme with Corrcend/Corrgend (where <c>/<g> = [g]--see O'Rahilly, 1942a: 142), if it is the imperf. ind. sg. 3 prot. of do-airicc `finds, gets', with an unlenited g (the other possibility would be to take this as the imperf. ind. sg. 3 prot. of do-roich, with a lenited g, `reaches, comes to'--but I would opt for do-airicc). I presume the -enn is the new MIr pres. ind. sg. 3 conj. ending. I have only found two examples of this new form in the poems I have examined: in ní étann (F5. 133) (ad-cota) and in dīa tesband (F10. 1) (do-esta); however, these verbs were influenced by benaid, and so the -ann ending appears earlier in them--see SLF, Vol. II, p. 155: 105. For this reason, I would be more inclined to accept the *LL* reading (the -ed ending in *LL* is supported by the *B* and *Re* readings). In this case we will not get perfect internal rhyme here but note that only 17 of the 35 second long lines have internal rhyme--see p. 5). Gwynn does not capitalise Cicuil, while the editors of *LL* do. Gwynn notes (1924: 402 and 1935: 308) here that the reading is doubtful, and that the meaning of both torgenn\torged and Cicuil is obscure. He translates the verbal form as `who waged', and suggests that Cicuil may be a place-name; however, it is not listed in Hogan. *DIL* cites this line under cicul, `cycle', with "n. pr.?" in brackets. I do not know what the significance of this word is.

F1. 15. Based on all the other MSS, Gwynn has Flathemain for *LL* Flatheman. The nom. sg. is Flathem, which is an n + o-stem, so the expected gen. would be either Flatheman or Flaithim. Perhaps *LL* preserves the older gen. form here, and the gen. Flathemain in the other MSS represents the gen. of Flatheman, an original n-stem gen. which is taken

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

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

F1. 22. Gwynn has īarsind ulc-sin for *LL* isind luc-sain. Only two MSS (*Lc* and *S*) have Gwynn's version, although note that this reading seems to be supported by *fidrad freccomail*, which in one form or another is present between all stanzas in *LL* with only this exception (see pp. 2-3, and SMF, Vol. II, p. 124: **3.3**). As far as rhyme is concerned, both ulc-sin and luc-sain (: luc[h]t-sin) would be acceptable ($C^vP^hS^h$--$C^hP^hS^h$ in the first case, and P^vS^h--$C^hP^hS^h$ in the second--for rules, see SMF, Vol. II, pp. 111-112: **2**), provided that we read either sain or sin in both of the rhyming words. I have decided to follow the reading of *Lc* and *S* because of *fidrad freccomail*.
Gwynn reads *LL* cona fūaratar (`until they found him') as co ná fúaratar (`but they found him not'); the problem is that this does not seem to make much sense in the light of what follows in the next few stanzas.

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

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

this solution.

F1. 27. Gwynn believes that "*cáemna* is a corruption of *cáema*, put for *coíme* `tenderness'" (1924: 403), because it rhymes with nĀeda. However, Murphy (1961: 33) argues that in Early Irish poetry it was possible to have one consonant balanced by two consonants in a rhyming pair. For other similar examples, see SMF, Vol. II, pp. 113-116: **2.2**.

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

F1. 32. is do ṡain do-maid mo chride: there are two possibilities for the interpretation of this line. First, do maid could be the weak, MIr perfect of maidid, replacing the OIr reduplicated form (see *DIL*), with do used for ro (for do used for ro--already in *Saltair na Rann*--, see *SNG* 280: 11.4). The new perfect form would first have been ro maid, and the MIr confusion of preverbs would have resulted in the form we have here. The other possibility would be to interpret this form the way Gwynn does (1935: 247), who takes this to be the 3rd sg. pres. ind. of do-maid, 'bursts forth'. However, there are no examples in *DIL* of do-maid with cride as its subject or object, while the latter word does appear

with maidid in *DIL* twice, referring to the condition of being broken-hearted. Note that only *Lc* and *M* agree with *LL*, and the rest of the MSS have ro maid. Still, I would be more inclined to accept Gwynn's interpretation, as otherwise this would be the only example in the texts I have examined of do for ro, as well as of the weak pret. or perf. of maidid (see Vol. II, p. 88: **12.31** and pp. 296-299, 301-302, 306-310). So presumably this is do-maid, used with the meaning of maidid, `breaks'. Ro maid in the later MSS could have arisen as a result of the already-mentioned confusion between ro and do.

F1. 33. In order to get the correct number of syllables we should read coïr as a disyllable. Following *M*, Gwynn has do-raga ris (fut. sg. 3 of do-tét) for *LL* do rád ris (vn. of ráidid, `says'). Note that *B, H* and *S3* agree with *LL* here (with the final a erased in do radha in *S3*), while *Lc, Re* and *S* have do radha ris (in these MSS, cóir is monosyllabic). I believe that radha in *Lc, Re* and *S* represents the late MIr form of the verbal noun, ráda, while the *M* form represents the reinterpretation of d [ð] as g [ɣ], which arose from the confusion between lenited, non-palatal d and g (present already in MIr). Note also the structure x do rád fri nech, `to call someone x'.

F1. 34. There is one syllable missing in this line. Based on the other MSS, Gwynn supplies an a before ainm, and I have accepted this suggestion.

F1. 35. There is one syllable missing in this line. Based on some of the other MSS (*B, M* and *Re*), Gwynn suggests that we read techtad, and I have accepted his suggestion.

F1. 39. Īarfais--this form is cited in *DIL* as subj. pres. sg. 3 of íarmi-foich (=OIr prototonic stem of íarmi-foich plus the OIr subj. pres. sg. 3 absolute ending). *Lc* and *S* have fīarfaidis, pret. sg. 3 of íarfaigid--however, this will leave us with an extra syllable in the line; *H* and *M* have īarfaid-- (probably īarfaid*is*, but a trisyllabic form in any case), which again will leave us with an extra syllable; *Re* has īarfaidhe, *B* īarfaid and *S3* īarf--. In theory, the *LL* form could also be fut. sg. 3 (OIr prototonic stem + OIr s-future sg. 3 absolute ending), or pret. sg. 3 (OIr prototonic stem + OIr weak, s-pret. sg. 3 absolute ending). I have opted for the subj. here. For examples of the s-subj. in these texts, see Vol. II, p. 92: **12.41**. *Cf.* also dīa n-īarfais in F5. 138 (p. 142), which is also a problematic form.

F1. 40. Based on *S* and *S3,* in his Corrigenda Gwynn corrects *LL* gním gland-sa (:. lind-sea) to gním glondsa, `deed of violence', taking it to be the gen. sg. of *glonnas. The problem is that this is the only example cited in *DIL* under ?glonnas. *H, Lc* and *Re* agree

with *LL* here, while *B* has glansa and *M* coimsi. As glonnas is such a badly attested word, it is perhaps more likely that glandsa is the adj. glan with the demonstrative pronoun -sa, the double n being quite common in MIr before an s (see *SNG* 234: 3.17, and Vol. II, p. 22: **2.13**). For the variation between a and o in stressed syllables before a non-palatal consonant, see *SNG* 232: 3.6, and Vol. II, p. 18-19: **2.4**.

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

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

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

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

F1. 46. In his Corrigenda, Gwynn corrects his translation of toimsech trebaid from `a spacious abode' to `a rent-yielding tilth'. His Notes prove that he had in mind O'Clery's

gloss, cited in *DIL*: "toimhseach treabhaidh .i. treabh no baile da dtoimhsdi cíos". I think that if we take tomsech trebaid as referring to dindgna, then "spacious abode" would make good sense here.

F1. 47-48. We have imperfect rhyme between Imchell and Frigrend in *LL*, as there is no voiceless consonant in the medial consonant cluster of the second word to balance the [x] in the first (for rules, see SMF, Vol. II, pp. 111-112: **2**). Also, *LL* is the only MS with this reading, as all the others have ingell, `promise, vow', which will give us perfect rhyme with Frigrend.
As far as *LL* i mbíd is concerned, the MS evidence is quite confusing here: *Re* has imind, *B* immid, *M* imid (= all a corruption of i mbíd?), *Lc* and *S* have imad (= imbed, imbad, later imad, `abundance'?), while *H* and *S3* um Nēitt/um Nēid. So the possible translations would be `where a vow existed'; `an abundance of vows'; `around Néit of vows'. I believe that this is a cheville, so the context will not help with the translation.

F1. 49. Based on five of the other MSS, Gwynn reads roglaig for *LL* roglain (*Lc* and *S* agree with *LL* here). I think that both readings make sense.

F1. 50. Both the editors of *LL* and Gwynn suggest that we read armaig for ergnaid. This emendation is based on *B, H, M, Re* and *S3* (*Lc* and *S* have adbail). Ergnaid appears in both the line preceding and following this one (i.e. in F1. 49 and 51), and this is what may have confused the *LL* scribe.

F1. 53. Based on the other MSS, Gwynn reads dos-fuc for *LL* do-fuc. As *LL* is the only MS with this reading, and as dos-fuc seems to make more sense here, I have accepted his suggestion.

F1. 54. The editors of *LL* note that the lenition mark over the f is erased in fochaid. However, I believe that it is just faded.

F1. 57. There is one syllable missing in this line. Based on six of the other MSS, both the editors of *LL* and Gwynn suggest that we read co nglúair for nglúair. In theory, one could also read nglúair as a disyllable, taking it and the following adj. as qualifying daingen, acc. sg. However, the first solution seems to be the more likely one, especially as all the other MSS, with the exception of *S* (which has in gel graigech), have co. (Note that *DIL* cites this example with a question-mark under glúair).
Note also that Gwynn has graigech for *LL* ngraigech, although this latter version appears

in five other MSS. I think that this is a perfectly acceptable MIr form, with acc. used for dat.

F1. 58. Based on *B, H, Lc, M, Re* and *S3*, Gwynn has rucad úaid for *LL* ro fucad. *LL* is the only MS with this reading (*S* has rucad ūadha). Note that both readings make sense; however, úaid would make internal rhyme with ūair, which is present in about half of the second long lines (see p. 5).

F1. 59. Gwynn lists Fothairt as the *LL* reading in his variant readings. Note that the MS has Fothart; however, there is a stain on the vellum which does look like a subscript i.

F1. 61. Based on *Lc* fodlaid and *S3* foglaid (noun, `plunderer'), Gwynn has la Frigrinn foglaid for *LL* Frigrend foglaig (foglach, adj.). The rest of the MSS (with the exception of *M* soghlaigh) have foglaig. The spellings foglaig and foglaid may represent the confusion of lenited palatal d and g in final position (see *SNG*: 234: 3.18 and Vol. II, p. 22: **2.14**, where I have two examples); or we may have here the fem. form of an adj. used with a masc. consonantal stem in the acc.\dat. sg. (on this phenomenon, see O'Brien, 1954: 346-349, and 1958: 102, where this example is cited). I have accepted the *LL* reading.
Concerning Gwynn's other emendation (Frigrinn for Frigrend), apart from *LL*, Frigrend appears in four other MSS (*B, M, Re* and *S*). The rest have either la Frigriu or la Frigri. Gwynn is right in that one would expect Frigrinn here in the acc., but the MS evidence does not provide us with this form. I have the following forms of this name in these texts: it occurs only once apart from the forms found in this poem (dat.: īar Frigrind--F2. 1); F1 has nom. Frigriu in ll. 49 and 59; originally gen. Frigrend (: ingell) used for nom. in l. 48; and acc. Frigrend in this line. If this is not a scribal slip for Frigrinn (which I consider very unlikely because of the evidence provided by four other MSS), or does not represent a scribal attempt to get imperfect *aicill* with -ringned (although there is only one *aicill* in the first long line in this poem--see p. 4), then I think that we may be dealing with the gen. of an original n-stem noun reinterpreted as a nom., and declined as an o-stem. For original n-stems treated as ā-stems or o-stems, see Vol. II, p. 44: 3.14 **b**). The evidence from these poems seems to indicate that an n-stem (Frigriu) and an o-stem (Frigrenn) nominative were used with their respective declensions.

F1. 69. In order to get the correct number of syllables in the line as well as a disyllabic ending (which is required by the metre), we should read Diä as a disyllable.

F1. 70. In order to get the correct number of syllables in the line as well as a disyllabic ending in *d* (which is required by the metre), we should read reä and ciä as disyllables.

TRANSLATION

(based on Gwynn: 1924: 100-107)

Although (some)one may try to tell the story of Ailech of the herds
after noble Eochaid, it is [like] robbing the sword from the hand of Hercules.

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

[1] Gwynn translates nī cheil as a pret. form. However, I think it is unlikely that this verb is treated as a léicid-type weak-verb here (pret. sg. 3 ní léic).

[2] Lit. "at it at its building".

[3] This seems to make more sense here than "noble Garbán".

find battle.

Corrcenn, the son of Flathem, from Crúach--hearken!--
killed noble and famous Áed who was the stern Dagda's son.

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

Corrcenn strode forth, after he had been outraged[1] in the midst of his house;
and he slew Áed, in accordance with an oath that bound him?[2]; it was a foolish crime.

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

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

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

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

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

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[1] ïarna chrád--I have given *DIL*'s translation here. Gwynn's translation, `after murdering him', makes less sense in the light of what follows.

[2] See Note on p. 15.

-,

and raised it up with a champion's strength; noble was the hero[1].

This is what he said as he carried the burden over road after road,
`Ach, ach! The stone! It is by it my heart breaks!'

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

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

That the bright neck of land[2] may be called by all men
Ailech Néit, since the whole island belongs to him.

Someone may ask then, what race held the island,
when that bright deed[3] was accomplished above this lake?

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

Who was king over the all of clear-melodious, radiant Ireland?
The strong[4] Dagda, you hear of none other so famous.

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

---

[1] lit. `a singular man'

[2] Or "the bright valley" ?

[3] or `this feat of prowess'--see Note on p. 17.

[4] *DIL* cites this line under 1 druine, `firmness, solidity, strength'.

was the third lamentable epoch of the world--a spacious

abode[1].

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[2] See Note on p. 19.

[3] fairmend--this is the only attestation of this word in *DIL* (under 2 formenn).

[4] lit. `very clear'. Note that this is the only example cited in *DIL* under airmenn.

A house was built about his wife by the robber Frigriu;
it was noted above the field of exercise for its great renown[1].

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

It was decked with gems and crystal[2], a work that held fast in it[3];
alike were day and night in the midst of it.

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

There is none alive who might know everything, but God only;
who knows the ordering of times from of old?[4].

[1] I take this line as referring to tech.

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

[3] lit. `that stuck to it'

[4] One could also take this to mean `he(\who) knows the ordering of times from of old, whatever it shall be'.

CIND CETHRI NDÍNI (F2)

INTRODUCTION

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

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

MSS: *LL* 181^{b}13
Lc
D ii 2
12 N 5 (*RIA*)

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

95% of *LL* is clearly legible.

Previous edition and translation: MacNeill, 1913: 48-54 (from *LL*).

ANALYSIS OF THE METRE

Metre and stanza structure

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

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

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

End-rhyme:

Note the interchange of stressed **o** and **a** before a non-palatal consonant in **forrá[i]n : Alláin** (F2. 25-26). For other similar examples, see Vol. II, p. 18: **2.4**.
A consonant from group **x** (**C^h** in Ó Cuív's notation) rhymes with a consonant from group **l** (**C^v**) (Murphy, 1961: 33): **fossad : Frossach** (F2. 59-60).

Fidrad freccomail

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

In 8+9 (ll. 16-17) the two **sés** might provide a link, and in 20+21 (ll. 40-41) **blīa*d*naib** and **mblīa*dn*a** might provide a link.

Alliteration and *lorga*

Alliteration is not present in: F2. 1*b*, 3*a*, 4*c*, 6*d*, 7*a*, 9*a*, 11*a*, 12*cd*, 16*d*, 18*c*, 19*a*, 20*d*, 23*a*, 27*a*, 28*c*, 29*a*, 30*c*, 31*a*, 32*c*, 33*ab*, 35*ab*, 37*a*, 40*d*, 41*a*, 45*a*, 46*d*, 47*a*, 48*d*, 49*a*, 50*d*, 51*b*, 52*c*, 53*a*, 54*d*, 56*cd*, 57*a*, 58*cd*, 60*d*, 62*d*, 63*a*, 64*d*, 65*b*, 67*ab*, 68*c* (50).
In 22*d*, 28*d* and 30*d* alliteration is not between the last two stressed words of the line (3).

In order to get alliteration in F2. 19*b* one must either read **mac Mael Fithrig ro fāemad** or **mac Māel Fithrig ro fāemad**. On lenition after the gen. of **Máel** and after **ro** in these poems, see Vol. II, pp. 46-47: **3.16 b** and p. 60: **8.4 b**.
The only way to get alliteration in F2. 21*a* would be to take **ō** (=**úa**) as a stressed word.
The only way to get alliteration in F2. 25*b* would be to read either **cīa fūair forrá[i]n** or **cīa fūair forrá[i]n** (for the lenition of the direct object of a verb, see Vol. II, p. 28: **2.29 II i**. However, alliteration would not really be necessary here, as we already have *lorga* between *a* and *b*.
Note that in l. 51*a* **trí** alliterates with **thrí**.
The only way to get alliteration in 54*d* would be to treat **mac** as an unstressed word; still, even in this case, the alliteration would not be between the last two stressed words in *d*, which is a requirement in this metre. (See SMF, Vol. II, pp. 105-106: **1.2.**)
On F2. 38*d*, 58*ab* and 59*b*, see the Notes on pp. 40 and 42.

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

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

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

FIRST LONG LINE

There is no perfect *aicill, úaitne* or internal rhyme in the first long line.

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

Aicill (15/34=44%)

ágmar : ānrath (F2. 2)
dāena : Āeda (F2. 26)
trí : Lí (F2. 30)
rélad : gēbad (F2. 34)
galach : anad (F2. 48)
thrīall : Nīall (F2. 54)
fīal : Nīall (F2. 62)
foīd : coīch (F2. 68)
lind : Cind (F2. 20)
rúin : Dúin (F2. 28)
secht : fecht (F2. 32)
céin : Néil[l] (F2. 42)
hóen : Āed (F2. 52)
rīam : Níall (F2. 60)
Nīall : ngīall (F2. 66)

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

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

Úaitne (21/34=62%)

ágmar :. Eōgan (F2. 2)
fethet :. fic[h]et (F2. 6)
mbrethaib :. Eochaid (F2. 10)
mórtha :. Fīachna (F2. 14)
foibdi :. umli (F2. 18)
chomram :. ergal (F2. 24)
cāemfer :. dīanglan (F2. 36)
Eōgain :. blīadnaib (F2. 40)
mbladaib :. Ailig (F2. 46)
fodlaib :. Temraig (F2. 50)
eōlaig :. ārim (F2. 64)
-rálad :. blīadan (F2. 4)
chachta :. certa (F2. 8)
eōlaig :. Rímid (F2. 12)
fénnid :. blīadnaib (F2. 16)
gaile :. Tuile (F2. 22)
rélad :. gīallad (F2. 34)
fáelur :. Glūndub (F2. 38)
hergnaid :. Temraig (F2. 44)
galach :. Ailech (F2. 48)
aile :. duine (F2. 56)

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

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

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

Ailech : airech (F2. 2)
fīalglan : mblīadan (F2. 6)
cobrād : Cholmán (F2. 12)
locht : *hocht* (F2. 18)
ūa(i)g : būan (F2. 4)
clethail : cethair (F2. 8)
Mind : find (F2. 14)
gaīne : Maīle (F2. 22)

comrand : Domnall (F2. 36)
ngreis : leis (F2. 48)
Āed : Māel (F2. 54)
ardgus : tarddus (F2. 64)
fīal : Nīall (F2. 38)
fīru : rrígu (F2. 50)
ríg : bríg (F2. 56)
drech : nech (F2. 68)

In the second long line where there is no *úaitne*, *aicill* is always present. There is only one second long line one which does not have any kind of ornamentation (*úaitne* or *aicill* or internal rhyme) as it stands in *LL*: F2. 58. Neither of the short lines contains alliteration either. See Note on p. 42.
Both *úaitne* and *aicill* are present in F2. 34 (1).
Both *úaitne* and internal rhyme are present in F2. 4, 6, 8, 12, 14, 18, 22, 36, 38, 50, 56 and 64 (12).
Aicill, internal rhyme and *úaitne* are all present in F2. 2 and 48 (2).

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

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

Analysis of rhyming consonant clusters (using Ó Cuív's classification--1966: 94-103; 1987: 109; see also SMF, Vol. II, pp. 111-112: **2**):

1. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L + ^{h} (rules 1, 2, 3):
$C^{v}P^{h}$--$L^{v}P^{h}$; $C^{h}P^{h}$--$C^{h}P^{h}$; $C^{h}P^{h}$--$L^{v}P^{h}$\$C^{v}P^{h}$
Erca : certa (F2. 7-8) (e. r.)
locht : *hocht* (F2. 18) (i. r.)
secht : fecht (F2. 32) (*a.*)
chachta :. certa\Erca (F2. 7-8)

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

3. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2):
$C^{v}C^{v}$--$C^{v}C^{v}$; $C^{v}C^{v}$--$L^{v}L^{v}$; $C^{v}C^{v}$--$C^{v}L^{v}$
Subni : umli (F2. 17-18) (e. r.)
comland : Domnall (F2. 61-62) (e. r.)
comrand : Domnall (F2. 36) (i. r.)
fodlaib :. Temraig (F2. 50)
chomram :. ergal\Fergal (F2. 23-24)
Fergal : ergal (F2. 23-24) (e. r.)
ágmar : ānrath (F2. 2) (*a.*)
cobrād : Cholmán (F2. 12) (i. r.)
foibdi :. umli\Subni (F2. 17-18)

4. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C/L + ^{h} (rules 2 and 3):
$C^{v}C^{h}$--$C^{v}C^{h}$; $C^{v}C^{h}$--$C^{h}C^{v}$

fubthad : Murchad (F2. 27-28) (e. r.)
mórtha :. Fiachna (F2. 14)

5. One consonant corresponds to two: a consonant from class **l** (C^{v}) is added:
$C^{v}C^{v}$--C^{v}; L^{v}-$C^{v}C^{v}$

iarair : blíadnaib (F2. 15-16) (e. r.)
ágmar :. Eógan\gleógal (F2. 1-2)
Eógain :. blí*adn*aib (F2. 40)
dúrdul : Glúndub (F2. 37-38) (e. r.)[1]
fírdil : Rímid (F2. 57-58) (e. r.)
fáelur :. dúrdul (F2. 37-38)
fénnid :. blíadnaib (F2. 16)

6. One consonant corresponds to three consonants: consonants from class **l** (C^{v}) are added: $C^{v}C^{v}C^{v}$--C^{v}

mblí*ad*an : díanglan (F2. 35-36) (e. r.)
cáemfer :. díanglan (F2. 36)
fíalglan : mblí*ad*an (F2. 6) (i. r.)
Eógain :. ríarglain (F2. 39-40)

7. Two or three consonants correspond to three consonants

a) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C/L + ^{h} (rules 2 and 3):
$C^{v}C^{h}C^{v}$--$C^{h}C^{v}$; $C^{h}C^{v}C^{v}$--$C^{h}C^{v}$; $C^{v}C^{h}$--$C^{h}C^{v}C^{v}$

nemthruim : Sechnuill (F2. 53-54) (e. r.)
mórtha :. íathbla (F2. 13-14)
íathbla : Fiachna (F2. 13-14) (e. r.)

b) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2): $C^{v}C^{v}C^{v}$--$C^{v}C^{v}$

ríarglain : blí*adn*aib (F2. 39-40) (e. r.)
degblaid : Temraig (F2. 43-44) (e. r.)
hergnaid :. Temraig (F2. 44)
ergnaid : Temraig (F2. 49-50) (e. r)
fodlaib :. ergnaid (F2. 49-50)
hergnaid :. degblaid (F2. 43-44)

c) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L (rules 1 and 2): $C^{v}P^{v}C^{v}$--$C^{v}P^{v}$

ardgus : tarddus (F2. 64) (i. r.)

Elision

a) Unstressed short vowel preceded by another vowel: nine examples. In three cases elision is required by the metre (F2. 9*a*, 16*c*, 31*b*), while in another three cases it is not (F2. 30*c*, 67*b*--x2). In one case, elision depends on whether one expands the abbreviation **7** as ***is*** or as ***ocus*** (F2. 54*d*: **málle *ocus***). In F2. 36*d* and 38*d* elision depends on whether one reads **[im]malle *ocus**is*** or **malle *ocus***. (3/9=33%)

[1] Note that **nd** = **nn**.

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

c) **do\de + V; do\de + f:** eleven examples. In four cases the metre requires elision (F2. 9*b*--see Note on p. 38; F2. 13*a*--see Note on p. 39; F2. 24*d*, 32*d*) (note that elision is not indicated by the *LL* scribe in these cases). In three cases this type of elision would be one way of getting the correct number of syllables (F2. 10*d*--***ocus* d'Eochaid**[1], F2. 21*a*--see Note on p. 39, F2. 27*b*--see Note on p. 40); while in four cases (F2. 18*c*, 23*b*, 41*b*, 51*b*) the metre requires that the vowel in the preposition should be pronounced. (4/11=36%)

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

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

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

Dúnad

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

[1] or read *is* **do Eochaid**

TEXT

Cind cethri ṅdíni īar Frigrind forraig gleōgal
Ailech ágmar ro gab ānrath airech Ēōgan.

Eōgan m*ac* Néill ro rígad i nAiliuch īaram
ūa(i)g ar-rálad ri ré dā fichet būan blī*ad*an.

Baí Muridach and dīa éis ō dún nī dichet
fīalglan fethet ri ré cethri ṁblī*ad*an fic[h]et.

Fichi fa dí do Murchertach mór m*ac* Erca
clethail chachta *ocus* a cethair co certa.

Certfichi a trí [d'Forggus][1] do Domnall cen deochair[2]
a *secht* do Bāetán co mbrethaib *ocus* d'Eochaid.

Ōenocht ṁblī*ad*an do Cholgain m*ac* Domnaill dírig
cobrād n-eōlaig la trí secht do Cholmán Rímid.

Ōenocht (ṁblī*ad*an) do Āed Ollán m*ac* Domnaill ōsa[3]
īathbla
dá secht do Ṡubni Mind mórtha m*ac* find Fīachna.

Fég a dó do Máel find Fithrig īarna īarair
Ernāin[e] m*ac* Fīachnai in fénnid re[4] sé blīadnaib.

A sé fo chethair do Chrundmáel m*ac* ṡāer Ṡubni
cen locht do Fergus co foibdi a *hocht* umli.

A deich do Māel Dūin m*ac* Māel Fithrig (mar) ro fāemad[5]

---

[1] do Fergus *LL*

[2] cen deochaid *LL*

[3] ōs *LL*

[4] ré *LL*

[5] *See Note on p. 39.*

Fland let ós lind a *hocht déc*[1] do *m*ac Cind Fāelad.

Sé mís do Erthaile ō Chrundmāel cétaib cure
gaīne gaile sé mīs do *m*ac Maīle Tuile.

Trī secht mblīad*a*n do *m*ac Maīle Dūin do Fergal
clandad chomram trī *secht* do Āed Allá(i)n na n-ergal.

Erbb úait *secht* cóic do Nīall Frossach cīa fūair forrá[i]n
a *deich* dāena do Māel Dūin *m*ac Āeda Allāin.

Ōen ar trīchait do Āed Ordnide nāro fubthad
dá dó cen rúin do *m*ac Máele Dúin do Murchad.

Mad Nīall Caille *m*ac Āeda Orddnide airig
fiche a trí ōs lāechMaig Lí ba rí Ailig.

A cóic fa thrí do Māel Dūin (do) *m*ac Āeda ind orddain
a trí dā secht do Āed Findlīath fecht nī *terc* torcaib.

Trīallais Murchad *m*ac Maíle[2] Dūin ré *secht* mblīad*a*n
réil ro rélad *con*nā gēbad acht a gīallad.

Gabais a *m*ac Flathbertach fri ré *noí* mblīad*a*n
comrand cāemfer malle *ocus* Domnall dīanglan.

Domnall īar sin frīa *noí* [mblíadna][3] déc fri dúrdul
fīal in fáelur malle *ocus* Nīall glan[4] Glūndub.

Gab*ais* Nīall for Temraig tírig ríge rīarglain
Flaithbertach i nAiliuch Eōgain teōra blīad*n*aib.

---

[1] x *is made on the* i

[2] Mel *LL;* Maīli *Lc*

[3] *om. in LL*; <u>fri ré naí mblīadan</u> *Lc, D ii 2*

[4] *om. in LL*; <u>glan</u> *Lc*, <u>gel</u> *D ii 2*

Noí mblīad*n*a déc do Fergal m*ac* Domnail[l] dela
a *cóic* īar céin do Murchertach m*ac* Néil[l] neda.

Teōra blīad*n*a déc do Domnall cona degblaid
i rríge Ailig co hergnaid rīasin Temraig.

Tārraid Flaithbertach is C*h*ond is Tadc 'cō taigib
re ré *cóic* mblīad*a*n co mbladaib ar mag Ailig.

Ōenblīad*ain* déc do Murchad Glún i lLár lainech
īar n*g*reis galach cen anad ropo leis Ailech.

A *hocht* do Domnall ú Néill i *n*Aliuch ergnaid
fīru fodlaib īar mbeith i rrígu for Temraig.

A trí fó thrí do Fergal i rrīge Ailig
trī cóic la hóen eret ro gab Āed ind ainig.

Trícha blīad*a*n do Flathbertuch h*ūa* Néill nemthruim
Āed and ro thrīall málle *ocus* Nīall m*ac* Māel Sechnuill.

Sé rīg déc dīb ro gabsat for Hēr*ind* ule
na ríg aile fūaratar bríg ō ce*ch* dune.

Díb Murchertach *ocus* Domnall, Forggus[1] fírdil
Bāetán na ndám, Eochaid *ocus*[2] Cholmān Rímid.

Rím Āed Uaridnach, Subne Mend, (i)s Fergal fossad
Āed Ollān rīam *ocus* a brāthair Níall Frossach.

Fég Āed Ordnide is Nīall *Caill*e cētaib comland
Āed Findlīath fīal, in Glūndub Nīall *ocus* Domnall.

Derb ro sechnus drem na llethríg cīabtar lānfir

---

[1] Fergus *LL*

[2] is *LL*; 7 *Lc, D ii 2*

ardgus n-eōlaig connāchas tarddus i n-ārim.

65 A cóic cethrachat do rígaib ro gab Ailech
ó Eōgan fíal co torac[h]t Nīall na ngīall ngraigech.

Gébas Ailech armothá i rré ar-biä
acht drech[1] ros foīd nī fitir nech coīch nā ciä. C.

[1] dréch *LL*

NOTES

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

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

F2. 5. This is a problematic line. The way it appears in *LL*, the *caesura* must either come after a trisyllabic word, Muridach (I have only six examples of this--see SMF, Vol. II, p. 107: **1.2 a**), or after ō, in which case the *caesura* would have to come after an unstressed word (I have only ten other examples of this, and for seven of these no other MS evidence is available--see Vol. II, p. 108: **1.2 c**). Also, in this metre, it is not very common to have a monosyllabic line ending in an octosyllabic line either (*ibid*). As far as the other MSS are concerned, there is no problem with the *caesura* as both have dā ēisi for *LL* dīa éis (8^2). If we followed this reading, then we would be left with an extra syllable in *LL* ō dūn nī dichet (dichet is the perfective pres. sg. 3 prot. form of téit). A possibility might be to have elision across the *caesura*; however, I have no definite example of this--see Vol. II, p. 128: **4.8**). And I do not think it would be possible to omit nī either, as in these texts I only have examples of the prot. form used for the deut. in verbs where the original prot. form began in t- or r---see Vol. II, pp. 78-79: **12.5**. Note that *Lc* has ō dūn fichead (maybe imperf. ind. sg. 3 without no of fichid, `fights'?), and *D ii 2* ō dún riched (maybe imperf. ind. sg. 3 without no of rigid, `controls, rules'?). Thus the alliteration is lost in these two MSS. I do not know how to solve the problem in *LL*, as dichet as an old form seems to be authentic; I can suggest nothing better than putting the *caesura* after the ō.

F2. 9. There is an extra syllable in this line. Based on *AU*, both the editors of *LL* and MacNeill, 1913: 48, suggest the reading d'Forggus for do Fergus. The o of do definitely has to be elided. Probably it is the scribe, and not the poet, who is to blame for this slip, and for the same one (i.e. Fergus for Forggus) in F2. 57 as well. *Cf.* F4. 27 and 36; in the latter case the imperfect internal rhyme with ollgus shows that it was definitely the scribe who had not transcribed the name correctly. The other two MSS omit Forggus and have as ead fūair Domnall here. Byrne, 1973: 283 also has Forggus.
LL cen deochaid is a scribal error for cen deochair--`without disctinction \ discrimination'. Deochair is the form in *Lc*, while *D ii 2* agrees with *LL* here. Note that

DIL cites this line from *LL* under ? deochaid.

F2. 13. There are two extra syllables in this line: MacNeill (*ibid.*) suggests that we omit Ollán, which he considers to be a gloss. However, in this case we would not get alliteration in 13*b*; moreover, the other two MSS both have Ollān/Allān. *Lc* reads A secht Āed Ollān *m*ac Feargail ōsa īathbla, and *D ii 2* Āen*ocht* d'Āedh Allān mac Fergail ósa íathbla. On the basis of this, I suggest that we omit m̓blīadan in *LL*, put the *caesura* after Domnaill and read d'Āed and ōsa īathbla. Note that Ōenocht m̓blīadan also appears in the previous stanza (F2. 11), and the scribe might have been looking at that and so made a mistake.

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

F2. 16. Based on *AU*, MacNeill (*ibid.*) has Ernain[e] for *LL* Ernain. *Lc* has Domnall, and *D ii 2* Ernán. The correct form of the name in the nom. is Ernáine (Jaski, 1994: 86); *AU* 636 has gen. Ernani; see also O'Brien, 1962: 621.

Read re for ré. The lengthmark must be a scribal slip, as this word can only be the prep. fri here. Or, alternatively, one could emend the end of ll. 15 and 16 to īarna īarar and ré sé mblīadan respectively (cf. F2. 33); however, this would mean too much interference with the text. The other two MSS have a sé is blīadain here.

F2. 19. There is one syllable in excess in this line. MacNeill (*ibid.*) suggests that we either omit do (however, in this poem the construction is always X blíadna do Y), or read A deich do macc Máile Fithrig mar ro fāemad (omitting Māel Dūin). *Lc* has A deich do Māel Dūin *m*ac Maīli Fithrid fāemad, and *D ii 2* A deich do Māel Dūin mac Maīle Fithrigh do fáemhadh, with one extra syllable in the line. I can see the following possibilities here: a) omit mar in *LL* and put the *caesura* after the first Māel--especially as neither of the other two MSS have mar; or b) follow *Lc* and put the *caesura* after Maīli. On the gen. of Máel in these poems, see Vol. II, p. **3.16 a**; on the omission of ro in the perf. passive, see Vol. II, p. 82: **12.12**.

F2. 21. In order to get the correct number of syllables, read d'Erthaile, or elide the ō (=úa) after this name. Note that the only way to get alliteration in F2. 21*a* is to treat ō as a stressed word.

F2. 24. The i in Alláin (dat. sg. masc.) must be an error; see my collection in Vol. II, p. 252. The same form appears in F2. 26 as masc. gen. sg., and this might have confused the scribe. The other two MSS have Allān.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

added subscript in frīa in *LL*.

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

F2. 39. gabais Nīall for Temraig tírig ríge rīarglain is a problematic phrase and could be analysed in the following ways:
a) Gabais is the verb\predicate, Nīall is the subject, for Temraig tírig is a prepositional phrase, and ríge rīarglain is the object. Rīarglain could be taken as the fem. acc. sg. of the *adjective*, and in this case ríge should be taken as a fem. noun. (I have only one certain example of ríge followed by a qualifying adj. in these texts, and in that case, it is definitely masc.\neut.--see Vol. II, p. 14: **xviii**) However, rīarglain could also be regarded as the gen. sg. of the *substantivised* adj. ríarglan, qualifying ríge, in which case it is masc. In both cases the translation would be: `Níall took the sovereignty of pure obedience over dominant Tara' (note that this is the translation suggested by *DIL* with a question-mark, and this is the version that I have accepted).
b) Gabais for is the verb\predicate, Nīall is the subject, Temraig tírig is the semantic object, and ríge rīarglain is an attributive gen. qualifying the object, `Tara'. In this case, ríge can only be taken as a masc. noun here (with final -e for -i), as rīarglain should be in the gen. as well. The translation would be: `Níall ruled over dominant Tara of the sovereignty of pure obedience'. This seems to make less sense than the interpretation discussed under a).
On the gender of ríge, see Bergin, 1938: 218.

F2. 40. MacNeill (*ibid.*) and the editors of *LL* suggest the reading teōraib for teōra, in order to get *aicill* with Eōgain. We already have *úaitne* here between Eōgain and blīadain, although I do have some examples from these poems where both *aicill* and *úaitne* are present in the second long line (SMF, Vol. II, p. 108: **1.2 b**). However, in these texts *aicill* is present only if line *c* in the second couplet is quadrasyllabic (*ibid*)--which is not and can not be the case here. For this reason, I would not emend this line. Note also that *Lc* has teōra blīadand (: rīanglann) and *D ii 2* teōra blīadha[i]n (: rīanglain).

F2. 41-44. The order of these two couplets is reversed in the other two MSS as compared

with *LL*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

F2. 59. There is one syllable in excess here. MacNeill (*ibid.*) suggests that we omit is. In

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

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

F2. 68. To get the required twelve syllables and the disyllabic ending here, one must read ciä as a disyllable.

TRANSLATION

(based on MacNeill, 1913: 50-54)

At the end of four generations after Frigriu--an overpowering contest--,
Eógan, a hero among lords, took warlike Ailech.

Eógan, the son of Níall was made king in Ailech thereafter,
--a grave was arranged for him[1]--for a period of two long scores of years.

Muridach was there after him--he cannot depart[2] from the fort[3]--,
let them attend the illustrious man[4]--for twenty-four years.

Twice twenty [years] for great Murchertach, the son of Erc,
--a war-rock[5] of mastery[6]--, and four years for certain.

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

Eight years for Colgu, the son of just Domnall,
--a learned man's utterance[7]--with three times seven for Colmán Rímid.

---

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

[2] I take nī dichet to be the perfective pres. sg. 3 prot. of téit. MacNeill translates it as `they depart not'.

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

[4] fïalglan: lit. `the noble, pure one'

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

[6] chachta: lit. `of bondage'

[7] This line is cited in *DIL* both under cobrad, `boss of shield', and comrád, `utterance', with a question-mark. Both the rhyme and the meaning prove that we have comrád here.

Eight [years] for Áed Ollán, the son of Domnall over his meadowy land[1],
twice seven for Suibne Menn whom you (pl.) praise[2], the fair son of Fíachnae.

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

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

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

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

Three times seven years for Máel Dúin's son, for Fergal,
three times seven [years] for Áed Allán of the combats who used to establish glory[3].

Grant seven times five [years] to Níall Frossach, though he met overthrow[4],
ten fine ones [= years] for Máel Dúin, the son of Áed Allán.

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[1] This line is cited in *DIL* under the compounds of <u>íath</u>.

[2] or `exalted S. M.', if <u>mórtha</u> is the past participle.

[3] <u>chomram:</u> lit. `triumph, victory'

[4] *Cf.* F5. 38 (*LL 23750*) <u>fūair in fāel farrān</u>--´the fierce man met overthrow´.

Thirty-one [years] for Áed Ordnide who was not terrified,
twice two [years] without disguise for Máel Dúin's son, for Murchad.

As for Níall Caille, the son of watchful[1] Áed Ordnide,
for twenty-three [years] over Mag Lí of heroes[2] he was king of Ailech.

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

Murchad, the son of Máel Dúin tried to get the kingship?[3] for a period of seven years,
clearly it was made known, so that he would not take anything but his? submission.

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

Domnall after that for nineteen years towards a hard departure[4],
along with bright Níall Glúndub--noble is the wolf-man[5].

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[1] In theory, airig could also be a gen. of apposition (lit. `A. O. of a noble leader').

[2] lāechMaig Lí: or: `heroic Mag Lí', *cf.* F6. 86 *R* lāechMidi,`heroic? Mide´ and F9. 70 a lāechLuignib, `from heroic Luigne´.

[3] trīallais: lit. `attempted, endeavoured'--MacNeill translates it as `held on', and he has the following note on this line: "Murchad +887, s.o. Máel Dúin, is called in AU *rígdomna, i.e.,* eligible prince, of the Fochla, and is therefore not likely to have been king" (1913: 52). I think the text is ambiguous, as the verb seems to indicate an attempt, while at the same time there is a period of time given which would normally be assigned only to a ruler. *Cf.* F2. 54.

[4] dúrdul = death?--see *DIL* under dul.

[5] fáelur: note that this is the only example cited for this word in *DIL*.

Níall took the sovereignty of pure (undisputed) obedience?[1]
over dominant Tara,
Flaithbertach in Ailech of Eógan for three years.

Nineteen years for Fergal, the son of Domnall of the rod[2],
five [years] after some time for Murchertach, the son of Níall
...?[3]

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

Flaithbertach and Conn and Tadc reigned[4] in their homes
for a period of five years with famous deeds over the plain of
Ailech.

Eleven years for armed[5] Murchad Glún i lLár,
after an onset of the valiant ones?[6] it was without delay that
he possessed Ailech.

Eight [years] for Domnall, the grandson of Níall, in renowned
Ailech,
--truest of sharings--, having been in kingship over Tara.

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

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[1] See Note on p. 41.

[2] dela: i. e. of the sceptre. This could also be an attributive gen. sg. with the meaning `prop, pillar, support'.

[3] See Note on p. 42.

[4] Tārraid Flaithbertach ... / re ré *cóic* mblīadan is cited in *DIL* under do-airret e) `gets. attains, secures', accompanied by the remark "*Cf.*". This is preceded by one example from *BB* and one from *Lc* which both have the construction tārraid (X) Y blīadna (`X reigned for Y years').

[5] or 2 lainnech `eager'

[6] īar n*g*reis galach is cited in *DIL* under gres(s), ā, f with the remark "(m.?)"--which means that they treat galach as a qualifying adj.; however, I have taken galach to be the gen. pl. of the substantivised adj.

Thirty years for Flaithbertach, the grandson of vigorous[1] Níall,
Áed then who came in?[2] along with Níall the son of Máel Sechnaill.

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

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

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

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

Truly, I have omitted the group of half-kings[3], though they were whole men
--a learned man's noble task--, so that I have not taken them into account.

Forty-five kings have ruled Ailech
from noble Eógan until Níall of the hostages, who were rich in horses[4] appeared[5].

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[1] nemthruim--lit. `not heavy'

[2] ro thrīall: lit. `attempted, endeavoured'. *Cf.* F2. 33.

[3] Note MacNeill's remark here (1913: 54): "By *lethríg*, "half-kings," Flann means those who ruled part of Ireland and did not acknowledge another as king of all Ireland, not those who were joint-kings of Ireland, for he has named the joint-kings, Domnall and Forggus, Baetán and Eochaid" (F2. 9, 10).

[4] *DIL* cites this line under graigech with the remark "*sic* MS" inserted between ngīall and ngraigech. *Lc* and *D ii 2* agree with *LL* here, and I do not see any reason for emending this line.

[5] co torac[h]t Nīall is cited in *DIL* under do-roich II with the meaning "oft. in wide sense *happens, arises, appears*".

No one, except the person[1] who has sent them[2], knows who[3]
will rule Ailech henceforth in the time to come.

[1] i.e. God

[2] MacNeill translates ros foīd with the future perfect.

[3] I take coīch and ciä to be synonyms. However, it is also possible that coīch here means 'whose descendant'.

ASCNAM NĪ SEŌL SĀDAL (F3)

INTRODUCTION

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

MS:
LL 182ª23

99% of the MS is clearly legible.

Previous edition and translation:
MacNeill, 1913: 54-58 (from *LL*).

ANALYSIS OF THE METRE

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

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

Stanza structure

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

We get the following stanza types:

1) *c* makes *úaitne* with *b* and *d*: 1, 2, 3, 5, 7 (imp.), 8, 11, 12, 14, 15 (10).

2) *a* and *c* make *úaitne* with *b* and *d*: 4, 9, 10, 13, 16, 17 (6).

3) *a* makes *úaitne* with *b* and *d*: 6 (1).

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

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

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

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

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

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

Alliteration and *lorga*

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

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

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

In F3. 66 we can only get alliteration if we do not lenite **síni** after **ro**. On lenition after

do, ní, no and **ro** in these poems, see Vol. II, p. 60: **8.4 b**.

The figures for alliteration are **39/68=57%**.

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

The figures for *lorga* and alliteration are **45/68=66%**.

Aicill

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

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

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

Between **c** and **d** (5/17=29%):

dīdail : gnímaib (F3. 3-4)
Dathe : Ache (F3. 19-20)
crāebdus : Ōengus (F3. 23-24)
ndétla : Dētna (F3. 27-28)
sithi : Lifi (F3. 35-36)

Internal rhyme

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

remib : debaid (F3. 5-6)
crūaid : búaid (F3. 13-14)
cétaib : sétaib (F3. 65-66)

Between **c** and **d** (10/17=59%):

brath : cath (F3. 7-8)
lén : mBél (F3. 15-16)
taccomol : Fortama(i)l (F3. 31-32)
trīall : ngíall (F3. 39-40)
bét : chét (F3. 43-44)
mbrātha : Ātha (F3. 47-48)
rád : bág (F3. 51-52)
deōrata : Eūropa (F3. 59-60)
Finni : Cilli (F3. 63-64)
debaid : mebaid (F3. 67-68)

Note that there is imperfect rhyme between **nDruim** and **luid** in F3. 51-52.
I believe it very unlikely that ***cath*** in ll. 19 (twice), 27 and 35 is meant to rhyme with the same word in ll. 20 (twice), 28 and 36, or **deich** in F3. 55 with the same word in the following line.
On F3. 31-32, see Note on p. 62.

Stanza 3 and 14 are the only ones which have neither *aicill* nor internal rhyme. (2)
Stanzas that have both *aicill* and internal rhyme: 2, 13 (2).
Of the first couplets, F3. 5-6 has both *aicill* and internal rhyme.

The figures for words making internal rhyme per stressed words in *d* are **10/38=26%**.
The figures for words making internal rhyme*aicill* per stressed words in *d* are **15/38=39%**.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Maybe *aicill* is meant between **rogaig : mbladaig** (F3. 69-70). (On the interchange of stressed **o** and **a** before a non-palatal consonant, see Vol. II, p. 18: **2.4**.)

Between **c** and **d** (4/6=67%):

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

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

Internal rhyme

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

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

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

Between **c** and **d** (2/6=34%)

forrán : nAllán (F3. 71-72)
chóemúaill : ōenūair (F3. 91-92)

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

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

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

Dúnad

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

Analysis of rhyming consonant clusters (using Ó Cuív's classification--1966: 94-103; 1987: 109; see also SMF, Vol. II, p. 111-112: **2**)

1. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2):
C^vC^v--C^vC^v; C^vC^v--L^vL^v; L^vL^v--C^vL^v; C^vL^v--C^vC^v; L^vC^v--C^vC^v

Luignech : mbudnech (F3. 14/16) (e. r.)
roglach : fodbach (F3. 30/32) (e. r.)
comlaind : nDomnaill (F3. 50/52) (e. r.)
crāebdus : Ōengus (F3. 23-24) (*a.*)
tarbe : Chairne (F3. 46/48) (e. r.)
Chethirn : lethfeidm (F3. 25-26) (*a.*)
armach :. Luignech/mbudnech (F3. 13-16)
mbodba :. tarbe (F3. 45-48)

claidbech :. roglach/fodbach (F3. 29-32) **mbodba :. Chairne** (F3. 45-48)
imlaind :. comlaind/nDomnaill (F3. 49-52) **fodbai :. nDaigri** (F3. 61-64)

2. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C/L + ^{h} (rules 2 and 3):
$C^{h}C^{v}$--$C^{h}C^{v}$; $C^{v}C^{h}$--$C^{v}C^{h}$; $L^{v}C^{h}$--$C^{v}C^{h}$
lethbe : Eithne (F3. 22/24) (e. r.) **Uchbath : bruthgal** (F3. 17-18) (*a.*)
laimthi : aidchi (F3. 89-92) (e. r.) **chaidchi :. laimthi/aidchi** (F3. 89-92)
athnertach : Flathbertach (F3. 73-74) (i. r.) (first consonant cluster)
aithle :. lethbe/Eithne (F3. 21-24) **ringthi :. laimthi/aidchi** (F3. 89-92)

3. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L (rules 1 and 2): $P^{v}C^{v}$--$P^{v}C^{v}$
ndétla : Dētna (F3. 27-28) (*a.*)

4. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L + ^{h} (rules 1, 2, 3): $L^{v}P^{h}$--$L^{v}P^{h}$
athnertach : Flathbertach (F3. 73-74) (i. r.) (second consonant cluster)

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

6. One consonant corresponds to two: a) a consonant from class **l** (**C^{v}**) or **L** (**L^{v}**) is added:
$C^{v}L^{v}$--L^{v}; $C^{v}L^{v}$--C^{v}; $C^{v}L^{v}$--L^{v}; C^{v}--$C^{v}C^{v}$; P^{h}--$L^{v}P^{h}$
togairm : sodbraind (F3. 49-50) (*a.*) (in final position) ?[1]
armach :. dulad/Muman (F3. 37-40)
togairm :. comlaind/nDomnaill (F3. 49-52) (both in medial and final position)
taccomol : Fortama(i)l (F3. 31-32) (i. r.)[2]

b) A consonant from class **g** (**P**) is added[3]: $P^{v}C^{v}$--C^{v}: **ndétla :. lēni/ndēni** (F3. 25-28)

7. One consonant corresponds to three consonants: consonants from class **l** (**C^{v}**) are added: C^{v}--$C^{v}C^{v}C^{v}$: **togairm : sodbraind** (F3. 49-50) (*a.*) (in medial pos.) ?

8. Two or three consonants correspond to two or three consonants:
a) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2):
$C^{v}C^{v}C^{v}$--$C^{v}C^{v}$; $C^{v}C^{v}C^{v}$--$C^{v}C^{v}C^{v}$/$C^{v}C^{v}$; $L^{v}C^{v}C^{v}$--$C^{v}C^{v}$
airgnai : nDaigri (F3. 62/64) (e. r.) **fodbai :. airgnai** (F3. 61-64)

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[1] On **sodbraind**, see Footnote on p. 67.

[2] If **Fortama(i)l** is from **fortail** (see *DIL*); see also the Note on p. 62.

[3] See SMF, Vol. II, p. 116.

-ringni :. airgnai/nDaigri (F3. 61-64) **tarrgrach :. Luignech/mbudnech** (F3. 13-16)?

Elision

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

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

c) Dropping of the initial vowel of an unstressed word: (prep. + article): one example. The metre requires that there should be no dropping (F3. 33), although note that the scribe indicates the opposite. See also Note on p. 62.

TEXT

Ascnam nī seōl sādal
īar sain slicht cen breōbail
co n-écsem cen dīdail
do gnímaib síl Eōgain.

Ba remib ro mebaid
nīrbo debaid tuä
cen brath brīathar goä
in cath i Slēib Chuä.

Ba remib ro mebaid
cath Segsa for Duäich
ili a ngluind gnoäig
dāig [no] betis cruäich.

Cath crūaid co nnirt armach
ar búaid tūath líth Luignech
nīrbo lén in tarrgrach
for Eōgan mBél mbudnech.

*C*ath Cúle, *c*ath Uchbath
ardd bruthgal bág toche
*c*ath Dromma, *c*ath Dathe
*c*ath Ache, *c*ath Oche.

Im chath Chind chrūaid n-aithle
Lasnado[1] cen lethbe
i torchair caīn[2] crāebdus
Ōengus *ocus* Eithne.

Im chath i nDún Chethirn
lethfeidm lāech rod lēni[3]

---

[1] Lasnadó *LL*

[2] *Note that this could also be* cain.

[3] le *is made on the* u

cath Roith nī rād ndétla
cath Dētna[1] co ndēni[2].

Cath i tor*chair* Ail*il*l
Inbanna rūad roglach
taccomol glond claidbech
Āed Fortama(i)l? fodbach.

Forlond [o]*con* Dathi
cath Elli nād chlethe
cath Slemna co sithi
cath Lifi, *cath* Lethe.

Lotar *secht* cét armach
ūadib angbaid dulad
tucsat īar trīall Lagen
cét ngíall a tīr Muman.

Trēnchath Insi Áne
for slūag nAlban n-ulach
i farcbad bét bladach
fairend trī chét curach.

In cath oc Áth Medóin
mīlib glond garg tarbe
lathe mbrātha mbodba
cath Ātha Dā Chairne.

Gabsat īar troch togairm
sodbraind coscair comlaind
i nDruim Ríg rád n-imlaind[3]
luid bág for mac nDomnaill.

---

[1] Dētla *LL*; *cf. F4. 21, F6. 32.*

[2] con teni *LL*

[3] i *added subscript*

Geguin ōenfer ūadib[1]
ard ārim no sechid
fiche deich [de] flathib[2]
la sé deich do dechib.

Fer co rīab cen sodain
do guin ba gargg dune
deōrata n[a] gaile
míl Eūropa uile.

Eól dúib a ndo-ringni
m*ac* Néill Ailig airgnai
Āed Finni co fodbai
i cath Cilli Ūa nDaigri.

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

Gabsat rīam ind ríg rogaig
bríg mbladaig bec[h]tai n-airig
selad forrán co feraib
rīa nĀed n-ard nAllán nAilig.

Art athnertach ind úabair
Flathbertach dín cech deōraid
do-rimmart gairgiu tólaib
i nInsi[3] n-ólaig Eōgain.

Ardrí Alpan art Arand

---

[1] *gloss on* ōenfer *in margin:* Māel Umai m*ac* Bāetāin m*eic* Mur*chertaig*

[2] *fiche* deich flathib *LL*

[3] in insi *written over in* inisi

bāg barand brúthi bairend
tuc aníar dar (s)rían rudach
trī choícait curach Cairell.

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

Cath aile i nOscur ūallach
ba broscur bladach bágach
for Fland ṅGoän ro raíned
ro maíded arna bārach.

Reraig roí roríg ringthi
for mac Longsig lúaith laimthi
ba cloí dīa chóemúaill[1] chaidchi
dī airdi ōenūair aidchi. C.

[1] icimúaill *LL*

NOTES

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

F3. 6-8. The metre requires that we read tuä, goä and Chuä as disyllables.

F3. 10-12. The metre requires that we read Duäich, gnoäig and cruäich as disyllables.

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

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

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

F3. 22. MacNeill (*ibid*: 54) suggests the reading Losnado for *LL* Lasnadó. The historical form would probably be what MacNeill suggests, as this word appears to be the gen. sg. of ? losnaid, i, m (*DIL*). The forms Losnado and Lasnado exhibit the interchange of stressed o and a before a non-palatal consonant, which is common in MIr, so I do not see any reason for emending the *LL* reading as far as the first syllable is concerned. For other examples of the same feature, see Vol. II, p. 18: **2.4**. The lengthmark on the o must be a scribal error.

F3. 27. MacNeill (*ibid*: 54) suggests the reading Roth ? for Roith on the basis of the form Bellum Roth in *AU* 636. However, on p. 57 he has the nom. sg. (or pl.?) form Rotha in his translation. Can not Roith be the gen. of roth, an o-stem noun? In Hogan, 1910: 589, there are two examples of the gen sg. with a non-palatal consonant, and two with a palatal consonant (our example being one of them). MacNeill (*ibid*: 57) identifies this battle with that of Mag Rath, and Hogan under Roth also asks us to compare this form with Mag Rath. Unfortunately, this word is not fixed by the metre.

F3. 28. MacNeill (*ibid*: 54) and the editors of *LL* suggest the reading Détna for Dētla; the scribe probably made a slip here, as the previous line ends in ṅdétla (*cf.* also F4. 21 is *cath* Dētna, and F6. 32 i cath Dētna). Hogan, 1910: 344 has Dētnae, while he does not list Dētla.
MacNeill also suggests co ndēni for *LL* con teni, as that would make more sense; moreover, the d in dēni is fixed by alliteration, and the long ē by rhyme.

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

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

F3. 44. MacNeill suggests the reading fairend trī cét curach for fairend trī chét curach.

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

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

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

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

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

F3. 85. Note that *DIL* prints cath Aile (cath aile in my edition) under roínid.

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

F3. 91-92. MacNeill (*ibid*: 56) and the editors of *LL* suggest that we read chóemúaill for *LL* icimúaill. The *LL* reading seems to be corrupt as icimúaill does not appear in *DIL*; moreover, with the *LL* reading we would not get alliteration in the line, which is otherwise present in almost 80% of the lines in the second part of the poem (see p. 53). chóemúaill makes sense, and it will also make internal rhyme with ōenūair (F3. 92); and without this emendation, this would be the only second couplet in this poem without *aicill* or internal rhyme (although there is imperfect *aicill* between chaidchi and airdi) (see SMF, Vol. II., p. 120: **2.5.5**).

TRANSLATION

(based on MacNeill, 1913: 56-58)

Let us go over then[1]--it is not an easy course--,
an account (of a tale) without flaw?[2],
till we tell, without detriment[3],
of the deeds of Eógan's race.

They were victorious
--it was not a silent struggle--
--without revealing[4] words of falsehood--
in the battle in Slíab Cúa.

They were victorious
in the battle of Segais against Dáui,
many are their remarkable? feats[5];
it was to be expected that they would be gory.

A hard battle with the power of armed men
to master? the festive lordships of the Luigni[6],
the expedition was not a defeat[7]
against Eógan Bél, who had many troops.

---

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

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

[3] cen dīdail: *DIL*: `without disparagement, extenuation?'.

[4] This is *DIL*'s translation, which appears under brath with a question-mark. Another, although less likely possibility would be `without betrayal--a word of falsehood'.

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

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

[7] i.e. it did not end in defeat

The battle of Cúil, the battle of "Groans"[1],
high fury, a proper fight(?)[2],
the battle of Druimm, the battle of Dathe,
the battle of Ache[3], the battle of Oche.

Along with the battle, of stern consequences[4], of Cenn
Lasnado without partiality,
in which fell, fair branching tree,
Óengus and Eithne.

Along with the battle at Dún Cethirn
--[it is] the effort of warriors of one of the sides which has
hindered it[5]--,
the battle of Roth?--it is not a rash saying--,
the battle of Détna with vehemence.

The battle in which strong and
combative Ailill Inbandae fell,

---

[1] See Footnote on F4. 65, p. 106.

[2] The information concerning toche in *DIL* is quite confusing. First there is toich, an indeclinable adj., `natural, proper, inherently right'; then ? 1 toiche, `? propriety', with one example, which *DIL* seems to take as the abstract from the adj.; finally, ? tocha (? toich), with four examples (including this one), with no meaning or explanation given. One of the examples cited in *DIL* under tocha is from *MD* iii 344.93, ba togairm tocha (:locha), which Gwynn translates as `it was an appropriate title'. There is another example cited from *MD* iii 458.108, ba tairm tacha (tacha seems to rhyme with Locha here), for which Gwynn offers no translation `it was a ... sound'. (Note that this phrase is cited in *DIL* under tacha, `want, necessity, scarcity; hardship, distress' as well). I think that the form in our poem is probably the attributive gen. sg. of the abstract *tochae (=tocha in *DIL*) (cf. ard--ardae, airde, so both toiche and tocha could possibly be the abstract of toich). There is another possibility, namely that this is the noun tacha, already referred to above--for examples of the interchange of stressed o and a before a non-palatal consonant, see Vol. II, p. 18: **2.4**. So the suggested translations would be `a proper fight', or a `fight of hardships'. MacNeill has `a strife for rights (?)' here.

[3] "Not traced." (MacNeill, 1913: 56)

[4] Im chath Chind chrūaid n-aithle / Lasnado: if chrūaid n-aithle was a cheville, we would not expect lenition after Chind.

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

a union[1] of feats of the sword,
Áed Fortobol?[2] of the trophies.

A superiority in numbers at Dathe[3],
the battle of Elle which is not hidden,
the battle of Slemain lasting long,
the battle of Life, the battle of Leth[4].

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

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

The battle of Áth Medóin
with thousands of feats--a fierce benefit?--[6],
an ill-fated doomsday,
the battle of Áth Dá Chairne.

They took, after summoning doomed people[7],
a good portion ???[8] of a full victory?,
in Druim Ríg--a very pleasant saying--

---

[1] Note that this is the only example cited in *DIL* for taccomol.

[2] See Note on p. 62.

[3] See Note on p. 62.

[4] See MacNeill, 1913: 57.

[5] Lit. `against the army of Scotland of the bearded ones'; *cf.* F4. 61 for slúago Alban ulach.

[6] mīlib glond garg tarbe: or `with thousands of fierce feats of success' = successful feats

[7] īar troch togairm: or `after a fatal summoning'.

[8] I was not able to identify the word sodbraind. Maybe it is a corrupt form of so- (`good, excellent') + acc. sg. of 1 rann, `part, portion'?

the fight went against Domnall's son.

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

The "Man with the stripe", apart from that [battle],[1]
was a fierce man for slaying,
an outlander of valour,
the champion of all Europe.

You know what the son of Níall
of famous Ailech has done,
Áed Finne with spoils[2],
in the battle of Cell Úa nDaigri.

With ten hundred with wholeness[3],
along pathways he has pushed,
to the contest he journeyed,
he routed five thousand.

Before him the choice kings
assumed splendid authority--trusty noblemen[4]--,
an assault with men was inflicted[5]

---

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

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

[3] i.e. complete

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

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

by noble Áed Allán of Ailech.

The vigorous[1] bear of pride,
Flaithbertach, shelter of every outcast,
he subdued him--fiercest of floods--,
in festive Inis Eógain.

[2]Scotland's high-king, the bear of Arran,
vehement boldness which crushes rocks[3],
Cairell, brought from the west[4] over the impetuous?[5] sea
three times fifty boats.

Áed set out on a limited[6] night,
against them nobly he advanced,
he slew them [all] along with Fergnae of the troops,
except Cairell and the crew of his ship.

Another battle in Oscor of laments[7]
--it was a famous, resolute overthrow--,
was won over Flann Góan,

---

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

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

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

[3] brúthi bairend: lit. 'of the crushing of rocks'. Note that this line is cited in *DIL* under brúd with a question-mark.

[4] See Note on p. 63.

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

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

[7] Oscur ūallach: or `proud Oscor'

it was vaunted[1] the next day.

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

[1] *Cf.* F10. 107: maíti int Airgdech a díth de--`Airgdech, his death was boasted of on account of it'?

[2] reraig roí is cited in *DIL* under rigid with the following explanation: `? won a battle'.

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

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

[5] = Flaithbertach mentioned in l. 74 (MacNeill, 1913: 58).

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

[7] Lit. `it was a crushing for his fine pride'. clóe, f, means `whirlwind, gust' and `cry, sound'. None of these meanings fits into the context here. However, under `ascription doubtful', there is an example from *LL* 21935 (*MD* iv 98.99), where this word is translated as `oppression'. This and related meanings could have developed under the influence of cloïd.

ANÍ DO-RŌNSAT DO CHALMU (F4)

INTRODUCTION

MSS: *LL* 182^{b}12

Lc (only the first ten stanzas and stanza 12)

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

99% of *LL* is clearly legible.

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

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

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

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

ANALYSIS OF THE METRE

I analyse the two parts mentioned in the Introduction separately.

Metre and Stanza Structure

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

1st part:

$8^2+4^2+4^2+8^2$: 1, 6, 15, 18, 19, 24, 31, 34, 39, 42, 43, 47, 50, 58 (14)
$8^2+4^2+8^2+4^2$: 4, 5, 16, 23, 28, 45, 46, 60 (8)
$\mathbf{4^1}+8^2+4^2+8^2$: 21, 22, 25, 37, 48, 52 (see Note on F4. 104, p. 98), 56 (7)
$8^2+4^2+\mathbf{4^1}+8^2$: 2, 9, 17 (see Note on F4. 34, p. 92), 30, 51, 54 (6)
$\mathbf{4^3}+8^2+4^2+8^2$: 14, 26, 32, 35, 36 (5)
$4^2+8^2+4^2+8^2$: 3, 11, 20, 38, 53 (5)
$4^2+8^2+\mathbf{4^1}+8^2$: 12, 27, 33 (3)
$\mathbf{8^1}+4^2+4^2+8^2$: 29, 55, 59 (*caesura* comes after an unstressed word in the first long line in all of these) (3)
$4^2+8^2+8^2+4^2$: 7, 8 (see Note on F4. 15, p. 90) (2)
$\mathbf{8^1}+4^2+4^2+8^2$: 40 (1)
$\mathbf{4^1}+8^2+8^2+4^2$: 44 (1)
$\mathbf{4^3}+8^2+\mathbf{4^1}+8^2$: 10 (1)
$\mathbf{4^1}+8^2+\mathbf{4^1}+8^2$: 13 (1)
$\mathbf{4^1}+8^2+\mathbf{4^1}+8^2$: 49 (*caesura* comes after an unstressed word in the first long line--see Note on F4. 97, p. 97) (1)
No *caesura* $+4^2+8^2$: 41 (1) (see Note on F4. 81, p. 97)
No *caesura* $+\mathbf{4^1}+8^2$: 57 (1) (see Note on F4. 113 and 114, pp. 99 and 100)

Note that in six cases the *caesura* has to come after a trisyllabic word--this occurs always in the first long line. In stanzas 14 and 35 one could also have $\mathbf{8^1}$ in the first short line instead of $\mathbf{4^3}$, but in this case the *caesura* would have to come after an unstressed word. (See also Vol. II, pp. 107-108: **1.2 a** and **c**.)

2nd part:

$8^2+4^2+\mathbf{4^1}+8^2$: 63, 64, 66 (see Note on F4. 132 on p. 100), 67 (4)
$4^2+8^2+\mathbf{4^1}+8^2$: 65, 69 (2)
$8^2+4^2+8^2+4^2$: 61 (1)

$8^2+4^2+4^2+8^2$: 62 (1)
$4^2+8^2+8^2+4^2$: 68 (1)

According to Ní Dhomhnaill's criteria (only *a* can be quadrasyllabic--1975: 79), in bardic poetry out of the 120 couplets of the first part of the poem 49 would be accepted (**49/120=41%**), while according to Knott's criteria (both *a* and *c* can be quadrasyllabic--1966: 17-18), 86 (**86/120=72%**). Of the 18 couplets of the second part, 11 would be accepted in the first case (**=61%**), and 12 in the second (**=67%**).

End-rhyme

On F4. 65-66, see Note on p. 96.

Note the interchange of stressed **o** and **a** before a non-palatal consonant in **fodbrand : anmand** (F4. 75-76) (1st part). In the 2nd part, we find **a--a** in **Lachlaind : athraind** (F4. 131-132) (cf. F4. 137 **Lochlaind**), and in **lacha : Macha** (F4. 137-138). For other similar examples, see Vol. II, p. 18: **2.4**.

Note that the rhyme is not highlighted in spelling in **Ailbe : Adni** (F4. 19-20).

Note that **Chonchath** (F4. 63-64), **Anbīth** (F4. 95-96) and **Garbíth** (F4. 101-102) could also be spelt with final **-d** (?), so we get regular rhyme here. See also Vol. II, p. 112: **2.1**.

Fidrad freccomail is not present between the following stanzas (1st part): 3+4 (ll. 6-7), 14+15 (ll. 28-29), 15+16 (ll. 30-31), 16+17 (ll. 32-33), 18+19 (ll. 36-37), 20+21 (ll. 40-41), 22+23 (ll. 44-45), 23+24 (ll. 46-47), 24+25 (ll. 48-49), 25+26 (ll. 50-51), 35+36 (ll. 70-71), 39+40 (ll. 78-79), 40+41 (ll. 80-81), 47+48 (ll. 94-95), 48+49 (ll. 96-97), 52+53 (ll. 104-105), 53+54 (ll. 106-107), 54+55 (ll. 109-110), and 59+60 (ll. 118-119) (**40/59=68%**).

Note that many of the stanzas begin with ***cath***, which might provide a link.

F. f. is present between a stressed and an unstressed word\syllable: 2+3 (ll. 4-5), 5+6 (ll. 10-11), 10+11 (ll. 20-21), 43+44 (ll. 86-87), 44+45 (ll. 88-89), 58+59 (ll. 116-117) (6).

F. f. is present between an unstressed and a stressed syllable: 4+5 (ll. 8-9), 6+7 (ll. 12-13), 9+10 (ll. 18-19), 13+14 (ll. 26-27), 27+28 (ll. 54-55), 41+42 (ll. 82-83) (6).

F. f. is present between **g** and **c**: 4+5 (ll. 8-9), 6+7 (ll. 12-13), 8+9 (ll. 16-17), 27+28 (ll. 54-55), 51+52 (ll. 102-103) (5).

In 38+39 (ll. 76-77), if **Fallama(i)n** is not lenited after **ocus**, then *f. f.* is between a stressed and an unstressed word; if it is lenited, then *f. f.* is between a vowel and a lenited **f**.

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

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

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

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

Alliteration and *lorga*

1ST PART: alliteration is not present in the following lines: 1*ab*, 3*a*, 4*c*, 5*a*, 7*ab*, 9*b*, 11*b*, 13*a*, 14*d*, 15*ab*, 16*d*, 17*b*, 18*cd*, 19*a*, 20*c*, 21*ab*, 22*c*, 24*c*, 27*a*, 31*b*, 33*ab*, 34*d*, 35*b*, 36*d*, 37*a*, 38*cd*, 39*a*, 40*c*, 41*a*, 43*a*, 44*d*, 46*d*, 49*a*, 50*cd*, 51*a*, 53*a*, 63*a*, 64*d*, 65*a*, 66*cd*, 67*a*, 68*d*, 69*a*, 70*d*, 73*a*, 74*d*, 75*a*, 76*c*, 78*d*, 79*b*, 82*cd*, 83*a*, 85*a*, 87*a*, 88*d*, 89*a*, 91*ab*, 92*c*, 93*a*, 94*d*, 97*a*, 98*cd*, 99*b*, 100*c*, 101*a*, 102*c*, 103*a*, 105*a*, 107*a*, 109*a*, 111*a*, 112*c*, 117*a*, 120*c* (86).

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

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

In l. 75*b* we get alliteration if **Finnachta** is not lenited after ***ocus***; and *lorga* with 75*a* if it is lenited.

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

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

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

2ND PART: Alliteration is not present in the following lines: 122*d*, 123*b*, 124*d*, 126*c*, 127*b*, 128*c*, 130*c*, 131*b*, 132*cd*, 133*a*, 134*c*, 136*cd*, 137*a*, 138*d* (16).

Alliteration is not between the last two stressed words in 134*d* (1).

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

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

FIRST LONG LINE--1ST PART

Internal rhyme (3)

Dremne : demni (F4. 31)
fïal : dían (F4. 77)
Maige : gainne (F4. 83)

Aicill (4)

chalmu : clanna (F4. 1) (intended?)
cath : rath (F4. 25)
cerbb : Cerdd (F4. 95)
Fergal : ferad (F4. 101)

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

Úaitne (1)

fuiglech :. degrach (F4. 77)

Of the first long lines, F4. 77 has both *úaitne* and internal rhyme.

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

Aicill (25/60=42%)

-rādid : ārim (F4. 2)
brón : mór (F4. 4)
feraib : debaid (F4. 12)
Airb : airm (F4. 18)
tríath : īath (F4. 20)
Sremm : cend (F4. 24)
brón : mór (F4. 26)
mbríg : ríg (F4. 34)
forrān : Ollán (F4. 40)
garggním : ardríg (F4. 48)
dúir : Dúin (F4. 54)
ṅgarb : charn (F4. 60)
bíth : [Chrích] (F4. 66)
āebda : Āeda (F4. 70)
garggnīm : ardríg (F4. 78)
Finne : cinne (F4. 84)

cuman : rrubad (F4. 94)
Connacht : -comart (F4. 100)
Crūachan : ūathmar (F4. 106)
deróil : chen*eōil* (F4. 110)
londbarr : Domnall (F4. 118)
and : Fl*ann* (F4. 98)
badb : Garb (F4. 102)
ṅgarg : arg (F4. 108)
[ár] : án (F4. 114)

There is imperfect *aicill* between **chroba[i]ng** and **tor*ch*air** (F4. 30), **bladach** and **farcbad** (F4. 62) **cossair** and **tor*chair*** (F4. 80), **ṅgarglond** and **Albdon** (F4. 104), and **orddain** and **tor*chair*** (F4. 116). (5)

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

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

Úaitne (35/60=58%)

-rādid :. eōlaig (F4. 2)
cáemfir :. nEōgain (F4. 8)
Mena :. guba (F4. 16)
scenmnech :. buidnech (F4. 28)
caínid :. trēnaib (F4. 32)
dodaing :. Chonaill (F4. 38)
ága :. Āeda (F4. 44)
ṅgleë :. Roï (F4. 50)
ṅglanbail :. Congail (F4. 56)
bladach :. curach (F4. 62)
bodbai :. Charnai (F4. 68)
imrind :. Domnaill (F4. 74)
cossair :. Bresail (F4. 80)
comdīan :. nAirgīall (F4. 86)
corrach :. Cellach (F4. 90)
cuman :. nDanar (F4. 94)
baraind :. Colaim (F4. 112)
ārim :. ṅglúnib (F4. 120)
tossaig : fessin (F4. 6)
achri :. Eithne (F4. 10)
fera[i]nd :. sonaim (F4. 22)
chroba[i]ṅg :. Ailill (F4. 30)
imgand :. Domnall (F4. 36)
trebaind :. Coraind (F4. 42)
anble :. Subne (F4. 46)
Hēr*end* :. Cūaland (F4. 52)
feraind :. Conaing (F4. 58)
anfad :. Chonchath (F4. 64)
fūacra :. cētna (F4. 72)
imrall :. anmand (F4. 76)
Finne :. Caille (F4. 84)
árbach :. Rūadrach (F4. 88)
theichle :. aithbe (F4. 92)
borbgnīm :. Anbīth (F4. 96)
orddain :. Ardgair (F4. 116)

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

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

Note that **Chonchath** (F4. 63-64) and **Anbīth** (F4. 95-96) could also be spelt with final

-d (?), so we get regular rhyme here. See also Vol. II, p. 112: **2.1**.

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

Internal rhyme (31/60=52%)

trīathach : Fīach*rach* (F4. 6)
frāech : lāech (F4. 12)
scél : Bél (F4. 28)
mBrec : secht (F4. 34)
toga : Coba (F4. 42)
dlūthach : Tnūthgal (F4. 50)
Gōan : crón (F4. 56)
bét : *cét* (F4. 62)
bráth : Áth (F4. 68)
foroll : crodond (F4. 72)
glē : é (F4. 76)
fīal : Nīall/Níal[l] (F4. 82, 84)
cīan : trīan (F4. 94)
dál : ár (F4. 110)
eochair : Eoch*aid* (F4. 116)
clú : ū (F4. 8)
rīge : Sīge (F4. 22)
cráeb : Āed (F4. 30)
cāem : Āed (F4. 40)
ollband : Domnall (F4. 44)
áeb : Āed (F4. 52)
foglaid : Congail (F4. 58)
ōg : Rón (F4. 64)
ol[l]band : Domnall (F4. 70)
alt : m*a*c (F4. 74)
crūadach : būadach (F4. 80)
cuman : nUlad (F4. 86)
dīanblait : Dīarmait (F4. 98)
fāen : cáem (F4. 112)
luinde : Tuinne (F4. 118)

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

In F4. 36 there is imperfect rhyme between **ollgus** and **Forrgus**[1], in F4. 96 between **burbbu** and **Ulto**, in F4. 102 between **scaíl** and **Māel**, and in F4. 114 between **fargbad** and **Arad** (although see Note on p. 100).

A consonant from group **x** (**C^{h}**) rhymes with a consonant from group **l** (**C^{v}**) (Murphy, 1961: 33) in **dlūthach** and **Tnūthgal** (F4. 50).

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

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

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

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

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[1] On **<rg>** = **/rg/** in **Forrgus**, see MacNeill, 1913: 59 and Uhlich, 1993: 259-260.

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

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

SECOND LONG LINE--2ND PART

Internal rhyme (1/9=11%)

crūaid : fo-rūair (F4. 124)

Aicill (6/9=67%)

chomraind : Domnaill (F4. 124)
rrath : cath (F4. 128)
lim : cind (F4. 134)
thimm : cind (F4. 126)
chill : cind (F4. 132)
seng : chend (F4. 138)

F4. 124 is the only line which has both internal rhyme and *aicill*.

Úaitne (2/9=22%)

mallacht :. Connacht (F4. 122)
anmain :. imguin (F4. 136)

Where *úaitne* is not present, *aicill* is always present, with the exception of F4. 130.

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

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

Analysis of rhyming consonant clusters (using Ó Cuív's classification--1966: 94-103; 1987: 109; see also SMF, Vol. II, pp. 111-112: **2.**)

1. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L + ^{h} (rules 1, 2, 3):
$L^{v}P^{h}$--$C^{v}P^{h}$; $L^{v}P^{h}$--$C^{h}P^{h}$; $C^{h}P^{h}$--$L^{v}P^{h}$; $C^{h}P^{h}$--$C^{v}P^{h}$

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

2. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C/L + ^{h} (rules 2 and 3): $C^{h}L^{v}$--$C^{h}C^{v}$; $L^{v}C^{h}$--$C^{v}C^{h}$; $C^{h}C^{v}$--$C^{h}C^{v}$; $L^{v}C^{h}$--$L^{v}C^{h}$; $C^{h}C^{v}$--$C^{h}L^{v}$; $C^{v}C^{h}$--$C^{v}C^{h}$; $C^{v}C^{h}$--$L^{v}C^{h}$

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

3. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2):
$C^{v}C^{v}$--$C^{v}C^{v}$; $L^{v}C^{v}$--$C^{v}C^{v}$; $C^{v}C^{v}$--$L^{v}L^{v}$; $L^{v}C^{v}$--$C^{v}L^{v}$; $C^{v}C^{v}$--$L^{v}C^{v}$

Ailbe : Adni (F4. 19-20) (e. r.)
cumne : Subne (F4. 45-46) (e. r.)
omnus : Congus (F4. 59-60) (e. r.)
degrach : Temrach (F4. 77-78) (e. r.)
Dremne : demni (F4. 31) (i. r.)
foglaid : Congail (F4. 58) (i. r.)
magdai : Charnai (F4. 67-68) (e. r.)
ollband : Domnall (F4. 44, 70) (i. r.)
chomland : nDomnall (F4. 35-36) (e. r.)
cnedmar : Fergal (F4. 53-54) (e. r.)
comlaind : Domnaill (F4. 73-74) (e. r.)
ūamnach : Rūadrach (F4. 87-88) (e. r.)
badb : Garb (F4. 102) (*a.*)
ollgail : Congail (F4. 55-56) (e. r.)
londbarr : Domnall (F4. 118) (*a.*)
ŋgarb : charn (F4. 60) (*a.*)
ollguirm : Domnuill (F4. 39-40) (e. r.) (medial consonants)
ndr*u*mnech : buidnech (F4. 27-28) (e. r.)
Domnaill : Chomgaill (F4. 113-114) (e. r.)
imgand :. chomland\nDomnall (F4. 35-36)
imrind :. comlaind\Domnaill (F4. 73-74)
ŋglanbail :. Congail (F4. 56)
árbach :. ūamnach\Rūadrach (F4. 87-88)
fuiglech :. degrach\Temrach (F4. 77-78)
Airb : airm (F4. 18) (*a.*)[1]
imrall :. anmand (F4. 76)
ŋglanbail :. ollgail (F4. 55-56)
bodbai :. Charnai (F4. 68)
bodbai :. magdai (F4. 67-68)
comdīan :. nAirgīall (F4. 86)

[1] Provided that **<b>** = **[v]**.

4. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L (rules 1 and 2):

C^vP^v--C^vP^v; P^vC^v--P^vC^v

orgga(i)n : Colga(i)n (F4. 65-66) (e. r.)
cuindeilg : Muindeirgg (F4. 69-70) (e. r.)
fūacra :. cētna (F4. 72)
cerbb : cerdd (F4. 95) (*a.*)
ngarg : arg (F4. 108) (*a.*)
orddain :. Arddaig (F4. 115-116)

5. One consonant corresponds to two consonants

a) A consonant from class **l** (**C^v**) or **L** (**L^v**) is added:

C^vL^v--L^v; L^vP^h--P^h; C^vC^v--C^v; P^vC^v--P^v; C^hC^v--C^h; L^v--C^vC^v; P^v--P^vC^v; L^vP^v--P^v ?

ollguirm : Domnuill (F4. 39-40) (e. r.) (final consonants) **alt : m*ac*** (F4. 74) (i. r.)
chalmu : clanna (F4. 1) (*a.*)
cāemna : Āeda (F4. 105-106) (e. r.)
āebda : Āeda (F4. 70) (*a.*)
Crūachan : ūathmar (F4. 106) (*a.*)
dlūthach : Tnūthgal (F4. 50) (i. r.)
oäic : Roäilt (F4. 103-104) (e. r.)[2]
Hēr*end* :. lūamland (F4. 51-52)
lūamland : Cūaland (F4. 51-52) (e. r.)
Fergal : ferad (F4. 101) (*a.*)
ēta : cētna (F4. 71-72) (e. r.)
trīathach : Fīach*rach* (F4. 6) (i. r.)
saindían : nAirgīall (F4. 85-86) (e. r.)[1]
ēta :. fūacra (F4. 71-72)
comdīan :. saindían (F4. 85-86)

b) A consonant from class **x** (**C^h**) is added: C^hP^h--P^h

mBrec : secht (F4. 34) (i. r.)

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

a) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2): $C^vC^vC^v$--C^vL^v; $C^vC^vC^v$--C^vC^v; C^vC^v--$L^vC^vC^v$?; $C^vL^vC^v$--L^vC^v; $C^vL^vC^v$--C^vC^v; $C^vC^vC^v$--L^vC^v

fodbrand : anmand (F4. 75-76) (e. r.)
nglanbríg : Anbīth (F4. 95-96) (e. r.)
scenmnech :. ndr*u*mnech (F4. 27-28)
anble :. cumne\Subne (F4. 45-46)
dīanblait : Dīarmait (F4. 98) (i. r.)
flandbríg : Garbíth (F4. 101-102) (e. r.)[3]
scenmnech :. buidnech (F4. 28)
imrall :. fodbrand (F4. 75-76)

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

C^vP^v--$C^vP^vC^v$; $C^vP^vC^v$--$C^vP^vC^v$

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

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[1] Note that here and in **comdīan :. saindían** (F4. 85-86), **nd = nn**.

[2] Provided that **<t> = [d]** here.

[3] Provided that **<b> = [v]** here.

garggním : ardríg (F4. 48, 78) (*a.*)[4]

Section 2

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

C^vC^v--C^vC^v; C^vC^v--L^vC^v; C^vL^v--C^vC^v; C^vL^v--L^vC^v

chomraind : Domnaill (F4. 124) (i. r.)

derbaid : Ergair (F4. 127-128) (e. r.) ?[2]

inmain : imguin (F4. 135-136) (e. r.)

anmain :. inmain (F4. 136)

anmain :. imguin (F4. 136)

2. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C/L + ^{h} (rules 2 and 3): C^hC^v--C^hC^v

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

3. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L + ^{h} (rules 1, 2, 3):

C^hP^h--C^hP^h

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

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

Elision (1st part)

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

b) Dropping of the initial vowel of an unstressed word (prep. + poss. pron.\article; preverb): F4. 2*c* (after a vowel; indicated in spelling).

No dropping required: F4. 12*d* (beginning of short line), F4. 37*b* (beginning of short line, not indicated in spelling), F4. 60*d*.

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

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

[2] Provided that **<g>** = [ɣ] here.

Elision (2nd part)

a) Unstressed short vowel preceded by another vowel: two examples. In both of these, elision is required by the metre (F4. 126*d*, 129*b*). (2/2=100%)

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

Dúnad

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

b) 2nd part: the first letter of the very first word of the poem is the same as the last letter of the closing one: **aní--Macha**. (See Vol. II, p. 129: **5.3**.)

TEXT

Aní do-rōnsat do chalmu clanna Eōgain
cīa 'me-rādid ní ētat a ārim eōlaig.

Inn eōl dúib cath Slēbe Cuä clú co certa
mebaid cen brón rīa Murchertach mór m*ac* Erca.

Is[1] cath Ocha for Ail*il*l Molt is mó gessib
trīathach tossaig[2] i torchair h*ūa* Fīach*rach* fessin.

Ocus cath Gránne for Findchath fēgait eōlaig
rīa Mur*chertach* co clú cáemfir rīa n-ū nEōgain.

C*ath* Cell Osnaid for slūag(o) Muman is mó sechme
i tor*chair* Ōengus co n-achri *ocus* Eithne.

Ocus c*ath* Inde for Illa(i)nd i mbíth glanfer
frāech for feraib isin debaid fri lāech Lagen.

Is c*ath* Delgga c*ath* Mucrama ba mór glondalt
c*ath* i Tūaim Drubi dīa ndrengat for slúag Connacht.

Is c*ath* Segsa i tor*chair* Duach[3] Tenga Uma
mebaid rīa Murchertach Mena ba mór guba.

[Ocus][4] c*ath* Cūli c*ath* Dromma trōeta flathi
c*ath* i mMaig Airb *ocus* in c*ath* i n-airm Ache[5].

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[1] ocus *LL*

[2] tossach *LL*

[3] *See Note on p. 91.*

[4] is *LL*

[5] i nArd Machi *LL*

C*ath* Almaini c*ath* Chind Eich *ocus* c*ath* Ailbe
ro bris in tríath *ocus* in c*ath* i n-Īath Adni.

Is c*ath* Dētna i tor*chair* Ardgal m*ac* Conaill
rīge fera[i]nd la cath Átha Sīge sonaim.

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

Certfichi cath (i)s a dó ro rath rēle rec[h]ta
ro briss cen brón [ría] Mur*chertach* mór m*ac* Erca.

C*ath* Slicige rīa Forggus[1] rīa nDomnall ndr*u*mnech
nī scél scenmnech i tor*chair* Eōgan Bél buidnech.

C*ath* Cūli Conairi i Cera rīana fairind[2]
crāeb ch[á]em chroba[i]ng i tor*chair* Āed *ocus* Ailill.

C*ath* Cūle Dremne for Dīarmait demni scélaib
i tor*chair trícha* cét caínid dona trēnaib.

Is c*ath* Mōna Daire Lothair co llín Chruthne[3]
['s][4] Āed mBrec co mbríg do-cersat and secht ríg Cruthne.

C*ath* Gabra Lifi for Lagniu immaid chomland
ollgus imgand mebaid rīa Forggus[5] rīa nDomnall.

C*ath* Slemna rīa Col*mān* Rímid [in]na roraind
and ba dodaing do chenīul Eōgain *is* Chonaill.

---

[1] Fergus *LL*

[2] fairind *LL*

[3] *See Note on p. 92.*

[4] im *LL*

[5] Fergus *LL*

Is c*ath* Slabri for Brandub m*ac* Ech*ach* ollguirm
cāem in forrān ro briss Āed Ollán m*ac* Domnuill.

C*ath* Slēbe Tūad rīa Subne M*en*d for claind Conaill
toga trebaind i tor*chair* Māel Coba Coraind.

C*ath* Rātha Both rīa Subne beōs rodas brōena
ollband ága mebaid for Domnall m*ac* Āeda.

C*ath* for Cummascach rīa Crundmáel cētaib cumne
for m*ac* Aile*l*la cen anble rīa m*ac* Subne.

Ocus Conall m*ac* lond Longsig réil a rēimend
robo garggním i rrubad m*ac* ardríg Hēr*end*.

C*ath* Slēbe Fúait rīa Fergal dos fanair foï[1]
dlūthach ngleë i mbíth Tnūthgal is Cú Roï.

C*ath* Findabrach for lāechraid Lagen na lūamland
áeb na Hēr*end* i mbíth Āed m*ac* Cell*aig* Cūaland.

C*ath* i tor*chair* Inrechtach argg Connacht cnedmar
m*ac* Dúnchaid dúir la m*ac* Māel[e] Dúin la Fergal.

C*ath* in Oscair rīa nĀed Ollān cosinn ollgail
i tor*chair* Fland Gōan co nglanbail m*ac* crón Congail.

C*ath* Maige Ítha rīa nĀed for clanna Conaill
foglaid feraind i rrubad m*ac* Congail Conaing[2].

C*ath* for Airgīallo i fích Fīachrach nāro omnus

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[1] foí *LL*

[2] ing *is made on* ll

ba guba(n) ngarb dīa rubad oco charn Congus.

C*ath* Insi Áne for slúago Alban ulach
ba bét bladach i farcbad lucht trí *cét*[1] curach.

C*ath* Focharta for coímu in Chóicid nād chromthar
ōg int anfad i rrubad Āed Rón is Chonchath.

Is c*ath* Uchbath for lāechraid Lagen lín orgga(i)n
Bran and ro bíth [Dub Dá Chrích] *is* Āed m*ac* Colga(i)n.

C*ath* Frāechmaige is cath Átha Medōin magdai
ba bráth bodbai ced in cath oc Áth Dā Charnai.

C*ath* Irchara la Māel Dūin nād charad cuindeilg
ol[l]band āebda for Domnall m*ac* Āeda Muindeirgg.

C*ath* Clóitige rīa nĀed Ordnide ro ēta
foroll fūacra forsin Domnall crodond cētna.

C*ath* Dromma Ríg rīa nĀed for claind Colmāin comlaind
co n-alt imrind i torc*r*atar dā m*a*c Domnaill.

Dīarmait Odor *ocus* Fīnnachta na fodbrand
glē [a] n-imrall [is] derb roptar é a n-anmand.

Ocus Fallama(i)n fīal fuiglech ba dían degrach
ropo garggnīm inro bíth m*ac* ardríg Temrach.

C*ath* Sailt*e*re rīa Murchad mūad ba mó g*r*esaib[2]
crūadach cossair i tor*chair* Māel būadach Bresail.

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[1] *The gen. of* trí *was followed by nasalisation in OIr (Greene: 1992: 507), and this is why I have expanded .c. as* cét.

[2] g*r*ésaib *LL*

C*ath* for Danaru i nDaire Chalggaig nād chumthar
fīal in tairchel[l] mebaid rīa Nīall is rīa Murchad.

C*ath* Maige Ítha for Gullo co ngnīm gainne
flaith fīal Finne rodas cinne Níal[l] cían Caille.

C*ath* Leithe in Chaimm rīa Níal[l] *Cail*le na slúag saindían
cuman comdīan for rīg nUlad for ríg nAirgīall.

At-rullai ass rí Ul*ad* m*ac* Ech*ach* ūamnach
rīg Airgīall ule i n-árbach acht m*ac* Rūadrach.

Ro bítha and trī m*ei*c Cathail cētaib cennach
Cummascach, Congalach corrach *ocus* Cellach.

C*ath* rīa nĀed Findlīath for Gullo i nGlind Aichle
co rrabatar fó sár theichle īarna aithbe.

[Ba] amnas cath Locha Febail rīa nĀed arad
cīan bas cuman i rrubad dā trīan na nDanar.

Andso in cath cerbb for Conaillib Cerdd co nglanbríg
burbbu borbgnīm mebaid for Ulto is for Anbīth.

Doidngiu in cath i Cill Ūa nDaigri andá cech dodaing
cen dīanblait and Dīarmait *ocus* Fl*ann* m*ac* Conaing.

C*ath* Gulbain Guirt rīa Nīall nGlūndub ní gnīm sruthe
ríg[a] Connacht cáem dos-comart im Māel Cluche.

C*ath* Maige Ūatha rīa Fergal ferad flandbríg
and ro scaíl badb dīa rrubad Māel Garb m*ac* Garbíth.

C*ath* rīa m*ac* Néill i mBairind i mbītha oäic

ríg Gall (na) ngarglond Aufer [is] Albdon m*ac* Roäilt.

C*ath* rīa Murchad for Connachtu cen nach cāemna
Cathal Crūachan i mbīth is m*ac* ūathmar Āeda.

C*ath* Formāili rīam for Conall Clōen cen chīsu
(is) for slūag Gall ngarg i rrubad arg Māel ard Ísu.

C*ath* Maige Nathrach rīa nGlún i lLār ōs Logaill[1]
nī dál deróil i farcbad ár chen*eōi*l Chonaill.

C*ath* Maige Glaiss rīa n-ú Néill for clanda Conaill
fāen fūa baraind ūa cáem Conaing Gilla Colaim.

C*ath* i n-īath Ul*ad* rīa Murcherdach m*ac* Domnaill
i fargbad [ár] slūag Arad án īar crád Chomgaill.

C*ath* Craíbe Telcha for Ultu rīa nĀed Arddaig
eochair orddain i tor*chair* Eoch*aid* m*ac* Ardgair.

Ocus Cū Dulig a m*ac* is Garbīth glondchar
luinde londbarr Dub Tuinne, Domnall is Dondchad.

Na catha dēdencha dremna a Dé dúlig
i torc*r*atar fir cen(a n-)ārim fora nglúnib.

C*ath* Trāc[h]ta Eōthaili ārmid céim cen chorracht
ro bris Ardga(i)r ūa na mallacht for slúag Connacht.

C*ath* Maige Lēnai na llūrech rīa slúag Ailig

[1] Lógaill *LL*

crūaid in chomraind fo-*r*ūair m*ac* Domnaill a aidid.

C*ath* Corre Cullen na cūanart for claind Conaill
nocorbo thimm ro deligthe a cind rīa colaind.

C*ath* Maige Lēnai ro lamad ba leōr derbaid
Domnall co rrath ro briss in cath oc Āth Ergair.

C*ath* Craind C*r*ichid rīa Feraib na Craībe at-chūala
for Feraib Luirg ro brissed ropo chūaird chūanna.

In rūac i mMaig Adar úane rīa n-óa Lachlaind
(ní) rīachtatar chill ro bātar cind īarna n-athraind.

Olc ro bātar Gaill in dūne a Dé demin
nocorb olc lim a mbeith cind ar chind ros tenid.

C*ath* Cind Chorad rīa nDomnall m*ac* Ardgair inmain
i torc*r*atar fir cen anmain isind imguin.

C*ath* for Ulto rīa m*ac* m*ei*c Lochlaind ind lacha
Dond Slēbe seng tucad a chend co hArd Macha. A.

NOTES

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

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

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

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

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

F4. 11. The i in for Illa(i)nd must be a scribal error. According to O'Brien, 1973: 225, Illann was originally an n-stem noun (gen. Illandon), but see gen. Illaind in Binchy, 1975: 14.368, 382. The form Illaind can only be interpreted as the gen. of an o-stem here--however, after the preposition for one would expect Illand (acc.\dat. of an o-stem or the short dat. of an n-stem), or Illandain (acc. of an n-stem). *D ii 2* has Illand (*Lc* has Ailil*l* here).

F4. 15. We could read Duach either as a monosyllable or a disyllable. (In the latter case the *caesura* would have to come after Duach.) For this reason, I print it as Duach and not as Dūach or Duäch. MacNeill has the following note on this word: "The O. I. nom. *Duï* must have been known to Flann. The dative Duaich, two syllables, is in III. 3 [=F3. 3]." Here the originally gen. form is used as nom. On this phenomenon in original consonantal stems, see Vol. II, p. 44: **3.14 b**).

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

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

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

F4. 24. There is one syllable in excess in this line. MacNeill and *LL* suggest that we read

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

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

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

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

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

F4. 30. Both the editors of *LL* and MacNeill suggest that we emend chem to cháem\chóem, and I have accepted this suggestion.
LL proposes the reading chroba[i]ng (gen. sg., 'family') for chrobang, which can thus make *úaitne* with Ailill; so we can get the required ornamentation to mark the *caesura*.

F4. 33-34. MacNeill notes that both lines end in the word Cruthne, 'Picts'. As words which have the same form as well as the same meaning are normally not allowed to rhyme with

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

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

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

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

MacNeill has the following note here: "The next stanza is preceded by a special sign. A somewhat similar sign precedes the earlier stanza beginning with *Cath Slicige*. These signs seem to indicate the termination of the lists of victories won (1) by Murchertach Macc Erca, (2) by his sons Forggus and Domnall." (1913: 60).

F4. 37. There is one syllable missing in this line. MacNeill (although with a question-mark) and *LL* suggest that we read inna roraind instead of na roraind. This would fit in well with the 4+8\8+4 syllable pattern, so I have accepted their suggestion.
In the MS the i is added subscript in roraind. This is also noted by the editors of *LL*.

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

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

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

F4. 49. The words *Cath* Slēbe Fúait rīa Fergal are repeated at the bottom of the page in the MS, although probably in a different, later hand. This is not noted in *LL*.
dos fanair foï--This is a problematic phrase. To me dos fanair looks like a verbal form. MacNeill does not translate this phrase and this is the only example given in *DIL* under ?do-fanair. I have the following tentative suggestion to make: 1. This could be the present passive form of the verb anaid with an inorganic f, alliterating with foï. Although in OIr the pres. pass. ending without a -th- was restricted to strong verbs (Thur. §578), in MIr this spread to some weak verbs as well (*SNG*: 297: 12.21). 2. The sequence dos could be explained by the confusion of the preverbal particles no\do\ro (*SNG*: 280: 11.4, 11.5) (however, I have no certain example of this confusion in the poems I have examined). I suggest that here do could stand for no, and is used here to infix a pronoun--note that in MIr even the passive forms of

the verb could take an infixed pron. (*SNG*: 289: 11.40). However, even the suggestions above have not made it possible for me to be able to translate or interpret this phrase.

F4. 49-50. MacNeill notes that we should read foï, ṅgleë and Roï as disyllables.

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

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

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

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

F4. 61. In the MS a diminutive o is superscript in slúago. This is also noted by the editors

of *LL*. *Cf.* the Note on F4. 9, p. 90.

F4. 65-66. MacNeill and *LL* suggest that we read orggan (gen. pl.) for orggain. I believe one would expect a noun in the gen. pl. after lín, and orggain could only be acc.\dat. sg. of orgun, orcun, ā, f, so I have accepted their suggestion.
MacNeill and *LL* also suggest that we emend Colgain to Colgan in order to get the historical genitive of Colcu, Colgu--this follows from the previous emendation, as otherwise we would not get the end-rhyme with orgga(i)n. I believe that here the scribe substituted the new, o-stem type gen. for the consonantal stem gen. in an originally masc. consonantal stem (for other examples of the same phenomenon, see Vol. II, p. 44: **3.14 b**).
There are two syllables (reading 7 as *ocus*) or three syllables (reading 7 as *is*) missing in F4. 66. On the basis of *AU* 737 MacNeill suggests that we supply Dub Da Crích (*LL* Notes: Dub Dá Chrích--note that historically one would expect lenition after gen. dá--Greene: 1992: 506); in this case read 7 as *is*. The suggested emendation will give us *aicill* between bíth and Chrích, thus we will get the required marker of the *caesura*.

F4. 72. MacNeill has ūacra for *LL* fūacra. However, the f here is an organic one (Thur. §725). Moreover, MacNeill's version spoils the alliteration. Both the MS and the Facsimile have fūacra.
MacNeill has the following note on crodond: "note that while *cró* as monosyllable becomes long, it has a short vowel in the compound, *crodonn : foroll*" (1913: 61). See also Bergin, 1938: 136.

F4. 76. There are two syllables missing in this line. The *LL* notes suggest that we read glé [a] n-imrall and [is] derb, ascribing these emendations to MacNeill, although they are not to be found in his edition. Another possibility would be to read glē as a disyllable, gleë. (Both glé and gleë would be the substantivised adj. glé, meaning
'clearing'--see *DIL*.) The reading gle[ë] n-imrall could be supported by the fact that a disyllabic gen. form, fixed by *úaitne*, occurs in this poem in l. 50 (n̄gleë :. Roï); and the nasalisation in this phrase could be due to the fact that this is a cheville (see also Vol. II, p. 32: **II g**). However, with this reading the internal rhyme between glé and é would be lost, and as otherwise 30 second couplets have internal rhyme in this poem (see p. 77), I believe that the suggestion made by the editors of *LL* would be preferable here.

F4. 77. On the basis of the gen. Follamain in *AU* 796, MacNeill emends Fallamain to Fallaman. O'Brien (1962: 626) has "Fallamain, see Allamain", Follaman, Folloman, and Follamain (Follomon) on p. 654. The metre does not provide any help here.

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

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

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

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

F4. 93. There is one syllable missing in this line. I suggest that we read ba (or is) amnas etc., as this would restore the 8+4 structure of the line. MacNeill notes the problem, but neither he nor *LL* propose any emendation.
Note that arad appears with a lower-case initial in *DIL* under 3 ara, and is referred to as an 'appositional gen.'. *LL* capitalises this word, while MacNeill does not. *AU* 866 refers to Āed as 'Āedh m. Neill'--that is, without a sobriquet. I have followed MacNeill and *DIL* here.

F4. 95. MacNeill capitalises cerdd, while *LL* does not. Hogan (1910: 288) has Conaillib Cerd as a headword, so Cerdd must be part of the name of the population group. Hogan identifies them with the Conaille Muirthemne. *AU* 864 has "i tír Conailli Cerd", which the editors translate as "in the territory of [the descendants of] Conall the Craftsman".

F4. 97. There must be two elisions in this line: one between doidṅgiu and in, and the other between nDaigri and andá in order to get the correct number of syllables. The *caesura* can only come after an unstressed word, i here (for other examples, see Vol. II, p. 108: **1.2 c**); another possibility would be to put it after nDaigri, but I have no definite example of elision across a *caesura*\two lines.

F4. 99. MacNeill suggests that we read Gulban instead of Gulbain. This must be an example of the old consonantal stem genitive being taken as nominative, and being given an o-stem gen. I see no reason for emending this line, as this phenomenon does occur elsewhere, too. For other examples, see Vol. II, pp. 44: **3.14 b**).

Cath Gulbain Guirt is a problematic expression. MacNeill takes guirt as the gen. sg. masc.? of the adj. goirt, i, 'bitter, sharp', and translates it as 'the battle of harsh [Benn] Gulban'. However, the editors of *LL* capitalise goirt as if it was part of a proper name; cf. *DIL* "dh'iarsmadh shluaghaidh Ghulban Guirt (*sic. leg.*) *for the descendants of the host of Gulba Guirt*, Luc. Fid. 389.10", cited under gulba, and Hogan, 1910: 452: "cath occ Gulbain Guirt for Connachtaib" *FM ii 580* and "i nGulpain Guirt, Tl. 120". Hogan identifies this place-name with Benn Gulban, Benbulbin in co. Sligo. According to MacNeill (1913: 68), this battle between Níall and Máel Cluche is mentioned in *AU* 912 (=*AU* 913), but the place itself is not named. Perhaps in view of the examples cited from *DIL* and Hogan above, it may be better to take Guirt as a part of the place-name.

F4. 100. There is a syllable missing in this line, which MacNeill and *LL* emend by changing ríg to ríg[a]. I have accepted this suggestion, as this will give us *aicill* between Connacht and comart, so we will have the required marker of the *caesura*.

F4. 103-104. Read oäic and Roäilt as disyllables in order to get the required 12 syllables and the disyllabic line ending. We have the correct number of syllables in l. 104 the way it appears in *LL*; however, the customary *caesura* after the 4th or the 8th syllable seems to be missing in this line. As in the poems written in this metre that I have examined we do get the *caesura* in all the second long lines, I believe that this line must be corrupt. I suggest that we omit na between Gall and ŋgarglond and insert [is] between Aufer and Albdon; in this way we not only get the required *caesura*, but also imperfect *aicill* between ŋgarglond and Albdon--and this would be required here to mark the *caesura*. Note also that in the MS there is a fullstop after ŋgarglond, which is a scribal device used occasionally for marking the place of the *caesura* (the same happens, for example, in F2. 4, 20, 54 and F4. 64, 108--all marked in the diplomatic edition of *LL*).

F4. 108. MacNeill and *LL* suggest that we read for slūag nGall ŋgarg for for slūag Gall ŋgarg, "unless the preceding *g* has had a euphonic counteraction" (MacNeill, 1913: 62). I think that there are two possibilities here: this is either the dat., so the n is not needed at all,

or this is the acc. with the mark of nasalisation omitted between two consonants, to which MacNeill seems to allude. For other examples of the omission of nasalisation, see Vol. II, p. 29-31: **2.30**.

The line contains an extra syllable. MacNeill suggests that we either elide the vowel of is after chīsu in F4. 107, or we might read i mbíth instead of i rrubad. The problem with the first solution is that I have no definite example of elision across a *caesura*\two lines (see Vol. II, p. 128: **4.8**)--still, I believe that we could read (i)s here, as I have other examples of 's at the beginning or in the middle of a line (see Vol. II, p. 127: **4.4 a**). Another solution would be to omit is altogether. At any rate, these solutions would mean less interference with the text than replacing i rrubad with i mbíth. Also note that in the MS there is a fullstop after ŋgarg, which is a scribal device used occasionally for marking the *caesura* (for other examples, see Note on F4. 103-104, pp. 103-104). This will give us the required metrical marker of the *caesura* (in this case, *aicill*). Also note that if we do not omit is and read i mbíth instead of i rrubad, the *caesura* would have to come after arg, which would thus make *aicill* with ard; however, in these poems *aicill* can only mark the *caesura* in the second couplet if line *c* is quadrasyllabic (see Vol. II, p. 108: **1.2 b**), which would not be the case with this particular emendation.

F4. 109. MacNeill notes that the lengthmark on Lógaill (:Chonaill) is not correct and should be deleted. MacNeill takes Logaill to be a place-name; however, he notes that in *AU* 973-974 the engagement is said to be at Dún Clóitige (1913: 68). This supposed place-name is not listed in Hogan. Taking the lengthmark as an n-stroke does not solve the problem either.

This line seems to be peculiar in that one has to make the *caesura* in the middle of a closely knit semantic unit, i.e., in the middle of a name. Note that the *caesura* has to come after an unstressed word in this line (see Vol. II, p. 108: **1.2 c**).

F4. 112. The editors of *LL* note that in the MS and the Facsimile there seems to be an abbreviation stroke over the f in fūa, which they do not expand. I do not think that this is an abbreviation stroke in the MS; it looks much more like a slip of the quill. Mac Neill, who worked from the Facsimile, has for ūa, which gives a syllable too many, so he suggests the possibility of reading fua = foa with a question-mark. I believe that this is the prep. fo, 'under', and the possessive pronoun a.

F4. 113. The usual *caesura* after the 4th or the 8th syllable is not observed in this line. Note

that the poet had to accommodate two personal names and the name of a population group here. For other examples, see Vol. II, p. 108: **1.2 d**.

F4. 114. There is one syllable missing in this line. MacNeill suggests the reading Araidi (?) (= Dál nAraidi) for Arad, or ár slūag n-Arad n-án. If we accept the first solution, then the *caesura* would have to come after án, and it would be marked by *aicill* between án and crád. However, in these poems *aicill* can only mark the *caesura* in the second couplet if line *c* is quadrasyllabic (see Vol. II, p. 108: **1.2 b**), which would not be the case here. On the other hand, MacNeill's second suggestion would make it possible to have *aicill* between ár and án, in which case *c* would be quadrasyllabic.

F4. 117. Note that the way this line appears in *LL*, the *caesura* must come after an unstressed word here. However, if one reads is Cū Dulig for ocus Cū Dulig, and ocus Garbīth for is Garbīth, then the *caesura* will come after Dulig, a stressed word. See also Vol. II, p. 108: **1.2 c**.

F4. 120. There is one extra syllable in this line. MacNeill suggests that we read cen árim or omit fir, which is added above the line in the MS (this is also noted in *LL*). Unfortunately, metrical ornamentation will not help here. I have opted for the first solution.

F4. 122. MacNeill suggests that we read Ardgar instead of Ardgair. The latter form seems to be the gen. which occurs in F4. 116 and 135. For nom. sg. see O'Brien, 1962: 511; for inflexion, Uhlich, 1993: 165.

F4. 126. MacNeill has rīa a colaind (with elision of the poss. pron.) for *LL* MS and Facsimile rīa colaind. rīa either stands for frīa (fri + poss. pron.) (acc. to *DIL*, deiligidir takes fri (le, re)--the only OIr example cited has fri), or for the preposition ría. Note that the line makes sense both with and without the poss. pron., and so both of the above-mentioned interpretations are possible.

F4. 132. There is one syllable in excess in this line. MacNeill suggests (with a question-mark) that we omit ro. However, in this case the *caesura* should come either after rīachtatar or cind. This means that we would not get the required marker of the *caesura* (here *aicill* between cill and Cind). I would suggest that we omit ní and put the *caesura* after chill, as in this way we

can get the required *aicill*. In this case ríachtatar could be analysed as the pret.\perf. pl. 3 prototonic form of ro-saig, used for the deuterotonic one (I have two examples in these poems of prot. used for deut. in verbs where the original prot. form began in r-; see Vol. II, p. 79: **12.5 c**). Of course, this emendation would change the meaning of the line ('they reached' instead of 'they did not reach'). It might also be possible to read ní ríachtar, which would also give us the correct number of syllables and the *aicill--SNG*: 303: 12.49 lists two examples of the ending -tar used instead of -tatar in verbs which have a t-pret, and one of them is the perf. pl. 3 of ro-saig: co rūactar from *Saltair na Rann*. However, as there are no examples of the form ríachtar in *DIL* or in *SNG*, I have opted for the first suggestion, even though I do not find it entirely satisfactory because of the change in meaning referred to above.

TRANSLATION

(based on MacNeill, 1913: 63-70)

What Eógan's descendants have done of valiant deeds,
although you mention [them], the learned men cannot recount [them].

Do you know the battle of Slíab Cúa--certain fame--,
that was won without sorrow by great Muirchertach, the son of Erc?

And the battle of Ocha over Ailill Molt--greater than spells--,
--a nobleman of precedence--, in which fell Fíachra's grandson himself.

And the battle of Gránne over Findchath which learned men examine,
[won] by Murchertach with a goodly man's renown, by Eógan's grandson.

The battle of Cenn Losnado over Munster's army[1]--what we mention most[2]--,
where fell Óengus the keen and Eithne.

And the battle of Inde over Illand, in which a brave man was slain;
men raged in the strife against the hero of the Leinstermen.

And the battle of Delgg?, the battle of Mucrama--it was great prowess[3]
--,
the battle in Túaim Drubi, where they trample[4] on the army of the
Connachtmen.

And the battle of Segais where Dáui Tenga Uma fell,
it was won by Murchertach of Min, it caused great wailing.

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[1] See Note on p. 90.

[2] is mó sechme: I believe that *DIL* is mistaken when it lists sechme (with a question-mark) under sechem, the vn. of seichithir. Prof. Breatnach has suggested that this could be the 1st pl. pres. ind. of the verb sichid/sechid.

[3] This is *DIL*'s translation of glondalt, which appears with a question-mark under the compounds of glond.

[4] dïa ndrengat: *DIL*: `when they overcome'; under dringid.

And the battle of Cúl, the battle of Druimm--lords were vanquished,
a battle in Mag nAirb, and the battle of Ache's place?[1].

The battle of Almu, the battle of Cenn Eich, and the battle of Ailbe,
that the [same] lord won, and the battle in the land of Aidne[2].

And the battle of Détna, where fell Ardgal son of Conall;
kingship of land, [won?] by the battle of Áth Síge which I proclaim.

The bitter battle of Slíab Éblinne lost by the nobles[3] of Munster
(and) by Echaid Sremm, where many heads of heroes were left.

Precisely twenty battles and two--clearness of record has been granted[4]
--,
great Murchertach mac Erca won without sorrow.

The battle of Sligo, won by Forggus and by ringletted Domnall
--it is no babbling? tale--, where fell Eógan Bél, who was rich in troops.

The battle of Cúl Chonairi in Cera, won by their[5] following,
where Áed and Ailill fell, the comely branch of a family.

The battle of Cúl Dremne over Díarmait--most certain of stories[6]--,
where fell thirty hundred--bewail [them]![7]--of the valiant ones.

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[1] See Note on p. 91.

[2] or `of the Aidni'?

[3] mathe: lit. `the good ones'

[4] ro rath rēle rec[h]ta is cited in *DIL* under the perf. pass. of ernaid.

[5] See Note on p. 92.

[6] demni scélaib: `surest of tidings' *DIL*

[7] One can either take caínid to be a cheville (this is what MacNeill does, and I have followed his translation here), or another possibility would be to treat it as a relative (without no), `whom you bewail'.

And the battle of Móin Daire Lothair, with a multitude of the Picts;
there fell seven kings of the Picts [and] Áed Brec of honour.[1]

The battle of Gabair Lifi over the Leinstermen of many encounters[2]
--a very rare, great deed--, was won by Forggus and Domnall.

The battle of Slemain won by Colmán Rímid in his great share?[3];
it was hard there for the race of Eógan and Conall.[4]

And the battle of Slabre over Brandub, the son of very splendid Eochu,
precious is the assault which Áed Ollán, the son of Domnall won.

The battle of Slíab Túad won by Suibne Menn over Conall's race,
where fell Máel Chobo of Corann, a choice hero[5].

The battle or Ráith Both by Suibne also, who has scattered them[6],
was won over Domnall, the son of Áed--a great exploit of war.

A battle against Cummascach won by Crunnmáel, with hundreds of memories,
against Ailill's son without excess, won by Suibne's son.

And Conall, the fierce son of Loingsech--clear are his doings[7]--,
it was a fierce deed when the son of Ireland's high-king was slain.

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[1] See Note on p. 92.

[2] for Laigniu / immaid chomland--or cheville: `a full strife'--if one takes the second last word as immad, immaid, `strife'.

[3] [in]na roraind = territory?

[4] MacNeill: `there the kindred of Eógan and Conall were hard to withstand' (1913: 65).

[5] lit. `the choice of a hero'. `choice hero' is *DIL*'s translation of toga trebaind, which appears under trebann.

[6] i.e. his enemies.

[7] See *DIL* under réim(m) b).

The battle of Slíab Fúait, won by Fergal .....?[1],

a close[2] encounter[3], in which were slain Tnúthgal and Cú Roí.

The battle of Findubair over the warriors of the Leinstermen of active blades?,
where Áed, son of Cellach of Cúalu, delight of Ireland, was slain.

A battle in which fell Inrechtach, champion of the wound-dealing[4] Connachtmen,
son of stern Dúnchad, at the hands of Fergal, Máel Dúin's son.

The battle of the Oscor[5], won by Áed Ollán of great warlike ardour,
where fell Flann Góan of pure goodness[6], Congal's swarthy son.

The battle of Mag Ítha won by Áed over the race of Conall,
where Congal's son Conaing, the plunderer of land, was slain.

[7]A battle against the Airgíalla in vengeance[8] for Fíachra which\who was not cruel\rough[9];

it was a wild lament, when Congus was slain at his cairn.

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[1] See Note on p. 95.

[2] Note that this is the only example cited in *DIL* under dlúthach.

[3] dlūthach ngleë: *DIL* cites three examples under 2 glé (including this one), and says: "see gléo" (`fight, combat'). This phrase literally means `a close thing of an encounter'.

[4] *DIL* has cnedmar = cnedach; three examples are cited, including this one. Argg Connacht cnedmar could also mean `the wound-dealing champion of the Connachtmen'.

[5] MacNeill, 1913: 66: "AU does not name the place".

[6] There are three examples cited for glanbail in *DIL* from *Féilire Óengusso* and one from *Lism. L.* under the compounds of glan, with the translation `pure goodness'.

[7] Note that the following two stanzas appear in reverse order in MacNeill's translation.

[8] i fích Fīachrach is cited in *DIL* under 2 fích with a question-mark.

[9] nāro omnus: if nāro stands for nārbo; however, I have no other example of this; or maybe this is the perf. sg. 1 of *omnaid from omnaigid--`whom I did not fear'?

The battle of Inis Áne against the hosts of bearded Scots[1],
it was a splendid deed, where the men of three hundred boats were left behind.

The battle of Fochairt[2] against the fair ones of the Province that is not subdued,
--complete is the fury--, where Áed Rón and Conchath were slain.

And the "battle of Groans"[3] against the warriors of the Leinstermen of many devastations[4],
Bran was slain there, [and Dub Dá Crích], and Áed, the son of Colggu.

The battle of Fráechmag and the battle of vast[5] Áth Medóin;
it was a deadly doom, too, as regards the battle at Áth Dá Charnai.

The battle of Irchair won by Máel Dúin, who did not love contract[s]?,
over Domnall, son of Áed Muinderg, a fine, great exploit[6].

The battle of Clóitech by Áed Ordnide who won [it][7]
--a mighty challenge--, over the same blood-stained Domnall.

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[1] for slúago / Alban ulach: lit. `the army of Scotland of the bearded ones'--*cf.* F3. 42. for slūag nAlban n-ulach.

[2] Hogan, 1910: 426: under fochard.

[3] MacNeill has the following note here (1913: 66): "An editorial note in AU [737] says, "*Uchbadh*.--Another name for Ath-Senaigh." I take it to be a common noun." *T* has "Cath Atha Senaigh .i. cath Ucbadh". This was probably originally a common noun describing the battle, which later came to be used as a proper noun, designating the battle itself. *Cf.* F3. 17 *cath* Uchbath.

[4] Lagen lín orgga(i)n: or cheville: `a great number of devastations'. See also the Note on p. 96.

[5] cath Ātha / Medōin magdai is cited in *DIL* under magda, `great, vast', with MacNeill's translation (`the battle of Áth Medóin of the plains') and a question-mark. I think that `vast' makes sense here.

[6] In F4. 44 MacNeill translates ollband ága as `great exploit of war'. However, here he renders ol[l]band āebda as `a pleasant overlord (?)'. I do not see any basis for the latter translation.

[7] ro ēta: lit. `who got [it]'

The battle of Druimm Ríg won by Áed over the combative race of Cholmán[1],
with a many-pointed weapon?[2], where the two sons of Domnall fell.

Díarmait Odor and Fínnachtae of the divisions of spoils
--a clearing of [their] errors[3]--, [it is] certain, these were their names.

And noble Fallaman of judgements, who was swift and fierce[4],
it was a fierce deed in which was slain the son of Tara's high-king.

The battle of Sailtere, won by stately Murchad, greatest of encounters[5],
a cruel slaughter, where victorious Máel Bresail fell.

A battle against the Danes in Daire Calggaig that is not sung?
--noble is the protection?--was won by Níall and Murchad.

The battle of Mag nÍtha against the Foreigners with a hard[6] deed,
long-lived Níall of the Callann, noble prince of the Finn, overcame[7] them.

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[1] for claind Colmāin comlaind: the initial consonant of comlaind is not lenited, so it is more likely that it qualifies claind here.

[2] The phrase co n-alt imrind is a problematic one. MacNeill does not translate it, and I believe that it could be interpreted in the following two ways:

a) This phrase is cited in *DIL* under 1 alt I b) "extended applications" (e.g. `of the socket of a weapon'; `of some part of a sword'). I believe that imrind must be the word listed in *DIL* under 2 imrind (*cf.* debide n-imrind). However, no part of speech or stem-class is indicated, and the only meaning given is "metrical term *the linking of long lines (of a stanza) by rhyme*". Maybe in connection with weapons this word could be interpreted as referring to something `having many points'--*cf.* 1 imrind in *DIL*, `object having many points'. *Cf.* also síl Eōgain (**n**)-imrind in F5. 122, `Eógan's very keen? race'.

b) For alt, *DIL* also gives the meaning `metre (type of composition)' under 1 alt II c). In the light of this, co n-alt imrind could also be interpreted as `with a poem having rhymes all round' (i.e. the battle referred to here in F4. is celebrated with such a poem).

[3] See Note on p. 96.

[4] *DIL*: "Mid. Ir. adj. occurring only in early poetry, prob. *fiery, fierce; angry, furious*"; under degrach.

[5] ba mó *gres*aib: lit. `it was greater than encounters'

[6] *DIL*, under gainne "c) *hardness (?)*".

[7] *DIL* cites the form rodas cinne under the strong verb cingid, later cinnid d), `overcomes, surpasses'. If this is the verb cingid, then it is conjugated as a weak verb here, with the new, MIr perf. sg. 3 ending in a vowel (*SNG*: 300: 12.32 and Vol. II, p. 87: 12.26). Note that I have four examples of the reduplicated pret. of cingid, cechaing in these poems (Vol. II, p. 80: **12.6 b**)--on

The battle of Leth in Chaimm, won by Níall Caille of the especially swift armies
--it is a very vigorous[1] memory--, over the king of the Ulaid, over the king of the Airgíalla.

From it escaped the king of the Ulstermen, the terrible son of Eochu;
all the kings of the Airgíalla [were left] in the slaughter, except the son of Rúadrí.

There the three sons of Cathal with hundreds of payments[2] were slain:
Cummascach, Congalach the unsteady, and Cellach.

A battle won by Áed Findlíath over the Foreigners in Glenn Aichle
so that they were under the humiliation of having to flee[3], having been overthrown[4].

Cruel was the battle of Loch Febail won by Áed of the charioteers[5],
long will it be remembered, in which two-thirds of the Danes were slain.

Hard[6] was the bloody battle against the Conaille Cerdd[7];

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verbs which appear with both a strong and a weak pret., see *ibid* in Vol. II. There is also the possibility that this is the weak verb cinnid in the meaning `completes, finishes' (`finished them' in our text?). However, I believe that the meaning of cingid fits in here better, so I think that *DIL*'s interpretation is the more likely one.

[1] There are only two examples cited in *DIL* for comdían (including this one).

[2] = ransom? *DIL* takes this as a cheville; this line is cited under cennach a) *bargain, transaction, compact.*

[3] fó sár theichle: lit. 'under its\his humiliation of fleeing' (see Note on p. 97). *DIL* cites this line under teichel [ā, f. ?] = teiched?, `fleeing, flight', along with one more example, also by Fland: do-rat for trīuno tūath te(t)chill (: Chethirn) (F5. 31). Then *DIL* adds: "but seems opposed to teiched in: cen nach techel dochuaid ass | ruc a theged co Achess, SR 6219". The meaning `fleeing, flight' seems to make sense here as well as in F5. 31.

[4] īarna aithbe is cited in *DIL* under aithbe, `decline, decay', with a question-mark. I believe that here we are probably dealing with the use of this noun in an extended sense (`overthrow'). Note that both possessive pronouns in the line seem to be in the sg. (fo sár, īarna aithbe), although the meaning must be pl. (referring to `Foreigners').

[5] See Note on p. 97.

[6] andso: or `harder'.

--fiercest of any fierce exploits[1]--, the Ulstermen and Anbíth were defeated.

Harder was the battle in Cell Úa nDaigri than any [other] hardship;
Díarmait and Flann son of Conaing [were left] there without vigorous strength.

The battle of Gulban Guirt[2] won by Níall Glúndub--it is not a deed of dignity--,
the kings of the Connachtmen, well he smote them[3], including Máel Chluiche.

The battle of Mag nÚatha, won by Fergal who used to spread red power;
there he loosed the warspite[4], when Máel Garb, the son of Garbíth was slain.

A battle won by Níall's son in Bairenn where youths were slain,
the kings of the Foreigners of fierce deeds, Aufer [and] Albdon, the son of Roält.

A battle won by Murchad against the Connachtmen without any sparing[5],
where Cathal of Crúachu and Áed's formidable son were slain.

The battle of Formáel he won against Conall Clóen, without tributes,
(and) against the army of the fierce Foreigners, where a champion, noble Máel Ísu fell.

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[7] See Note on p. 97.

[1] burbbu borbgnīm: I have given *DIL*'s translation here, which is found under borb b). Lit. `fiercer than a fierce exploit'.

[2] See Note on p. 98.

[3] ríg[a] Connacht / cáem dos-comart: or `the kings of the fine Connachtmen, he smote them, etc.' See Note on p. 98.

[4] MacNeill suggests two translations for and ro scaíl badb: `there he loosed the warspite' ( = the scaldcrow) (cited in *DIL* under scaílid II i), and `there a scaldcrow screamed' alternatively in his Notes--he probably interprets the verb (`scatters, spreads, releases') in a metaphorical sense here. He also adds that "the verb apparently should be scael : Mael". The problem is that according to the evidence in *DIL*, scaíl ends in a palatal l, while Māel in a non-palatal one, so the internal rhyme is imperfect here.

[5] cāemna: lit. `protection'

The battle of Mag Nathrach won by Glún i lLár above Logaill?[1],
it is not a petty encounter, where the slaughter of the race of Conall was left.

The battle of Mag Glas won by Níall's grandson over Conall's race,
prostrate under his wrath was Conaing's comely grandson, Gilla Coluim.

A battle in the land of the Ulstermen, won by Murchertach, the son of Domnall,
in which the slaughter of the armies of the splendid Araid[2] was left, having tormented Comgall[3].

The battle of Cráeb Thelcha against the Ulstermen, won by Áed of Ardach?[4],
in which fell Eochaid, son of Ardgar, a guide of dignity.

And Cú Dulig his son, and Garbíth, lover of brave deeds,
the valour of warlike chiefs, Dub Tuinne, Domnall and Donnchad.

The furious battles of late, o God of Creation!
in which men have fallen to their knees without number[5].

The battle of Trácht Eóthaili--recount!--, a step without flinching[6],
Ardgar, the grandson of curses won, against the army of the Connachtmen.

The battle of Mag Lénai of breastplates, won by the army of Ailech;

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[1] See Note on p. 99.

[2] See Note on p. 100.

[3] ïar crád Chomgaill: or `after the death of Comgall'; see Footnote on Fl. 19 ïarna chrád on p. 23.

[4] *DIL* cites this line under ? ardaig, and is not sure whether this is a place-name here. Hogan, 1910: 36 does have Ardach as a place-name, and I have no better suggestion to make. I have followed MacNeill's translation here.

[5] cen ārim: lit. `without counting'

[6] *DIL* cites cen chorracht along with two more examples under corracht = corraige.

--hard was the encounter[1]--the son of Domnall met his fate.

The battle of Corr Cullen of the warrior bands against Conall's race
was not fainthearted--their heads were parted from their body[2].

The battle of Mag Lénai was dared--it was great enough, confirm [it][3]
--,
Domnall with good luck[4] won the battle at Áth Ergair.

The battle of Crann Crichid, by Fir na Craíbe--you have heard[5]--,
against the Fir Luirg it was won--it was a fine[6] campaign.

The rout in green Mag nAdair [won] by Lochlann's grandson--
they reached the church[yard]?[7]; heads were hewn asunder.

Ill had the Foreigners of the fortress behaved, o God undoubted!
I did not think it ill that they should be face to face towards [the] fire[8].

The battle of Cenn Corad, won by Domnall, the son of beloved[9] Ardgar,
in which men fell lifeless in the strife.

---

[1] In *DIL* crūaid in chomraind is cited under meaning b) (*partnership, pact, alliance*) of comrann.

[2] rīa colaind: or `from [their] body'--see Note on p. 100.

[3] derbaid could either be the imp. 2nd pl. of derbaid, `certifies, confirms', or the noun derbaid meaning `hindrance, prevention'--in the latter case ba leōr derbaid would mean `it was a great hindrance'.

[4] co rrath: or `with grace'

[5] Note that Breatnach--*SNG*: 285: 11.24--translates at-chūala as 1st sg. However, most verbal forms in chevilles in these poems are either in sg. or pl. 2.

[6] or `savage'? chūanna could mean both.

[7] See Note on p. 100.

[8] MacNeill does not translate ros tenid. I can see only one way of interpreting this phrase: ros stands for fri + the abbreviated form of the definite article, (-s') (In MIr this form of the article appears before t or d with prepositions which acquire an s when the definite article is attached to them--*SNG*: 259: 7.8). Tenid is the acc. sg. of teine, `fire'. I believe that the author probably refers to the Fire of Hell here.

[9] rīa nDomnall *mac* Ardgair inmain: note that the adj. could also refer to *mac* here.

A battle against the Ulstermen, won by the grandson of Lochlann of the lake; slender Donn Slébe--his head was brought to Armagh.

A ṄGLUIND A N-ĒCHTA A N-ORGNI (F5)

INTRODUCTION

MS: *LL* 183^{b}18

95% of the text is clearly legible; in the second half of folio 184^{a} the left-hand side margin is faded.

Previous edition and translation:
MacNeill, 1913: 70-82 (from *LL*)

According to MacNeill, the last event recorded in this poem refers to an entry in *AU* 1047, so he comes to the following conclusion concerning the dating of the whole cycle (comprising F1, F2, F4 and F5): "Flann's poem would thus seem to have been composed within the years 1047-1056." (1913: 82)

ANALYSIS OF THE METRE

Metre and Stanza Structure

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

4^1+8^2+4^2+8^2: 4, 5, 7, 8, 11 (see Note on F5. 22, p. 32), 12, 14, 29, 35, 41, 46, 55, 67, 68 (14)
8^2+4^2+4^2+8^2: 1, 2, 10, 13, 22, 25, 38, 40, 42, 43, 50, 53, 65 (13)
4^2+8^2+4^2+8^2: 9, 15, 18, 19, 24, 32, 48, 56, 57, 63 (see Note on F5. 126, p. 141), 66, 69 (12)
4^1+8^2+**4^1**+8^2: 3, 6, 16, 21, 27, 47, 54 (7)
8^2+4^2+**4^1**+8^2: 17, 30, 33 (*caesura* comes after an unstressed word in l. 65), 44, 51, 52, 59 (7)
4^2+8^2+**4^1**+8^2: 26, 28, 31, 37, 62, 64 (6)
8^2+4^2+8^2+4^2: 34, 60, 61 (3)
8^1+4^2+4^2+8^2: 36, 45, 49 (3)
8^1+4^2+**4^1**+8^2: 23 (see Note on F5. 45, p. 133), 58 (*caesura* comes after an unstressed word in ll. 45 and 115) (2)
4^2+8^2+8^2+4^2: 39 (1)
No *caesura*+**4^1**+8^2: 20 (see Note on F5. 39, p. 133) (1)

According to Ní Dhomhnaill's criteria (only *a* can be quadrasyllabic--1975: 79), in bardic poetry 45 of these 138 couplets would be accepted (=**33%**), while according to Knott's criteria (both *a* and *c* can be quadrasyllabic--1966: 17-18), 87 (=**63%**).

End-rhyme

See the Notes on F5. 31-32, p. 133, and F5. 115-116, p. 139.
Imperfect rhyme: **chumtaig : Ultaib** (F5. 107-108). See also Vol. II, p. 120: **2.5.5**.
Note the interchange of stressed **o** and **a** before a non-palatal consonant in F5. 47-48 (**Corná(i)n : Gabrá(i)n**). For other examples, see Vol. II, p. 18: **2.4**.
Rhyme not highlighted in spelling: **achar : Chathul** (F5. 41-42), **daidbre : Laigniu** (F5. 55-56).
Note that in F5. 39-40, of the two identical rhyming words (**ndīberg : Dīberg**) one is used as a common noun, and the other as a sobriquet.

A consonant from group **x** (C^h) rhymes with a consonant from group **l** (C^v) (Murphy, 1961: 33) in **rathach : athar** (F5. 19-20) and **curchach : Murchad** (F5. 69-70).

Fidrad freccomail is not present in stanzas 25+26 (ll. 50+51). (**67/68=99%**)

F. f. is between a lenited and a non-lenited **f** in 1+2 (ll. 2-3). (See Vol. II, p. 124: **3.3**.)

In F5. 21 the lenition mark over the **f** in **fer** must be supplied, and then we will get *f. f.* between a vowel and a lenited **f**; otherwise *f. f.* would be between a stressed and an unstressed word.

F. f. is present between a lenited and a non-lenited **s** in 9+10 (ll. 18-19).

In 13+14 (ll. 26-27) *f. f.* is present either between a stressed or an unstressed word, or between an unstressed syllable and a stressed word (see Note on F5. 26, p. 132).

F. f. is present between a stressed and an unstressed word\syllable in 14+15 (ll. 28+29), 20+21 (ll. 40-41), 22+23 (ll. 44-45), 23+24 (ll. 46-47), 29+30 (ll. 58+59) 37+38 (ll. 74-75), 39+40 (ll. 78-79), 41+42 (ll. 82-83), 42+43 (ll. 84-85), 51+52 (ll. 102-103), 58+59 (ll. 116-117) (11).

F. f. is present between two unstressed syllables in 54+55 (ll. 108-109).

F. f. is present between **g** and **c** in 42+43 (ll. 84-85).

F. f. is present between **t** and **d** in 54+55 (ll. 108-109).

Concerning the form ***Sechnaill*** in F5. 110, see Note on p. 138.

Concerning 68+69 (ll. 136-137), see the Note on F5. 136, p. 142.

Alliteration and *lorga*

Alliteration is not present in the following lines: 2*cd*, 3*b*, 5*a*, 6*c*, 7*b*, 9*a*, 10*d*, 11*a*, 12*cd*, 14*d*, 15*a*, 17*a*, 20*d*, 21*a*, 23*a*, 25*a*, 27*a*, 28*d*, 31*a*, 32*d*, 35*a*, 36*d*, 40*c*, 41*a*, 42*cd*, 43*a*, 44*cd*, 46*cd*, 47*a*, 48*c*, 49*a*, 51*a*, 52*c*, 56*cd*, 58*d*, 59*a*, 60*cd*, 61*a*, 64*c*, 66*d*, 69*ab*, 72*d*, 73*b*, 74*d*, 76*cd*, 77*a*, 79*b*, 80*cd*, 81*a*, 82*d*, 84*d*, 85*a*, 87*ab*, 88*cd*, 89*a*, 90*c*, 93*a*, 96*c*, 102*d*, 103*b*, 104*cd*, 105*b*, 109*a*, 110*d*, 111*a*, 112*d*, 114*d*, 119*b*, 121*b*, 122*d*, 125*ab*, 126*d*, 127*a*, 128*c*, 133*a*, 134*c*, 135*a*, 136*d*, 138*c* (93).

Alliteration is not between the last two stressed words of the line in 8*d*, 16*d*, 18*d*, 26*d*, 38*d*, 92*d*, 98*d*, 108*d* (8).

In 3*a* the only way to get alliteration is to treat **mac** as a stressed word.

The only way to get alliteration between the last two stressed words of the line in 18*d* is to read **ro sainig** for **ro sainig**. On lenition after the particles **do-, ní, no** and **ro** in these

poems, see Vol. II, p. 60: **8.4**.

In 23*b* we can only get alliteration if we accept the suggested emendation.

In 123*b* the only way to get alliteration is to read **im Furadrán fūatlán** (dat.) for *LL* **im Furadrán fūatlán** (acc.).

Lorga between *a* and *b* (when there is no alliteration in *b*): 1*b*, 3*b*, 79*b*, 103*b*, 105*b*, 119*b* and 121*b* (7). In 35*b*, 43*b*, 53*b*, 83*b*, 99*b*, 101*b*, 111*b*, 117*b* and 129*b* (9) we have both *lorga* and alliteration.

If the historical lenition after **nīrbo** was omitted, then we would get *lorga* betwee F5. 25*a* and *b*. (On the absence of historical lenition after the copula, see Vol. II, p. 27: **2.29 g**). Another possibility would be to read **meic Sētnai** for **mac Sētnai**.

There is only one stressed word in 1*b*, 4*c*, 14*c*, 25*b*, 49*b*, 70*c*, 100*c*, 106*c*, 120*d*, 134*d* and 136*c*, so these lines can not have alliteration (11). However, three of these are second lines in the stanza (line *b*), which means that they could make *lorga* with *a*; however, this does not happen in 49*ab*. On 25*b*, see the remark under *lorga* above.

The figures for lines with alliteration and lines which contain only *lorga* (minus the line referred to above) are **180/275=65%** (note that there is one long line without *caesura*, so this counts as one).

FIRST LONG LINE

Aicill (11/69=16%)

trom : goll (F5. 7)
gnīm : lín (F5. 11)
ír : gním (F5. 91)
tríall : rían (F5. 97)
aile : clainne (F5. 131)
bráth : chāch (F5. 135)
slīab : fīad (F5. 9)
Dondchad : molbthar (F5. 85)
Néill : léir (F5. 93)
céim : Néill (F5. 107)
crech : nech (F5. 133)

Among the first long lines, both *aicill* and internal rhyme are present in F5. 97.

Úaitne (5/69=7%)

feithmech :. debthach (F5. 67)
Cerbaill :. foraill (F5. 113)
Fōtla :. fīalu (F5. 83)
chēti :. cētna (F5. 117)

aile :. calma (F5. 131)

Among the first long lines, F5. 67 and 83 have both *úaitne* and internal rhyme. Both *úaitne* and *aicill* are present in F5. 131.

Internal rhyme (5/69=7%)

Nīall : cīan (F5. 43)
fīal : dían (F5. 67)
fīru : finnu (F5. 83)
tríath : rían (F5. 97)
gló(i)r : mór (F5. 103)

A consonant from group **x** (C^h) rhymes with a consonant from group **l** (C^v) (Murphy, 1961: 33) in **tríath : rían** (F5. 97).

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

Aicill (46/69=67%)

turim : clunid (F5. 2)
thālgud : ágmar (F5. 4)
mac : thlacht (F5. 6)
cranda : ngalla (F5. 8)
trīathglan : bīathad (F5. 10)
choss : oss (F5. 12)
lindmuir : inbuid (F5. 14)
bindgil : [imgil] (F5. 16)
brígail : ndīgail (F5. 20)
dordmass : forglas (F5. 30)
bríg : ríg (F5. 32)
crích : scíth (F5. 34)
nAllān : farrān (F5. 38)
cuir : Duib (F5. 40)
céin : réir (F5. 42)
rí : trí (F5. 46)
slóig : cóir (F5. 52)
már : án (F5. 54)
fír : rīg (F5. 56)
tuind : lluing (F5. 60)
cháin : lá[i]m (F5. 62)
brónbríg : mōrríg (F5. 64)
túir : nDúin (F5. 66)
armtha : marbtha (F5. 70)
ngormland : Domnall (F5. 72)
rand : Fland (F5. 74)
ōenlus : Ōengus (F5. 76)
ossaid : chossain (F5. 86)
and : [nGall] (F5. 88)
anad : Arad (F5. 90)
argg : ard (F5. 94)
Rige : ile (F5. 96)
trocha : Locha (F5. 98)
guin : -tuil (F5. 102)
bréc : sét (F5. 104)
dogairm : chomainm (F5. 106)
seng : cend (F5. 108)
delbglan : Fergal (F5. 114)
cūairt : Rūairc (F5. 116)
már : ág (F5. 118)
chrúaid : rūaid (F5. 124)
fāel : Āed (F5. 128)
reraig : ndedaig (F5. 130)
aidbli : gainmi (F5. 134)

écnach : cétmad (F5. 136)

-róna : crōda (F5. 138)

A consonant from group **x** (**C^{h}**) makes *aicill* with a consonant from group **l** (**C^{v}**) (Murphy, 1961: 33) in **écnach : cétmad** (F5. 136).

There is imperfect *aicill* in F5. 18 (**bladaig : saigid**) and F5. 100? (**dograch : forbach**)..

On the *aicill* between **firu** and **firu** in F5. 80, see Note on p. 137.

Note that the *aicill* is not highlighted in spelling in F5. 4.

Úaitne (30/69=43%)

turim :. filid (F5. 2)

cranda :. Crinna (F5. 8)

bladaig :. sainig (F5. 18)

nArad :. Muman (F5. 24)

imléir :. Crundmaíl (F5. 28)

Lagen :. Muman (F5. 44)

grīanna :. Brēna (F5. 50)

othrad :. Echdach (F5. 68)

salmchar :. Dondchad (F5. 82)

ossaid :. Casil (F5. 86)

trucha :. Betha (F5. 92)

dograch :. Temrach (F5. 100)

amma(i)l :. ollam (F5. 120)

thrucha :. Macha (F5. 126)

fodla :. amra (F5. 132)

thālgud :. ōenur (F5. 4)

lindmuir :. samraid (F5. 14)

glaine :. ule (F5. 22)

glēmín :. [Nélléin] (F5. 26)

forbbaig :. Cernaig (F5. 36)

imslán :. Gabrá(i)n (F5. 48)

dochla :. Tethba (F5. 58)

disse :. Asse (F5. 78)

dánu :. ngīallu (F5. 84)

anad :. Ulad (F5. 90)

Rige :. ule (F5. 96)

chlothbind :. *Sechnaill* (F5. 110)

imrind :. Domnaill (F5. 122)

reraig :. Ailig (F5. 130)

aidbli :. mara (F5. 134)

A consonant from group **x** (**C^{h}**) makes *úaitne* with a consonant from group **l** (**C^{v}**) (Murphy, 1961: 33) in **othrad :. Echdach** (F5. 68).

Imperfect *úaitne*: **forbbaig :. Bregmaig\Cernaig** (F5. 35-36) and **m*en*nat :. Connacht** (F5. 112).

Internal rhyme (42/69=61%; 37/69=54% where there is no emendation needed)

crích : gním (F5. 8)

beirt : Eirc (F5. 16)

brechta : Erca (F5. 20)

gledgus : Fergus (F5. 26)

Dúin : c(i)úir (F5. 30)

Franc : Grant (F5. 36)

téitgel : hēcen (F5. 10)

mbūaid : sūail (F5. 18)

īath : trīath (F5. 24)

ergnus : Fergus (F5. 28)

broscur : loscud (F5. 32)

Āed : fāel (F5. 38)

aichnius : Flaithgius (F5. 40)
trīall : [ngíall] (F5. 44)
tērnam : gērma(i)g (F5. 48)
turim : sudig (F5. 56)
and : dall (F5. 64)
Dáil : á[i]n (F5. 68)
rothuir : -rochair (F5. 74)
dréim : Nēill (F5. 80)
dune : ule (F5. 84)
bét : chét (F5. 88)
trīan : síar (F5. 92)
sét : *cét* (F5. 108)
míne : rígi (F5. 112)
bruí : uí (F5. 122)
rubad : Ulad (F5. 128)
cāem : tāeb (F5. 42)
sadbriu de : Lagniu (F5. 46)
ganna : Banna (F5. 50)
drend : Cell (F5. 58)
trebar : Belach (F5. 66)
glacc : m*ac* (F5. 72)
dám : ár (F5. 78)
slán : chrād (F5. 82)
ellach : Chell*ach* (F5. 86)
torcaid : horgain (F5. 90)
tollais : llongais (F5. 98)
clú : hū (F5. 110)
cían : Nīall (F5. 116)
tessaig : mBresail (F5. 126)
fīal : Nīall (F5. 132)

A consonant from group **x** (**C^{h}**) rhymes with a consonant from group **l** (**C^{v}**) (Murphy, 1961: 33) in **crích : gním** (F5. 8) and **trebar : Belach** (F5. 66).
Imperfect internal rhyme: **gleōr(g)da : Eūr(o)pa** (F5. 22) and **cacht : -rat** (F5. 62).
Note that the internal rhyme is not highlighted in spelling in F5. 46 and 112.

Note that where *úaitne* is not present, *aicill* is always present (though the *aicill* in F5. 100 and the *úaitne* in F5.112 are impervect, and the *aicill* is doubtful in F5. 80--see above). In F5. 10, 16, 20, 30, 32, 38, 40, 42, 46, 56, 64, 66, 72, 74, 88, 98, 108, 116 and 128 both internal rhyme and *aicill* are present (19).
Both *úaitne* and *aicill* are present in F5. 2, 4, 14, 96, 100, 130, 134 (7).
Both *úaitne* and internal rhyme are present in F5. 18, 24, 26, 28, 36, 44, 48, 50, 58, 68, 78, 82, 84, 92, 110, 122, 126 and 132 (18).
Aicill, internal rhyme and *úaitne* are <u>all</u> present in F5. 8, 86, 90 (3).

Proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in *c* when it is quadrasyllabic (not counting the last one, which always makes either *úaitne* or *aicill* with *d*): **39/66=59%** (counting only the perfect ones).

Proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in *d* (not counting the last word, which rhymes with the final of *b*): out of the 177 stressed words, 88 make *aicill* or internal

rhyme with a word in *c* (=**50%**) (if the suggested emendations are accepted).

Analysis of rhyming consonant clusters (using Ó Cuív's classification--1966: 94-103; 1987: 109; see also SMF, Vol. II, pp. 111-112: **2**):

1. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2):
C^vC^v--C^vC^v; C^vL^v--L^vL^v; L^vC^v--L^vC^v; C^vL^v--C^vL^v; C^vC^v--L^vC^v; C^vC^v--L^vL^v; L^vL^v--C^vC^v; C^vL^v--C^vC^v; L^vC^v--C^vC^v; C^vC^v--C^vL^v

amlaid : samraid (F5. 13-14) (e. r.)
thālgud : ágmar (F5. 4) (*a.*)
gledgus : Fergus (F5. 26) (i. r.)
bindgil : [imgil] (F5. 16) (*a.*)
dublaíd : Crundmaíl (F5. 27-28) (e. r.)
Corná(i)n : Gabrá(i)n (F5. 47-48) (e. r.)
Aignech : airlech (F5. 87-88) (e. r.)
lindmuir : inbuid (F5. 14) (*a.*)
imléir :. Crundmaíl (F5. 28)
imléir :. dublaíd (F5. 27-28)
imrind :. Domnaill (F5. 122)
imslán :. Corná(i)n (F5. 47-48)
dograch :. nglegrach/Temrach (F5. 99-100)
nglegrach : Temrach (F5. 99-100) (e. r.)
tērnam : gērma(i)g (F5. 48) (i. r.)
roäirm : Loäirn (F5. 15-16) (e. r.)
dogairm : chomainm (F5. 106) (*a.*)
Bregmaig : Cernaig (F5. 35-36) (e. r.)
forlaind : Domnaill (F5. 73-74) (e. r.)
calma : amra (F5. 131-132) (e. r.)
ōenlus : Ōengus (F5. 76) (*a.*)
lindmuir :. amlaid/samraid (F5. 13-14)
imslán :. Gabrá(i)n (F5. 47)
fodla :. calma (F5. 131-132)
fodla :. amra (F5. 132)

2. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L (rules 1 and 2):
C^vP^v--C^vP^v; P^vC^v--P^vC^v; P^vC^v--C^vP^v

orbbo : Forgo (F5. 29-30) (e. r.)
argg : ard (F5. 94) (*a.*)
torcaid : horgain (F5. 90) (i. r.)
ndīberg : Dīberg (F5. 39-40) (e. r.)
écnach : cétmad (F5. 136) (*a.*)
fūatlán : Rūarcán (F5. 123-124) (e. r.)

3. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C/L + ^{h} (rules 2 and 3):
C^hC^v--C^hC^v; C^vC^h--C^hC^v; C^vC^h--C^vC^h; L^vC^h--L^vC^h; C^hC^v--C^vC^h/C^hC^v

mbechda : Tethba (F5. 57-58) (e. r.)
curchach : Murchad (F5. 69-70) (e. r.)
dechraind : Sechnaill (F5. 109-110) (e. r.)
feithmech :. debthach/Echdach (F5. 67-68)
clothbind :. dechraind/Sechnaill (F5. 109-110)
debthach : Echdach (F5. 67-68) (e. r.)
ollchar : Dondchad (F5. 81-82) (e. r.)
aichnius : Flaithgius (F5. 40) (i. r.)
othrad :. debthach/Echdach (F5. 67-68)
dochla :. mbechda/Tethba (F5. 57-58)

4. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L + ^{h} (rules 1, 2, 3):

$L^{v}P^{h}$--$C^{h}P^{h}$; $P^{h}C^{v}$--$L^{v}P^{h}$; $L^{v}P^{h}$--$C^{v}P^{h}$; $C^{h}P^{h}$--$C^{v}P^{h}$; $C^{v}P^{h}$--$L^{v}P^{h}$

ollalt : Connacht (F5. 111-112) (e. r.)
nglacbān : Artán (F5. 127-128) (e. r.)
cūairt : Rūairc (F5. 116) (*a.*)
beirt : Eirc (F5. 16) (i. r.)
brechta : Erca (F5. 20) (i. r.)
Franc : Grant (F5. 36) (i. r.)

5. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain S + P + ^{h} (rules 1, 3 and 4): $S^{h}P^{v}$--$S^{h}P^{v}$?

broscur : loscud (F5. 32) (i. r.)

6. One consonant corresponds to two: a) a consonant from class **l** (**C^{v}**) or **L** (**L^{v}**) is added:

P^{v}--$P^{v}C^{v}$; L^{v}--$C^{v}C^{v}$; C^{v}--$C^{v}C^{v}$; $L^{v}L^{v}$--L^{v}; C^{v}--$C^{v}L^{v}$

Écuind : thétluing (F5. 5-6) (e. r.)
cētna : éca (F5. 117-118) (e. r.)
téitgel : hēcen (F5. 10) (i. r.)
snēdbéim : [Nélléin] (F5. 25-26) (e. r.)
āebda : Āeda (F5. 71-72) (e. r.)
chāemna : nĀeda (F5. 93-94) (e. r.)
te(t)chill : Chethirn (F5. 31-32) (e. r.)
anmaid : Scandail (F5. 33-34) (e. r.)[1]
thālgud :. mbāegul/ōenur (F5. 3-4)
glēmín :. snēdbéim (F5. 25-26)
aile :. amra (F5. 131-132)
chēti :. cētna (F5. 117)
Cerbaill :. foraill/Conaing (F5. 113-114)
aile :. calma (F5. 131)

b) A consonant from class **x** (**C^{h}**) is added: P^{h}--$C^{h}P^{h}$: ***m**ac* : **thlacht** (F5. 6) (*a.*)

c) A consonant from class **g** (**P^{v}**) is added[2]: $P^{v}C^{v}$--C^{v}; $P^{v}C^{v}$--L^{v}

Fōtla :. fīalu (F5. 83)
Fōtla :. ngīallu (F5. 83-84).

7. One consonant corresponds to three: consonants from class **l** (**C^{v}**) are added:

$C^{h}C^{v}C^{v}$--C^{h}; $C^{v}C^{v}C^{v}$--C^{v}

trīathglan : bīathad (F5. 10) (*a.*)
brónbríg : mōrríg (F5. 64) (*a.*)[3]
aidbli :. mara/ada (F5. 133-134)

8. Two or three consonants correspond to three or four consonants:

a) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L (rules 1 and 2): $C^{v}P^{v}C^{v}$--$C^{v}P^{v}$

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[1] Maybe not $C^{v}C^{v}$--L^{v} but $C^{v}L^{v}$--L^{v}; but according to *DIL*, "in the later lang. an- lenites b c f g m". Note that **nd** = **nn**.

[2] See Summary of Metrical Features, Vol. II, p. 116: **2.2 c.**.

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

tolgda : orbba (F5. 53-54) (e. r.)

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

$C^vC^vC^v$--C^vC^v; $C^vL^vC^v$--C^vC^v; $C^vC^vC^vC^v$--C^vC^v; L^vC^v--$C^vL^vC^v$

cōemgrís : ōenmís (F5. 45-46) (e. r.)
daidbre : Laigniu (F5. 55-56) (e. r.)
ngormland : Domnall (F5. 72) (*a.*)
delbglan : Fergal (F5. 114) (*a.*)
gormraind : Domnaill (F5. 121-122) (e. r.)
aidbli : gainmi (F5. 134) (*a.*)
sadbrite [=sadbriu de] : Lagniu (F5. 46) (i. r.)
ergnus : Fergus (F5. 28) (i. r.)
imrind :. gormraind (F5. 121-122)

c) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L + ^{h} (rules 1, 2 and 3):

$C^vL^vC^h$--L^vC^h; $C^hC^vC^v$--C^hC^v; L^vC^h--$C^vC^vC^h$

gormthorc : longphort (F5. 61-62) (e. r.)
Dondchad : molbthar (F5. 85) (*a.*)
nEchdruim : *Sechnaill* (F5. 75-76) (e. r.)

d) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C/L + ^{h} (rules 2 and 3):

$C^vL^vC^h$--$C^vC^vC^h$; $C^vL^vC^h$--L^vC^h

armtha : marbtha (F5. 70) (*a.*)
salmchar :. ollchar/Dondchad (F5. 81-82)

Elision

a) Unstressed short vowel preceded by another vowel: fourteen examples. In ten of these, it is necessary to have elision (F5. 20*d*, 27*a*, 46*c*[1], 59*a*, 73*b*, 75*b*, 84*c*, 98*d*, 125*b*, 136*c*), and in four examples there should be no elision (F5. 1*a*, 60*d*, 61*b*, 84*d*). On F5. 134*d*, see Note on p. 142. (10/14=71%)

b) Unstressed short vowel + unstressed long vowel: one example. The metre does not require elision here (F5. 8*d*). (0/1=0%)

c) **do\de + V; do\de + f**: one example (F5. 108*d*), and the metre does not require elision here. (0/1=0%)

d) Dropping of the initial vowel of an unstressed word: (prep. + poss. pron.\article):
At the beginning of a line: F5. 8*c*.
After a consonant: F5. 9*a*, 29*b*, 103*b* (not indicated in spelling in F5. 9*a* and 103*b*).

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[1] **sadbriu de in** (*LL* **sadbrite**)--on whether **de** is stressed or not, see Vol. II, p. 51: **4.11**.

After a vowel: F5. 46*d*, 117*a* (not indicated in spelling in 117*a*).
The metre does not require dropping in F5. 6*d* and 12*d*.

e) Dropping of the final vowel of an unstressed word (prep. + rel. part.): F5. 128*c* (before a consonant).

f) Dropping of the initial vowel of the conjunction **is**: F5. 96*d* (at the beginning of the line; not indicated in spelling).

g) Dropping of the initial vowel of the copula (**is**): F5. 138*c* (not indicated in spelling).

h) The reduction of **coro** to **cor**: On F5. 134*d*, see Note on p. 142.

Dúnad

The last word of the poem, **ciä**, does not form a *dúnad* with the first word of the poem (**a ṅgluind**), but it echoes the first word of the first poem of the cycle (F1), indicating that this is the closing poem. (See Vol. II, p. 129: **5.2.**) However, in this poem the first and last letter of the opening and closing words are identical. See Vol. II, p. 129: **5.3.**

TEXT

A ṅgluind a n-ēchta a n-orgni batar infir
is līa turim *con*nāchas clunid ō filid.

Fecht (ro) buí Muridach m*ac* Eōgain and i mbāegul
ina thālgud ōsin trācht ágmar a ōenur.

Ba and do-lluid Eocho Abratchaīn m*ac* Écuind
co mbert in m*ac* co tart fo thlacht ina thétluing.

Dar trethan trom ro fuc in goll leis in ṅgilla
'na cr*í*ch cranda fúair gním ṅgalla[1] ō ríg C*r*inna.

Ciṅged (is)sin slīab co tabrad fīad in dīan drechach
téitgel trīathglan dó ba hēcen bīathad Echach.

Ingnad in gnīm don m*ac* cen lín cen choin cēlig
ar lūas a choss tārrachtain oss isna slēbib.

Sechtmain *secht* mís *ocus secht* mblī*adna* boí amlaid
darsin lindmuir [nó]co tānic inbuid samraid.

Slecht leis īar sein Eocho do rúadgním a roäirm
dīa beirt bindgil tuc Eirc [n-imgil] ingin Loäirn.

Lán ind Hēriu do gnímaib sīl Eōgain Ailig
co mbūaid bladaig oc saigid nī sūail ro ṡainig.

Slecht *sesca* ríg *is* dā coīcait ruirech rathach
brechta brígail m*ac*[2] Erca i ndīgail a athar.

---

[1] n *is superscript*

[2] *or* m*ei*c?

Im fer co rīab nād chloītis catha nā cure
gleōr(g)da glaine [do-rochair] (im) mīl Eūr(o)pa ule[1].

Orgain na Clīach ō Lūachair co Cassel [curad?][2]
im īath nArad ōn trīath ro thogal mag Muman.

Mōr gním Ainmere m*ac* Sētnai nīrbo snēdbéim
gledgus glēmín do-fuit la Fergus m*ac* [Nélléin][3].

Nī lugu in scēl Conall Cāel no chanad dublaíd
ergnus n-imléir do-ceir la Fergus m*ac* Crundmaíl.

Cid arg Airgīall Dūnchad m*ac* Ultān 'na orbbo
Māel Dúin dordmass rod c(i)úir i nDún f*or*glas Forgo.

Fecht aile dó do-rat for trīuno tūath te(t)chill
ba broscur bríg loscud na ríg i nDún Chethirn.

Clothrí Cīannachta Cenn Fāelad and ro anmaid
cond Cruthne cr*í*ch *ocus* Dūngal m*ac* scíth Scandail.

Selaig Fergal flaith Féic follnastar for Bregmaig
nī Franc forbbaig acht is Conall Grant ūa Cernaig.

Conaing Cnogba m*ac* Amalgada co n-ainiuch
la Āed nAllān fūair in fāel farrān i nAiliuch.

Ort leiss Tommaltach m*ac* Dunechda na ndīberg
cen aichnius cuir *ocus* Flaithgius m*ac* Duib Dīberg.

Do-chūaid Āed síar co Tír Dā Glass ba gnīm n-achar

---

[1] *See Note on p. 132.*

[2] Muman *LL*

[3] Crundmaíl *LL*

cāem alt i céin [cen] tāeb acht a réir ō Chathul.

Cechaing Nīall Frossach secht cétaib cīan bas cuman
īar trīall Lagen co tuc cét [ngíall] a tír Muman.

Mad Āed Ordnide [Mide] ros cacht fri cōemgrís
sadbriu de[1] in rí ort Lagniu fo *trí* 'si*nn* ōenmís.

Mór in siriud ó Āth Chlíath co Carn cāem Corná(i)n
*tēr*nam imslán īar n-argain im gērma(i)g Gabrá(i)n.

Garg in chrech do-rat dar Ultu cen nach sēna
ganna grīanna ro-sīacht ō Banna co Brēna.

Trōethais cu[ü]? Essa Rūaid co rrogail rolaind
marbsat a slóig Rogallach clainne cóir Conaill.

Cond clainne Cēin Cummascach m*ac* Tūathail tolgda
la Murchad már do-rochair ardrí án orbba.

Ardrí Hēr*end* Nīall *Cail*le ra chobair daidbre
is turim fír ro sudig dā rīg for Laigniu.

Lānorggain leis Mide co Bondammair mbechda
ní drend dochla [tuc cethra] Fer Cell *is* Tethba.

Ro briss Āed Findlīath for Gaillu i nĪthu achar
Alpdu for tuind ro élai a lluing a athar.

Int Āed cētna ro folaig Gaillu in gormthorc
ros cacht fo cháin is do-rat lá[i]m dara longphort.

Lāmair Lorcán m*ac* cāem Cathail cīarbo bine

[1] sadbrite *LL*

ro and brónbríg in tan ro dall mōrríg Mide.

Mōrarggain Maige [Breg] *ocus* Mide miduill
trebar ros túir ōtá Belach nDúin co Sinaind.

Slecht leis Flannacān fīal feithmech in dían debthach
rí Dáil Araide nos othrad *mac* á[i]n? Echdach.

Orggsit in Gaill Insi Dar Gargrend na curchach[1]
cīaptar armtha uile ro marbtha la Murchad.

Muridach *mac* Māele Dūin dīn nAirther[2] n-āebda
glacc na ngormland ro bíth la Domnall *mac* Āeda.

Ardrí Airgīall Māel Dūin *mac* Fergaile ind *for*laind
rothuir na rand do-rochair la Fland *mac* Domnaill.

Do-chūaid Nīall Glūndub co G*re*llaig Elte i nEchdruim
leis ar ōenlus [do-cer][3] Ōengus h*ūa* Māel S*echnaill*.

Slecht la Fergal ár nGall i nGlind Gerg co nglasse
dā fichet déc nī dám disse i n-ár Asse.

Assin Taltin inbaid ōenaig ed ad-fédem
dréim dar firu ro chacht *mac* Nēill firu Hērend.

É féin dīa n-éis ro chacht i n-ōenuch na n-ollchar
co slán salmchar araí cīarbo chrād do Dondchad.

Do sein (do-l)luid co firu Fōtla finnu fīalu
dune as dánu corra gaib ule a ngīallu.

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[1] *First* ch *added above the line.*

[2] *See Note on p. 137.*

[3] do-rochair *LL*

Conos tuc īar*u*m do Dondchad molbthar massib
ellach n-ossaid ro chossain im Chell*ach* Casil.

Cathroíniud rīam forsna Gaullu co Snám Aignech
nīrbo bét and na dā chét [nGall][1] īarna n-airlech.

Ort leis Gamandrad Locha Cūan (co n-)ēchtaib umal
torcaid anad co horgain Arad is Ulad.

Ulaid īar n-ír *ocus* na Gaill im gním ṅg*r*etha
ba trīan trucha lotar ass síar co Slīab Betha.

Ro briss m*ac* Néill forro do léir līth cen chāemna
for Amlaíb argg (is) for Matudán m*ac* n-ard nĀeda.

Ār dā fichet *ocus* dā cét cend ro-chlune
díb co Rige (i)s na gabāla ile ule.

Ort leis in tríath Torolb ro t*r*íall ca*ch* rían rethach
tollais trocha dīa mboí i llo̍ngais Locha Echach.

Oirggis Insi Gall in gargrí ba gním ṅglegrach[2]
nīrbo dograch tuc a forbach i tír Temrach.

Trōethais Cīannacht Glinne Gemin ní gním ṅgoä
Goäch do guin is de con-tuil m*ac* Duib Roä.

Ro airgset Gaill gló(i)r Ard Macha mór (i)mma sniïb
m*ac* Nēill nī bréc ro marb for sét dā cét diïb.

Dīth leis ríg Lōegaire laindrig līnib ilāeb
nīrbo dogairm in caur dīarbo chomainm Cināed.

---

[1] *Historically, one would expect nasalisation after nom. dual* <u>*cét*</u>.

[2] *second* g *is made on a* c

Ba crūaid in céim ruc m*ac* Néill Conaing in chumtaig
sa[i]r for sét seṅg ār trí *cét*[1] cend leis do Ultaib.

Do-chūaid h*ūa* Nēill i mMide múad mó ce*ch* dechraind
co clú chlothbind [nó]coro dall hū Māel S*echnaill.*

Selaid Murchad mathe fer nÓl nÉcmacht n-ollalt
míne m*en*nat *ocus* ro gab rígi Connacht.

Cāemū*a*[2] Cerbaill Laidgnén Locha Ūat[h]ne foraill
in del delbglan do-lluid la Fergal m*ac* Conaing.

Cechaing Āed Ailig for creich i mBrēfni bladach
leis cid cían cūairt do-rochair Nīall ūa Rūairc rebach[3].

Ro slecht Conaire[4] ocon chēti in caur cētna
Matudán már is and fo-rurim ág n-éca.

Éclond aicme Énna Ōengus ardd a chongga(i)b
do-cer la síl Eōgain amma(i)l cīarbo ollam.

Ardrí chen*eōi*l Lugdach laindrig lūadit gormraind
rodas bruí síl Eōgain (n)-imrind trī uí Domnaill.

Degrí Derluis do-thu[i]t(im) im Furadrán fūatlán
Cú Chaille chrúaid *ocus* rom*ac* in rūaid Rūarcán.

Rí H*ūa* nDorthaind Māelán do-cer leō i rroí chatha
(i) tessaig thrucha ro bīth flaith H*ūa* mBresail Macha.

---

[1] *The gen. of* trí *was followed by nasalisation in OIr (Greene: 1992: 507), and this is why I have expanded* .c. *as* cét.

[2] cāem .h. *MS*

[3] *See Note on p. 139.*

[4] = Conaille? *See Note on p. 139.*

Mandrais [Ultu] Flaithbertach fīal na ṅgíall ṅglacbān
las' rubad fāel Cú Ulad is Āed is Artán.

Ard h*ūa* Canaind Caīlle Conaill cirrsit claidib
rot*r*én reraig coro ndedaig Āed [ard] Ailig.

Ānrad aile Mathgamain clainne Céin calma
ba fīal fodla do-rochair la Nīall n-ard n-amra.

Ārim a crech ní éta*n*n[1] nech ní nā*ch* ada
cid as aidbli coro áirmi gainmi in mara.

Mēraid co bráth a n-ad-chōad do chāch dīa ṅglonnaib
ní ara n-écnach ní écind cétmad dīa [fonnaib][2].

Fland fer lēgind ó Manis*tir* rod mór Diä
(i)ss é dos-róna dīa n-īarfais nech crōda ciä. C.

[1] *See Note on p. 142.*

[2] nglonnaib *LL*

NOTES

All references are to MacNeill, 1913: 70-82.

F5. 3. There is an extra syllable in this line. Both MacNeill and *LL* suggest that we omit the ro, and I have accepted their suggestion.

F5. 9. There is one extra syllable in this line. MacNeill suggests that we read sin for issin, and I have accepted his suggestion. See also Vol. II, p. 128: **4.5**.

F5. 14. There is one syllable missing in this line. MacNeill suggests with a question-mark that we might read nóco instead of co. I have accepted his suggestion.

F5. 15. Both the syllable count and the end-rhyme require that roäirm should be disyllabic.

F5. 16. There are two syllables missing in this line. MacNeill and *LL* suggest that we add n-imgil (:bindgil) after Eirc. MacNeill also points out that in F1. 51 dīarbo aindir Ailech imgel, imgel qualifies a girl, Ailech. I have accepted this suggestion.
Both the syllable count and the end-rhyme require that Loäirn should be disyllabic.

F5. 19-20. MacNeill supplies a h in brackets after the initial consonant of cōicait in dā coīcait. This is what one would expect historically (Greene: 1992: 505); however, I have other examples in these poems where lenition after dā is not present or is simply not marked (see Vol. II, p. 52: **5.1**).
I believe that this stanza could be interpreted in two ways: a) one could take slecht as passive used for active with mac Erca as the subject (`sixty kings and twice fifty opulent over-kings he cut down / [...] the son of Erc, etc.'). Note that in ro slecht Conaire [...] in caur cētna (F5. 117), `the same hero cut down Conaire', the perf. passive of sligid is used with an active sense. See also *SNG*: 306: 12.66 and Vol. II, p. 90: **12.36**.
b) One could also take slecht to be a real passive form, the singular being used for the plural. In this case one would have to expand m--c as meic in l. 20, and we could take the phrase meic Erca as a genitival construction anticipating i ndīgail a athar. Then the translation would be `sixty kings and twice fifty opulent over-kings were cut down \--a

powerful, shattering rock--in revenge for Erc's father'.

F5. 21. The lenition mark over the f in im fer is omitted.

F5. 22. There is one syllable missing in this line. MacNeill has the following note here:

> "Unless the Latin form Europa is written instead of the Irish *Eorpa*, the missing syllable must belong to the rhyming word *gleorgda*, which in any case can hardly be correct. The phrases in this couplet, "*fer co riab*" and "*míl Europa ule,*" are copied from III. 15 (= F3. 57, 60), where *Europa* rhymes with *deorata*, so that the Latin spelling, through habit, is written where the Irish should have *Eorapa*." (MacNeill, 1913: 71.)

DIL lists the word glēorgda under gléorda with a question-mark. I believe that the <g> is a scribal error. I also believe that the first two words gleōr(g)da glaine are not corrupt, as it is a requirement in this metre to have either *úaitne* or *aicill* in the second long line, and glaine makes *úaitne* with ule. Also, note that I have 37 certain examples of internal line in the second couplet out of a total of 69 (see p. 118), so it is quite likely that internal rhyme (although imperfect) is meant here between gleōr(g)da and Eūr(o)pa. I suggest that we omit im and read [do-rochair] mīl Eūr(o)pa ule. In this way we will get the 12 syllables, *úaitne*, and internal rhyme; and the line will also make sense. See also Note on F3. 59, p. 63.

F5. 23-24. Both lines end in the word Muman. As I have no definite example in these poems of two words of the same form and meaning rhyming with each other in end-rhyme position, I suspect that one of them must be due to a scribal slip (*cf.* also F4. 33-34, p. 92; F5. 135-136, p. 142; and Vol. II, p. 121: **2.6**). MacNeill suggests (with a question-mark) that we replace the first Muman with curad, "of heroes". His suggestion is repeated in *LL*. I have accepted it, as in this way we can also get alliteration in 23*b*.

F5. 26. MacNeill believes that Crundmaíl was transferred from the following couplet, and he and *LL* suggest that we read Nélléin. Both the rhyme with snēdbéim and the data in *AU* 569 justify his suggestion.

As far as gledgus is concerned, the vowel in the first syllable seems to be irregular and there is no example in *DIL* of this particular form under the compounds of gléo; also

note that this form is fixed by rhyme with Fergus. Maybe this is a compounding form from the syncopated stem of gliäd: gled-.
Do-fuit seems to be a variant form of do-tuit already in OIr (Thur. §543); here it is probably used in order to get alliteration.

F5. 28. MacNeill prints ergnus nīm leir, which he does not translate, for *LL* ergnus n-imléir.

F5. 31. MacNeill suggests that we could perhaps read techill (:Chethirn) instead of tetchill with a question-mark. He also calls the attention to the *úaitne* theichle (:. aithbe in F4. 92. I believe that these two words must be the same. The form listed in *DIL* is teichel, `fleeing, fight', which makes sense here, and in my opinion the spelling with t must be a scribal slip. See also the Footnote on F4. 92, p. 108.

F5. 35. Note that the editors of *LL* capitalise Féic, taking it to be a proper noun, while MacNeill does not. He translates this word as `fierce (?)'; note that the only word of the same form listed in *DIL* is féice, féic, `a ridge-pole', `highest point'--also used of people. I do not think that this could fit in here. Based on Hogan, 1910: 408, I have followed the editors of *LL* .

F5. 39. MacNeill says the following about this line: "Usual *caesura* missing, the metrical rule having been relaxed to admit proper names." (MacNeill, 1913: 71.) For other examples, see Vol. II, p. 108: **1.2 d**.

F5. 42. There is one syllable missing in this line. MacNeill and *LL* suggest that we read cen before tāeb with a question-mark. I have accepted their suggestion.
Note that there is no fullstop in the MS after tāeb as indicated in *LL*. A fullstop is sometimes used to mark the *caesura* by the scribe (e.g. in F2. 4, 20, 54 and F4. 64, 108--all marked in the diplomatic edition of *LL)*; however, it would not be possible for the *caesura* to come after tāeb here.

F5. 44. There is one syllable missing in this line. According to MacNeill (and his suggestion is accepted by the editors of *LL*), it is obviously the word gíall (:tríall) which was omitted by the scribe after cét (note that this line seems to be based on F3. 39-40:

tucsat īar trīall Lagen / cét ngíall a tír Muman). The nasalisation after cét, acc. sg., should also be supplied here.

F5. 45. There are two syllables missing in this line. MacNeill believes that the missing word is probably Mide after Ordnide (his suggestion is based on *AU* 802, and is repeated by the editors of *LL*). In this case the fem. infixed pronoun in ros cacht must be used for the masc. one, as it must be referring to Mide (for other examples see *SNG*: 266: 10.6). However, this would be the only example in my texts of this usage. There is also the possibility that the infixed pronoun serves as the relative marker here--however, this is very rare (*SNG*: 288: 11.36), and I have no other certain example of this in these texts either. Or maybe the missing word is a word other than Mide, to which the infixed pronoun in ros cacht refers. If we accept MacNeill's solution, then the *caesura* would cut ros cacht into two, and so it will have to come after an unstressed word. For other examples of the same phenomenon, see Vol. II, p. 108: **1.2 c**. I have no better suggestion to make here.

F5. 46. MacNeill suggests that we read the full form sadbriu de (:Lagniu) for *LL* sadbrite in order to highlight the rhyme. Concerning the *LL* spelling and form, see Vol. II, p. 51: **4.11**.

F5. 48. MacNeill and the editors of *LL* suggest that we read im gērma(i)g (: tērnam). As I have 37 certain examples of internal rhyme in the second couplet out of a total of 69 in this poem, it is quite likely that this is what is intended here. The scribe probably wrote down the alternative dat. form by mistake. Hogan 1910: 160 has "devastating Germag Gabráin" under Carn Cornáin, so it seems that he is taking gērma(i)g as part of a place-name. Note also that Gabráin is not nasalised (concerning nasalisation in these poems, see Vol. II, p. 29-33: **2.30**).
The only way to get the required marker of the *caesura* here is to emend Cornáin in F5. 47 and Gabráin in this line to the alternative gen. ending, -án, and then we would get *úaitne* with imṡlán. The i in Cornáin is a subscript one (although this is not noted by the editors of *LL*), and may have been added by the scribe. For the gen. sg. of masc. o-stems ending in -án, see Vol. II, p. 35: **3.5 a)**.

F5. 51. There is one syllable missing in this line. MacNeill and *LL* suggest that we read

cuü (disyllabic), acc. pl. of cúa, instead of cú. This example is listed in *DIL* under cúa, n.pr. which, according to *DIL*, can also mean `hero' as a common noun, and there is one more example cited for this usage (note that cúa is a very badly attested word). Maybe it would be better to read is trōethais cū here?

F5. 53. The Facsimile has Cono for MS Cond. MacNeill, who worked from the Facsimile, emends Cono to Cond.

F5. 55. MacNeill and the editors of *LL* suggest that we read daidbriu for daidbre, in order to highlight the end-rhyme with Laigniu. Although at this stage of the language final unstressed vowels would have fallen together as a schwa, when two rhyming words end in a vowel in these poems, these vowels are most of the time identical in orthography (see Vol. II, p. 5: **1.16**). However, as this is not always the case, and as the form daidbriu is not a historical one (daidbir is an i-stem adjective, so the acc. pl. of the substantivised adj. would have been daidbri in OIr), I would not emend this line.

F5. 58. There are two or three syllables missing in this line (depending on how we read 7). MacNeill and *LL* suggest that we supply ruc (or tuc) cethra before Fer Cell *is* Tethba. However, MacNeill also has the following note on this line in 1913: 77: "*AU* 839, `indred Cell ocus Beithri la Nīall.' Perhaps *Bethra (:Tethba)* was in the missing part of the line above." Without evidence from other MSS, I do not think that this question can be decided. As the first suggestion is acceptable both from the point of view of the metre and of the meaning, I have accepted it.

F5. 59. The MS has achaer with the e expunged, and the a added subscript. This is also noted by the editors of *LL*.
The *caesura* has to come after Gaillu i, with elision between the u and the i. As according to Murphy, when elision occurs, it is the second vowel which is elided (1961: 39), I consider F5. 59*a* to have the syllable count 8^2, and to end in a stressed word.

F5. 61. MacNeill has the following note here: "In `facsimile', *r.....; folaig*, with indication of one or more letters missing before it, is added in the margin." (1913: 72) *LL* has the following to say on this matter: "*in marg.* r[obriss] for] *with* obriss for *erased*." I would like to note that ro folaig is written in the margin, and I am not certain whether there is a dot

over the f.

F5. 62. MacNeill and *LL* suggest that we read láim for lám in order to get the required marker of the *caesura* (here *aicill* with cháin). Probably the scribe wrote down the alternative form, nom. for acc., by mistake. On the nom. and acc. sg. of ā, f nouns in these poems, see Vol. II, pp. 36-38: **3.6 a**.

F5. 63-64. MacNeill has the following note on ro and in l. 64 (based on his interpretation of *AU* 863-864): "For *ro fand* [=weakened] *: ro dall.*" As andaid (=ad-annai, `kindles, stirs up') makes sense here, I see no reason for emending this line. However, MacNeill has the following note on this couplet on p. 78:

> "Lorcán was with the Norsemen at the rifling of the prehistoric tombs of the Boyne valley, and at the plundering of Brega in 863. His blinding by the high-king in the following year was an effective sentence of deposition. Flann implies that the punishment was deserved."

This interpretation is reflected in MacNeill's translation, which is "He took in hands Lorcán, Cathal's comely son, though he was noxious; he weakened sorrow's force when he blinded the great king of Meath". However, if we take the verb to be andaid, then the implication does change significantly. I also think that bine, `crime, wrong-doing' can only refer to an act and not to a person, as MacNeill has it in his translation (`noxious')--and I believe that bine qualifies Áed's act, and not Lorcán's. Fland also seems to refer to Lorcán in a positive way when he calls him mōrríg. So my translation is "He challenged Lorcán, Cathal's comely son, although it was a crime; / he stirred up sorrow's force when he blinded the great king of Meath." Concerning lāmair (MacNeill: `took in hands'; my translation: `challenged'), see Footnote on p. 147.

F5. 65. There is one syllable missing in this line. MacNeill and *LL* supply Breg after Maige. Note that in this case the *caesura* will have to come after an unstressed word. For other examples of the same phenomenon, see Vol. II, p. 108: **1.2 c**.

F5. 68. As I have 37 certain examples of internal rhyme in the second couplet in this poem, it would be very tempting to read *mac* á[i]n Echdach (:Dáil) (with the adjective preceding the noun--for other examples, see Vol. II, p. 97: **13.1**).

F5. 71. *LL* has the following note on the word nAirther: "n *may be expunged*". The mark over the n in the MS could be a mark of expungement, or just a stain. There is no *punctum delens* in the Facsimile. If the n is not expunged, then the nas. after dīn is probably due to the influence of the last sound of this word, as well as to the following nasalisation by the gen. pl.
Note that the *caesura* cuts a semantic unit into two.

F5. 76. There is an extra syllable in this line. MacNeill suggests that we read do-cer instead of do-rochair, and I have accepted his suggestion.

F5. 78. MacNeill suggests that we read fichit instead of fichet. However, fichet as a nom. dual form seems to be supported by other examples in O'Brien, 1938: 366, so I do not see any reason for emending this line. *Cf.* F6. 201 dā fichet.

F5. 80. MacNeill has the following note on this line: "The reading of *firu* twice in this line is questionable." (1913: 73.) As I have no definite example of *aicill* between words which are identical in form and meaning in these poems (see Vol. II, p. 121: **2.6**), maybe it would be better to read a word here beginning with d, in order to get alliteration in F5. 80*c*. *Aicill* or *úaitne* would definitely be needed here in order to mark the *caesura*; however, I have no suggestion to make concerning the word which could possibly replace firu.

F5. 83. There is an extra syllable in this line. MacNeill believes that do ṡein is perhaps to be read in its contracted form, din. However, this is a "ghost" word which was "created" by early editors mistranscribing dī, the contracted form of didiu, as din. Then the next step was to think that din stood for do ṡein. I believe that the way to emend this line is to read luid for do-lluid.

F5. 88. There is one syllable missing in this line. Based on *AU* 926, MacNeill suggests that we either read cind = cinn after and or Gall after chét. Cind will not provide us with the required marker of the *caesura* in the line, while supplying Gall after chét will give us *aicill* with and.

F5. 89. MacNeill has the following note on this line: "One syll. in excess. But in words

like *gamanrad*, in which a liquid (*n*) is expanded into a syllable, that syllable is sometimes not counted in verse." (MacNeill, 1913: 73.) However, I do not know if this would be possible here, as I have no other example of the phenomenon referred to by MacNeill in these poems. I suggest dropping co n- in order to get the correct number of syllables. Also note that *LL* takes Gamandrad to be a proper noun, while MacNeill does not. *DIL* cites this line under the meaning `a warrior stock or band' of gamanrad. Based on Hogan, 1910: 435, I have followed the editors of *LL* here.
On the name Loch Cúan see Gwynn, 1924: 146.11.

F5. 94. There is an extra syllable in this line. MacNeill suggests that we omit is. I have accepted his suggestion.

F5. 96. Both MacNeill and the editors of *LL* print isna as one word, and MacNeill takes it as the conjunction is and the nom. pl. fem. article na. I see no reason to object to this, but in this case it would be better to divide isna into two words.

F5. 103. The metre requires that we read 'ma for imma, and sniïb as a disyllable. MacNeill emends mór to móir (: glóir). I do not think that this latter emendation is absolutely necessary, as the first long line rarely has internal rhyme (I have four such examples in this poem apart from this one--see p. 117). Moreover, móir as gen. sg. masc. or acc.\dat. sg. fem. adj. would not fit in here. Still, it is very tempting to have a reading here which will give us internal rhyme. I believe that in this case we should emend glóir to glór, gen. pl. (`the loud-voiced Foreigners'). An attributive gen. pl. seems to occur in F3. 14 (ar búaid tūath **líth** Luignech--`to master? the festive lordships of the Luigni'--see Footnote on p. 65).

F5. 104. Read diïb as a disyllable in order to get the correct number of syllables and the rhyme with sniïb.

F5. 108. MacNeill suggests that perhaps we could read sair for sar. sair seems to make more sense here than any of the words appearing in *DIL* as 1, 2 and 3 sár, so I have accepted his suggestion.

F5. 110. MacNeill's clothbind for *LL* chlothbind is a misprint, as the lenition mark is

clearly visible in the Facsimile.

MacNeill and the editors of *LL* expand the suspension stroke over the s in the last word in different ways. MacNeill reads *Sechnaill*, while *LL* has *Shechlaind* (:dechraind). In this poem this word occurs twice, but only in an abbreviated form. *LL* expands them in two different ways: as *hūa* Māel *Sechnaill* (:Echdruim) in F5. 76 and as *hūa* Māel *Shechlaind* in this line. First, concerning lenition: a following closely connected word is not always lenited after the gen. of Máel in these poems (see Vol. II, p. 47: **3.16 b**). Second, on the form itself: the non-abbreviated form occurs in full in *LL* in F2. 54 (Sechnuill : nemthruim) and in F7. 142 (maill : Sechnaill). In F6. the editors of *LL* expand the abbreviated form as *Sechnaill* in ll. 121, 133, 137, 185 and as *Shechnaill* in F6. 182 and 200 (rhyming with Flaind in F6. 200). The *R* version of F6. has the full form Sechnaill in F6. 121, 137 and 200. Although the editors of *LL* may have meant to achieve 'visual rhyme' here between dechraind and *Shechlaind* (which they do not attempt in the case of Flaind : *Shechnaill* in F6. 200), still, in view of the evidence discussed above I believe that the best way to expand the abbreviation stroke here is to read *Sechnaill*. See also the Note on F6. 182, p. 188.

Note that in order to get the correct number of syllables, *huä* should be read as a disyllable. However, as I have 37 certain examples of internal rhyme in the second long line in this poem, maybe it would be better to read nóco ro for coro (or Máile for Máel) and clú : hū (*cf.* F5. 14 [nó]co tānic). For the various forms of úa in these poems, see Vol. II, p. 38: **3.7 c**.

F5. 112. MacNeill's ríge for *LL* rígi must be a misprint: both the MS and the Facsimile have rígi.

F5. 115. Note that the *caesura* has to come after an unstressed word. For other similar examples, see Vol. II, p. 108: **1.2 c**.

F5. 115-116. There is a problem with the rhyme in bladach : rebach (F5. 115-116). Maybe read bledach, 'vast'?

F5. 117. MacNeill has the following note on this line: "See *AU* 995. Instead of Conaire we should probably read *Conaille*, of which people Matudán was king" (1913: 81). As he is not quite sure of this proposal, and as I could not find any other evidence apart from

the *AU* entry, I did not change the *LL* reading.

F5. 118. MacNeill and the Facsimile have forurmi for MS forurim.

F5. 119. Both MacNeill and *LL* suggest that we read chonggab (`weapon', OIr nom. sg.) (:ollam), for MS chonggaib (OIr acc./dat. sg.). The scribe wrote down the alternative form, acc. sg. for nom. sg., by mistake. On the nom. and acc. sg. of ā, f stems, see Vol. II, pp. 36-38: **3.6 a**.

F5. 120. MacNeill and *LL* suggest that perhaps we should read ammal (:.ollam) for MS ammail (although they do this with a question-mark). The only way to get the required marker of the *caesura* here (in this case, *úaitne*) is to accept the suggested emendation. la síl Eōgain amma(i)l is a problematic phrase. This line is cited in *DIL* under ammail with a question-mark; no translation is given. There are only two other examples cited--one from Thes. ii. 295 §5, where this form is analysed by Stokes and Strachan as a compound of an-/am- and bail, and is translated as `evil person'. The other example is from *SR* 5558, where it is an adjective according to *DIL*: gnīm n-ammail (:clannaib). If one follows Stokes' and Strachan's analysis, then amma(i)l in our text could only be a compound of an-/am- (originally a negative prefix, which later also starts to be used as an intensive prefix) and of bal, later also bail, ā, f, `prosperity, good luck'. If we take am- to be the intensive prefix, then bal here must be in the gen. pl., and the whole word probably refers to síl Eógain: lit. `of great fortunes'. Note, however, that according to *DIL*, the a(i)m- form of the prefix an- is not found with the meaning `very, great'. The other possibility is to take am- as the negative prefix. As Fland would probably not have qualified síl Eōgain in a negative way, then amma(i)l must refer to Ōengus in l. 119, bal being nom. sg. here. In this case bal is used in a metaphorical sense, that is, transferred to a person: `the unfortunate one'. I believe that MS amma(i)l is another example of the scribe using the original, OIr acc. sg. form for nom. sg. (see Vol. II, pp. 36-38: **3.6 a**).

F5. 123. The MS has do-thutim im, which must be an example of dittography, and it will also leave us with an extra syllable. This is also noted by the editors of *LL*, who suggest that we read do-thuit im. MacNeill's suggestion that we omit the preposition im must be a misprint, as he does translate the preposition later on. I take this form to be the pres. ind. sg. 3; but in theory it could also be perf. sg. 3; however, I do not have a single

example of do acting as a perfective particle in these poems. Concerning do-maid in F1. 32, see Note on p. 16.

F5. 125-126. I have decided to capitalise Hūa, which occurs once in each of these long lines, as in both cases it is the first element in the name of a population-group.

F5. 126. There is an extra syllable in this line. MacNeill has the following note here: "Perhaps *i* at the beginning of the line does not count, following the final vowel of *catha* [in F5. 125]." (1913: 74.) However, I have no definite example of elision across line boundaries (see Vol. II, p. 128: **4.8**), so another solution would have to be found. The *úaitne* between thrucha and Macha shows that the *caesura* has to come after thrucha. One could read tessach thrucha--`a fever of doom' here instead of i tessaig thrucha; however, this would spoil the internal rhyme between tessaig and Bresail, of which I have otherwise 36 certain examples in this poem (see p. 118). Maybe the best thing would be to omit the i altogether and take tessaig thrucha as an independent dative. (For other examples of the independent dative in these poems, see Vol. II, p. 34: **3.2**.) Note that Hogan (1910: 633) cites Tessaigh Thrucha as the dat. sg. of a place-name, of which this is the only example. The phrase i tessaig thrucha is also cited in *DIL* under tessach, `fever', with a question-mark, and also under trocha, `doom', with the remark "? *gs.* as attrib.". Yes, I do think that this is the gen. sg. of trocha[e], iā, f, and the phrase `in a fever of doom' does seem to make sense here.

F5. 127. There are two syllables missing in this line. MacNeill and *LL* supply Ultu after mandrais, and I have accepted their suggestion.

F5. 130. There is one syllable missing in this line. MacNeill and *LL* suggest that we read Āed ard (or án) Ailig. I have supplied [ard].

F5. 133. MacNeill and the Facsimile have étam for étann, which is what the diplomatic edition has. The MS has étam, which is corrected to étann--this is also noted by the editors of *LL*. nech can only be the subject here, so étann must be the correct reading. This is an example of the pres. sg. 3 conjunct ending -ann\-enn, which will become very popular in late MIr. (See also *SNG*: 293: 12.12, Vol. II, p. 85: **12.21**, and SLF, p. 155: 105.)

F5. 134. The only way to get the required marker of the *caesura* (here *aicill*) in this line is to put the *caesura* after aidbli (: gainmi) rather than áirmi as is done in *LL*.
In order to get the correct number of syllables in 134*d*, we should either have elision between gainmi and in or read cor(o) áirmi.

F5. 136. MacNeill has the following note on the last word, ṅglonnaib, which is identical with the last word of the previous line:

> "The repetition must be a scribal error. The last word should alliterate with Flann, which begins the next verse, but I cannot supply it, unless there is a noun *forram*, "reckoning" (*for* + *rím*). Cp. "*forraimhe*, watching or keeping cattle," O'Donovan, Suppt., in the sense of keeping count of the cattle (?)." (1913: 74)

The editors of *LL* suggest that we read fonnaib, `pleasures', with a question-mark. I have accepted this suggestion, as I have no definite example in these poems of two words of the same form and meaning rhyming with each other in end-rhyme position. (*cf.* also F4. 33-34, p. 92; F5. 23-24, p. 132; and Vol. II, p. 121: **2.6**). Moreover, the fact that *fidrad freccomail* is present in one form or another between all the stanzas with one exception (see p. 115), also seems to support this emendation.

F5. 137. Read Diä as a disyllable.

F5. 138. Elide the i in iss and read ciä as a disyllable in order to get the required twelve syllables and the rhyme with disyllabic Diä in F5. 137. (Concerning the rules for elision in these poems, see Vol. II, pp. 125-128, section **4**.)
dīa n-īarfais--This form is cited in *DIL* as the subj. pres. sg. 3 of íarmi-foich--however, one would expect the conjunct/prot. ending here (see the Note on F1. 39, p. 17).

TRANSLATION

(based on MacNeill, 1913: 75-82)

Their deeds, their exploits, their devastations that were manly,
it is more than can be recounted so that you can not hear them from a poet[1].

On one occasion Muiredach, the son of Eógan was there in danger
in his sleep above the dangerous shore on his own.

There came Eochu Abratchaín, the son of Éconn,
and seized the lad, and brought him under covering into his rigged ship.

Over the vast, stormy sea the one-eyed man carried the youth with him;
in[2] his wooded territory he got valiant service from Crinna's king.

The swift, fair-faced one used to go upon the moor[3] to capture a deer;
he was forced to feed Eochu, the furious-bright one[4], the nobly pure one[5].

A wonderful feat for the lad, without a net, without a dog to accompany him?,

by the swiftness of his feet to catch deer on the moors[6].

He was like this for seven days, seven months and seven years,

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[1] MacNeill: `their numbering is too great for you to hear them from a poet' (1913: 75).

[2] 'na: or `into'

[3] (is)sin slīab: or `into the mountain'

[4] téitgel: I think that 6 tét-, `warm, hot, furious', makes more sense in this compound than 1 tét, `rope, cord', although this example (téitgel) is cited under the compounds of the latter word with MacNeill's translation, `Eochu of the white rigging'. I take the cheville here as referring to Muiredach, and not to Eochu.

[5] trīathglan: if the first element qualifies the second (*cf.* MacNeill: `a bright lord'--1913: 75).

[6] isna slēbīb: or `in the mountains'

beyond the sea, until the time of one summer arrived.

Then Eochu was cut down by him with the mighty stroke of his great weapon;
as a result of his melodious-bright action he won the hand of [very fair] Erc, the daughter of Loarn.

Ireland is full of the deeds of the race of Eógan of Ailech;
striving with renowned excellence, not little did they[1] distinguish themselves.

Sixty kings and twice fifty opulent over-kings he cut down
--a powerful, shattering rock[2]--, the son of Erc in avenging his father[3].

Including the "Man with a Stripe" whom battles or troops could not subdue,
--bright clearness--the champion of all Europe fell[4].

The devastation of Clíu from Lúachair to [heroic?] Cashel[5],
as well as the country of the Araid[6], by the lord who conquered Munster's plain.

A mighty deed, it was not a feeble stroke, Anmeri, the son of Sétnae
fell by the hand of Fergus, the son of [Néllén?]--a clearly smooth deed of combat.

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[1] lit. `it' (= síl in F5. 17). The translation of nī sūail ro sainig appears in *DIL* under sainigidir.

[2] brechta brígail: lit. `a powerful rock of shattering'. *DIL* cites this phrase under brecht, adj., `variegated, varied', with a question-mark. Prof. Breatnach has suggested that this word could be the gen. sg. of brechtad, `act of variegating, breaking the uniformity of', a vn. formation from brecht, used in a metaphorical sense here.

[3] See Note on p. 131.

[4] See Note on p. 132.

[5] Cassel [curad]: or `Cashel of heroes'

[6] Arad--in his translation of F5. 24 MacNeill has Arai, while in F5. 90 Araid. I am using Araid throughout.

A no less famous tale, Conall Cáel who used to sing a melancholy song[1]
--very perceptible excellence--, fell by the hand of Fergus, the son of Crundmáel.

As for the Airgíalla's champion, Dúnchad, the son of Ultán in his homeland,
Máel Dúin of the fine deep voice slew[2] him in very green Dún Forggo.

At another time he[3] brought flight[4] upon the strong men of [the] kingdoms,
it was a destruction of powers, the burning of the kings in Dún Cethirn.

The famed king of the Cíannachta, Cenn Fáelad, [he was] there for misfortune,
and the head of the territories of the Picts, Dúngal, the sad son of Scannal.

Fergal cut down the lord of Fíacc?[5] who ruled over the plain of Brega,
he is not an extorting Frank[6], but Conall Grant, the grandson of Cernach.

Conaing of Cnogba, the son of Amalgaid of dignity,
by Áed Allán the fierce man met overthrow in Ailech.

By him (Áed) was slain Tommaltach, the son of Dunechaid of the

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[1] This might refer to the fact that Conall was a poet.

[2] rod ciúir--*DIL* lists this example under crenaid with a question-mark; however, it would be difficult to fit in any of the meanings here. I would suggest that this word belongs to cúraid, `chastises, punishes', and that we should read rod c(i)úir (:Dúin).

[3] i.e. Máel Dúin

[4] Concerning teichel, see Footnote on F4. 92 on p. 108.

[5] See Note on p. 133.

[6] lit. `he is not a Frank of tribute'--this phrase, nī Franc forbbaig (:. Cernaig), and tuc a forbach (: dograch) in F5. 100 are cited in *DIL* under forbach, `an extraordinary levy, surtax', with the following remark: "Form and meaning doubtful in these two passages." For the phrase in F5. 100, *DIL* also gives MacNeill's translation: `their trophies', with the remark "tribute wrung from them?". I believe that `levy, tribute' make sense in both cases.

maraudings[1],
taken unawares[2] and Flaithgius, the son of Dub Díberg.

Áed went westward to Tír Dá Glass--it was a fierce deed--,
a fair venture?[3] (from) afar, receiving not alliance? but submission from Cathal.

Níall Frossach went forth with seven hundred, long it will be remembered,
till, having traversed Leinster, he brought a hundred [hostages] from the land of Munster.

As for Áed Ordnide, he subdued [Meath?] with precious valour;
as a result of it, the king was enriched; he overran Leinster three times in one month[4].

Great is the journey? from Áth Clíath to fair Carn Cornáin;
he returned safe[5] after having plundered around Gabrán's fierce plain?[6].

Fierce is the raid he made over the Ulstermen, without any denial,
--the fierce, brilliant ones?[7]--, it reached from the Bann to the Bréna.

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[1] mac Dunechda na ndīberg is cited in *DIL* under meaning a) `marauding' of díberg with the following remark: "possibly in sense (*c*) or (*d*)?" ; c) `marauder', d) `strife, vengeance'. In my opinion, all of these meanings could fit in here.

[2] cen aichnius cuir--lit. `without firm recognition'--I take cuir to be the attributive gen. sg. of cor 14, `precise meaning unknown' according to *DIL*, but sometimes translated as `firm, strong'.

[3] cāem alt--*cf.* glondalt (F4. 13) `great prowess'; ollalt (F5. 111) `of great adventures'?.

[4] sadbriu de in rí / ort Laigniu: or `the king, who overran [etc.], was all the richer for it'

[5] tērnam imslán--lit. `a very safe return'

[6] See Note on p. 134.

[7] ganna grīanna is the only example cited in *DIL* under ? ganna. *DIL* suggests that the first word might be the pl. of the substantivised adj. 1 gand, `scanty', and gives the following explanation: "*sterile, waste lands* (after the pillage)?" Maybe `sterile and scorched'? MacNeill does not give any translation here. Prof. Breatnach has called my attention to Binchy's edition of `The Saga of Fergus mac Léti' in *Ériu* 16. On p. 44 Binchy translates fa gann (n)gle as `fierce was the conflict', and cites two other examples from other texts where gann appears to mean `hard, fierce'. So we could take gann as an acc. pl. adj. qualifying the Ulstermen (`the fierce, brilliant Ulstermen'), or as the nom. pl. of the substantivised adj. (see the translation above).

He overthrew the heroes?[1] of Ess Rúaid with great, very eager warlike ardour;
his (their?) armies slew Rogallach of the race of upright Conall.

The head of the race of Cían, Cummuscach, the son of strong Túathal,
by great Murchad fell the noble high-king of possessions[2].

The high-king of Ireland, Níall Caille, who gave help to the poor,
it is a true account, he set up two kings over the Leinstermen.

The thorough ravaging of Meath by him to Bondammair of the bees[3],
--it is not an inglorious[4] onset--, [he carried off the cattle] of the Fir Cell
and of Tethba.

Áed Findlíath defeated the Foreigners in fierce [Mag] Ítha;
Alpdu escaped over the sea by means of[5] his father's ship.

The same Áed smote[6] the Foreigners--the splendid hero--,
he subjected them to tribute and took control of their encampment[7].

He challenged Lorcán[8], Cathal's comely son, although it was a crime;
he stirred up[9] sorrow's force when he blinded the great king of Meath.

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[1] See Note on p. 134.

[2] orbba: or `of inheritance' (gen. sg.)

[3] co Bondammair mbechda--this is the only example cited in *DIL* under bechda.

[4] ní drend dochla--I have given here *DIL*'s translation, which appears under dochla.

[5] a lluing--note that MacNeill takes a to be the prep. i. However, a, `by means of', does make sense here; moreover, this would be the only example of a for i in the texts I have examined.

[6] ro folaig--lit. `submerged, eclipsed'?, if this is fo-luigi.

[7] do-rat lá[i]m dara longphort--lit. `has brought a hand over'

[8] lāmair--on the basis of MacNeill's translation (`took in hands') it seems that he takes this verb as belonging to lámaigid, also occasionally lámaid, meaning `touches, handles'. However, this is a weak verb, so one would not expect lāmair as the pret. form. In fact, this is the long ā-pret. of lamaid, OIr ro-laimethar, `dares, ventures'. *DIL* cites this line under lamaid with MacNeill's translation.

[9] Concerning ro and, see Note on p. 136.

The great devastation of the plain [of Brega] and of great central[1] Meath;
prudently he searched them from Belach nDúin to the Shannon.

Noble and wary Flannacán was cut down by him--the contentious, swift one--,
the king of Dál nAraide who supported them (= the Dál nAraide?)[2], the splendid son of Eochaid.

The Foreigners devastated Inis Dar Gairgrenn of the boatsmen[3];
although they were armed, they were all killed by Murchad.

Muiredach, Máel Dúin's son, the protector[4] of beautiful Orior,
was slain by Domnall, the son of Áed, the grasper? of burnished blades[5].

The high-king of the Airgíalla, Máel Dúin, the son of Fergal of the superiority in numbers?[6],
the great hero of the quatrains[7], fell by the hand of Flann, the son of Domnall.

Níall Glúndub went to Grellach Elte in Echdruimm;
at his hands, deliberately, fell Óengus, the grandson of Máel Sechnaill.

---

[1] *DIL* suggests with a question-mark under 3 mid, `mid-, middle, centre', that the first element in miduill might belong to 1 mid, `mead'. I think that `central' makes sense here.

[2] rí Dáil Araide nos othrad--*DIL* cites this line along with MacNeill's translation (`the king of D. A. who kept men in pay (?)') under othraid, `maintains, supports', and then remarks: "the obj. of the vb. may be the Dál Araide, i.e. the supporter of his people". According to this interpretation, this line could also mean `the king who supported the Dál nAraide'. See the translation above.

[3] Note that this is the only example cited in *DIL* under the meaning `boatsman' of curchach.

[4] dīn--I give this word in *DIL*'s translation.

[5] gormland--I give this word in *DIL*'s translation, which appears under the compounds of gorm.

[6] ind forlaind--*DIL* cites this under the meaning `superiority in strength or numbers' of forlann.

[7] i.e. who is mentioned in the poems.

The slaughter of the Foreigners in green Glenn Gerg was done by Fergal;
two hundred and forty--it is not a trivial[1] company--, in the slaughter of
Aisse.

[Going] from Taltiu at assembly-time--this we relate--
overcoming[2] men, Níall's son subdued the men of Ireland.

Afterwards he made himself subject in the assembly of the notables[3]
with the agreement of the psalm-loving ones[4], however, although it was
a torment for Donnchad.[5]

Then he came to the fair-haired, noble men of Fótla[6],
--bravest of men--, and took their hostages all.

And afterwards he gave them to Donnchad--it is splendidly praised[7]--;
a union of truce[8] that he had striven for with Cellach of Cashel.

The battle-rout of the Foreigners before him to Snám Aignech;
it was not an ill deed there, [that] the two hundred [Foreigners] were cut
down.

---

[1] disse: note that this is the only example of this word cited in *DIL*.

[2] dréim: I give this word in *DIL*'s translation.

[3] ollchar--lit. `the lovers of greatness'

[4] i.e. of the clergy. This is the only example cited in *DIL* under salmchar.

[5] MacNeill has the following note on this and the previous couplet: "Flann seems to imply that Muirchertach withdrew, took up arms, and compelled the assembly to submit to him. Donnchad, the high-king, was ready for hostilities, perhaps proclaimed Muirchertach an outlaw. [...] The clergy, no doubt, intervened, and Muirchertach, as we may gather from the poem, obtained a reluctant amnesty." (1913: 79) I have underlined the part which I think he misinterpreted, as I believe that only é féin can be the object of ro chacht.

[6] co firu Fōtla finnu fialu--or `to the men of Fótla, the fair-haired, noble ones'

[7] molbthar massib--or `let him be splendidly praised', or `who is splendidly praised'

[8] ellach n-ossaid--*DIL* cites this example under 1 ellach c) `joining in battle, engaging', with the following remark: "the following exx. may also come here: ellach n-ossaid *a union of truce, a league* [etc.]". I think that *DIL*'s interpretation makes more sense than MacNeill's `gathered company', especially as for os(s)ad *DIL* gives only `a respite, cessation, a truce'.

The Gamandrad[1] of Loch Cúan were slaughtered by him, with deaths of subject folk;

he was forced to remain?[2] till the devastating of the Ulstermen and the Araid[3].

The Ulstermen in wrath and the Foreigners, on a fear-rousing?[4] adventure --a third were doomed[5]--, set off westward to Slíab Betha.

Níall's son defeated them utterly--a festival without pleasure--,
[he defeated] Olaf the champion (and) Matudán, the noble son of Áed.

A slaughter of two hundred and forty heads--you hear--,
of them as far as [Glenn] Rige, and all the many captures.

By him was slain the lord Torolb who had crossed every running sea[6];
he pierced ill-fated men when he was in the fleet[7] of Loch Neagh.

He ravaged the Hebrides, the fierce king--it was a deed of acclaim[8]--
--it was not disastrous[9]--he brought their tribute(s)[10] to the land of Tara.

He vanquished the Cíanacht of Glenn Gemin--it is not a false exploit--;

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[1] See Note on p. 137.

[2] torcaid anad--lit. `he attempted waiting?'--if the verb is do-fairget.

[3] See Footnote on F5. 24, p. 144.

[4] im gním ngretha--I give *DIL*'s translation, which appers under grith e) with a question-mark.

[5] ba trían trucha--lit. `the doomed people were a third'. I do not agree with *DIL* when it lists trucha under trocha, [iā, f], `untimely death, doom', as an attributive gen. sg. with a question-mark. I believe that trucha is the nom. pl. of trú, k, m+f, `a doomed person'. On the form trucha see Vol. II, p. 42: **3.11 a**.

[6] cach rían rethach--*cf.* F3. 79. dar (s)rían rudach, `over the impetuous? sea'.

[7] i llongais Locha Echach--or `on an expedition' on Loch Neagh.

[8] ba gním nglegrach--lit. `a clamorous deed'

[9] dograch--lit. `sad'

[10] See Footnote on F5. 36, p. 145.

Góach he wounded; that is why Dub Roa's son fell asleep[1].

The loud-voiced Foreigners plundered great Armagh around their ...?[2],
Níall's son, it is not a lie, slew two hundred of them on the way.

By him the king of brilliant Lóegaire[3] of many varied excellencies perished,
he was not of ill renown[4], the hero whose name was Cináed.

It was a hardy step that Níall's son, Conaing of protection took
eastward on a narrow path; [he made] a slaughter of three hundred heads of the Ulstermen.

Níall's grandson went into glorious Meath, greatest of all good territories,
with fame of sweet report, until he blinded the grandson of Máel Sechnaill.

Murchad defeated the nobles[5] of Ól nÉcmacht of great adventures?
--smoothness of abodes[6]--and took the kingship of the Connachtmen.

Cerball's comely grandson, Laidgnén of vast Loch Úaithne,
the bright-shaped pillar[7], came with[8] Fergal, the son of Conaing.

---

[1] con-tuil--i.e. `died'

[2] (i)mmas sniïb: this is the only example cited in *DIL* under ? sní.

[3] dīth leis ríg Lōegaire laindrig--laindrig could also refer to `king'.

[4] This is the only example cited in *DIL* under dogairm--the meaning given is `of ill repute (?)'. I believe that this makes sense here.

[5] mathe fer nÓl nÉcmacht--lit. `the good ones'; or `the goodness'?

[6] míne mennat--`smoothness of abodes' is *DIL*'s translation, which appears under míne, `smoothness?', with the following explanation: "i.e. *fertile soil, cf.* mín tíre". *DIL* also cites this example under mennat, u, rarely o, `a place of abode', with the remark "*? gp.*". I believe that taking this to be a gen. pl. is just one possibility, as mennat could also be in the nom. sg., and then míne would be a preposed attributive gen., `a smooth abode'.

[7] i.e. hero

[8] do-lluid la: MacNeill, 1913: 81: "*i.e.*, was cut off by".

Áed of Ailech proceeded on a plundering expedition into famous Bréifne[1];
although it was a distant journey, the sprightly Níall, the grandson of Rúarc[2] fell by his hand.

The same hero cut down Conaire[3] at the assembly-place;
great Matudán, it is there that he inflicted deadly oppression[4].

The champion of Énda's kindred[5], Óengus--high is his weapon--,
the unfortunate one fell by the race of Eógan, although he was a ruler?[6].

The high-king of the bright race of Lugaid[7], whom splendid verses praise,
Eógan's very keen? race trod them down, Domnall's three grandsons.

The good king of Derlus fell, around Furadrán who filled a bier[8]
hardy Cú Chaille and the formidable man's strong son, Rúarcán.

Máelán, the king of the Uí Dorthainn, fell at their hands on the field of battle;
in a fever of doom[9] was slain the ruler of the Uí Bresail Macha.

Noble Flaithbertach of the white-handed hostages destroyed the [Ulstermen],
he by whom was slain a wolf, Cú Ulad, and Áed and Artán.

---

[1] See Note on p. 139.

[2] Nīall ūa Rūairc rebach: or `Níall, the sprightly grandson of Rúarc'.

[3] or `the Conaille'? See Note on p. 139.

[4] ág n-éca is cited in *DIL* under 3 ág c), `oppression'. However, it could also belong to 2 ág, `fight, battle'.

[5] éclond aicme Énna--I have given *DIL*'s translation here, which appears under écclond.

[6] ollam--*DIL*: "in early poetry used of warriors".

[7] chenēōil Lugdach laindrig: or `the race of bright Lugaid'.

[8] This is the only example cited in *DIL* under fúatlán ?.

[9] See Note on p. 141.

Noble Úa Canainn of Conall's portion whom swords maimed?[1]
he ruled in strength[2] till [noble] Áed of Ailech crushed him.

Another hero, brave Mathgamain of the race of Cían[3],
who was generous in sharing[4], fell by noble, renowned Níall.

The reckoning of their forays--one does not find anything that is not lawful--,
what is more measureless till you count the sands of the sea?

What I have told to all of their feats will live till doom;
it is not for defaming them that I would not tell the hundredth of their [pleasures?].

Fland the Lector from Monasterboice that God has magnified,
it is he who has compiled them, if any brave man asked who.

---

[1] cirrsit claidib--MacNeill has `that swords carved', referring to Conall's portion. However, *DIL* only has `mangles, maims' for cirrid.

[2] rotrén reraig--or `the very strong one ruled'. I have given here *DIL*'s translation of this long line, which appears under rigid, `rules', with a question-mark. Cf. F3. 89--reraig roí, `he subdued a battle-field'.

[3] Mathgamain clainne Céin calma: or `of the brave race of Cían'

[4] ba fíal fodla--lit. `who was the generous one of sharing'

MIDE MAGEN CLAINNE CUIND (F6)

INTRODUCTION

MSS: *LL* 184[b]20

R 163[b]18

M 28va 22 ff.

B iv 2

D iii 2

23 E 26

24 A 2

H 4. 1. 3 (TCD)

H 4. 17 (TCD)

Previous edition and translation:
MacNeill, 1913: 83-92 (from *LL*).

In this work I have relied mostly on *LL*, and I have also given all the variant readings from *R*, some of which are superior to *LL*. In problematic cases I also cite *M*, and occasionally I also use evidence from *B iv 2* and *24 A 2* to support certain readings.

LL is clearly legible all through. Most of the Facsimile of *R* is clear.

Kuno Meyer has the following note on this poem in the Facsimile of *R*:

> "A poem of fifty-seven stanzas enumerating the kings of Meath who had their seat at Uisnech, from Congal, the first king of the race of Níall, to Donnchad mac Murchada. [...]
>
> The original poem ended with stanza 51, as it does in LL. 184b, with the death of Conchobar ua Maelsechnaill at the hands of Murchad mac Flainn in 1077. Hence it cannot have been composed by Flann Manistrech (who died in 1056), as the scribe of LL. and O'Curry say. Other copies in B.IV.2, fo. 70 a, and in 23 E 26, p. 245." (1909: xiv.)

However, MacNeill has the following note on this poem at stanza 48 (ll. 189-192 in my text):

> "As Conchobor (s.o. Flann +1013 s.o. Mael Sechnaill +1022) was reigning when Flann Mainistrech died, the next two stanzas are by a later author, who may also have made changes in the foregoing part of the poem. The final stanza shows that Conchobor (48) was the last king named in the original poem. He outlived Flann Mainistrech." (MacNeill, 1913: 92.)

Conchobor is first mentioned in stanza 48, the length of his reign is mentioned in 49, and his death in the second couplet of stanza 50. Then in the last stanza (51) the poet closes the line of the kings enumerated with Conchobor, and the poem ends with a dúnad. Thus the lines referring to Conchobor's death and the reign of his son might well be an interpolation; all the more as the poet declares in stanza 51 that forty-seven kings ruled Mide up to the reign of Conchobor, which is a further indication that the poem was actually written during his reign, and he was the last one mentioned in the list of kings. The fact that the end of the poem could have been tampered with is also indicated by the absence of lines 191-194 in *R*, *M*, *B iv 2* and *24 A 2* (the second couplet in 48 and the first one in 49), which mention Domnall and Conchobor. (Note that there is a dúnad in *R* after 204, as well as after 228.)

As far as the relationship between *LL* and *R* is concerned, *LL* can not be a copy of *R* or of the version from which *R* was copied, as there are quite a few significant differences between the two MS versions. The most important of these are discussed in the Notes on pp. 179-189.

I have followed the following principles when handling the variant readings:

1. I generally follow *LL*, which is more clearly legible than *R*. I only incorporate the *R* reading in the main text when there is definite proof that the *LL* reading is corrupt. Some of the words in *R* seem to be a corrupt version of what is found in *LL*: Grann (F6. 76), denn (F6. 95), chlaind (F6. 159), mbūadail (F6. 123), crīth (F6. 125), in tsachair (F6. 131), in glan Gāedel (F6. 140). See also the Notes on pp. 182, 186, 184 and 185.
2. The differences between the marking of glide-vowels (e.g. magen--maigen) are ignored.
3. In general, *R* has fewer abbreviated forms than *LL*; I only note these if there is a linguistic point in question.
4. Variation between nd\nn is ignored where it has no special significance.
5. The variation between final s\ss is ignored.

6. The variation between ct\cht is ignored.

7. The variation between ai\ui in unstressed syllables is ignored.

8. In *R* final -ig is always spelt -ich with one exception (F6. 57: cētaig).

9. The variation between initial i(-) and hi(-) is ignored unless these letters come after a preposition affixing a h before a vowel.

10. The variation between nasalised initial mm, rr and ll is ignored unless there is an infixed pronoun in question.

11. In *R*, blīadna is often abbreviated as .b. I have supplied an m before it where it is necessary.

12. Single letter abbreviations are not italicised.

ANALYSIS OF THE METRE

Metre: **debide scaílte (fota)** (7^{x} $7^{x+1 \text{ or } 2}$ 7^{x} $7^{x+1 \text{ or } 2}$).

Stanza structure

$7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$: 5, 6, 8, 13, 23, 24, 27, 29, 45, 50 (10).
$7^{1}7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}$: 1, 4, 11, 14, 22, 41, 42, 46 (8).
$7^{2}7^{3}7^{1}7^{2}$: 2, 19, 20, 35, 37 (5).
$7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}7^{3}$: 12, 26, 44, 48, 49 (5).
$7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}7^{3}$: 9, 28, 39 (3).
$7^{1}7^{3}7^{2}7^{3}$: 38, 40 (2).
$7^{2}7^{3}7^{1}7^{3}$: 36 (1).

Stanzas without *rinn 7 airdrinn* in the first couplet
$7^{2}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$: 7, 10, 15, 16, 17, 31, 34, 43, 47 (9).
$7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}7^{3}$: 3, 30, 33 (3).
$7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}7^{2}$: 18, 32, 51 (3).
$7^{1}7^{1}7^{2}7^{3}$: 21, 25 (2).

The figures for *rinn* (number of couplets with $7^{x}7^{x+1}$ per total number of couplets) are 74/102=73%. Ó Cuív[1] has 70/102, and the difference arises from the fact that he subtracted those four couplets from the total where a consonant from group **x** ($\mathbf{C^{h}}$) rhymes with a consonant from group **l** ($\mathbf{C^{v}}$)--see below.

End-rhyme

A consonant from group **x** ($\mathbf{C^{h}}$) rhymes with a consonant from group **l** ($\mathbf{C^{v}}$) (Murphy, 1961: 33): **brath : Dond*chad*** (F6. 91-92), **daith : chōicdaig** (F6. 101-102), **chatha : (n)Dondchada** (F6. 151-152, 163-164). (4)

On F6. 49-50 and F6. 102, see the Notes on pp. 181 and 183.

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[1] Ó Cuív did a metrical analysis of F6, F7, F10, F11 and F12 in 1968: 284-285. I have followed his criteria here. See a more detailed discussion in SMF, Vol. II, pp. 101-104: **1.1**.

Fidrad freccomail

Fidrad freccomail is present in 1+2 (ll. 4-5), 2+3 (ll. 8-9), 3+4 (ll. 12-13) (between two identical words), 7+8 (ll. 28-29), 12+13 (ll. 48-49), 13+14 (ll. 52-53), 16+17 (ll. 64-65), 17+18 (ll. 68-69), 18+19 (ll. 72-73), 22+23 (ll. 88-89), 23+24 (ll. 92-93), 24+25 (ll. 96-97), 27+28 (ll. 108-109), 28+29 (ll. 112-113), 29+30 (ll. 116-117), 34+35 (ll. 136-137) (I take **hūa** to be stressed here), 36+37 (ll. 144-145), 37+38 (ll. 148-149), 38+39 (ll. 152-153), 40+41 (ll. 160-161) (between two identical words), 41+42 (ll. 164-165), 44+45 (ll. 176-177), 49+50 (ll. 196-197) (between two identical words), 50+51 (ll. 200-201) (24) (plus note the special cases below).

F. f. is present between a stressed and an unstressed word in 6+7 (ll. 24-25), and between an unstressed and a stressed syllable in 11+12 (ll. 44-45).

F. f. might be present between 4+5 (ll. 16-17) if we ignore **amsir**, the first stressed word in l. 17; or the linking words might be **Cond** and **Chuind**.

F. f. is present between **th** and **d** in 20+21 (ll. 80-81).

The linking word in 21+22 (ll. 84-85) is probably **Dīarmata**.

The linking word in 30+31 (ll. 120-121) is probably **Sech*naill**Sechnaill***.

The linking word in 39+40 (ll. 156-157) is probably **Fergal**.

The linking word in 42+43 (ll. 168-169) is probably **Dond*chaid*\Dondchaid**.

The figures for *fidrad freccomail* are **32/50=64%**.

Alliteration is not present in the following lines: 5, 11, 18, 19, 26 *LL*, 28, 32, 38, 43, 45, 49, 50, 52, 54, 61, 62, 64, 67, 68, 73, 75, 76, 80, 88, 92, 100, 108, 111, 120, 128, 132, 134, 136, 137, 138, 151, 152, 156 *LL*, 158, 159 *LL*, 165, 173, 174, 176, 178, 180, 182, 184, 185, 190, 192, 200, 204 (53).

Alliteration is not between the last two stressed words in line *d* in F6. 8, 84 (I take hūa to be stressed here) and 196. (3)

My figures for alliteration are **148/204=73%**, while Ó Cuív's 141/204. The difference must be due to my emendations in F6. 35, 40, 41, 62, 86 and 172 (all based on *R*), and also to whether one takes the noun to be acc. or dat. in F6. 7 and 106 (see below).

In order to get alliteration in F6. 7 one has to take **Inis** as dat. and lenite the **f** in **Fáil**.

We can only get alliteration in F6. 74 and 199 if **mac\meic** is stressed; and in F6. 169 if **mac** is unstressed in the construction **X mac\meic Y**.

If in F6. 106 we read the accusative instead of the dative (**i flaithius fīrmaith**), then we will get alliteration in the line. Note that this is what *R* has.

In F6. 113 *LL* the lenition of **f** after **nār**, which would be expected historically, is not marked, thus we can get alliteration here.

In F6. 133 the spelling would indicate that the scribe considered **Mel** to be an unstressed word; however, we can only get alliteration in this line if both **mac** and **Mel** are stressed. Concerning F6. 172, see Note on p. 187.

Internal rhyme in the first couplet (11/51=22%):

deich : feith (F6. 49-50)
daig : flaith (F6. 85-86)
fūair : Chlūain (F6. 141-142)
blīadain : Līamuin (F6. 165-166)
Mide : tige (F6. 177-178)
magMide : anfine (F6. 197-198)
mac : glacc (F6. 57-58) (**mac** is stressed)
Domnaill : chomlaind (F6. 101-102)
bét : éc (F6. 145-146)
rīagla : blīadna (F6. 173-174)
delbglain : Temraig (F6. 193-194)

A consonant from group **x** (C^h) rhymes with a consonant from group **l** (C^v) (Murphy, 1961: 33): **daig: flaith** (F6. 85-86).

In F6. 9-10 **amsir** seems to rhyme with **hamsir**.

There is imperfect rhyme between **Dīarmait** and **blīadain** (F6. 105-106), **Got** and **olc** (F6. 185-186--see Note on F6. 155-156, p. 186) and **secht** and **bec** (F6. 201-202). (3)

Internal rhyme in the second couplet (37/51=73%; twice in F6. 147-148 and 167-168)

cride : Mide (F6. 3-4)
déc : éc (F6. 23-24)
éca : Dētna (F6. 31-32)
cāem : Āed (F6. 47-48)
ilach : birach (F6. 55-56)
dīanblaid : Dīarmait (F6. 63-64)[1]
Bregach : Fledach (F6. 71-72)
amra : calma (F6. 15-16)
dalb : Carn (F6. 27-28)
Mide : Lini (F6. 39-40)
Slāne : sāle (F6. 51-52)
Temraig : derlaig (F6. 59-60)
daíne : Māele (F6. 67-68)
alt : Grant (F6. 75-76)

[1] See Note on p. 182.

Mide : Bile (F6. 79-80)
blīadna : īarla (F6. 95-96)
Chobthaig : ndorchaig (F6. 103-104)
Dondchada : borrfada (F6. 115-116)
mbūadaib : Rūanaid (F6. 123-124)
tochuir : -roch*air* (F6. 131-132)
Niall : grīan (F6. 139-140)
īarla : blīadna, Crinna : finna (F6. 147-148)
[C]lūain : ūair (F6. 159-160)
bét : éc, Chobthaig : Dondch*aid* (F6. 167-168)
forlund : Domnall (F6. 175-176)
ngním : lín (F6. 203-204)
borrfaith : torch*air* (F6. 91-92)
ochair : -roch*air* (F6. 99-100)
mmudu : Ruba(*LL*) (F6. 107-108)
brethlaind : Sech*naill* (F6. 119-120)
mall : ndall (F6. 127-128)
thrēnglacc : ērba(i)lt (F6. 135-136)
glond : dond (F6. 143-144)
gót : óc (F6. 155-156)
chomland : Domnall (F6. 163-164)
Flaind : Gaill (F6. 171-172)
deich : feith (F6. 195-196)

Rhyme not highlighted in spelling: F6. 67-68, 107-108 *LL* and 175-176. The spelling of the rhyming pair in F6. 39-40 is from two different MSS.

Internal rhyme appears in both couplets in stanzas 13, 15, 26, 36, 37, 42, 44 and 49 (8).

Internal rhyme is not present in either of the couplets in stanzas 2, 3 (see below), 5, 9, 11, 21, 28, 38, 46, 47 and 48 (11).

What may possibly correspond to one type of *breccad* rhyme found in bardic poetry (Ní Dhomhnaill, 1975: 45-54) can be found in the third stanza, where the word **aimsir** occurs in each line of the stanza in both *LL* and *R*.

Proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in *d* (not counting the last word, which rhymes with the final of *c*, and not counting **aimsir** either): **39/107=36%** (my figures); 39/105=37% (Ó Cuív's figures). The slight difference in the second number can be explained by the fact that I took **mac** to be stressed in F6. 48 and 156, as an adj. intrudes into the construction **X mac Y**.

Analysis of rhyming consonant clusters (using Ó Cuív's classification--1966: 94-103; 1987: 109; see also SMF, Vol. II, p. 111-112: **2**):

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

C^vC^v--C^vC^v; C^vC^v--C^vL^v; C^vC^v--L^vL^v; L^vL^v--C^vC^v

Subne : chuibde (F6. 61-62) (e. r.)
amra : Banba (F6. 133-134) (e. r.)
chomland : Domnall (F6. 163-164) (i. r.)
rīagla : blīadna (F6. 173-174) (i. r.)
dalb : Carn (F6. 27-28) (i. r.)
blīadna : īarla (F6. 95-96, 147-148) (i. r.)
īarma : certblīadna (F6. 77-78) (e. r.)
dīamra : ōenblīadna (F6. 153-154) (e. r.)
Domnaill : chomlaind (F6. 101-102) (i. r.)
amra : calma (F6. 15-16) (i. r.)
Temraig : derlaig (F6. 59-60) (i. r.)
forlund : Domnall (F6. 175-176) (i. r.)

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

L^vC^h--C^vC^h; C^vC^h--L^vC^h; C^vC^h--C^vC^h; C^hC^v--C^hC^v; L^vC^h--L^vC^h

borrfaith : torchair (F6. 91-92) (i. r.) **Chobthaig : ndorchaig** (F6. 103-104) (i. r.)
brethlaind : Sechnaill (F6. 119-120) (i. r.) **Dondchada : borrfada** (F6. 115-116) (i. r.)
Chobthaig : Dondchaid (F6. 167-168) (i. r.)

3. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L (rules 1 and 2): C^vP^v--C^vP^v

derg : lomlerg (F6. 85-86) (e. r.)

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

millse : ChrōÏnse (F6. 183-184) (e. r.)

5. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L + ^{h} (rules 1, 2, 3): C^vL^h--C^vP^h

alt : Grant (F6. 75-76) (i. r.)

6. One consonant corresponds to two: a consonant from class **I** ($\mathbf{C^v}$) is added:

P^h--C^vP^h; P^v--P^vC^v

thrēnglacc : ērbailt (F6. 135-136) (i. r.) (final consonants)
éca : Dētna (F6. 31-32) (i. r.)

7. Two consonants correspond to three or four consonants: the rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2): $C^vC^vC^v$--C^vC^v; $C^vC^vC^vC^v$--C^vC^v

thrēnglacc : ērba(i)lt (F6. 135-136) (i. r.) **delbglain : Temraig** (F6. 193-194) (i. r.)

8. Special case: C^vC^v--C^vC^v or C^vC^v--C^v

magMide : anfine (F6. 197-198) (i.r.)

According to *DIL*, the original mutation after an- was nasalisation, which was later replaced by lenition. Note that *R* has anbfine here, which may indicate the older type of mutation. In either case the rhyme would have been acceptable in MIr (see Vol. II, pp. 111-112: **2**, and 113-115: **2.2**).

Elision

a) Unstressed short vowel preceded by another vowel: twelve examples. In all of these the metre requires elision (F6. 13, 15, 31, 59, 80, 85, 87, 91, 111, 113, 116 *LL*, 198). (12/12=100%)

b) Unstressed short vowel + unstressed long vowel: two examples. In both cases the metre requires elision (F6. 30, 103). (2/2=100%)

c) Dropping of the initial vowel of an unstressed word (prep. + poss. pron.\article; adverb):

I. After consonants: F6. 19 (not indicated by the *LL* scribe), F6. 26 *LL*, 75, 107, 119, 122 *LL*, 163 *LL*, 184 (not indicated by the *LL* scribe). There is no dropping in F6. 52.

II. At the beginning of a line: F6. 36.

d) Dropping of the initial vowel of the conjunction **is**:

I. After vowels: F6. 6 (not indicated by the scribe), F6. 116 *LL*.

II. After consonants: F6. 38, 49 *LL*. There is no dropping in F6. 142.

e) Dropping of the initial vowel of the copula **is**:

There is no dropping in F6. 196 and 204.

f) **do\de + V; do\de + f**: three examples. In one case, the vowel has to be elided (F6. 26).

In one case, the vowel should not be elided (F6. 161). Concerning F6. 54, see Note on p. 181.

Dúnad

The poem begins and ends with the word **Mide**, so this is a regular *saigid* type *dúnad* (Murphy, 1961: 44). Note that **Mide** is also the closing word in stanza 5 in *LL*, *R* and *M*. See also Vol. II, p. 129: **5.2**.

TEXT

Mide magen clainne[1] Cuind
forod[2] fine[3] Néill nertluind
cride na Banba bricce
Mide[4] mag na mórchipe.

Mór ríg ro gab for Mide[5]
et*er* fine[6] is anfine[7]
ōro gab for Inis Fáil[8]
longas m*ac* Mīl*ed* Espāin.

Ō amsir Hérimōin[9] āin
co hamsir Nūadat Find Fáil
ō amsir Nūadat ille
co amsir[10] n-aird nŪgaine[11].

Ó Ūgaine ule anall[12]
co Echaig[13] Feidlech Frēmand

---

[1] clainni *R*

[2] forud *R*

[3] clainne *LL*

[4] Midi *R*

[5] ar Midi *R*

[6] eteir fine *R*

[7] anfine *R*

[8] ōro gabsat Inis Fāil *R*

[9] Āugaine *R*

[10] haimsir *R*

[11] Āugaine *R*

[12] ō aimsir Ugaine anall *R*

[13] hEochaid *R*

ó Ech*aig*[1] amra inn athach
co Cond calma Cētchathach.

Ó amsir Chuind co cét cath[2]
co clannaib Néil[l][3] m*eic* Echach[4]
ra[5] clannaib Néill ō sein (il)le[6]
in mag-sain mag[7] mór Mide. M*ide*.

Conall[8] cétrí clainne[9] Néill
ro gab ós Mide mongréid[10]
secht mblīadna déc dó don dund
coro n-ergab éc opund.

A secht fichet oc fledaib[11]
d'Fīachaig m*ac* Néil[l][12] 'na degaid[13]

---

[1] Eochuid *R*

[2] chath *R*

[3] Néill *R*

[4] Echdac*h* *R*

[5] ro *R*

[6] ō sain le *R*

[7] in magen-sa *R*

[8] Congal *R*

[9] clainni *R*

[10] Midi magrēid *R*

[11] 'na degaid *R*

[12] Néill *R*

[13] co nemain *R*

coro chlōemchlāe[1] nī dalb dath[2]
forin maig oc Carn[3] Fīach*ach*[4].

Ardgal m*ac* *Con*aill na crech
secht mblīadna ōs Mide magnech[5]
deog[6] a topur éca it-ib[7]
i cath Dētna la Lagnib.

Mane m*ac* Cerbaill Clūana
cóic blīadna *déc* drechbūada[8]
co torchair[9] i*ter*[10] trocha
'sin maig i cath Chlōenlocha.

Dīarmait m*ac* Cerb*aill* chrechaig
fiche[11] blīadan[12] 's a cethair
ardruri[13] Mide na mmed

---

[1] chōemlōe *R*

[2] daith *LL*

[3] o[c] Carn *R*

[4] Feradaig *LL*

[5] moīnech *R*

[6] deoch *R*

[7] at-ib *R*

[8] drechbūana *R*

[9] *missing in LL*

[10] etir *R*

[11] fichi *R*

[12] blīadan *R*

[13] ardruire *R*

i mMaig Lini[1] ra[2] losced.

A *cethair* Col*māin*[3] Móir maith[4]
mc Dīarmata ba degflaith
Dub Sloit Cruthnech m*ac* Trena
ro marb do rind rūadbera.

Blīa*dain* ar *fichit* īar tain
do Chol*mān* Bic dīa brāthair
do-roch*air* flaith cāem na crech
la Āed[5] m*ac* n-ard nAnmerech.

Ocht mblīa*dna* 's a deich cen táir[6]
ro feith[7] Suibne m*ac* Colmāin[8]
ro marb Āed Slāne na sleg
tair ocont sāle thondgel[9].

Trī blīa*dna* fa dó[10] don dus
do m*ac* Col*māin*[11] do[12] Fergus[13]

---

[1] Lini *missing in LL (erased?)*

[2] ro *R*

[3] Colmāin *R*

[4] mo raith *LL*

[5] la hĀed *R*

[6] ocht certblīa*dna* dēc cen tār *R*

[7] ro feith *R*

[8] Colmān *R*

[9] tonnmer *R*

[10] fo thrī *R*

[11] Colmāin *R*

fríth ilach dó fo dered
i cath birach Blattened[1].

Ōengus *mac* Colmāin chētaig[2]
ro glacc in mBanba mbétaig[3]
secht mblīadna dó i Temraig thall[4]
a bás ro d*er*laig Domnall.

Conall Guthbind m*ac* Subne[5]
a cōic fo t*rī*[6] tre chuibde[7]
cora[8] ben a dīanblaid[9] de
Dīarmait m*ac* Āeda Slāne.

Sé blīadna déc co demin
Māel Dōid m*ac* Subni serig
fo-rrācsat a daíne[10] thair
i Cnoccaib Māele[11] Doäid.

---

[12] d' *LL*

[13] Fergus *R*

[1] Blaitened *R*

[2] cētaig *R*

[3] ro gab in Banba mb[ ] *R*

[4] tall *R*

[5] Suibni *R*

[6] fa chethair *LL*

[7] *last letter illegible in R*

[8] coro *R*

[9] dīanblait *R*

[10] ro fācsat a doine *R*

[11] Māeli *R*

Dīarmait *mac* Airmedaig áith
sé blīadna *trichat* nīr thláith

ro thascair[1] in Bregach brass
Fīnnacta Fledach foltchass.

Fiche[2] blīadan nīr fata[3]
do Murchad *mac* Dīarmata
da-rochair[4] 'sin alt[5] īar tain
la Conall Grant[6] hūa Cernaig[7].

Dīarmait, Airmedach īarma
Āed, Colggu[8] cóic certblīadna
cethri ríg Mide na mmed
ro marbtha oc Bile Theined.

Domnall *mac* Mur*chada* móir
sé blīadna *cethrachat*[9] cóir
tuc Dīa dó flathius fata
co n-ērbailt hūa Dīarmata.

Nīall *mac* Dīarmata in daig d*e*rg

---

[1] rod tascair *R*

[2] fichi *R*

[3] nīrb fata *R*

[4] co torch*air R*

[5] 'sinn all *R*

[6] Grann *R*

[7] *The next stanza is barely legible in the Facsimile of R.*

[8] Colgcu *R*

[9] cethrachat *R*

flaith [lāech]Mide[1] na lomlerg
sé blīadna[2] i rrígi[3] rebach
co tor*chair* la Muredach.

Muiredac*h*[4] m*ac* Domnaill dían
dī blī*adain* don flaith[5] lánfíal
rop é rí in borrfaith[6] cen brath
nóco tor*chair* la Dondc*had*.

Dondchad m*ac* Domnaill na ndrech
ropo leis Temair tollmech[7]
trícha blīadna dó derb lend[8]
co n-ērbailt īarla Hēr*end*.

Ōenblī*adain* i rrīgi réil
do Domnall m*ac* Dondchaid déin
tair for ochair[9] na halla
da-roch*air*[10] la hec[h]tranna.

Muridach[11] m*ac* Domnaill daith[12]

---

[1] lāechMidi *R; only* Mide *in LL*

[2] x.? [m]blīadna *R*

[3] i rīge *R*

[4] Murchertach *LL*

[5] dā blīadain don flaith *R*

[6] rop hē in rī borrfaid *R*

[7] thuillmech *R*

[8] denn *R*

[9] i táeb *LL*

[10] do-rochair *R*

[11] Muiredac*h R*

cunnid in chomlaind chōicdaig[1]
trī bl*īadna* ós chlainn[2] Chobthaig[3] cain
ro ndorchaig éc anapaig.

Dīarmait m*ac* Dondcha(i)da[4] daith
bl*īadain* i flaithius fīrmaith[5]
i mmudu do-chūaid[6] 'con chaill
tīar i cath Ruba[7] Chonaill.

Conchob*or* cāem a mathius
ós Hēr*ind* i n-ardflathius[8]
is éc at-bath rí in Broga[9]
degm*ac* dūanach Dondchada.

Deich mbl*īadna* i flaithius nār fóen[10]
dó do Māel Rūanaid rocháem
at-bath[11] m*ac* Dondchada[12] dil

---

[12] dil *R*

[1] cuinnid comluind ōenc[h]ōicid *R*

[2] Chlūain *LL*

[3] Cobthaich *R*

[4] Donnchada *R*

[5] fīrmaith *R*

[6] do-chōid *R*

[7] 'sin chath hi Rubu *R*

[8] ardflathius *R*

[9] ēc at-bath ardrī in Braga *R*

[10] nārb fāen *R*

[11] ēc at-bath *R*

[12] Dondchaid *LL*, *R*; Donnchadha\Dondchada *M, B iv 2, 24 A 2*

rí in borrfada 's[1] in bissig.

Dí blīadain flaith in meic maith
dar éis Māel Rūanaid in raith
ro marb[2] 'na brethlaind co mblaid
Māel Sechnaill a derbrāthair.

Māel Sechnaill[3] sāer a Slemain
secht mblīadna déc 'na degaid[4]
at-bath īar mbūadaib[5] co mblaid
mac Māel Rūanaid co rogail.

Lorcān mac Cathail na crích[6]
dí[7] blīadain i flaithius fríth
rí for Midi[8] mall na mīach
nōcoro[9] ndall Āed Findlíath.

Dondchad hūa Conchobuir chrúaid
dā sé mblīadan[10] band for búaid
la Fland in tochuir[11] cen tār

---

[1] in borrfaid is *R*

[2] ro mmarb *R*

[3] Sechnaill *R*

[4] *secht* [m]*blīadna* 'na chertdegaid *R*

[5] mbūadail *R*

[6] crīth *R*

[7] dā *R*

[8] Mide *R*

[9] nō *omitted in LL*

[10] dā thrī b*līadan R*

[11] in tsachair *R*

do-roch*air* m*ac* Eochocān.

Fland m*ac* Mel[1] *Sechnaill*[2] amra
secht [m]blīa*dna déc*[3] ōs Banba
cīa tír nāro thrēnglacc trell
nōco[4] n-ērbalt[5] rí Hēr*end*.

Hū*a* Māel S*echnaill*[6] cen omon[7]
trī blī*adna* do[8] Chonchob*or*
malle ro[9] Nīall nGlūndub ngel
do-roch*air* grīan na nGāedel[10].

Domnall m*ac* Flaind fūair blī*adain*[11]
et*er* Chlūain[12] is chorrLīamuin[13]
rod marb cīarbo[14] glond co ngail[15]

---

[1] Māel *R*

[2] Sech*naill* R

[3] sē blīa*dna* dēc *R*

[4] naco *R*

[5] ērbailt *LL*

[6] Sechnaill *R*

[7] omun *R*

[8] don *R*

[9] marōen ra *R*

[10] do-rochair in glan Gāedel *R*

[11] blīadain *R*

[12] Clūain *R*

[13] is corrLiamain *R*

[14] cīarbu *R*

[15] do gail *R*

Dondchad Dond a *der*brāth*air*.[1]

Dondchad cen bét cen bin(n)e[2]
fo-fūair[3] éc i n-echMide
fúair īarla Crinna ba cet
sé blīadna[4] finna fichet.

Fūair[5] Ōengus airdairc[6] cen ail
īarna athair ōenblīadain
trícha cét lín a chatha
co n-ērbailt m*ac* Dondchada.

Dondchad m*ac* Domnaill dīamra[7]
ro chaith *cethri* ōenblīadna[8]
ro marb[9] flaith gót[10] in gossa
Fergal óc m*ac*[11] Ōengusa.

Fergal fūair ráit[h]e[12] co rrath

---

[1] derbthair *R sic* a *over* b *omitted*

[2] bine *R*

[3] fo *omitted in LL*

[4] blīadna *R*

[5] fūar? *R*

[6] airderg *R*

[7] dīamair *R*

[8] trī blīadna *ocus* ōenblīadain *R*

[9] rod marb *R*

[10] *sic* MS

[11] Fergal m*ac* ōc *R*

[12] rāithi *R*

coro n-indarb Congal*ach*
oc [C]lūain Iraird[1] co clīaraib
ní(*n*)ro n-ūair[2] acht ōenblī*adain*.

Ōenblī*adain* aile[3] do Āed
do m*ac* Māel Rūan*aid* rocháem
fūair bás 'na chomland[4] chatha
la Domnall m*ac* nDondcha*da*[5].

Domnall blī*adain* co ba[6] thrí
bord ro[7] Līamuin in lethrí[8]
bét do chlaind Chobthaig clīaraig
éc m*eic* Dondc*haid* drechmīad*aig*.

Carlus m*ac* Cuind m*eic* Dondchaid
remes *sé* mblī*adan* mborrfuid[9]
and do-roch*air* h*ūa* Flaind Fáil
āit i rrollsat[10] Gaill grithgāir[11].

---

[1] irard ōs chlaind *R*

[2] nocon fūair *R*

[3] aili *R*

[4] i comlunn *R*

[5] m*ac* Donnchada *R*

[6] bo *R*

[7] borbb ra *R*

[8] lāechrī *R*

[9] cōic blī*adna* is blī*adain* borrfaid *R*

[10] baili i ralsat *R*

[11] *c*rithgāir *LL*

Murchertach[1] rīagla lat sain[2]
cethri blīa*dna*[3] fo chethair
fūair forlund ic Druim Chrīaig cain
la Domnall m*ac* Congal*aig*.

Cóic blīa*dna* do Mide[4] maith[5]
fás cen tige cen degflaith
Fergal ro chrechaig ce*ch*[6] claind
ra dered flatha Domnaill.

Cōic blīa*dna cethrachat*[7] cōir
flathius Māel *Sechnaill*[8] echmóir
rí mórMide co millse[9]
ēc at-bath (is)sin[10] ChroÏnse.

Māel *Sechnaill*[11] Got a cethair
éc olc ra scar rā bethaid[12]

---

[1] [Mur]eda*ch R*

[2] sin *R*

[3] blīadna *R*

[4] Midi *R*

[5] a *is added subscript*

[6] ca*ch R*

[7] cethrachat *R*

[8] Sech*naill R*

[9] millsi *R*

[10] 'sin *R*

[11] Sech*naill R*

[12] ēc olcc ro scar rīa bethaid *R*

secht mblīadna Rōen[1] rubnib dám
cosin cath i mMóin Milán.

Domnall dí[2] blīadain a band
co torchair la Māel Caland[3]
roba rí Midi na mmol
dīa éis ro gab Conchobor.

Dar éis Domnaill delbglain dil
ro gab for Temraig tírig
dī blīadain cethri deich dron
iss ed ro feith[4] Conchobor.

Conchobor magMide maith
nachorb anfine in[t] ardflaith[5]
do láim Murchada meic Flaind
do-rochair hūa Māel Sechnaill[6].

[7]Secht ríg dā fichet ríg rúad
[8]īar Conall Breg nī bec slúag

---

[1] Réna *LL*

[2] dā *R*

[3] Kallan *R The next four lines are omitted in R.*

[4] ro feith *R*

[5] nochorb anbfine int ar[ ] *R*

[6] Sechnaill *R*

[7] *There is an extra stanza here in R:*
Mīle *secht* mblīadna *secht* ndeich
ō gēnair Crīst don chaīnbre[ith?]
cosin errach n-adbul n-om
inra marbad Conchobor.

[8] *The next three lines are completely different in R:*
ō Chongal Breg na mbrecslūag

co Conch*obor* na ṅgním ṅglē
is é lín ro gab Mide. M*ide*.[1]

---

a lām in grinne gāeth glan
ro gab Mide na maigen. M*ide*.

[1] *Six extra stanzas follow here in R.*

Murchad m*ac* F*laind* fūair blīad*ain*
flaith*ius* Mide mōrdīamair
hi cloicthich cen ansa cen chāin
ro marbsat m*eic* meicc Māelāin.

Ōenblīad*ain* dēc cen dechra
co torchair hic tur Thethba
roba ar brethlaind Midi i-mmuig
Māel Sechnaill m*ac* *Con*chob*uir*.

Domnall m*ac* F*laind* fichtib slūag
ro gab ōs Midi mongrūa[d]
ro scarsat Luigni? rīa linn
Dīa Lūain laithi oc loch [ ]ind.

Trī mīs Conchobur na cned
m*ac* Māel Sechnaill na n-aire[ch?]
h*ūa* Brīuin cen glōrblaid cīa bē
ro gāet rīg mōrglain Mide.

Donnchad m*ac* Murcha*da* mōir
ro gab Midi mōrhonōir
dā blīadain ba derb don daig
cor marbsat cl*and* Tigernaich.

A Chr*īst* rom chumthaich hi crī
a meicc Maire ingini
a Rī nime ra delb nem
do chlār Mide na maigen. M*ide*.

NOTES

All references are to MacNeill, 1913: 83-92.

The editors of *LL* have the following note on the ascription preceding this poem: "Fland. c̄c̄. *over* Mide *in Facs, but erased in* MS". However, I could not see any trace of erasure in the MS; the ascription is simply written in reddish-pinkish ink which is otherwise used in decorating initials.

F6. 1-2. The *LL* reading might seem suspicious with clainne in both lines. *R* has fine in l. 2. *M* also has clainne, while *B iv 2* and *24 A 2* agree with *R* here. I have opted for the *R* reading, although note that in stanza 3 (ll. 9-12) amsir occurs in all the four lines in *LL*, *R* and *M*. See remark on p. 160.

F6. 9. *R* has Āugaine for *LL* Hérimōin. This must be a scribal slip, caused by the fact that both the last line in this stanza and the first line in the next one have Ūgaine. *M, B iv 2* and *24 A 2* agree with *LL* here.

F6. 10. Both MacNeill and *LL* capitalise Find. I am not sure if this is a part of the name here; in his Index to *EIHM* O'Rahilly lists both Núadu Fáil and Núadu Find Fáil with only one reference--and these two names actually seem to refer to the same person. *Cóir Anmann* has Núadha Finn Fáil (Stokes, 1897: 326). In order to get alliteration in the line we should either read Nūadat Find Fáil (with Find as a substantivised adjective, not leniting the following word), or Nūadat Find Fáil (with Find being the gen. sg. masc. form with non-historical lenition of its initial consonant).

F6. 14-15. The different readings in the two MSS (co Echaig *LL*, co hEochaid *R*) arose from the confusion of Echu and Echuid.

F6. 19. In order to get the correct number of syllables in *LL*, read the elided form of ille, le.

F6. 20. The fact that mag appears in this line twice might make the *LL* reading seem suspicious; however, *M*, *B iv 2* and *24 A 2* agree with *LL* here.

F6. 21. The *R* reading, Congal, is definitely a mistake here; see *AU* 480. The *R* scribe makes the same mistake again in F6. 202. *M* agrees with *LL* in both cases.

F6. 25-26. Note that the end-rhyme in *LL* and *R* is completely different. In *LL*, there is no alliteration in F6. 26; and in *R*, in F6. 25. *M* agrees with *LL* here.

F6. 27-28. Feradaig gives an extra syllable in *LL* in l. 28. MacNeill suggests that we read dath for daith and Fiachach for Feradaig; he seems to base his latter suggestion on Hogan, 1910: 161. *R* has dath and Fiachach; *M* dath and Fiacrach. Hogan, 1910: 161 has several examples of the *R* version of the place-name, which he places in co. Westmeath. Note that in the MS the i in daith is added subscript. This is also noted by the editors of *LL*. See also the Footnote on p. 191.

F6. 32. In the MS of *LL* Détna resembles oētna (this is noted by the editors of *LL*), and this is what the Facsimile has. MacNeill emends the Facsimile form to Détna. *R* has Dētna and *M* Dedla, which is not listed in Hogan. *Cf.* also the Note on F3. 28 on p. 62.

F6. 35. The text in *LL* is corrupt with three syllables missing. Both MacNeill and *LL* suggest that we supply co torchair, the latter one relying on *R*. This reading is supported by alliteration. *M* has a-drochair.

F6. 40. There are two syllables missing here in *LL*, and it seems that there is something erased in the text. *R* and *M* have Lini/Line here. MacNeill supplies Line, and this is what the editors of *LL* suggest, too. This reading is also supported by alliteration.

F6. 41. There is an extra syllable in this line in *LL*. MacNeill, who had no access to the other MSS, suggests that we read a trí with a question-mark. However, *R* has maith for *LL* mo raith, which will not only give us the right syllable count, but also makes more sense. *M* agrees with *R* here.

F6. 45. Blīadain is abbreviated in the MS of *LL*. This is not marked in the diplomatic edition, which is otherwise consistent in marking the abbreviation of this word.

F6. 49-50. The end-rhyme in *R* (cen tār : mac Colmān) is different from that in *LL* (cen táir : mac Colmāin). From the linguistic point of view, both rhyming pairs would have been acceptable in MIr (tár belonged to both the o-stem and the ā-stem declension--see Vol. II, p. 45: **3.15 b**; and on the gen. of masc. names ending in -án, see Vol. II, p. 35: **3.5 a**). *M* agrees with *R* here. *Cf.* also cen tār : mac Eochocān in F6. 131-132. I wonder if *LL* táir : Colmāin represents a scribal alteration?

F6. 51. Both MacNeill and the editors of *LL* note that ro marb is for ra mmarb. Note that ro marb in F6. 44 and 155 also stands for ra mmarb.

F6. 54. Here *LL* has do mac Colmāin d'Fergus. In order to get the correct number of syllables, we should either read do (this is what *R* has), or follow *M*, which has deagmac instead of mac. I have opted for the first solution here. On the elision of the vowel in do, see Vol. II, p. 127: **4.4 d**.

F6. 56. MacNeill has the following note on Blattened: "*Blattene* is here inflected as if it were a compound of *tene*, "fire." It seems to be the name of a tribe or tribal district, dat. sg. *Blatiniu* in the O. I. verses quoted AU 617" (= 618 in the modern edition, where this dat. sg. form is fixed by rhyme). In Hogan, 1910: 116, 117 there are more examples of the io-stem (?) inflexion than of the dental one.

F6. 59. MacNeill has the following note on this line (1913: 87): "The reading of `iiii' as `uii' may account for the reckoning". However, this is impossible from the metrical point of view, as even with *secht*, there must be elision between dó and i to get the required number of syllables. With *cethri*, there would not be any possibility for the elision of another syllable. *R* and *M* also have *secht*.

F6. 61. In the MS of *LL* the e is made on i in Subne. (This is also noted by the editors of *LL*.) This could represent an attempt by the scribe to highlight the rhyme with chuibde.

F6. 62. There is an extra syllable here in *LL*. I do not think it would be possible to elide the a after Subne in F6. 61, as I have no definite example of elision across lines/a *caesura* (see Vol. II, p. 128: **4.8**). The *R* reading, which is also supported by *M, B iv 2* and *24 A 2*, will give us the correct number of syllables. Note that in this case we would not get alliteration--so the *LL* reading may represent an attempt by the scribe to get alliteration in the line.

F6. 63. MacNeill has the following note on this line: "Before *de*, the final *d* of *dianblaid* [= 'vigorous fame'] loses its spirant quality, and thus provides a good rhyme for *Diarmait*. See Meyer, *Irish Metrics*, preface vi." (See also Ní Dhomhnaill, 1975: 20, and Ó Cuív, 1987: 112.) Note that *R* has dīanblait, 'vigorous strength', which also makes good sense--*cf.* also cen dīanblait in F4. 98. *M* has dīanbla[i]dh here.

F6. 68. MacNeill has the following note on this line: "The placename preserved the disyllabic *Doaid*, which becomes one syllable in the personal name, preserved in literature, as in the previous line" (i.e. in F6. 66). For other examples of words that occur both with and without hiatus in these poems, see Vol. II, p. 17: **2.2 b**.

F6. 76. The form Grann in *R* might represent an attempt by the scribe to get internal rhyme with all. *Cf. LL* Grant : alt.

F6. 86. There is one syllable missing in this line in *LL*. MacNeill, who did not have access to the other MSS, suggests that we could perhaps read flaith ós Midi. The editors of *LL*, following *R*, suggest that we supply lāech before Mide, which is supported by alliteration. *M* agrees with *R* here.

F6. 89. On the basis of *R*, the editors of *LL* suggest that we read Muredach instead of *LL* Murchertach, which is what *M* has too. MacNeill notes that the regnal list in *LL* 42 also has Muredach; and this is what Jaski has as well (1994: 100). According to MacNeill, both names represent Murchad of *AU* 764 = 765.

F6. 98. MacNeill has the following note on Dondchaid: "This genitive is substituted for the regular *Donnchada, metris causa*." However, the o-stem gen. also occurs in F6. 168 and 169 (and in 115 *LL*), beside four examples of the u-stem gen. in this poem, so I would rather describe the u-stem genitive as the "historical" rather than the "regular" one. See also Vol. II, pp. 40-41: **3.10** a.

F6. 99. There is one syllable missing in this line in *LL*. MacNeill, who had no access to the other MSS, suggests that we read [ba] tair with a question-mark. Based on *R*, the editors of *LL* propose for ochair for *LL* i táeb. With the *R* reading we get not only alliteration (which is also present in *LL*), but also internal rhyme with da-roch*air*.

F6. 102. MacNeill has the following note on *LL* chōicdaig (:daith): "The usual form is *cóicedaig*." (gen. sg. of cóicedach, `provincial king' according to *DIL*; `province' in MacNeill's translation). I believe that this word must be the gen. sg. masc.\(neut.) form of the adj. cóictach, `fifty-fold'; in fact, this line is listed in *DIL* under this entry with a question-mark. *R* has a different construction: cuinnid comluind ōenc[h]ōicid (:dil), `the champion of the struggle of the peerless? province'. *M, B iv 2* and *24 A 2* have cuingid in comhlaind crithir (:dil), `the champion of the thrilling? struggle'. I believe that there is no substantial reason for emending *LL*.

F6. 103. I think that the reading Chlūain Chobthaig in *LL* is highly doubtful. *R* has chlainn Cobthaich here, which is what both MSS have in F6. 167 (chlaind Chobthaig). (Note that *AU* does not provide any help here.) The only example cited in Hogan for the supposed place-name is the afore-mentioned attestation in *LL*. O'Brien has Cenél\Clann Chobthaich in 1962: 455. The fact that Clúain and clainn must have been easy to confuse seems to be supported by F6. 159, where *LL* has oc [C]lūain Iraird (which is a well-attested place-name--see Hogan, 1910: 265) beside *R* irard ōs chlaind. Cobthach here might refer to Cobthach Cóel Breg, son of Úgaine Már, a remote ancestor of the kings of Mide (see genealogical table in McCone, 1990: 239); so ós chlainn Chobthaig could make sense here. *M* and *B iv 2* support the *R* reading, while *24 A 2* agrees with *LL*.

F6. 105. MacNeill and the editors of *LL* suggest that we read Donnchada instead of *LL* Dondchaida. Dondchaida must be a scribal slip or a correction, the confusion arising from the fact that both genitives (Donnchada and Donnchaid) are used in this poem. *R* and *M* have Donnchada. See also Vol. II, pp. 40-41: **3.10 a) (iii)**.

F6. 110. The lenition mark over the f is omitted in ardflathius in *LL*.

F6. 115-116. The line in *LL* lacks a syllable. Both MacNeill and the editors of *LL* suggest that we read Dondchada instead of Dondchaid in order to supply the missing syllable. This will give us internal rhyme with borrfada in the next line. Another solution would be to adopt the *R* reading, and insert ēc before at-bath, which will also give us the correct syllable count. Here the internal rhyme is between Donnchaid and borrfaid. However, *M*, *B iv 2* and *24 A 2* support the reading Dondchada : borrfada.

F6. 123. The Facsimile has mbláid which MacNeill emends to mblaid. The MS does not have the lengthmark.

F6. 128. There is one syllable missing in this line in *LL*. MacNeill believes that it is: "probably a monosyllabic adjective after *Aed* and alliterating with *Findliath*." However, on the basis of *R*, the editors of *LL* suggest that we read noco ro for coro, and I have accepted their suggestion. Note that with this reading we do not get alliteration in this line. *M* has nogor ās *Con*all Āed Findlīath, which will give us an extra syllable.

F6. 131. Note that with the *R* reading (in tṡachair), we do not get alliteration in the line. *M* agrees with *LL* here.

F6. 134. Based on *LL* 42^{b} and *AU*, MacNeill speculates that maybe we should read "a secht tríchat ós Banba" (1913: 90). However, as *LL*, *R* and *M* all have *déc*, I see no linguistic or metrical reason for emending this line.

F6. 136. The editors of *LL* note that ērbailt is for erbalt (:thrēnglacc), which is what *R* has. *M*, *B iv 2* and *24 A 2* all have a non-palatal consonant in the first line of the couplet, and a palatal one in -ērbailt. Altogether I have six examples of -ērbailt\-ērbuilt in my texts (F6. 84, 96, 136 *LL*, 152; F7. 42; F10. 36). In two of these (in the example discussed here and in F10. 36) the internal rhyme indicates that we should read the verb with a non-palatal consonant. (See also Vol. II, p. 88: **12.29**).

F6. 139. MacNeill has re for *LL* ro which must be a misprint, as both the MS and the Facsimile have ro. The editors of *LL* have the note "*sic*" on this word. I take ro as standing for fri, and there are three (or maybe four--see Note on F6. 186, p. 188) other instances of ro\ra for fri in *LL* and also three in *R* in this poem alone (F6. 19, 166 and 180), and no occurrence of the older form; which means that ro was an accepted form in MIr. See also Vol. II, p. 70: **9.12**. *R* has ra here.

F6. 140. The *R* reading glan seems to be corrupt here, as in the *LL* version grīan rhymes with Nīall. *M* agrees with *LL* here.

F6. 144. Note that neither MacNeill nor *LL* capitalise dond. Byrne (1973: 282) and Jaski (1994: 101) have Donnchad Donn; in *LL* 42^{b} we get Dondchad Dond *mac Flaind*. *AU* 921 and 944 have no sobriquet. I have followed Byrne and Jaski here.

F6. 145. Both the MS and the Facsimile have an n-stroke over the i followed by another n in binne. Both MacNeill and the editors of *LL* emend this word to bine; and this is what *R* and *M* have too.
The form Donchad in *LL* must be a misprint for MS Dondchad.

F6. 146. There is a syllable missing in this line in *LL*. MacNeill does not propose any emendation here. On the basis of *R*, the editors of *LL* suggest that we read fo-fūair, which I have accepted. *M* has go fūair here.

F6. 153-154. Note that the rhyme in *R* is different from that in *LL*. There is no alliteration in *R* in l. 154.

F6. 155-156. We seem to have internal rhyme between gót and óc here. This is the only example cited in *DIL* under ? gót, without any meaning given. This must be the word Got, `stammering, lisping', with a short o. According to MacNeill, this word "is an epithet applied to a branch of the dynastic line descended from Mael Sechnaill son of Mael Ruanaid" (1913: 90). Both *R* and *M* have ōc\ōg : gōt\gōd; *B iv 2* has god : rod, where the latter word could be rot, `daring', or ród, `fierce'. Prof. Breatnach has suggested that perhaps óc is a corruption of olc--note that in F6. 185 Got has a short o and rhymes with olc in the next line. It is also possible that originally the poet just intended near-rhyme here, and the lengthmark in *LL* was added by the scribe to create perfect rhyme. Note that without this example, internal rhyme is present in 36 second couplets out of 51 (see p. 159).

F6. 157. MacNeill suggests that we read ráithe instead of *LL* ráite with a question-mark. The editors of *LL* suggest the same, based on *R* rāithi. I have accepted this suggestion.

F6. 159. MacNeill has ō C[h]lūain for *LL* MS oc Lūain. The editors of *LL* suggest that we read oc Cluain. Both readings seem to make sense, depending on whether we interpret this line as referring to the actual expulsion of Fergal *from* the place, or to the fact that Congalach reigned *there*. In view of scribal practices in *LL* the solution suggested by its editors would seem to me the more likely one. I believe that the *R* reading, iraid ōs chlaind is a corrupt form of the place-name. Although this reading will give us alliteration in the line, internal rhyme with ūair would be lost. Both *M* and *24 A 2* have oc [C]lūain here. See also the Note on F6. 103, p. 183.
MacNeill has dīaraib for *LL* clīaraib. This must be a misprint: both the MS and the Facsimile have clīaraib, and MacNeill's translation shows that he means clīaraib here.

F6. 160. MacNeill has the following note on *LL* nínro n-ūair: "The reading seems corrupt." The second n in nínro must be a scribal slip. The masc. infixed pronoun in ní(*n*)ro n-ūair acht ōenblīadain seems to refer to a fem. noun. As there are no examples of this feature cited in *SNG* (265-267: 10.6), maybe it would be better to follow *R* and read nocon fūair here

with the same meaning (`he did not get'). *M* supports the *R* reading as it has nocho fūair. (Note that both noco n- and nocho can stand for OIr nícon--*SNG*: 280: 11.7.)

F6. 166. MacNeill has the following note on bord ro Līamuin: "Not intelligible to me." *DIL* cites this expression under bord and translates it as `beside (?)'. Note that this is the only example of bord + fri/re/ro + noun in *DIL*. *Cf.* bord fria bord risin luing `side by side with the ship' (*CCath.* 2055). *R* and *M* have borbb ra/borb re, `fierce against Líamuin'. I believe that both versions make sense.
The editors of *LL* have the note "*sic,* ra *R*" on ro--see the Note on F6. 139, p. 185.

F6. 167. See Note on F6. 103, p. 183.

F6. 169. The editors of *LL* have the following note on Dondchaid: "*sic*". This must be a misprint, as we definitely need the disyllabic genitive of Donnchad here, which will rhyme with mborrfuid. *R* has the same rhyming pair here.

F6. 170. There is a misprint in *LL* here because MS mblīadan appears as mblīadan. This can mislead scholars into thinking that this is a definite example of the new, MIr gen. pl. form of blíadain.

F6. 172. Unlike in *LL*, we do get alliteration here in *R*; as we have two variant readings which are identical in meaning (`fear-inspiring'?) and almost identical in form (crithgāir--*LL*; grithgāir--*R*), it is possible that the *R* form is the original one. I have opted for the reading of *R* here, all the more as *M* agrees with *R*. According to *DIL*'s remark found under grith, this word is often confused with crith in MIr.

F6. 173. *LL* and *M* have Murchertach, while *R* has [Mur]edach. Both MacNeill (1913: 91) and Jaski (1994: 101) have Muirchertach, although the former notes that his inclusion in the list must be an error. However, *LL* 5971 (42^{b}) does list Murchertach among the kings of Mide.

F6. 182. The editors of *LL* expand S-- as *Shechnaill* here and in F6. 200 after gen. Māel. On the other hand, in F6. 133 and 137, where *Sechnaill* also follows gen. Māel\Mel, the editors expand the abbreviation stroke with a non-lenited s. *R* has Sech*naill* or Sechnaill in all of these lines; and note that a following closely connected word is not always lenited after the gen. of Máel in these poems--see Vol. II, p. 47: **3.16 b**--so I have decided to expand the abbreviation stroke with a non-lenited s. See also the Note on F5. 110, p. 138.

F6. 183. In the MS the line ends with mór, so one can not know whether this word is compounded with Mide or not. MacNeill prints this as two words, while the editors of *LL* as one word. Note that both forms are possible both from the metrical and the semantic point of view. There are two other compounds in this poem of which Mide is the second element: echMide (F6. 146) and magMide (F6. 197), both of which are fixed by the metre.

F6. 184. MacNeill suggests that we read 'sin Chroinsi for issin ChroInse. This is what *R* has; we need this form, and we also need to read ChroInse as a hiatus word to get the correct number of syllables along with *rinn 7 airdrinn*.

F6. 185. See Note on F6. 155-156, p. 186.

F6. 186. Note that both ra scar ra bethaid (`parted him from life') and ra scar rā bethaid (`parted him from his life') are correct. *R* has rīa, and *M* re. According to *DIL*, the construction is scaraid X fri Y.

F6. 187. The *LL* reading will give us an extra syllable in this line. On the basis of *LL* 42 and *AU*, MacNeill suggests that we read Róin instead of *LL* Rēna; the editors of *LL*, based on *R*, propose Róen. Also note that MacNeill prints Réna as the Facsimile has a lengthmark over the e; and so does the MS, which is not indicated in *LL*. I believe that this is important as the é could stand for óe in MIr (*SNG*: 233: 3.8; *cf.* also ēin[f]er : féinned in F1. 30); however, it would be difficult to explain the a in Rēna.
Based on *AU* 1025 and 1027, MacNeill also suggests that we read ii blīadna for *LL* uii. m̓blīadna (1913: 85). As both *R* and *M* agree with *LL* here, I did not change this reading.

F6. 196. The alliteration with ro feith shows that issed must be divided as iss ed.

F6. 197. MacNeill prints mag and Mide as two separate words as this is the way they appear in the MS; however, he notes that the internal rhyme with anfine requires that this should be one word. Note also the other example of incorrect division of words by the scribe in the next line (F6. 198).

F6. 198. The MS of *LL* has nachorban fine, which is noted by the editors of *LL*. MacNeill prints nach orban fine, and suggests that we read nochor b'anfine. Note that anfine rhymes with magMide in the previous line.

F6. 200. An extra stanza follows here in *R*, which also appears in *M*. This must be an interpolation because of the date (1077) which appears in it; also, there is no *f. f.* here, which otherwise exists in *LL* between 200 and 201. See also the Introduction to this poem on pp. 154-156.
On *Sechnaill*, see Note on F6. 182, p. 188.

F6. 201. Concerning nom. dual fichet, see Note on F5. 78 on p. 137.

F6. 204. Note that the *dúnad* in *R* is different from the *dúnad* in *LL*.

TRANSLATION

(based on MacNeill, 1913: 86-92)

Mide, the homeland of Conn's race,
the seat of the race of mightily fierce Níall,
heart of many-coloured Banba,
Mide, plain of the great battle-lines.

Many kings have reigned in Mide,
both of the [true] stock and the strange,
since the invasion by the sons of Míl of Spain
took possession of Inis Fáil.

From noble Hérimón's time
to the time of Núadu, the Fair one of Fál[1],
from Núadu's time down
to the noble time of Úgaine.

Everyone from Úgaine onwards
to Echu Feidlech of Frému,
from wonderful Eochu the champion?[2]
to valiant Conn Cétchathach.

From the time of Conn of a hundred battles[3]
to the descendants of Níall, the son of Echu;
Níall's descendants ever since have owned

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[1] See Note on p. 179.

[2] lit. `the blast (of wind)'

[3] co cét cath--this is not the actual sobriquet itself, that is why I translate it here.

that plain, the great plain of Mide[1].

Conall, the first king of Níall's race
who reigned over smooth-maned[2] Mide;
seventeen years for him, for the ruler[3]
until sudden death took him off.

Twenty-seven [years] in festivities
for Fíachu, the son of Níall, after him;
until he died[4]--it is no fiction--
on the plain at Carn Fíachach.

Ardgal, the son of Conall of the plundering expeditions,
seven years over populous?[5] Mide;
a draught from death's well he drank
in the battle of Détna at the hands of the Leinstermen.

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[1] mag mór Mide: or `the plain of great Mide', if we take mór and Mide as one word. See Note on F6. 183, p. 188.

[2] mongréid is explained in *DIL* as an expression used in describing a `level and grassy surface' under the compounds of mong.

[3] don dunn (*R*) is cited in *DIL* under 2 donn.

[4] coro chlōemchlāe nī dalb dath: There are two possibilities here. We could take nī dalb dath as a cheville, dath being the new, o-stem type gen. pl. of dath, u, `colour'. However, in this case these words would not make too much sense. *DIL* mentions under dalb that ní dalb is a frequently used cheville in poetry meaning `it is no fiction'. *DIL* also lists the phrase conimchloi dath under dath III `complexion, hue', and under con-imchloí, with the translation `dies'. I believe that dath here is either the subject or object of coro chlōemchlāe, and nī dalb is a cheville intruding between the predicate and the object/subject (nī dalb occurs as a cheville also in F10. 131). In this case the literal translation would be: `until he changed--it is no fiction--colour\complexion' or `until [his] colour\complexion changed'--i.e. he died. Note that *DIL* cites coro chlōemchlāe (without dath) under con-imchloí with the translation `till he died' and nī dalb dath under dalb. MacNeill's translation (`till he expired--it is no obscure tale (?)') is similar to mine.

[5] *DIL* has the following to say about maignech: "adj. of doubtful meaning; a deriv. of maigne?" (= `big, great'). "Freq. epithet of horses". Then it goes on to say: "Of places (<maigen?)" (= `spot, place'), and then cites this line with MacNeill's translation, `fielded Meath' (1913: 87), and a question-mark. Maybe it means `Mide of many places' = `populous' or `spacious'?

Maine, the son of Cerball of Clúain,
fifteen years of victorious face?[1];
until he fell among the doomed ones
on the plain in the battle of Clóenloch.

Díarmait, the son of marauding Cerball,
twenty years and four;
high overking of Mide of the balances[2],
in Mag Lini he was burnt.

Four [years] of good Colmán Mór,
the son of Díarmait who was a good ruler;
Pictish Dub Sloit, the son of Trían
slew him by the point of a stout?[3] spear.

Twenty-one years afterwards
for Colmán Bec, his brother;
the handsome ruler of the plundering expeditions fell
at the hands of Áed, the noble son of Anmire.

Eight years and ten without disgrace
Suibne, the son of Colmán stayed[4];
Áed Sláne of the spears[5] slew [him]

---

[1] drechbūada: Based on evidence in *DIL*, it seems to be extremely rare to get drech compounded with another noun. *R* has drechbūana, `of constant face\appearance' = peaceful?', which is cited in *DIL* under the compounds of drech. *M* has deagbūadha, `of a good victory'.

[2] See Footnote on F6. 79, p. 194.

[3] do rind rūadbera: or `bloody'?

[4] ro feith: i.e. reigned. This line is cited in *DIL* from *R* under fethid II a) `waits; remains, endures (?)'. *DIL* also calls the attention to F2. 6, fialglan fethet; however, I think that there fethid has a different meaning (`let them attend the illustrious man').

[5] *Cf.* F7. 1--Síl Āeda Sláne na sleg.

in the east at the bright-waved[1] sea.

Twice three years for the protector\champion,
for Colmán's son, for Fergus;
bane befell[2] him at last[3]
in the sharp battle of Blattene.

Óengus, the son of Colmán of the hundreds
grasped[4] valorous[5] Banba;
seven years for him in Tara yonder;
his death Domnall inflicted[6].

Conall Guthbinn, Suibne's son,
three times five years fittingly;
until Díarmait, the son of Áed Sláne
robbed him of his vigorous fame.

Sixteen years surely,

---

[1] *DIL* cites ocont sāle thondgel under the compounds of tonn and gives the following translation: `bright-skinned, bright-surfaced'.

[2] fríth ilach dó: lit. `a shout of lamentation was found for him'. I think that *DIL* is mistaken in citing this example under ilach a) "*a cry of exultation, a shout of victory* [...]. By transference *victory* ?, *triumph* ?". I have opted for the meaning given under c) (`a shout of lamentation') in my literal translation.

[3] Note that in *DIL* this is the only example cited for fo dered.

[4] According to *DIL*, glacaid is "of rare occurrence till late Mid. and early Mod. Ir." Note that this verb occurs four times in these texts: F6. 58 *LL*, 135; F10. 97; and F12. 65 *LL*.

[5] Note that bétach can also mean `wanton, shameless'.

[6] This is how MacNeill translates ro derlaig, which, I think, is the perf. sg. 3 of do-luigi, `forgives, remits'. However, no meaning of this verb seems to fit into this context. *Cf.* also F10. 86: coros derluig do Chormac--`until he remitted it? to Cormac'.

Máel Dóid, the son of powerful Suibne[1];
his people laid[2] him in the east
in the `Hills of Máel Doäid'.

Díarmait, the son of keen Airmedach[3],
thirty-six years, he was not feeble;
the violent Bregian, curly-locked
Fínnachta Fledach overthrew [him][4].

Twenty years--it was not long--
for Murchad, the son of Díarmait;
he fell in the height afterwards
at the hands of Conall Grant, the grandson of Cernach.

Díarmait [and] Airmedach after him[5]
Áed [and] Colggu, five exact years;
the four kings of Mide of the balances[6]
were slain at Bile Teined.

Domnall, the son of great Murchad,
an exact forty-six years[7];
--God gave him a long reign--,

---

[1] MacNeill seems to take serig as the gen. sg. of séirech, o/ā, `given to feasting' (one example in *DIL*). However, serig has to rhyme with demin, so it must have a short e.

[2] fo-rrācsat: lit. `left'--or maybe: in the meaning `leaves behind (at death)'?

[3] Dīarmait *mac* Airmedaig áith: or `the keen son of Airmedach'

[4] The object does not seem to be marked in *LL* (ro thascair); note that *R* has rod tascair.

[5] īarma: or `after that'

[6] MacNeill has the following note on Mide na nmed: "For weighing precious metals, I take it." (1913: 88.) *Cf.* F6. 39.

[7] See Footnote on F6. 181, p. 200.

until Díarmait's grandson died.

Níall, the son of Díarmait, the red flame[1]
ruler of [heroic]? Mide of the smooth slopes?[2];
six years in joyous kingship
until he fell at the hands of Muiredach.

Muiredach, the swift son of Domnall,
two years for the fully\entirely noble ruler;
he was the king of expansion without guile,
until he fell at the hands of Donnchad.

Donnchad, the son of Domnall of the [noble] looks[3],
fruitful[4] Tara was his;
thirty years for him--we are certain--,
until Ireland's jarl[5] died.

One year in manifest kingship
for Domnall, the son of swift Donnchad;
in the east, on the side of the cliff,
he fell at the hands of foreigners.

---

[1] in daig derg: *DIL*: "metaph. *of a hero, king, saint*".

[2] This is *DIL*'s suggestion, which appears under the compounds of lomm with a question-mark.

[3] mac Domnaill na ndrech is cited in *DIL* under 1 drech a) `face, countenance', along with this (=MacNeill's) translation, accompanied by a question-mark. I wonder if it would not be better to translate this word here as `person', so we would have `of the people'--referring perhaps to Domnall's retinue? *Cf.* F2. 68 (acht drech--`except the person') and F7. 101 *R* (fichtib drech--`with scores of people').

[4] tollmech = prosperous?

[5] For the meaning of `jarl' here, see Ó Corráin, 1987: 287-293.

Muiredach, the son of active Domnall[1],
the champion of the fifty-fold struggle?[2];
three years over the fair race of Cobthach[3];
untimely death darkened him.

Díarmait, the son of active Donnchad[4],
a year in truly good rule;
he perished at the forest
in the west in the battle of Ruba Conaill.

Conchobor--fair was his excellence--
over Ireland in high sovereignty;
a natural death died the king of the Brug,
Donnchad's good son who was often praised[5].

Ten years in sovereignty--that was not feeble--,
for him, for very fair Máel Rúanaid;
the son of dear Donnchad[6] died,
the king of expansion and increase.

Two years was the good son's reign
after successful Máel Rúanaid[7];
him, in his place of judgement with renown,

---

[1] mac Domnaill daith: or `the active son of Domnall'

[2] See Note on p. 183.

[3] See Note on p. 183.

[4] mac Dondcha(i)da daith: or `the active son of Donnchad'

[5] dūanach: lit. `who was rich in praise poems'

[6] mac Dondchada dil: or `the dear son of Donnchad'

[7] in raith: lit. `M. R. of the fortune\grace\virtue'

Máel Sechnaill, his brother slew[1].

Noble Máel Sechnaill from Slemain
after him for seventeen years;
after victories with renown died
the very valiant son of Máel Rúanaid[2].

Lorcán, the son of Cathal of the territories
two years in sovereignty were found;
king over vast Mide of the corn-measures,
until Áed Findlíath blinded him.

Donnchad, the grandson of hardy Conchobar,
twice six years--a period in victory?--;
by Fland of the encounter without shame
fell the son of Eochocán.

Fland, the son of wonderful Máel Sechnaill[3],
seventeen years over Banba;
--what territory did he not strongly [hold in his] grip for a while?--
until Ireland's king died.

Máel Sechnaill's grandson without fear,
three years for Conchobor;
along with bright Níall Glúndub
fell the sun of the Gaels.

Domnall, the son of Fland, got one year

---

[1] I take derbrāth*air* as referring to Máel Sechnaill, the subject of the sentence.

[2] *mac* Māel Rūanaid co rogail: or `the son of very valiant Máel Rúanaid'

[3] *mac* Mel *Sechnaill* amra: or `the wonderful son of M. S.'

between Clúain and pointed Líamuin;
Donnchad Dond[1], his brother[2]
slew him, although it was a crime[3] of fury?.

Donnchad, without violence or crime,
met his death in Mide of horses;
the jarl[4] of Crinna got--it was permitted--,
twenty-six bright years.

Renowned Óengus got, without disgrace[5],
after his father one year;
thirty hundred was the number of his troops,
until the son of Donnchad died.

Donnchad, the son of Domnall of mystery[6],
reigned for four single years;
the stammering?[7] lord of vigour slew him,
young Fergal, the son of Óengus.

---

[1] See Note on F6. 144, p. 185.

[2] I take derbrāthair as referring to Donnchad, the subject of the sentence.

[3] ciarbo glond (*etc.*) is cited in *DIL* under meaning b) `a deed of violence, a crime' of glond; but note that this word--and consequently the whole phrase--could in theory have positive connotations. MacNeill actually says that "the poem seems to approve of his [= Domnall's] death at his brother's hands, as *AU* does, saying `*quod aptum erat*'" (1913: 90).

[4] See Footnote on F6. 96, p. 195.

[5] Fūair Ōengus airdairc cen ail: or `Óengus, renowned without disgrace, got'

[6] Dondchad mac Domnaill dīamra (*LL*)/dīamair (*R*) is cited in *DIL* under 1 díamair, i, I, `mysterious'. with the translation `secretive(?)'. The *LL* form (gen. sg. of the substantivised adj.) qualifies Domnall, while the *R* form Donnchad.

[7] See Note on p. 186.

Fergal got three months with good luck[1]
until Congalach expelled him
at[2] Clúain Iraird of companies?,
he got but one year.

Another single year for Áed,
for the very fair son of Máel Rúanaid;
he met death in his contest of battle
at the hands of Domnall, the son of Donnchad.

Domnall, three times one year,
the half-king[3] beside?[4] Líamuin;
a misfortune for the race of Cobthach[5] of throngs
was the death of majestic[6] Donnchad's son[7].

Carlus, the son of Conn, the son of Donnchad,
a period of six years of expansion;
there the descendant of Fland of Fál fell,
where the Foreigners raised a fear-inspiring?[8] shout.

---

[1] co rrath: or `with grace, virtue, prosperity'

[2] See Note on p. 186.

[3] MacNeill has the following note on lethrí in F2. 63: "By *lethríg*, `half-kings,' Flann means those who ruled part of Ireland and did not acknowledge another as king of all Ireland, not those who were joint-kings of Ireland, for he has named the joint-kings, Domnall and Forggus, Baetán and Eochaid" (1913: 54). I wonder if the same applies to this example, too. Note that *AU* 952 has ridomna for *LL* lethrí and *R, M* lāechrī.

[4] See Note on p. 187.

[5] See Note on F6. 103, p. 183.

[6] drechmīad*aig*: lit. `of noble face'

[7] m*eic* Dond*chaid* drechmīad*aig*: or `of the majestic son of Donnchad'

[8] grithgāir: lit. `a quavering shout'; there are three examples cited for this word in *DIL* under the compounds of 1 grith. See also Note on p. 187.

Muirchertach of authority--you have that--,
four times four years;
he met overthrow[1] at fair Druim Críaig
at the hands of Domnall, the son of Congalach.

Five years for good Mide,
waste, without houses, without a good ruler;
Fergal plundered every family
at the end[2] of Domnall's reign.

An exact forty-five years[3],
the reign of Máel Sechnaill who was rich in steeds[4];
the king of great Mide[5] with sweetness,
he died a natural death in CróInis.

Máel Sechnaill Got, four [years],
an evil death parted him from (his) life;
seven years of Róen with throngs of bards[6],
until the battle in Móin Milán.

---

[1] forlund: lit. `superiority in numbers'--or `oppression'?

[2] ra dered = after? MacNeill has the following note on this stanza: "*LL* 4 [= 42] says `Meath was a waste for five years through Fergal s.o. Oengus (deposed, 40 [=F6. 157-160]) *after* the death of Domnall Ua Néill' (in 980)" (1913: 91).

[3] I believe that *DIL* is mistaken in citing cōic blīadna *cethrachat* cōir under cóir 5 Adv. with a question-mark. I think that this is the gen. sg. masc. form of the adj., qualifying *cethrachat*. *Cf.* also F6. 82.

[4] Note that this is the only example cited in *DIL* under echmór (compounds of ech).

[5] rí mórMide: or `the great king of Mide'? See Note on p. 188.

[6] rubnib dám: I have given *DIL*'s translation here, which appears under 2 ruibne, `a large number, multitude'. MacNeill has `with throngs of bands' (1913: 91).

Domnall, his period[1] was two years,
until he fell at the hands of Máel Challann;
he was king of Mide of the millshafts;
after him reigned Conchobor.

After dear Domnall of bright form
he reigned over Tara of territories[2];
two years and four firm tens,
so long lasted Conchobor.

Conchobor of the good plain?[3] of Mide,
the high prince was not a stranger;
at the hands of Murchad, the son of Fland,
Máel Sechnaill's grandson fell.

Seven kings, forty mighty kings,
after Conall of Brega--it is not a small company--,
down to Conchobor of the bright deeds,
is the number that ruled Mide.

---

[1] a band: i.e. reign

[2] for Temraig tírig: or `over wide-ruling Tara'?

[3] magMide: or mag- = intensifying prefix? (`of good, strong Mide')

SÍL ĀEDA SLÁNE NA SLEG (F7)

INTRODUCTION

MSS: *LL* 185^{b}61
R 164^{b}21

LL is clearly legible all through.
Most of the text in the Facsimile of *R* is clearly legible.

Previous edition and translation:
MacNeill, 1913: 92-99 (from *LL*).

Ascription on top of the folio just preceding this poem: "Fland Manistrech *cecinit*". This appears in pinkish ink which is slightly different from the pink ink used elsewhere in the MS and it may actually be a later addition. (Note that this is not mentioned in *LL*).

On editorial principles, see Introduction to F6, pp. 155-156.

ANALYSIS OF THE METRE

Metre: **debide scaílte (fota)** ($7^{x}\ 7^{x+1\ or\ 2}\ 7^{x}\ 7^{x+1\ or\ 2}$).

Stanza structure

The following is only valid if we take ll. 121-122 to be an incomplete stanza (see Notes), and not as part of a six-line stanza. In narrative verse one can get both four- and six-line stanzas alternating in the same poem (cf. the poem in *LL* 136[b] following); however, as this would be the only example of this phenomenon in the poems I have examined, I would be inclined to take these two lines as part of an incomplete four-line stanza.

$7^{1}7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}$: 1, 3, 6, 7, 9, 14, 15, 20, 23, 25 (10)
$7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$: 12, 17, 21 (see Note on F7. 83, p. 220; 28, 32, 34, 36, 37 (8)
$7^{1}7^{3}7^{1}7^{2}$: 2, 16, 27, 29 (4)
$7^{2}7^{3}7^{1}7^{2}$: 4, 5, 13, 18 (4)
$7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}7^{3}$: 22, 24, 33 (3)
$7^{1}7^{3}7^{1}7^{3}$: 11, 30 (2)
$7^{2}7^{3}7^{1}7^{3}$: 10, 19 (2)
$7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}7^{3}$: 8 (1)
$7^{1}7^{3}7^{2}7^{3}$: 35 (1)

Stanzas without *rinn 7 airdrinn*: $7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}7^{3}$: 26 (1)
Incomplete: $7^{1}7^{2}$: 31 (1)

My figures for *rinn* (number of couplets with $7^{x}7^{x+1}$ per total number of couplets) are **59/73=80%**. Ó Cuív's are 57/68=84%. The difference in the total number of couplets arises from the fact that Ó Cuív took only 34 quatrains into consideration, although there are 35 complete stanzas and one incomplete one in *LL*. In addition to this, there is an extra stanza in *R*, which I have included in my text. There are 15 couplets which do not fulfil the $7^{x}7^{x+1}$ requirement. Note that Ó Cuív subtracted the couplets which contain the rhymes discussed below as well as the case when one consonant corresponds to two (**Cuilt : bláthbuic** in F7. 25-26).

End-rhyme: on F7. 21-22 and F7. 83-84, see Notes on pp. 217 and 220.
Stressed **e** + palatal consonant rhymes with unstressed **i/a** + palatal consonant (Carney, 1964: xxxiii) in F7. 143-144 (**sein : eōlaig**). Maybe we should read **sain** here, which is what

R has.

Stressed **a** + non-palatal consonant rhymes with unstressed **e** + non-palatal consonant (Carney, *ibid*): F7. 131-132 (**abb : fichet**). See Note on p. 223.

Fidrad freccomail is not present between stanzas 3+4 (ll. 12-13), 4+5 (ll. 16-17), 6+7 (ll. 24-25), 7+8 (ll. 28-29), 12+13 (ll. 48-49), 13+14 (ll. 52-53), 15+16 (ll. 60-61), 17+18 (ll. 68-69), 29+30 (ll. 116-117), 33+34 (ll. 130-131), 35+36 (ll. 138-139), 36+37 (ll. 142-143) (12).

F. f. is between **f** and **f** in 1+2 (ll. 4-5).

F. f. is present between an unstressed and a stressed syllable in 1+2 (ll. 4-5), 14+15 (ll. 56-57).

F. f. is present between **g** and **c** in 2+3 (ll. 8-9).

F. f. could be present between **f** and a vowel in 20+21 (ll. 80-81)--provided that **i cath** is in the dat., and **For*c*alaid** is lenited.

F. f. is present between the same two words in 9+10 (ll. 36-37).

Stanza 31 is incomplete, so one can not say anything about *f. f.* here.

The figures for *f. f.* are **23/35=66%**.

Alliteration is not present in F6. 3, 6, 11, 16, 18, 20, 27, 28, 32, 36, 40, 42, 43, 44, 46, 48, 50, 51, 55, 58, 59, 60, 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, 76, 80, 81, 83, 88, 91, 93, 94, 102, 103, 108, 110, 112, 125, 128, 129, 130, 132, 133, 134, 136, 142, 143 (50).

Alliteration is not between the last two stressed words of line *d* in F7. 146. (1)

My figures for alliteration are **95/146=65%**, and Ó Cuív's 87/136=64%. Again, the slight difference can be explained by the fact that he did not take all the stanzas into consideration.

Note that there is alliteration in *R* in F7. 59.

In order to get alliteration in F7. 78, ***mac*** must be unstressed (construction: **X *mac* Y**).

In this case, all the stressed words in the line will alliterate.

If we read **Dún Sinchi** in F7. 95 as the acc., then this will give us alliteration in the line.

Note that this is what *R* has.

We can only get alliteration in F7. 107 if both ***mac*** and ***mei*c** are stressed.

In F7. 33, 117 and 118 the lenition of **F** is fixed by alliteration. In the first case, it is

marked only in *LL*, while in the other two cases in both MSS.

We can only get alliteration in F7. 124 if **mac** is stressed (construction: **X mac Y**).

We can only get alliteration in F7. 126 if **Hū** is stressed.

Internal rhyme in the first couplet (4/37=11%--with the incomplete stanza--see Note on F7. 121-122, p. 222):

síl : ríg (F7. 1-2)
Cernaig : Bregmaig (F7. 53-54)
īarla : mblīadna (F7. 131-132)
Dondchaid : torchair (F7. 139-140)

Internal rhyme in the second couplet (7/36=19%):

Cairn : maidm (F7. 35-36)
-rochair : scothair (F7. 51-52)
aidid : Ailig (F7. 67-68)
rath : cath (F7. 79-80)
Cíannāin : cīallmāir (F7. 99-100)
mBuidēn : culēn (F7. 137-138)
Rūaid? : crūaid (F7. 103-104) (only in *R*)

There is imperfect rhyme between **Dollaid** and **rochair** in F7. 39-40.

Proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in *d* (not counting the last word, which rhymes with the final of *c*): **7/73=10%** (my figures); 4/68=6% (Ó Cuív's figures). Again, the second number in my calculations is different as I took more couplets into consideration. Of course, one question is whether the incomplete stanza (ll. 121-122) constitutes the first or the second couplet. If we can believe the space left out in *LL*, then this is the first couplet in the stanza. Also, in *R* this couplet appears as the first one in the stanza, followed by ll. 123-124. (There ll. 125-126 are omitted). For a detailed discussion of this problem, see Note on p. 222.

As far as the number of rhyming words is concerned, one of these can be found in the stanza which appears only in *R* (ll. 103-104); also note that in F7. 99-100 a single consonant in one of the rhyming words corresponds to two consonants in the other rhyming word, so Ó Cuív probably did not take it into consideration.

Analysis of rhyming consonant clusters (using Ó Cuív's classification--1966: 94-103; 1987: 109; see also SMF, Vol. II, p. 111-112: **2.**):

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

C^vC^v--C^vC^v; C^vL^v--C^vC^v; C^vC^v--C^vL^v; L^vL^v--C^vC^v; C^vL^v--C^vL^v

Odba : ardomna (F7. 11-12) (e. r.)
madma : findBanba (F7. 55-56) (e. r.)
Cairn : maidm (F7. 35-36) (i. r.)
īarla : mblīadna (F7. 131-132) (i. r.)

Cnogba : comchalma (F7. 91-92) (e. r.) **Cernaig : Bregmaig** (F7. 53-54) (i. r.)
mBrogda : cāemChnogba (F7. 137-138) (e. r.)

2. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L (rules 1 and 2): $L^{v}P^{v}$--$C^{v}P^{v}$
aird : bithgairg (F7. 33-34) (e. r.) **gargg : chlaidard** (F7. 115-116) (e. r.)

3. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L + ^{h} (rules 1, 2, 3): $C^{h}P^{h}$--$C^{h}P^{h}$
Chachta : Fīnnachta (F7. 35-36) (e. r.)

4. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C/L + ^{h} (rules 2 and 3): $L^{v}C^{h}$--$C^{v}C^{h}$
Dondchaid : tor*chair* (F7. 139-140) (i. r.)

5. One consonant corresponds to two: a consonant from class **l** ($\mathbf{C}^{v}$) or **L** ($\mathbf{L}^{v}$) is added: L^{v}--$L^{v}C^{v}$; $L^{v}P^{v}$--P^{v} ?
Cíannāin : cīallmāir (F7. 99-100) (i. r.) **Cuilt : bláthbuic** (F7. 25-26) (e. r.) ?

Elision

a) Unstressed short vowel preceded by another vowel: twelve examples. In two cases elision depends on whether we read **7** as ***is*** or ***ocus*** (F7. 13 and 59). In ten instances, the metre requires elision (F7. 18, 38, 55, 74, 75, 85, 97 *R*, 111, 113, 131 *LL*). In F7. 18 the metre does not require elision in *R* if we read **7** as ***is***. *R* has a different construction in F7. 113 and F7. 131. (10/12=83%)

b) Unstressed short vowel + unstressed long vowel: seven examples. In six cases the metre requires elision: F7. 14, 30, 54, 66, 90, 111. In F7. 26 *R* the metre requires elision between **blīadna** and **ōs**; and in *LL* this requirement depends on whether we read **Boind** as a disyllable or not (see Notes). (6/7=86%)

c) Dropping of the initial vowel of an unstressed word (prep. + poss. pron.\article): F7. 38 (after a vowel). There is no dropping in F7. 36 (at the beginning of the line).

d) The reduction of **coro** to **cor** and of **níro** to **nír**: F7. 44, 128 (not indicated in spelling in either case--see Notes on pp. 128 and 223). Note that *R* has a different construction in both F7. 44 and 128, where the metre does not require the dropping of the **o**.

e) **do\de + V; do\de + f:** two examples. The metre requires elision in both cases (F7. 46, 50.

Dúnad

The first three words of the first line (**síl Āeda Sláne**) are repeated at the end. See Vol. II, p. 130: **5.4**

TEXT

Síl Āeda[1] Sláne na sleg
dīar āsair[2] mór ríg ragel[3]
innisfet ara mathius
a n-aided a n-ardflathius[4].

Ba flaith Āed Slā*ne* na slat
ré chōic mblī*adan cethrachat*[5]
co tor*chair* in rí do rind
la Conall ngasta nGuthbind[6].

Conall Lōeg Breg ós Bōin[d] bricc
a cethair don ríg roglicc
do-roch*air* i cath Odba
la Ōengus n-óc n-ardomna[7].

Conall[8] Cerna *ocus* Clettig
cóic blī*adna* ós cach bānlettir
lasin Conall nGuthbind nglē
do-roch*air* oc[9] Loch Threithne[10].

Ailil Crundere[11] clīaraig

---

[1] nĀeda *R*

[2] dīa sásar *LL*

[3] rogel *R*

[4] a n-ardflaithi*us R*

[5] rē cōic blīad*an* cethrachat *R*

[6] Guthbind *R*

[7] n-ard n-imcholma *R*

[8] Congal? *AU 634*

[9] ic *R*

[10] Treithne *R*

[11] Craiptine *R*

cethri blīadna acht ōenblīadain[1]
lasin[2] Conall ṅgērglicc[3] glan[4]
do-roch*air* oc[5] Āth Goän.

Gabais Dīarmait, Blaithm*ac* bá[i]n
a cóic fic[h]et nī furáil[6]
dā ardrí[7] Hēr*end* uile[8]
ros marb in teidm tondbuide[9].

Conaing m*ac* Congaile Cuilt
trí blīadna ōs Boind[10] bláthbuic[11]
co tor*chair* isin debaid
la Dīarmait m*ac* Airmedaig[12].

Sechnassach m*ac* Blaithm*ei*c braiss
sé blīadna ōs Bregmaig barrglais
Dub Dúin rí Corp*ri*[13] co rath
leis do-roch*air* Sechnasach.

Sé blīadna Chind Fāelad[14] aird

---

[1] secht mblīad*na ocus* ōenblī[a]dain *R*

[2] la *LL*

[3] ṅglic *LL*

[4] ṅglan *R*

[5] hic *R*

[6] nīrb fu[ ]n? *R*

[7] ardrīg *R*

[8] uili *R*

[9] tennbuide *R*

[10] *See Note on p. 218.*

[11] *cethri* blīadna ōs Bōin[d] bathbuic *R*

[12] n-Airmedai*ch R*

[13] Cairp*ri R*

[14] Cind Fāelad *R*

m*eic* Blaithm*eic* būadaig bithgairg
do-roch*air* rí Cairn Chachta[1]
issin maidm la Fīnnachta.

Fīnnachta fichi blī*adan*
báe i nHēriu[2] 'ca[3] ardrīarad
i nGr*e*llaig Dollaid co ndath
do-roch*air* la Congal*ach*.

Congal*ach* a *cethair* cluin
co n-ērbuilt i Taltenbruig[4]
blī*adain* (i) flathius[5] Néill na ndath
coro marb in cáem Īrgalach[6].

Írgal*ach* m*ac* Conaing cain
ocht mblī*adna* d'éis[7] m*eic* Cernaig
do-roch*air*[8] Īrgal*ach* án
tess oc Inis M*ac*[9] Nessán.

Dā blī*adain* ós Bóin[d] bladaig
d'Amalgaid m*ac* Congal*aig*
do-roch*air* la Conall glē[10]
tair oc[11] Cill scothair[12] Scīre.

---

[1] Cachta *R*

[2] i ndHēireo *R*

[3] 'cō *R*

[4] i Tailltenbruig *R*

[5] flathius *R*

[6] cono ro marb Īrgalach *R*

[7] a *secht* dar ēis *R*

[8] co torchair *R*

[9] Macc *R*

[10] nglē *R;* glētair glē *LL; see Note on p. 219.*

[11] i *R*

Conall Grant hūa Cernaig crúaid
sé blīadna ós Bregmaig bratrūaid[1]
do-roch*air*[2] i lló in madma
la Fergal na[3] findBanba.

Blīadain Fogartaig na feb[4]
co torch*air* i cath[5] Delgthen
rí Fōtla *ocus* rí Fabair[6]
la Cināed m*ac* Írgal*aig*[7].

Cināed *cóic* blīadna fá[8] dó
ós Hēr*ind* ní himmargó
ro marb[9] Flathbertach find Fáil
i cath Dromma caiss Corcáin.

Conaing Crach costid ri[10] sain
deich mblīadna aile[11] ōs Bregmaig
fūair aidid[12] la Āed[13] cīar fell[14]

---

[12] scothmair *R*

[1] bratbūain *R*

[2] co torchair *R*

[3] fīal *R*

[4] Fogarta*ch* na fled *R*

[5] Cill *R*

[6] ardrī Fōtla *ocus* Fabair *R; first* a *is made on* o *in* Fabair *in LL*

[7] m*a*c n-Īrgalaich *R*

[8] fa *R*

[9] ro *m*marb *R*

[10] ris *R*

[11] aili *R*

[12] a dīth *R*

[13] *gloss:* Allān

[14] la hĀed cīarb fell *R*

i ndorus Ailig [F]rigrend[15].

Sē blīadna rún[2] co rogail[3]
Inrechtach m*ac* Dūngalaig
i nDún[4] Chromtha cétaib gal[5]
and do-roch*air* la Dūngal.

Dūngal Cnogba co clīaraib
a sé fa[6] dó acht ōenblīadain
i cath Emna Macha i-mmaig
do-roch*air* m*ac* Amalgaid[7].

[8]*Ocht* mblīadna rādit na raind
do Chongal*ach* m*ac* Conaing
Dondchad co rath co rogail
rod marb i cath F*or*calaid.

Ocht mblīadna co cath Līac Find
dó do Dīarmait ba deglind
i ndígail abbad[9] Tuilén
dod-rat Dondchad[10] i nderglén.

Dá ndeich sé blīadna ar bladaib

---

[1] F*r*igrenn *R*

[2] ruirac *LL*

[3] ragail *R*

[4] [ ] Dūn *R*

[5] ngal *R*

[6] fo *R*

[7] hAmalgaid *R*

[8] *The following stanza is missing in R.*

[9] ap*ad R*

[10] do-rat Dīarmait *R*

flaithi*us* Flaind[11] m*eic* Congal*aig*
oc Manistir móir molaim
do-roch*air* h*ūa* cāemChonaing[2].

Cernach h*ūa* Congal*aig* caiss
sé bl*īadna* ōs Taltin[3] tōebglaiss
do-roch*air* i Taig Cnogba
la Cināed crūaid comchalma[4].

Cināed dar ési[5] Cernaig
a sé déc i tromThemraig
ic[6] Dún Sinche rīa[7] samain
rod marb[8] h*ūa* crūaid Congalaig.

Cummascach *cóic* bl*īadna*[9] i fos
flaith ōs Bregmaig na mbendchros
i nDaim Līac Cíannāin canair
marb h*ūa* cīallmāir[10] Congal*aig*[11].

Conaing m*ac* Fl*aind* fichtib drech
bl*īadain* dā deich ar ca*ch* leth
i Tochrai Rūaid? forin maig
at-bath h*ūa* crūaid *Con*galaich.

---

[1] do flathius Flaind *LL*

[2] ūa cōemChonai*ng* *R*

[3] Tailltin *R*

[4] cāem comcholma *R*

[5] ēisse *R*

[6] oc *R*

[7] Sinchi īar *R*

[8] ro marb *R*

[9] dā bl*īadain* *LL---see Note on p. 220.*

[10] cīalmar *R*

[11] *The next stanza is omitted in LL.*

Cināed cōic blīadna cīa bé
co ár[1] torsech Treöte
coro bāded m*ac* me*ic*[2] Flaind
lasin flaith la Māel Sech*naill*.

Secht mblīadna fichet sain sluind
ropa[3] rí Fland m*ac* Conaing
i cath Chilli[4] H*ūa* nDaigri a díach[5]
do-roch*air* la Āed Findlíath.

Fichi blīadna a cóic cen chrád[6]
m*ac* Cellaig find Flannacán[7]
do-roch*air* la slūag Gall gargg[8]
i mmulluch Cerna chlaidard[9].

Secht mblīadna Māel Finniāin[10] áin
degme*ic*[11] luchair [F]lannacáin
ic Inber na mBárc[12] co mblaid[13]
at-bath h*ūa* cōem *Con*galaich[14].

---

[1] co hār *R*

[2] meicc *R*

[3] ropu *R*

[4] Cilli? *R*

[5] a ndīach *R*

[6] fichi *cóic* blīadna cen chrād *R*

[7] find Flannacāin *R*

[8] ngarg *R*

[9] cladard *R*

[10] Finneāin *R*

[11] dagme*ic* *R*

[12] oc Inbiur na mBārcc *R*

[13] *Last two words missing in LL.*

[14] cháem Congalach *LL*

Trī chōic blīad*an* ba blad[1] bil
dā[2] brāth*air* do Māel Mithig[3].

Cóic blīad*na*[4] Lorcān cen lēn[5]
rod marb[6] Fland m*ac* Māel Finné(i)n[7]
[8]*secht* mblīad*na* Flaind cosin cath
i tor*chair* la Hū Echach.

Āed m*ac* Māel Mithig mīadaig
nīro chaith acht dí ōenblīad*ain*[9]
do-roch*air* Āed in Broga[10]
la Ōengus[11] m*ac* nDondchada.

Congal*ach* int īarla int abb[12]
ro chaith *secht* mblīad*na* fichet
la slúag Lagen *ocus* Gall
do-roch*air* oc Taig[13] Giugrand.

Glanfiche[14] blīad*an* co mblaid
do Domnall m*ac* Congal*aig*

---

[1] ba blad *is missing in LL.*

[2] dīa *R*

[3] *Concerning the stanza division here, see Note on p. 222.*

[4] *These two words are missing in LL.*

[5] Lorccāin ra lāim *R*

[6] cor marb *R*

[7] Finneāin *R*

[8] *The next two lines are missing in R.*

[9] acht ōenblīad*ain R*

[10] co torch*air* Āed in Braga *R*

[11] la hŌengus *R*

[12] Congala*ch* īarla cen ec *R*

[13] i Tig *R*

[14] glanfichi *R*

oc Taig Hūa ṁBuidēn[1] ṁBrogda
do-cer culēn cāemChnogba.

Ōenblīadain Dondchaid na ndám
co torchair la claind Colmān
dī blīadain Murchertaig[2] maill
co torchair la Mel[3] Sechnaill.

Íarra lat īarmothá sein[4]
a baird Fintain a eōlaig
ōr nach fail[5] sunda co se
sāegul síl Āeda Slāne. S.

---

[1] oc Taich i mBuidēn *R*

[2] dā blīadain Muiredaich *R*

[3] Māe[l] *R*

[4] īarair lat ōmothā sain *R*

[5] ūar nā fil *R*

NOTES

All references are to MacNeill, 1913: 92-99.

F7. 2. The reading of *R* (dīar āsair--`from whom ... sprang', as opposed to *LL* dīa sásar--`by whom ... are sated') makes a lot more sense here. The *LL* scribe must have mistaken the r for an s. (Although there is the slight possibility that the *LL* form is either the pres. subj. passive or the fut. passive of saigid--`by whom ... were sought out'?--on the confusion of the subj. and the fut., see *SNG*: 315: 12.120.) For other examples with this particular deponent ending in the preterite and perfect of ásaid, see *DIL*. Note that this line is cited in *DIL* both under sásaid (with MacNeill's translation: `by whom many brilliant kings are sated') and ásaid.

F7. 6. As *R* has cethrachat for *LL* .xl., I have extended this form accordingly. The editors of *LL* have *cethorchat*.

F7. 13. Based on *AU 634*, MacNeill suggests that we read Congal instead of *LL* Conall. *R* has Conall, too.

F7. 18. There is a substantial difference between the two MSS in the number of years attributed to Ailill (*cethri* blīadna acht ōenblīadain in *LL* and secht ṁblīad*na ocus* ōenblī[a]dain in *R*). Both versions are possible metrically. This difference must have arisen from the fact that the four minims used for writing cethri could easily be confused with a u for `five' plus two minims. The annals are of no help here.

F7. 19. There are two syllables missing here in *LL*. MacNeill, who had no access to *R*, suggests that we read la Conall nGuthbinn nglicc nglan (1913: 92) for *LL* la Conall ṅglic glan. *R* has lasin Conall ṅgērglicc ṅglan (also cited by the editors of *LL*), which will give us the correct syllable count. Note that the mark of nasalisation before glan is not omitted here. (See also Vol. II, pp. 29-32: **2.30**.)

F7. 21-22. Neither MacNeill, nor the editors of *LL* take note of the problem with the rhyme in bán : furáil. The last two letters are stained in *LL*, and as far as I can see, they could also stand for ll or n. *R* has nīrb fu[ ]n?. Maybe this word stands for urán--heed,

attention? Or should we read báin (nom. pl. masc.) qualifying Dīarmait and Blaithmac?

F7. 26. *LL .iii.* could be expanded both as *trí* and as *teóra*. In the latter case, there would be elision between blīadna and ōs, and Bóind would have to be monosyllabic. With *trí*, Boind could be both a monosyllable and a disyllable--if it is disyllabic, then elision would be necessary. Because of this ambiguous situation, I did not mark the o long. (On hiatus, see Vol. II, pp. 16-18: **2.2.**)

F7. 28. MacNeill supplies an n before Airmedaig, and the editors of *LL* note that this is what *R* has. However, the n is not necessary if we take mac as a nom. sg. in app. *Cf.* F7. 60, which has la Cināed mac Írgalaig.

F7. 38. *LL* has báe i nHēriu 'ca ardrīarad, and *R* báe i ndHēireo 'ca ardrīarad. MacNeill has the following note on the *LL* line: "Read *bói i nHére cá hardriarad* or *bói ind Hériu cá ardriarad*, `Ireland was obeying his high rule.' O'Reilly gives *riaraim*, `I serve,' but *riarughadh*, `regulating.' In the absence of proof to the contrary I take either sense as admissible." (However, note that ríarugud is the vn. of ríaraigid, `serves; subdues', and the verbal noun of ríaraid, `serves' is ríarad.) The editors of *LL* seem to take the first and n as the article in, as they print the *LL* reading as in Hēriu. As in the poems I have examined I have found only one example of Ériu used with the definite article (lán ind Hēriu--F5. 17), I believe that the dat. sg. is more likely here.
In *DIL* there are two meanings cited for ríarad, the vn. of ríaraid: `serving' and `ministering to'. This line is cited under the first one. There is also a third meaning cited for the verb: `subdues'. Maybe the meaning of the verbal noun is connected to this third meaning here.

F7. 39. Although MacNeill has Grellach Dollaig in his translation (1913: 96), the forms cited from the earliest sources in Hogan seem to indicate Dollaid (1910: 450).

F7. 43. There is an extra syllable in this line in *LL*. Both the editors of *LL* (based on *R*) and MacNeill suggest that we omit the i, and I have accepted this suggestion.

F7. 44. MacNeill has the following note on this line: "One syll. in excess. Read *cor marb*? The í of this name [= Írgalach] [in stanzas] 11, 12 is probably correct, otherwise it would

have such variants as Ergalach, Airgalach, Urgalach, as in *irgaire*, &c." As far as the syllable-count is concerned, I have accepted MacNeill's suggestion (see *SNG*: 279: 11.3 and Vol. II, p. 127: **4.4 b**); note that *R* has cono ro marb Īrgalach, which will also give us the correct syllable count.
Also note that the name Írgalach does have variants in Air- and Ir- (Uhlich, 1993: 155-156). Uhlich cites rhyming examples both for short and long I. His explanation is that the form with Í is the later one, based on popular etymology (ír `anger, ill-feeling').

F7. 51-52. The MS of *LL* has gletair gle here, where the second glē must be the result of dittography, as noted by the editors of *LL*, while the Facsimile has tair with an ar-*compendium*. MacNeill divides these two lines correctly in his notes (i.e. reads glē \ tair oc). There is no dittography in *R* here.

F7. 54. *R* ōs Bregmaig bratbūain (`over the plain of Brega of an enduring cover'?) seems to be a corruption of *LL* ós Bregmaig bratrúaid (`over the ruddy-vestured plain of Brega').

F7. 58. Both the editors of *LL* and MacNeill note that there is a gloss on i cath (Delgthen): *vel* i cill. MacNeill also adds the following remark: "*Cenn Delgden*, AU 621, 723; so Tig., with Delgen in the latter case. For the change from *Cenn* to *Cell* cp. *Cenn Losnado Cell Osnado*" (*cf.* F3. 21-22 Chind [...] \ Lasnado and F4. 9 Cell Osnaid). *R* has i Cill Deilgthe[n].

F7. 67. Note that the *R* reading, a dīth, spoils the internal rhyme in this couplet (*LL* has aidid : Ailig).

F7. 68. Both the editors of *LL* and MacNeill suggest that we supply a lenited F before Rigrend. *R* has Frigrenn, and I have also supplied the lenited f. See also Vol. II, p. 6: **1.18**.

F7. 69. There is an extra syllable in this line in *LL*. *R* has rún for *LL* ruirac, and the *R* reading is proposed as an emendation by the editors of *LL*. MacNeill, who had no access to *R*, believed that ruirac "may be a phonetic writing of *ruirech* [`king'], before *co*, and I have so translated. Perhaps we should read *raith*."

F7. 77-80. This stanza is missing in *R*.

F7. 77. Based on *AU 778*, MacNeill suggests that perhaps we should read ocht mblíadna déc rádit rainn here.

F7. 83. MacNeill has the following note on Tuilén:

> "The metrical usage indicates that *Tuilén* is taken here as two distinct words, *Tuil En* or *Tu Lén*, for in *debide* and most other metres the second of two rhyming words must rhyme to all the syllables of the first--see the rhymes of this poem for examples. [...] The modern English form "Dulane" may also indicate two separate words, of which the first became unstressed." (1913: 94)

If we did not accept this solution, then this would be the only stanza without *rinn 7 airdrinn* in the second couplet in these poems (see SMF, Vol. II, p. 104); moreover, the rhyme would be faulty. Note that *R* agrees with *LL* here.

F7. 84. Dīarmait in *R* must be a scribal error; this name occurs in F7. 82 too, and probably this is why the scribe wrote it down again instead of Dondchad. *AU* 786 corroborates the *LL* reading.

F7. 86. There is an extra syllable in this line in *LL*, which is not noted in the diplomatic edition. MacNeill suggests that we omit do from do flathius and read flathius. This suggestion is supported by the *R* reading, which does not have the do.
There seems to be a dot over the F of Flaind in the phrase do flathius Flaind in the MS of *LL*, although this does not appear in the diplomatic edition. This would give us alliteration in the *LL* reading, which is otherwise corrupt as noted above.

F7. 91. Note that the editors of *LL* print Taig with a lower-case initial. *Cf.* F7. 134 oc Taig Giugrand and 137 oc Taig Hūa mBuidēn mBrogda, where they use capitals. I presume that this is a part of the place-name, so I have capitalised the t.

F7. 97. There is an extra syllable here in *LL*. MacNeill solves the problem by reading Cummascach dá blīadna i fos with elision for Cummascach dā blīadain i fos. However, I have not got a single certain example of the pl. form of the noun following dá in the

poems I have examined. (See Vol. II, p. 54: **5.8 a.**) *R* has *cóic blīadna*, which gives us the correct syllable count. Concerning the annalistic evidence, MacNeill has the following to say on the preceding couplet, which discusses the reign of Cináed (this evidence is significant when it comes to calculating the reign of Cummascach):

> "Cinaed †834, s.o. Conaing, is called k. of Bregha by the Four Masters and Chron. Scotorum, but k. of Tethba by *AU*, which also records the death of Conaing, k. of Tethba, eleven years earlier, so that the other chronicles and Flann may be mistaken in including the Cinaed among the kings of Bregha." (1913: 98).

According to *AU*, Cummascach died in 839--so the `five years' in *R* may actually represent the original text. Also, note that the only way to get alliteration in this line is to adopt the *R* reading.

F7. 100. MacNeill has the following note on this line: "The rhyme requires *Cīannáin : cīallmáir*, but this reading involves (1) the archaic *-máir* = *móir* (2) the transposition of the adjective which, if genitive, must belong to *Congalaig*. We could read *Cīannán* (gen.)*: cīallmár* or substitute *éc huī* (gen.) for *marb hūa*." However, I do not see any problem here: cīallmār is simply a compound formed after long vowels in unstressed syllables had been shortened (see Thur. §43); the "archaic" form, már, occurs in F5. 54 and 118, and it is fixed by rhyme in both cases; the preposed genitive does occur occasionally in these poems (see Vol. II, p. 97: **13.2**); moreover, I have several examples where one consonant corresponds to two in rhyming words (see Vol. II, pp. 113-116: **2.2**). *R* has Cīanāin and cīalmār respectively, so in order to get internal rhyme, one should read either Cīanān or cīalmāir.

F7. 101. This stanza is omitted in *LL*. After consulting the genealogical table of the kings of Cnogba, North Brega in Jaski (1994: 98), I have included this stanza in the main text, as the Conaing mentioned there is the `missing' ruler between Cummascach and Cináed. His death is mentioned in *AU* 849 (848). The scribe probably omitted this stanza as both this and the previous stanza end in the genitive of Congalach.

F7. 103. The meaning would require a place-name in this line. However, I could not find anything in Hogan which might be identified with *Tochrai Rúaid.

F7. 106. MacNeill notes that the metre requires that we read Treöte as a trisyllable.

F7. 113. There is a misprint in *LL* where bl- is expanded as blīadan, because one gets an extra syllable in this way. MacNeill is right in expanding it as blīadna, as the last vowel here can be elided providing us with the correct number of syllables. *R* has fichi *cóic* blīadna cen chrād here, which will also give us the correct syllable count.

F7. 114. The i in Flannacāin (:chrād) in *R* is a scribal error.
mac Cellaig find Flannacán: Alliteration makes the *LL* reading, find, more likely here than the *R* reading, find. In *LL*, find refers to mac or to Flannacán (`Cellach's fair son' or `Cellach's son, fair Flannacán'), while in *R*, find must refer to Cellaig (= `the son of fair Cellach, Flannacán').

F7. 119-120. MacNeill divides these two lines as
Ic Inber na mBárc at-bath
hūa cháem Congalach,
and adds the following note: "Two syll. wanting, and the verse is otherwise corrupt, Congalach being nom. The state of the next two stanzas indicates, perhaps, that the exemplar was partly illegible to the scribe." (See Note on F7. 122 below.) However, the editors of *LL*, based on *R*, supply co mblad (co mblaid *R*) after mBárc, and transfer at-bath to the next line. I have accepted this solution. *R* has at-bath hūa cōem *Con*galaich (:co mblaid) in F7. 120. The whole line in F7. 120 *LL* is corrupt.

F7. 121. There are two syllables missing in this line in *LL*. Based on *R*, the editors of *LL* supply ba blad after blīadan.

F7. 122. Note that one line (i.e. space for one couplet) is left out in the MS of *LL* after this line. Space is also left out for the two missing words in F7. 123. (The space left out is also clearly visible in the Facsimile.) It looks as if the scribe was copying from a MS which was not legible in this place. (See also MacNeill's note cited under F7. 119-120.) The editors of *LL* only note that the first two words in F7. 123 were erased--however, I could see no trace of this. I believe that the presence of this space alters the division of couplets; I would consider ll. 121-122 to be an incomplete stanza, and I would put ll. 123-124 together with 125-126, just like MacNeill and unlike *LL*, where it is the latter two

lines which appear separately as an incomplete stanza. The editors of *LL* were probably influenced by the fact that ll. 121-124 appear as one stanza in *R*, and ll. 125-126 are omitted. See also the discussion under Stanza types, p. 203.

F7. 123. There are three syllables (not two, as MacNeill says) missing in this line in *LL*. Based on *R*, the editors of *LL* supply *cóic* blīadna, and I have accepted this emendation. See also the Note on F7. 122.

F7. 124. The editors of *LL* suggest that we read Finnén for Finnéin in order to get the rhyme with lén. Note that the last n in Finnéin is not visible in the MS. There is no problem with the rhyme in *R*, which is completely different from that in *LL*: ra lāim : Fi*n*neāi*n*.

F7. 125-126. The editors of *LL* note that these two lines are missing in *R*. For the division of stanzas, see the note on F7. 122.

F7. 128. There is an extra syllable in this line in *LL*. MacNeill suggests that we read nír chaith for nīro chaith. For other examples when the o of ro is dropped after a conjunct particle, see Vol. II, p. 127: **4.4 b**. *R* does not have dí, which will also give us the correct syllable count.

F7. 131. Based on *R*, the editors of *LL* suggest that we read cen ec for int abb in order to get the rhyme with fichet. However, this will give us an extra syllable, so one would also have to omit int before īarla (which is omitted in *R*). The rhyme between fichet and ec would be perfect, however, the problem with ec is that it is listed with a question-mark in *DIL*, and a meaning is given only from Peter O'Connell's Irish-English Dictionary (for eag and eang), `jag, notch, dent', giving us `Congalach, the jarl without dent'--i.e. without blemish?. The problem with abb is that I have only one other example of rhyme between stressed a followed by a non-palatal consonant (Carney, 1964: xxxiii)--see Vol. II, p. 118: **2.4 b**. I have no satisfactory solution to this problem.

F7. 137. *R* oc Taich i mBuidēn seems to be a corruption of *LL* oc Taig Hūa mBuidēn. Unlike the editors of *LL*, I have printed Hūa with an upper-case initial, which is otherwise the normal practice followed in *LL* when printing place-names (e.g. Chilli Hūa

ṅDaigri in F7. 111).

The editors of *LL* also print ṁBrogda with a lower-case b. This is the only example cited in Hogan of Taig (*not* Tech) Úa mBuidén mBrogda (MacNeill was obviously not aware of this--see his Note in 1913: 99), which MacNeill translates as `at the house of the landed Uí Buidén' (*ibid*). I am not sure if mBrogda is a part of the place-name or not; the nasalisation is quite puzzling here. *Cf.* F7. 91 i Taig Cnogba and 134 oc Taig Giugrand.

F7. 141. If MacNeill is right in identifying Murchertach with the person of the same name who died in 995 according to *AU*, then the *R* reading (Muiredaich) is corrupt.

F7. 142. MacNeill supplies an a after the M in Mel. *LL* just remarks: "*sic*". However, I think that this is just the unstressed form of the name, so I see no reason for emending it. For other examples, see Vol. II, p. 47: **3.16 d**. *R* has Māe[l].

TRANSLATION

(based on MacNeill, 1913: 95-99)

The race of Áed Sláne of the spears,
from whom many very brilliant kings sprang[1],
for their excellence I will relate
their (violent) death[s], their noble sovereignty.

Áed Sláne of the plunders was ruler
for a period of forty-five years,
till the king was slain with a spear
by skilful Conall Guthbinn.

Conall Lóeg of Brega?[2] over sparkling Boyne,
four [years] for the very shrewd king;
(who)\he fell in the battle of Odba
at the hands of young, very strong Óengus[3].

Conall[4] of Cerna and Clettech,
five years over every bright slope;
at the hands of the afore-mentioned famous Conall Guthbinn
he fell at Loch Treithne.

Ailill of Crundere[5] of companies,
four years but one
at the hands of the afore-mentioned keenly shrewd, bright Conall

---

[1] See Note on p. 217.

[2] or `Conall, the calf of Brega'?--see MacNeill, 1913: 95.

[3] lit. `by young Óengus of a great bole'--this line is cited in *DIL* under the figurative uses of omna. The second element of the compound could also be the gen. sg. of omun, u + o, m, `fear'.

[4] See Note on p. 217.

[5] MacNeill has the following note on this word: "Crundere in the text can hardly be other than a place-name, gen. masc. or neut. Tig. has Cruit*ire*, if correctly given. AU, however, has Cruidire, changed by the translator to Cruitire, and explained in the note, which Stokes adopts in translating Tig., to mean `the Harper!'" (1913: 95)". Jaski (1994: 97) has Cruidire.

he fell at Áth Góan.

Díarmait and fair Blathmac reigned[1]
for twenty-five years--it is not too much--;
the two high-kings of all Ireland,
the yellow-skinned plague killed them.

Conaing, the son of Congal of Colt,
three years over bloom-soft[2] Boyne,
until he fell in the strife
at the hands of Díarmait, the son of Airmedach.

Sechnassach, the son of powerful Blathmacc,
six years over grassy[3] Brega's plain;
Dub Dúin, the king of Coirpre with success[4],
at his hands fell Sechnassach.

Six years were noble Cenn Fáelad's,
the son of victorious ever-fierce[5] Blathmacc;
the king of Carn Cachta[6] fell
in the rout at the hands of Fínnachta.

Fínnachta, [for] twenty years
he was in Ireland nobly serving her[7];
in Grellach Dollaid of colour
he fell at the hands of Congalach.

---

[1] See Note on p. 217.

[2] Or maybe the first element is bláith, `smooth'.

[3] lit. `green-topped'

[4] or: `with grace\good luck\virtue'

[5] or `the victorious, ever-fierce son of Blathmacc'

[6] MacNeill, 1913: 96 has the following note on Carn Cachta: "Carn Cachta, not instanced by Onom. Goed. except in this passage, is perhaps a synonym for Duma na nGiall at Tara".

[7] See Note on p. 218.

Congalach, four years--hear--,
until he died in the land of Tailtiu;
a year (in) the reign of Níall of the beautiful complexion
until fair Írgalach slew him.

Írgalach, the son of comely Conaing[1],
eight years after Cernach's son;
noble Írgalach fell
in the south at Inis Mac Nessán.

Two years over famous Boyne
for Amalgaid, the son of Congalach;
he fell at the hands of famous Conall
in the east at flowery[2] Cell Scíre.

Conall Grant, the grandson of hardy Cernach,
six years over the ruddy-vestured[3] plain of Brega;
he fell on the day of the rout
at the hands of Fergal, [the king] of bright Banba.

A year of excellent Fogartach[4],
until he fell in the battle of Delgthiu,
king of Fótla and king of Fabar,
at the hands of Cináed, the son of Írgalach.

Cináed, twice five years
over Ireland, it is no great lie,

---

[1] or `the comely son of Conaing'

[2] This line is cited in *DIL* under the compounds of 1 scoth with a question-mark, where it is taken to be compounded with 4 ar, `cultivated land'. This example is accompanied by the following translation in *DIL*: `of flowery fields(?)'. However, I believe that this is the gen. sg. of scoth + ar, the collective suffix.

[3] This translation in *DIL* is taken from MacCarthy 156 § 5.

[4] lit. `Fogartach of excellencies'

fair Flaithbertach of Fál[1] killed him
in the battle of densely-covered[2] Druim Corcáin.

Conaing Crach--listen to that--,
another ten years over the plain of Brega;
he died a violent death at the hands of Áed--although it was
treachery--[3],
in front of Ailech Frigrenn.

Six years--a purpose with great valour--,
Inrechtach, the son of Dúngalach;
in Dún Cromtha[4] with hundreds of valourous deeds?,
there he fell at the hands of Dúngal.

Dúngal of Cnogba of companies,
twice six [years] but one (year);
outside[5] in the battle of Emain Macha
the son of Amalgaid fell.

Eight years--the verses tell--
for Congalach, the son of Conaing;
prosperous, greatly valorous Donnchad
slew him in the battle of Forcalad.

Eight years to the battle of Lía Find
for him, for Díarmait--it was a good period--;

---

[1] MacNeill has the following note here: "Flaithbertach Fáil means Flaithbertach who became king of Ireland, Inis Fáil, or of Temair Fáil." (1913: 97) See also Byrne, 1973: 283.

[2] This example is cited in *DIL* under the following meaning of cas: "of terrain, mountains *etc. of dense vegetation(?)*; somet. translated *steep*" (this is the way MacNeill translates it here).

[3] In theory, the last four words could also mean `by dark Áed of treacheries', but *cf. R.*

[4] MacNeill has the following note here: "Dún Cromtha, cited in Onom. Goed. from this passage only, may, like Clóenráith of similar meaning, be used as a synonym for Temair". (1913: 97)

[5] MacNeill has the following note here: "*i mmaig* means outside of Bregha" (1913: 97).

to avenge Tuilén's abbot,
Donnchad brought him to red woe.

Twice ten and six years in triumphs,
the reign of Fland, the son of Congalach;
at great Manistir that I praise,
fell[1] comely Conaing's grandson.

Cernach, the grandson of curly-haired Congalach,
six years over green-sided Tailtiu;
he fell in Tech Cnogba?[2]
at the hands of hardy, very brave Cináed.

Cináed, after Cernach,
sixteen [years] in stately Tara;
at Dún Sinche before *samain*
Congalach's stern grandson slew him.

Cummascach two years here,
prince over the plain of Brega of the peaked crosses;
in Cíannán's Dam Líac--it is sung[3]--,
the grandson of sensible Congalach died[4].

[5]Conaing, the son of Fland with scores of people,
a year and twice ten over every direction;
in ? ? on the plain,

---

[1] Based on the death-records of the annals, MacNeill comes to the conclusion that "here and elsewhere the poet seems to use *do-rochair* `fell' in the sense merely of `died'". (1913: 97)

[2] This is the only example cited in Hogan under Taig (*not* Tech) Cnogba. MacNeill translates it as `in Cnogba's house'. *Cf.* F7. 134 `at Tech Giugrand' and 137 `at Tech nHúa mBuidén Brogda?'.

[3] or `which is sung'--in *DIL* this example is cited under meaning b) of canaid: `speaks, tells, announces, utters'.

[4] Note that Cummuscach seems to have been the son and not the grandson of Congalach (Jaski, 1994: 98).

[5] See Note on p. 221.

Congalach's harsh grandson died.

Cináed, five years, however it may be,
until the grievous slaughter of Treóit,
until Fland's son's son was drowned
by the prince (by) Máel Sechnaill.

Twenty-seven years--declare that[1]--,
Fland, the son of Conaing was king;
[he met] his fate in the battle of Cell Úa nDaigri,
he fell at the hands of Áed Findlíath.

Five and twenty years without anguish,
Cellach's fair son[2], Flannacán;
he fell at the hands of the army of the fierce Foreigners[3]
on the high-fenced top? of Cerna.

Seven years of splendid Máel Finniáin,
Flannacán's brilliant, good son;
at Inber na mBárcc[4] with fame
died the comely descendant of Congalach[5].

Three times five years--it was good fame--

---

[1] This example is cited in *DIL* under sain, i, b) `peculiar, special', with MacNeill's translation `distinctly tell', accompanied by a question-mark. However, I take sain to be the substantivised demonstrative pronoun. For the various forms of sin in these poems, see Vol. II, p. 62: **8.9**.

[2] Or `Cellach's son, fair Flannacán'.

[3] or `by the fierce army of the Foreigners'

[4] MacNeill has the following note here: "Inber na mBarc, `river-haven of the barks,' is perhaps a poetic name for the mouth of the Boyne" (1913: 98). Hogan, 1910: 459 lists this example under 1 Inber na mBárc, which he identifies with Bantry Bay. Note that there are two other entries with the same place-name.

[5] According to Jaski (1994: 98), Máel Finniáin seems to have been Cellach's and not Congalach's grandson, and this is why I translate úa as `descendant' here.

for his brother, for Máel Mithig.[1]

.....

.....

Five years of Lorcán without woe,
Fland, the son of Máel Finniáin slew him;
seven years of Fland until the battle
where he fell at the hands of the Uí Echach.

Áed, the son of honourable Máel Mithig
ruled for only two single years;
Áed of the Bruig fell
at the hands of Óengus, the son of Donnchad.

Congalach, the jarl[2], the abbot,
reigned for twenty-seven years;
at the hands of the army of the Leinstermen and the Foreigners
he fell at Tech Giugrann[3].

An exact twenty years[4] with fame
for Domnall, the son of Congalach;
at Tech nHúa mBuidén Brogda?[5]
fell the cub[6] of comely Cnogba.

One year of Donnchad of the companies
until he fell at the hands of the race of Colmán;

---

[1] MacNeill has the following note here: "The missing verses probably told how he fell in the battle of Dublin" (1913: 98). On the division of the following lines, see Note on p. 222

[2] This example is cited in *DIL* under the meaning `a ruler, lord' of íarla. MacNeill has the following note here: "`Earl' and `abbot' are metaphors denoting one in authority" (1913: 99). For the meaning of íarla here, see Ó Corráin, 1987: 287-293.

[3] *Cf.* F7. 91 `in Tech Cnogba?' (MacNeill: `in Cnogba's house').

[4] glanfiche is cited under the meaning `exact' of glan, which is found in compounds.

[5] See Note on p. 223.

[6] According to *DIL*, cuilén can be used as a laudatory term for warriors.

two years of stately Muirchertach
until he fell at the hands of Máel Sechnaill.

Search away after[1] that,
o bard Fintan[2], learned man,
since the lifetime of Áed Sláne's race
is no longer here.

[1] This is the only example cited in *DIL* under íarmothá d) (i) prep. `besides, beyond'.

[2] I believe that this is the Fintan about whom Knott says the following: "Fintan, son of Bóchra, whose antediluvian origin made him an indispensable witness in matters of prehistory, is quoted fairly often in LG and other pseudo-historical texts" (1957: 21). See also Meyer's Introduction to the Facsimile of Rawlinson B502.

ĒSTID A EŌLCHU CEN ON (F8)

INTRODUCTION

MSS (based on Macalister, 1938: vi-vii, and 1941: 224):

LL 11[a]18

F (Book of Fermoy and Stowe D iii 1)

V (Stowe D v 1, Stowe D iv 1, Stowe D i 3)

Lc (two texts: ∧ and *M*)

R = Rawlinson B512

BB = Book of Ballymote

H. 1. 12 (TCD)

Other abbreviations used:

R^3 = The Book of Ballymote, and the second text from *Lc* (*M*).

K = the modernised version of Micháel Ó Cléirigh

O'C = O'Curry's transcript of *LL* (TCD)

In *LL* on folio 11[a] almost everything is very clearly legible. However, the right margin of folio 11[b] is in a bad state, and some words are illegible.

Previous editions and translations used for my edition:

Macalister, R.: 1941: 224-241 (edition and translation) (volume IV of *LG*, which contains Macalister's edition of this poem, was reviewed by Binchy, 1952: 195-209)

Carey, J.: 1994: 252-256 (translation) (with the omission of ll. 77-80 = *LL 1380-1384* and ll. 136-139 = *LL 1439-1443*)

ANALYSIS OF THE METRE

Metre: **debide scaílte (fota)** ($7^{x}\ 7^{x+1\ or\ 2}\ 7^{x}\ 7^{x+1\ or\ 2}$).

Stanza structure

$7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$: 2, 8, 11, 13, 14, 19, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 31, 33, 35 (14)
$7^{1}7^{3}7^{1}7^{2}$: 1, 3, 5, 10, 12, 32 (6)
$7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}7^{3}$: 9, 16, 17, 34, 37 (5)
$7^{1}7^{3}7^{1}7^{3}$: 4, 7, 20, 30 (4)
$7^{2}7^{3}7^{1}7^{2}$: 6, 18 (2)
$7^{2}7^{3}7^{1}7^{3}$: 22 (1)
$7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}7^{3}$: 23 (1)

Stanzas without *rinn 7 airdrinn* in the first couplet:

$7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}7^{3}$: 28 (1)
$7^{2}7^{2}7^{1}7^{3}$: 29 (1)
$7^{1}7^{1}7^{2}7^{3}$: 15, 36 (2) (See Note on ll. 59-62, p. 249)
$7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}7^{2}$: 38 (1)

The figures for *rinn* (number of couplets with $7^{x}7^{x+1}$ per total number of couplets) are **49/76=64%**.

End-rhyme

Note that in **gal : Etargal** (F8. 9-10) and **maig : Bregmaig** (F8. 107-108), the second element in the longer word is the same as the monosyllabic rhyming word. In **glaine : tondglaine** (F8. 143-144), the first word is the noun, and the second is the adjective.
On F8. 91-92 (**demne : innērge**), see Note on p. 251.
There is imperfect rhyme between **lat** and **Nāmat** in F8. 61-62 and **mac** and **Nāmat** in F8. 129-130.
Stressed **e** + palatal consonant rhymes with unstressed **i/a** + palatal consonant: **neim : Midir** (F8. 63-64), **sein : ēstid** (F8. 151-152). Note that the quality of the consonant preceding the stressed and unstressed vowel is the same in both cases. See also Vol. II, p. 117-118: **2.4**.
Stressed **a** + palatal consonant rhymes with unstressed **i** + palatal consonant: **sain :**

Balcbēmnig (F8. 27-28) (or read **sin** here?), **thair : Ailig** (F8. 49-50), **chaire : cruitt*ire*** (F8. 85-86).

Note that the quality of the consonant preceding the stressed and unstressed vowel is not the same.

Fidrad freccomail is present between stanzas 17 and 18 (ll. 68-69), 22 and 23 (ll. 88-89), 26 and 27 (ll. 104-105) (3; plus see the special cases below).

F. f. is present between a stressed and an unstressed syllable in 3+4 (ll. 12-13), 4+5 (ll. 16-17), 10+11 (ll. 40-41), 14+15 (ll. 56-57), 21+22 (ll. 84-85), 32+33 (ll. 128-129), 33+34 (ll. 132-133). (7)

F. f. is present between an unstressed and a stressed syllable in 30+31 (ll. 120-121), 34+35 (ll. 136-137). (2)

F. f. is present between **t** and **d** in 3+4 (ll. 12-13), 25+26 (ll. 100-101), 32+33 (ll. 128-129). (3)

We might get *f. f.* in 36+37 (ll. 144-145) between an unstressed and a stressed syllable and between **g** and **c** if we treat the first word in l. 145, **M*a*c**, as an unstressed one.

The figures for *f. f.* are **16/37=43%**.

Alliteration is not present in the following lines: 2, 8, 12, 23, 26, 46, 50, 70, 78, 86, 89, 92, 103, 104, 106, 109, 110, 112, 116, 125, 126, 127, 129, 132, 138, 148 (26).

Alliteration is not between the last two stressed words in line *d* in F8. 16, 44, 76 and 128 (4).

I take **m*a*c\m*ei*c** and **úa** to be unstressed in the construction **X m*a*c\m*ei*c\úa Y** (F8. 32, 62, 64, 88 and 100--note that in the last instance there has to be elision between **Dagda** and **ú**). Concerning ll. 51-52, see the remark on p. 236 and the Note on p. 248.

In order to get alliteration, **m*a*c** must be stressed in F8. 22 (construction: **X + *adj.*+ m*a*c + Y**).

In the following cases, if we supply the lenition mark over the **f** to mark historical lenition, then we get alliteration: F8. 29, 65, 141. (See also Vol. II, pp. 25-29: **2.29**.)

In F8. 113 one would expect **fūam** to be lenited after a fem. name in the nom., **Fūamnach**, and in this case we would not get alliteration here. For other examples of the presence and absence of lenition after a fem. noun in the nom. sg., see Vol. II, p. 26: **2.29 b**. See also the Footnote on p. 261.

In F8. 143 if ***Mac*** is unstressed, then we get normal alliteration; if it is stressed, then we get paired/double alliteration (Hollo, 1990: 78). (See also Vol. II, p. 123: **3.2**)

The figures for alliteration are **122/152=80%**.

Internal rhyme in the first couplet (1/38=3%)
Āed : cāem (F8. 89-90)

Internal rhyme in the second couplet (14\38=37%, with two internal rhymes in two couplets)

tūachle : Tūathe (F8. 3-4)
Donand : nDomnand (F8. 15-16)
samain : Balair (F8. 27-28)
cubaid : chumaid (F8. 55-56)
tuind : Cuill (F8. 87-88)
Banba : Dagda (F8. 99-100)
Cuillind : Uillind (F8. 119-120)
baile : Maige (F8. 11-12)
Brīan : cían (F8. 19-20)
trota : rota (F8. 43-44)
ét : bréc, mnaí : druí (F8. 83-84)
goí : mnaí, dlug : dul (F8. 91-92)
māeth : bāeth (F8. 107-108)
[fōt] : óc (F8. 151-152)

There is a slight possibility that in F8. 51-52 ***mac* : *mac*** are intended to make internal rhyme, and in this case both would have to be stressed. However, I believe that this is unlikely, as ***mac*** in the construction **X *mac* Y** is almost always unstressed in this poem (see the section on Alliteration). See also Vol. II, p. 121: **2.6**.
In F8. 75-76 **Mana** and **Loga** may be intended as an internal rhyme, with the interchange of stressed **o** and **a** before a non-palatal consonant. For other similar examples, see Vol. II, p. 18: **2.4**.

Proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in *d* (not counting the last word, which rhymes with the final of *c*): **16/76=21%**.

Analysis of rhyming consonant clusters (using Ó Cuív's classification--1966: 94-103; 1987: 109; see also SMF, Vol. II, pp. 111-112: **2**):

1. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2):
C^vC^v--C^vC^v; C^vC^v--C^vL^v
Dagda : dondBanba (F8. 59-60) (e. r.) **Dagda : comchalma** (F8. 89-90) (e. r.)
demne : innērge (F8. 91-92) (e. r.) (imp.--see Note on p. 251)

Banba : Dagda (F8. 99-100) (i. r.)

2. One consonant corresponds to two: a consonant from class **l** (**C^{v}**) is added:
C^{h}C^{v}--C^{h}; C^{v}--C^{v}C^{v}
tūachle : Tūathe (F8. 3-4) (i. r.) **Donand : nDomnand** (F8. 15-16) (i. r.)

Elision

a) Unstressed short vowel preceded by another vowel: thirteen examples. In eight cases, the metre requires elision (F8. 35, 37, 44, 73, 92, 103, 111, 142). In four cases, elision is required only if we expand **7** as ***ocus***, and not as ***is*** (F8. 20, 45, 133, 141). In F8. 75 we either have elision between **marba** and **oc**, or between **Mana** and **ōs**. (8/13=62%)

b) Unstressed short vowel + unstressed long vowel: four examples. In two of these, the metre requires elision (F8. 100, 147). In one case (F8. 27) elision is necessary only if we expand **7** as ***ocus*** and not as ***is*** in the line. In F8. 75 we either have elision between **marba** and **oc**, or between **Mana** and **ōs**. (2/4=50%)

c) Dropping of the initial vowel of an unstressed word (prep. + poss. pron.\article):
I. After consonants: dropping in F8. 83, 107 (not indicated by the *LL* scribe), 131.
II. At the beginning of the line: F8. 55.
There is no dropping in F8. 119 and in F8. 126.

d) The reduction of **coro** to **cor**: F8. 2 (**cor inniseor**) (note that with the exception of *F*, the other MSS have **co n-**).

e) Dropping of the initial vowel of the conjunction **is**:
I. After vowels: dropping in F8. 109.
II. After a consonant: there is no dropping in F8. 129.

f) **do\de + V; do\de + f**: three examples. In two cases the metre requires elision (F8. 16 and 112). In one case, the metre does not require elision (F8. 18). (2\3=67%)

Dúnad

The poem begins and ends with the words **ēstid**, so this is a regular, *saigid* type of *dúnad* (Murphy, 1961: 44).

TEXT

Ēstid a eōlchu cen on
mad āil dúib cor inniseor
aideda co tūachle thall
forcla Tūathe Dē D*anand*.

Edleō m*ac* Alduī na n-all
cētfer de Thūaith Dē D*anand*
do-rochair i nHērind óig
do lāim Nerchoin h*ūa* Simeóin[1].

Do-cer[2] Ernmass ard a gal
Fīachra, Ēchtach, Etargal
T*uir*ill Picreo baile Breg
i cētchath Maige T*uir*ed.

Do-roch*air* Elloth co n-ág
athair mórgarg Mananná(i)n
ocus Donand chomlān c[h]ain
la Dé ṅDomnand d'Fomōrchaib.

At-bath Cethen *ocus* Cú
do ūathbās i nAircheltrú
ro marbsat Cían[3] cían ō thaig
Brīan, Iuchurba *ocus* Iuchair.

Marb de gaī gr*é*ne glaine
Corp*re* mór m*ac* Etaine
at-bath Etan ōsind lind

---

[1] *for* Sémióin; *cf. LL 648, 789 and 871.*

[2] do-rochair *LL*

[3] Céin *LL*

de chumaid Chairp*ri* chendfind.

I Maig T*uir*ed ba thrí ág
do-ceir Nūadu Argatlām
ocus Macha īar samain sain
do láim Balair Balcbēmnig.

Do-cer Ogma cenchor fand
la hInnech m*ac* Dé Domnand
do-cer[1] Casmāel, Bruinne bil
la hOctrilach m*ac* nInnig.

Marba de thām thregtach trā
Dīan Cēcht *is* Gobnend goba
do-cer Luigne in sāer co se
de saigit tréin tentide.

Ro báided Creidne[2] in cerd cass
forin lochmuir lindamnas
oc tabairt méine óir [āin]
dochum Hēr*end* a hEspāin.

At-bath Bress i Carn hú Néit
do cheilg Loga cen lánbréic
ropo domna trota trá
ól rota i rricht ind lomma.

Bē Chuille *ocus* Dīanand dil
marba na dí bantūathig
fescur co ndruīdecht fo deóid
re demnaib odraib aëóir.

---

[1] do-rochair *LL*

[2] Créidne *MS*

Do-roch*air* forin trāig thair
i fertaib Rātha Ailig
Induí mór m*ac* Delbāeth dil
la Gand m*ac* Dāna dorngil.

Marb Feä ba būan a blad
i cind mís īarna marbad
'con rāith chétna cubaid lind
do chumaid Induí foltfind.

At-bath Boïnd cosin mbáig
ic topor m*eic* Námat[1] náir[2]
[marb Āine ingen Dagda]
[ar seircc Dara dondBanba].

[Do-cer Cairpre cuimnig lat]
[do láim Nechtain meic Nāmat]
do-cer Nechtain cosin neim
la Siugmall ūa sōerMidir.

Abcān m*ac* Bic Felmais ūair
fili Loga co lánbūaid
do-cer la hŌengus cen ail
i n-aír Midir mōrglonnaig.

Midir m*ac* Induī aile
do-cer de láim Elcmaire
do-rochair Elcmar[3] inn áig
de láim Ōengusa imsláin.

Brīan, Iuchurba is Iuchair and

---

[1] Nectain *LL*

[2] *The next four lines are omitted in LL.*

[3] do-cer Elcmaire *LL; see Note on p. 250.*

trí dée Tūathe Dē D*anand*
marba oc Mana ōs Muir Mend
do láim Loga m*eic* Ethl*end*.

Cermait m*ac* in Dagdae de
ra geogain Lug Scícmainge
ba bara brōin forsin maig[1]
i flaith Echach Ollathir.

Do-cer Cermait Milbél mas
la Lug m*ac* Ethl*end* amnas
ic ét 'ma mnaí mór in mod
dīaros bréc in druí dósom.

Do láim M*eic* (Dēin) C(h)ēcht c(*h*)en chaire
do-roch*air* in cruitt*ire*
do-roch*air* Lug ōs tuind trā
la M*a*c Cuill m*ac* C*er*mata.

[2]Do-cer Āed m*ac* in Dagda
la Coirchend cāem comchalma
cen goí ropo dlug demne[3]
īar ndul cōa mnaí ar innērge[4].

Do-roch*air* Corcend a Crūach[5]
in trēnfer amnas imlúath[6]
dond ail t*ur*caib forin tráig
for lige Āeda imnáir.

---

[1] *Gloss:* .i. for Brug M*eic* i*n*d Ōc

[2] *For the next two stanzas see also F1. 15-34.*

[3] *a letter is erased after the final* e

[4] *See Note on p. 251.*

[5] Crūaich *LL*

[6] imlúaith *LL*

Do-cer Crichinbél cláen camm
prīmchāinte Tūath Dē D*anand*
dond ór fríth (f*or*)sin Banba báeth
do láim in Dagda ú Delbáeth.

Ic tīachtain a hAlpain úair
do m*ac* in Dagda drechrūaid
i n-inbiur na Bóinne i foss
is and ro báided Óengos.

Ōenm*ac* Manannāin don méin
cētṡerc don ingin dobéil
do-cer in m*ac* māeth (is)sin maig
la Bennān bāeth a Bregmaig.

Nēit m*ac* Induí 's a dí mnaí
Badb *ocus* Nemaind[1] cen goí
ro marbtha i nAiliuch cen ail
la Neptúir Derg d'Fomōrchaib.

Fūamnach fūam ba ben Midir
Siugma(i)ll is Brí cen binib
i mBrí Lēith ba lāthar lán
ro loscthea la Manannán.

Do-cer m*ac* Alloid co n-ág
in mind maínech Manannán
isin chath i Cuillind chrúaid
do láim Uillind abratrúaid.

Do-roch*air* Uillend co n-úaill
la M*ac* Grēne co nglanbúaid
do-cer ben in Dagdai duind

[1] Némaind *LL*

de thám for leirg i lLíathdruim.

Marb in Dagda do gaī chró
issin Bruig ní himmargó
dīarod gon Cetnen in ben
i cath mór Maige T*uir*ed.

Do-cer Delbāeth is a m*ac*
la Cacher m*ac* nár Nāmat
do-cer Cacher 'con Bóind baīth
do lāim Fīachna m*eic* Delb*aīth*.

Do-cer Fīachna *ocus* Aí án
la hEōgan Inbir imslán
do-cer Eōgan Inbir úair
la Eochaid Iúil īarannchrúaid.[1]

Do-cer Eoch*aid* Iúil īar sain
la hĀed *ocus* la Labraid
do-cer [Labraid], Ōengus, Āed
la Cermait co cruth cho*m*chāem.

Hēriu *ocus* Fōtla co n-úaill
M*ac* Gr*ē*ne is Banba *co m*búaid
M*ac* Cuill M*ac* Cēcht co nglaine
i cath Temra tondglaine.

M*ac* Cēcht la Hērimōn án
M*ac* Cuill la hĒb*er* imslán
Hēriu sund re Surge īar sen
M*ac* Gr*ē*ne la hAmargen.

Fótla re hEtan co n-úaill

[1] īar m*a*crúaid *LL*

la Cach*er* Banba co mbúaid
finnaid [i fōt] is sīat sein
aideda na n-óc ēstid.[1]

[1] *There are four quatrains appended to this poem in V, and in the two versions in Lc (Macalister, 1941: 240).*

NOTES

All references are to Macalister, 1941: 224-241.

Macalister's edition of *LG* IV was reviewed by Binchy in Celtica 2 (195-209), 1952. His edition and translation differ from mine in a few significant points, and these are discussed in the Notes and in the Footnotes in the Translation section. The same is true concerning Carey's edition. Some of the differences between this work and his arise from the difference in editorial principles (e.g. F8. 50, 55 and 86, where Carey uses other MS readings). Other differences are due to the different interpretations of the same text.

F8. 6. Following some of the other MSS, Macalister has do for *LL* de. De is the superior reading here.

F8. 8. Macalister and the editors of *LL* expand h-- as *hui*. I would prefer *hūa*, as the initial consonant of Simeóin, which comes immediately after this word, is not lenited (as one would expect after huī, the gen. sg. of an io-stem). This seems to indicate that we should read *hūa*, which is a nom. sg. in apposition. (For examples of the presence and absence of lenition after the gen. sg. of io-stems, see Vol. II, p. 26: **2.29 d**. Otherwise the lenition of s is marked consistently in this text: de saigit (F8. 36), imsláin (F8. 72), imslán (F8. 134, 146). (Note that *F* has uī, while *V*, △ and *BB* have ūa.)

F8. 9. There is an extra syllable in this line in *LL*. *F* and △ have do-cher, while *V* and *M* have do-cer and do-chear respectively, which will give us the correct syllable count. The other MSS agree with *LL*, so they all have an extra syllable in the line.

F8. 10. The editors of *LL* treat Ēchtach as an adj., while Macalister and Carey take it to be a personal name. Note that in Macalister's Introduction, in Núadu's pedigree Echtach (spelt in this way) figures as his father (1941: 98); see also *LL 1072*, where Ēchtach is definitely a proper noun, and is capitalised by the editors.

F8. 11. Macalister takes Baile Breg to be a place-name (however, it is not listed in Hogan as such), while the editors of *LL* capitalise only Breg. Carey (1994: 252) has `of the region of Brega'. Prof. Breatnach has suggested that this might be 2 baile, `frenzy'.

F8. 13-14. Although the scribe writes Manannáin, the rhyme with ág shows that we have to read the alternative form, Manannán. *F* and *M* have Manannan, *V* Manonnan, and *BB* has Manandan.

F8. 15. The initial consonant of cain should be lenited, unless this is the substantivised adjective here. Concerning the non-marking of lenition, see Vol. II, pp. 25-27: **2.29**.

F8. 19. The editors of *LL* have the following note on Céin: "*sic:* cian *BB*". *F* and R^3 have Cían, too, and I believe that this is the superior reading. See also Gray, 1982: 119.

F8. 27. īar samain sain (:Balcbēmnig)--Carey's translation, `after that *samain*', is impossible as it ruins the end-rhyme; also, we would not get alliteration in the line. From the point of view of rhyme, it may be better to adopt the reading of *F, R* and *M*, which have sin, as I have only a very few examples where in *rinn 7 airdrinn* the quality of the consonant preceding the stressed and the unstressed vowel is not the same (see Vol. II, pp. 117-118: **2.4**).

F8. 31. There is an extra syllable in this line. *F* and *V* have torchair, *BB* has do thoit, and M do chear. I suggest that we read do-cer here, just like in F8. 9.
Macalister and the editors of *LL* treat bruinne as a common noun. However, see Carey, 1994: 253, and Gray, 1982: 136, where Bruidne is mentioned as one of the satirists of the Túatha Dé Danand. See also *LL 1111*, where this word is capitalised. In Gray this name is found under the entry on Ochtríallach, and the editor is not quite right in saying that "LVI [= our poem in Macalister's edition] §8 names him as Casmáel's slayer, and §331 mentions that he kills two Túatha Dé Danann satirists, Bruidne and Casmáel [...]" (1982: 136), as our poem explicitly says that these *two* people were killed by Ochtríallach.

F8. 32. Gray (1982: 136) prints Octhríallach, the corresponding form of which in this poem is Octrilach. Carey has pointed out to me that the spelling with -il- instead of -iall- in this name seems to be unique to *LL vs.* the other MSS. I wonder if the vowel is meant to be long here.

F8. 35. Carey believes that there are no other instances of Luigne spelt with a -g- even in *LL* itself (i.e. in the other parts of *LG* in *LL*). For the various spellings of this name

see Gray, 1982: 125-126. Carey has suggested to me that this example might represent a scribal slip, influenced by the name of the population group, Dál Luigne/Luigni (Hogan, 1910: 333).

F8. 37. Créidne for Creidne is a scribal error. See Lehmacher, 1923: 177, where this word rhymes with Eithne; and for etymology, see O'Rahilly, 1942b: 159-160. Note that Gray (1982: 120) has Crédne.

F8. 39. There is one syllable missing in this line in *LL*. On the basis of the other MSS Macalister supplies āin. The editors of *LL* suggest the same, and I have accepted this emendation.

F8. 41. The editors of *LL* have the following note on hú: "*sic*". However, in MIr this is an acceptable form of the gen. sg. (for other examples, see *SNG*: 246: 5.9). Based on some of the other MSS, Macalister has ui. See also the Note on F8. 100, p. 253.

F8. 48. Read aëóir as a disyllable.

F8. 52. Macalister treats dāna as an adj., while the editors of *LL* and Carey take it to be the gen. of a proper noun. I think that we have the following possibilities here: a) Dāna is a masc. proper noun in the gen., and dorngil is a gen. sg. masc. qualifying adj., `at the hands of Gand, the son of white-fisted Dán(a)'; or b) dāna is an adj.--either nom. sg. in apposition, or dat. sg. in apposition (for examples of dat. for acc. after la in this poem, see Vol. II, p. 64: **9.4**). In case b) dorngil is either a proper noun in the gen., or the gen. sg. of the substantivised adj. used attributively; it can not be a masc. dat. sg. adj. because of the rhyme with dil. The translation would be `by Gand, the fearless son of Dorngel' or `at the hands of Gand, a bold, white-fisted youth' (this agrees with Macalister's translation). However, I do not know who Dán(a)? or Dorngel were. In my translation I have opted for a).

F8. 53. We should read Feä as a disyllable in order to get the correct number of syllables.

F8. 57. We should read Boïnd as a disyllable in order to get the correct number of syllables.

F8. 57, 63. Macalister has the following note on the preposition co in these two lines: "A causative sense appears to be imported into the preposition *co*" (1941: 319). I think that in both cases the prep. is co (n-) meaning `with', with acc. used for dat. in F8. 57. For other examples of the confusion of cases, see Vol. II, pp. 64-68: **9.4** and **9.5**.

F8. 58. All the other MSS have Nāmat for *LL* Nectain (with the exception of △, which has Nūadat). Note that the next two couplets are omitted in *LL*; it is very likely that the *LL* scribe omitted these four lines by skipping from *meic* Námat náir in l. 58 to Nechtain meic Nāmat in l. 62; this would also explain the substitution of Nectain for Námat, since the former word also appears in F8. 62 and 63.

F8. 59-62. According to the editors of *LL*, there are two couplets omitted here (all the other MSS have these). They are supplied in the diplomatic edition of *LL* in a normalised form from *Lc* (abbreviated as *M* by Macalister), and *BB*:

marb Āine ingen in Dagda
ar seirc do-rat don Banba.

Do-cer Cairpre cuimnig lat
do láim Nechtain meic Nāmat.

However, there are three problems with these two couplets in the form in which it is presented. First, this would be the only stanza without *rinn 7 airdrinn* in the second couplet--which is a requirement in this metre. Second, the fact that Áine died either because of the love she gave to Banba or because of the love her father gave to Banba (i.e. because of jealousy) does not seem to make too much sense here. I am greatly indebted to John Carey for calling to my attention the version found in *V* and △, ar seircc Dara dondBanba, which gives good sense, and also solves the problem with the metre. Finally, there is an extra syllable in l. 59 if we read ingen in Dagda (which is what *BB, M* and *R* have, and this is what the editors of *LL* follow). This problem can be solved by omitting in (as in *V,* △ and *F*). I have inserted these couplets into the text, although they will not be analysed in the Linguistic Analysis. Macalister also includes these couplets in his edition.

F8. 70-71. *LL* is the only MS with the reading do-cer Elcmaire inn áig in F8. 71. All the other MSS have do-rochair Elcmar. The previous line has gen. Elcmaire. O'Rahilly (*EIHM*) has both nominative forms (i.e. Elcmar and Elcmaire). There are two gen. forms in *Tochmarc Étaíne* (Bergin-Best, 1938: 142): Elcmaire and Elcmair. Although the syllable-count is correct in *LL* even with Elcmaire, still, I have decided to emend this line as all the other MSS agree on the above-mentioned reading; the fact that the gen. form Elcmaire appears in the previous line (F8. 70) could have led to a scribal slip in F8. 71 *LL*.

Macalister has innāig--this will not give us *rinn 7 airdrinn* in this couplet, and the metre does require that there should be *rinn 7 airdrinn* in the second couplet (Murphy, 1961: 29). Based on some of the other MSS, Binchy (1952: 199) reads i n-āig `in combat'--however, this is not possible, as áig is the *gen.* sg. of ág, which can be declined both as an o- and a u-stem, but not as an ā-stem. I believe that we should read inn áig, `of the battle' here.

F8. 75. The editors of *LL* capitalise Muir Mend, while Macalister does not in the line marba oc Mana ōs Muir Mend. The last entry in *DIL* under 1 menn is "Muir Meann *the Irish Sea*, Ériu ii 76 (apparently a mod. name, not given in Hog. Onom.)". This line is cited in *DIL* earlier on under 1 menn with the translation `the clear sea'. However, as the Isle of Man actually *is* in the Irish sea, I presume it would be justifiable to take this phrase as a proper name. Carey, 1994: 254 translates this as `the Irish Sea'.

Note also that this line is cited in *DIL* under Mana with a question-mark; however, I believe that from the point of view of meaning, `Man' does fit in here.

F8. 77-80. The editors of *LL* note the following: "*This quatrain is written along the upper margin: om. rell.*" Macalister has the following to say on this: "*This quatrain ins. in the upper margin of* L, *with a mark, badly rubbed and difficult to discern, indicating its place in the text: not found in the other* MSS. *nor in* K." Carey does not believe that this quatrain is an integral part of the poem, and has pointed out to me that it is actually redundant here, as it describes the same event (Lug's killing of Cermait) which is dealt with in the following stanza (ll. 81-84). However, since one of my editorial principles is to analyse all of the *LL* text (except when certain dates connected to certain rulers definitely prove that some stanzas were not actually written by Fland), I have decided to include this stanza in the main text.

F8. 78. Macalister's scicmairge for *LL* scícmainge must be a transcription error or a misprint; he does not give any translation. Lug Sci*m*aig in Hamel, 1933: 41.8 makes it likely that this might be a place-name; my other suggestion would be to take this as scíth plus the attributive gen. sg. of mairge, iā, f, `sad and miserable Lug?'. *Cf.* also Inber cichmaine in Hogan, 1910: 457. Note that the editors of *LL* do not capitalise this word.

F8. 79. The gloss on maig (.i. for Brug Me*i*c i*n*d Ōc) is in stain, and the Facsimile has doc. This is also noted by the editors of *LL*.

F8. 85. There is an extra syllable in this line in *LL*. Macalister omits Dēin from Me*i*c Dēin Chēcht as *LL* is the only MS with this version. However, in this case the m of me*i*c ought to be capitalised, which was not done in *LL* either. The scribe probably confused Mac Cécht and Dían Cécht here.
LL has c*h*en for the preposition cen, which Macalister, based on the other MSS, emends to cen. The scribe probably made a mistake here because this word stands between two others which begin in ch. Although in MIr there is a tendency to lenite prepositions, this does not apply to cen (*SNG*: 326: 13.5).

F8. 86. *F* and R^3 have Ēn cruiteri\cruitire (`Én the harper') respectively here for *LL* in cruitt*ire*, and maybe this is what we should read here. This is what Carey has (1994: 255). *Cf. LL 1186-1187* Én m*ac* Biceoin etc. and Gray, 1982: 123 ("Én [...] poet and historian").

F8. 90. The Facsimile has Coirrchend here, although the first r is expunged in the MS. This is also noted by the editors of *LL*.

F8. 91-92. There is a problem with the rhyme here: demne : innērge, to which I can give no satisfactory solution. The second word could be a variant of innérge, `elopement' with short e (*cf.* the note on ālacht and alacht in Vol. I., p. 280)--however, I could not find rhyming examples of either innérge or innerge in *DIL*. All the MSS agree on this word, although the spelling is sometimes different from that of *LL* (indeirge--*F*, inerghi--*V*, indeirghe--*BB*, indergi--*M*). There is a possibility that this is 5 in- (intensive prefix)? and derge, `redness, flushing', figuratively `intensity, fervour' (one example cited for this meaning in *DIL*)--`to go on (i.e. into) great intensity/fervour?'. (For examples of 5 in- + noun in *DIL*, see innáire, innlaige, in(n)tinne, etc.) One could also take inneirge to be

a corruption of immirge `wandering, migrating' (`to go wandering'), or of imderge, iā, f, `redness, blush' (one example in *DIL*) (`to become red'?)--however, the MSS all agree on the spelling with nn/nd/n.

I would be inclined to say that if either of the rhyming words is corrupt here, then that must be demne, as innērge is the word which actually carries the meaning from the narrative point of view. This seems to be supported by the fact that as far as demne is concerned, the MSS show more variation than in the case of innērge: *V* and △ have denme, while *M* has deni. Dr. Carey has suggested to me that demne might stand for metathesized déinme, gen. sg. of MIr déinim < OIr dénam. In this case the phrase could be translated as `it was grounds for a deed'. However, in the only example of dénam in these poems, dat. sg. 'ca dēnam (F1. 7), the n is not palatal. Or maybe the m-stroke was confused with the stroke indicating vowel length, and we should follow *M* and read déni--in this case the translation would be `it was a vehement desire' (lit. `a desire of vehemence'. However, I do not have an unambiguous solution to this problem. Note that this line is cited in *DIL* under deimne with the translation `it was a cogent reason' and a question-mark, and this is what I have given here.

F8. 94. Only *LL* and *R* have imlūaith : Crūaich here, while *V*, △, *F* and *R3* have imlúath : Crúach. As imlūaith in this text seems to be the only attested example of the nom. sg. masc. form of this adjective in *DIL* (cited under lúath), I believe that the palatal consonant might be a scribal slip here, due to an attempt to create rhyme with Crūaich. Note that both Crūach (acc.) and Crūaich (dat.) could be accepted here. On ā-stems with a non-palatal final consonant in the acc. and the confusion of cases, see Vol. II, pp. 36-38: **3.6 a**.

F8. 97. On the basis of some of the other MSS, Macalister has Cridinbel for *LL* Crichinbél. *DIL* lists this name as Cridenbél. Maybe Crichinbél was the original form, and then due to the confusion of c and t in MSS it became Crithinbél, and the form Cridenbél represents an attempted etymology (cride and bél, *Cóir Anmann* §240). (Or the confusion of c and t could also have happened the other way round--for the misreading of c as t in medieval MSS, see Pődör, 1995/96: 176.) Note that *LL 1111* and *1238* have Crichinbēl.

F8. 98. The MS of *LL* has tuathe with the e expunged, and this is also noted by the

editors of *LL*. The e needs to be expunged if we want to get the correct number of syllables. Note, however, that there is no nasalisation after this word--this could be due to the confusion of the gen. sg. and pl. forms by the scribe, or to the phenomenon of the occasional omission of the mark of nasalisation between two consonants (see Vol. II, pp. 29-31: **2.30**).

F8. 99. There is an extra syllable in this line in *LL*. We should read (*for*)sin (note that *LL* is the only MS with forsin), and this is also the solution suggested by the editors of *LL*.
On the basis of some of the other MSS, Macalister has Banna for *LL* Banba, which I think is perhaps a more likely version from the point of view of meaning (`from the gold which was found in reckless Banba' as opposed to `[...] which was found in the reckless Bann').
Note that the final consonant is palatal in báeth (qualifying either Banba or Banna, both fem.), and also in Delbáeth in the following line. The rhyme baīth : Delbaīth is found in ll. 131-132 of our text. (See also Vol. II, p. 8: **1.25**).

F8. 100. Macalister has uí for *LL* ú. I think that both forms are correct; note that Breatnach cites this form as an example of the gen. sg. of úa (*SNG*: 246: 5.9.); however, this could also be the nom. sg. in apposition to a gen.--I have some examples of a nom. sg. noun being in apposition to another noun in the acc. sg. (e.g. la Dīarmait *mac* Airmedaig--F7. 28 *LL*; la Cināed *mac* Írgalaig--F7. 60 *LL*). *Cf.* F8. 41 i Carn hú Néit where hú is gen. sg.

F8. 106. I do not agree with Macalister in his choice of dibél (*V*) for his text. The other MSS have dobéil\dibéil, which will give us the expected rhyme with méin. Only one MS has a word ending in a non-palatal consonant in F8. 105 (don bend : ālaind *M*). Macalister translates don ingin dibēl as `of the aged woman', based on O'Clery's Glossary; then based on the same Glossary, he later corrects it to `dumb, mute' (1941: 320)--díbeóil in *DIL*. dobéoil (do-, negative prefix, + bél, `bad-mouthed'?) is given in *DIL* under the prefix. Whichever word is meant here, it seems to be used as a negative epithet. I have opted for dobéil here.

F8. 107. There is an extra syllable in this line in *LL*. Macalister has sin for *LL* issin,

which will give us the correct syllable count.

F8. 108. Macalister translates a as if it was i. This is possible in theory; however, none of the other MSS seem to have a, and I have no certain example of this spelling for i in the poems I have examined.

F8. 110. The lengthmark over the e in Némaind is a scribal error in *LL*.

F8. 114. The editors of *LL* have the following note on Siugmaill: "siúr *add. over* Siug". On the basis of the other MSS Macalister has Sigmall. What the editors of *LL* take as a subscript i might only be a stain, so maybe we should read Siugmall (*cf.* F8. 64 la Siugmall).

F8. 117. *LL* Alloid: The evidence for this name in the *LG* MSS is very confusing. According to Carey, *LL* almost always has Elloth, gen. Elloith; in the other MSS there is variation between Ell(d)oth\All(d)oth in the nom. and between Ell(d)oit(h) and All(d)oit(h) in the gen. Breatnach, 1980: 30 has Allót; + cf. O'Brien, 1962: 507: nom. Aldōit--provided of course that this is the same name. Unfortunately, there is no evidence here for the length of the vowel. However, the fact that this name is consistently spelt with -o- and -oi- and never with a seems to indicate a long vowel.

F8. 120. The editors of *LL* capitalise abratrúaid. I could not find this word as a sobriquet in *Cóir Anmann*, so I have decided to treat it as a common adj. This is the way Carey treats it, too, in his translation.

F8. 136. Based on some of the other MSS, Macalister has la Heochaid n-iūil, n-iarann-chrūaidh for *LL* īar *ma*crūaid. Macalister divides up the *LL* reading as īar mac Ruaid, which spoils the *rinn 7 airdrinn* otherwise present in all second couplets. In theory this form could be emended to macrúad (a compound of macc plus the substantivised adj., rúad, `the youthful, formidable one'). However, in this case, in order to keep the rhyme, one would also need to emend úair in the previous line to úar, taking it as nom. sg. qualifying Eógan (`cruel'). The easiest thing would probably be to adopt the reading īarannchrúaid from some of the other MSS. This reading also has the advantage of giving us *f. f.* with the next stanza.

F8. 139. There are two syllables missing in this line in *LL*. Based on the other MSS, both the editors of *LL* and Macalister suggest that we supply Labraid after do-cer, and I have accepted this suggestion.

F8. 140. The editors of *LL* have the following note on chomchāem: "*rubbed, but traceable*". Macalister notes: "*This word defaced,* L", and on the basis of the other MSS reads com-cāem, which is acc. I found *LL* illegible in this place.

F8. 147-148. Note that *LL* is the only MS with sen : hAmargen; the others all have a palatal consonant in both cases. For the various forms of sin in these poems, see Vol. II, pp. 62-63: **8.9, 8.10**.

F8. 151. There are two syllables missing here in *LL*. The editors have the following note here: "*supply* (?) i fót: cia baile i fot is iat sin *Lc1, D.I.3, H.1.12*: cia baile itait foram ndil *Lc2, D.III.1*". I have followed *LL*'s suggestion, and have inserted i fōt after finnaid, which will make internal rhyme with óc. The advantage of keeping finnaid, which, however, appears only in *LL*, is that the alliteration is not lost (although this might be present between sīat and sein--see below). Macalister has the *Lc1* (=△), etc. version.
Note that issiat can be divided either as is sīat or iss īat. The editors of *LL* opted for the first solution and I have followed them. In this way we can get alliteration; although this might have originally been present already between finnaid and fōt.

TRANSLATION

(based on Macalister, 1941: 224-239 and Carey, 1994: 252-256)

Listen, o wise men without blemish,
if it please you, so that I may relate
the deaths, with sagacity yonder,
of the best people of the Túatha Dé Danand.

Edleó, the son of Alduí[1] of the cliffs,
[was] the first man of the Túatha Dé Danand
who fell in virgin Ireland
at the hands of Nerchon, the descendant of Sémión.

Ernmass, high was her valour,
Fíachra, Échtach, Etargal[2],
Tuirill Picreo, the frenzy of Brega?[3],
fell in the first battle of Mag Tuired.

Elloth fell with valour
the very fierce father of Manannán;
and perfect, fair Donand
at the hands of Dé Domnand of the Fomorians.

Cethen and Cú died
of horror in Aircheltra;
Brían, Iuchurba and Iuchair
killed Cían far from his home.
Great Cairpre, the son of Etan
died from a stroke of the pure sun;

---

[1] Gray, 1982: 118 has nom. Al(l)(d)a(e). However, *LL 1070* has Aldoí and *1187* Aldui, which would indicate a diphthong. Carey, 1994: 252 has Allduí.

[2] In *DIL* this word is cited as a common noun (this is the only example given) with the variant reading eadarglan from *BB*, without any explanation given. However, both Macalister and Carey (1994: 252) take this to be a proper noun.

[3] See Note on p. 246.

Etan died above the lake
of sorrow for fair-headed Cairpre.

In Mag Tuired, it was through battle
that Núadu Argatlám fell
and Macha--that was after *samain*[1]--
at the hands of Balar Balcbémnech.

Ogma fell, although he was not feeble,
at the hands of Innech, the son of Dé Domnann;
Casmáel and good Bruidne[2] fell
at the hands of Ochtríallach the son of Innech.

Then of penetrating[3] plague died
Dían Cécht and Gobnend the smith;
Luichne[4] the craftsman died up to this time
from a strong, fiery arrow.

Creidne the skilled[5] artisan was drowned
in the sea with angry pools[6]
[while] bringing splendid gold-ore
to Ireland from Spain.

Bress died in Carn uí Néit
because of Lug's trickery, without full falsehood,

---

[1] See Note on p. 247.

[2] See Note on p. 247.

[3] Note that apart from this example, there is only one more cited in *DIL* for tregtach. *DIL* gives `painful; wounded' as its meaning, probably based on Macalister's translation. Binchy (1952: 206) criticises Macalister and gives `penetrating' as his translation. However, I think that in this context both translations are in fact similar in meaning.

[4] See Note on p. 247.

[5] This line is cited with this translation in *DIL* under cas b), which normally means `curly'.

[6] i.e. in the stormy sea

drinking bog-water disguised as milk[1]
was a cause for quarrel indeed.

Bē Chuille and beloved Díanand,
the two witches, died
finally one evening by druidry,
from brown aerial demons.

On the shore in the east
in the mounds of Ráth Ailig
fell great Induí, son of pleasant Delbáeth
at the hands of Gand, the son of white-fisted Dán(a)?[2].

Féa--lasting was her fame--died
a month after he had been slain
at the same fort--we deem it fitting--
of grief for white-haired Induí.

Bóind died in[3] the fight[4]
at the well of the son of noble Námae;
[Áine, the Dagdae's daughter died]
[for love of Dara\Dair of brown Ireland.]

[Cairpre fell, remember]
[at the hands of Nechtan, the son of Námae;]
Nechtan was killed by poison
by Siugmall, the grandson of noble Midir.

Abcán, the son of cruel Bec Felmais,
the poet of Lug with full excellence,

---

[1] This line is cited in *DIL* under richt with the following translation: "in mistake for milk".

[2] See Note on p. 248.

[3] lit. `with'

[4] Carey, 1994: 254 has `from her arrogance[?]'.

fell at the hand of Óengus without disgrace
for satirising[1] very valiant Midir[2].

Midir, the son of the other Induí
fell at the hands of Elcmar;
Elcmar of the battle fell
at the hands of perfect Óengus.

Brían, Iuchurba and Iuchar there
the three gods of the Túatha Dé Danand
they died in the Isle of Man over the Irish Sea[3]
at the hands of Lug, the son of Ethliu.

Cermait, the son of the Dagdae then
whom Lug Scícmainge?[4] wounded
it was a flow[5] of grief upon the plain
during the reign of Echu Ollathir.

Handsome Cermait Milbél fell
at the hands of Lug, the fierce son of Ethliu[6]
because of jealousy concerning his wife--great is the deed?--,
when the druid seduced her on his behalf.

At the hands of Mac Cécht without fault
fell the harper[7];
Lug then fell above the wave

---

[1] This is cited in *DIL* under áer with a similar translation.

[2] Midir mōrglonnaig--or `Midir of noble deeds'.

[3] See Note on p. 250.

[4] See Note on p. 251.

[5] This example is listed in *DIL* under 2 bara, `flow', with the following remark: "?same word as barae [`anger, hostility'] in sense of *upsurge, movement*".

[6] la Lug *mac* Ethl*end* amnas--or `at the hands of fierce Lug, the son of E.'

[7] See Note on p. 251.

at the hands of Mac Cuill, the son of Cermait.

[1]Áed, the son of the Dagdae fell
at the hands of fair, very brave Corrcend
without falsehood, it was a cogent reason[2]
after he had eloped with his wife.

Corrcend from Crúach,
the rough, very swift warrior, died
from the stone which he erected on the strand
over the grave of very noble Áed.

Crooked and perverse Crichinbél,
the chief satirist of the Túatha Dé Danand, died
from the gold which was found in reckless Banba[3]
at the hands of the Dagdae, the grandson of Delbáeth.

As the son of the red-faced Dagdae
was coming from cold Scotland
at the mouth of the Boyne, over here,
it is there that Óengus was drowned.

The only son of Manannán from the bay
the first love of the harsh?[4] girl
the tender youth fell in the plain
at the hands of foolish Bennán from the plain of Breg.

Néit the son of Induí and his two wives,
Badb and Nemain, without falsehood,
were killed in Ailech without disgrace

---

[1] For the next two stanzas, see also F1. 15-34 on pp. 23-24.

[2] See Note on p. 251.

[3] See Note on p. 253.

[4] dobéil--lit. `foul-mouthed'. See Note on p. 253.

by Neptúir Derg of the Fomorians.

White?[1] Fúamnach who was Midir's wife,
Siugmall and Brí without faults,
in Brí Léith--it was full vigour--
they were burnt by Manannán.

The son of Allot?[2] fell with valour
the precious diadem, Manannán
in the battle in stern Cuillen
at the hands of Uillenn of the red eyebrows.

Uillenn fell with pride
at the hands of Mac Gréne with pure virtue;
the wife of the brown-haired Dagdae died
of plague on the slope[3] in Líathdruim.

The Dagdae died from a bloody spear
in the Bruig, it is no great lie,
when the woman Cetnen[4] wounded him
in the great battle of Mag Tuired.

Delbáeth and his son fell
at the hands of Cacher, the noble son of Námae;
Cacher fell beside the reckless Boyne

---

[1] fūam--Macalister has the following note on this word: "I do not understand *fuam*: O'Clery's glossary gives us *Fuamam .i. gile*, "whiteness," which may possibly be relevant." (1941: 320). *V* and △ have báeth, `foolish', which would alliterate with ben. One would expect fūam to be lenited after a fem. name, and in this case there would be no alliteration in the line. On the marking of lenition, see Vol. II, pp. 25-27: **2.29**.

[2] See Note on p. 254.

[3] Note that in theory, this could also mean `battle-field'. In many cases the wounded, who had been left on the battle-field after a battle, would have contracted plague and died. However, it is not certain at all whether the text is actually referring to a battle or not.

[4] The *LG* MSS display great diversity in the orthography of this word. Carey has suggested to me that the origin of this name may be the reanalysis of Lug mac Eithlenn\Eithnenn as Cethlenn, Cethnenn, etc.

at the hands of Fíachnae, the son of Delbáeth.

Fíachnae and splendid Aí fell
at the hands of perfect Eógan Inbir;
Eógan of the cold Rivermouth[1] fell
at the hands of [iron-hard] Eochaid Iúil.

Eochaid Iúil fell after that
at the hands of Áed and Labraid;
[Labraid], Óengus, Áed fell
at the hands of Cermait of very fair appearance.

Ériu and Fótla with pride,
Mac Gréne and Banba with virtue,
Mac Cuill, Mac Cécht with purity
[fell] in the battle of Tara of pure soil.

Mac Cécht at the hands of splendid Érimón
Mac Cuill at the hands of perfect Éber
Ériu here at the hands of Surge after that
Mac Gréne at the hands of Amargen.

Fótla at the hands of Etan with pride
at the hands of Cacher, Banba with virtue;
find out [where they sleep], those are
the deaths of the warriors, listen!

[1] = Eōgan Inbir úair

TOĪSIG NA LLONGSE DAR LER (F9)

INTRODUCTION

MSS (based on Macalister, 1956: 104):

LL 16[a]9
F (Book of Fermoy and Stowe D iii 1)
V (Stowe D iv 1)
Lc (two texts: △ and *M*)
D (Stowe D iv 3)
E (E iii 5 no. 2 in TCD)
R (Rawlinson B512--first quatrain only)
C (C iv 3) (not used by Macalister; used by the editors of *LL*)

Most of the MS of *LL* is clearly legible.

Previous edition and translation used in this thesis:
Macalister, 1956: 104-111 (*Lebor Gabála Érenn*, Vol. V).

In his introduction to this section in *LG*, Macalister gives a list of the names of the leaders of the invasion as enumerated in the prose text. Then he goes on to say the following concerning our poem:

> "The list in the poem quoted reduces the sons of Bregon by omitting Íth (already dead), by diminishing Blad and Bile to metrical chevilles, and inserting in their stead Míl and Lugaid; increases the sons of Míl by duplicating Éber; and increases the champions by duplicating Suirge and inserting Én, Ún, and Palap (the last probably an adaptation of the Classical *Pelops*). Evidently the later copyists were perplexed by the inclusion of the dead Íth, Ún, Én, and Míl, and of the yet unborn Írial." (1956: 6-7).

Concerning Macalister's remark on **Blad** and **Míl**, note that I have taken **Blad** in l. 5 to be a proper name, and **mīlid** in l.6 to be a common noun. (See Notes on p. 272.)

The poem could be divided into two sections: the first five stanzas simply enumerate the forty leaders (dechenb*or trīch*a tōesech--F9. 20), while the rest of the poem recounts their death--although the order of appearance of the names is different in the two sections. The end of the first section is marked by a *dúnad*. It is interesting to note that the names of the forty leaders enumerated in the first section do not exactly correspond to the names mentioned in the second part of the poem. Colptha (F9. 9) does not appear again; and on the other hand, two new names are introduced: Bile and Díl (three if we also count Búan, Bile's wife), thus bringing the number of people whose death is mentioned to forty-one. Note also that we get Fergna (:trā) in F9. 50, while in F9. 14 the form is Fergen (:sen).

The prose text in *LL* which can be found immediately before this poem ends with the sentence Is do haidedaib na toisechsa anuas ro chan in senchaid so sis with the gloss .i. Fland Man*istrech* on senchaid. However, in her book *Irish Classical poetry* (1957), Knott talks of this poem as one by Eochu úa Flaind, and in a footnote says: "A glossator here [i.e. in *LL*] ascribes the poem to Flann Manistrech, but cf. $6^{a}9$, $10^{b}40$, $22^{a}30$." (p. 16, Note 10.) The lines she refers to in *LL* have "Mé int Úa Flaind [...] \ raind fri rígu do-roígo", "Eochaid [...] \ delbas deochair a degrand", and "Eochaid h*ūa* Flaind [...] \ ro fúaig in senchass sáerchert" respectively. In these three lines, which are from three different poems, the poet (Eochaid úa Flaind) *explicitly* says that the poems were *written* by him. However, this is not the case in our poem, where the last but one couplet says: A Chr*īst* ós cla*n*naib *cui*mnig \ m*a*c m*ei*c Flaind a lāechLuignib `O Christ, above races, remember \ the son of Fland's son from heroic Luigne'. In my opinion, these lines seem to constitute a prayer, and do not explicitly say anything about authorship; as well as that, there is also a difficulty with the allusion to Luigne (presumably Lune, County Meath), with which Eochaid Úa Flaind does not seem to have been connected.

However, Fland Manistrech can not be referring to himself either, as his own paternal grandfather was named Óengus. Maybe Fland (if he is the poet here) alludes to a patron--maybe to the high-king Máel Sechnaill mac Domnaill (†1022), whom he refers to as óa fīrard Flaind in *LL* 15974 (Rīg Themra tōebaige īar tain), `the truly exalted descendant of Fland'. The problem with this identification is that Máel Sechnaill was Fland Sinna's great-grandson, not his grandson; and the subkingdom of Luigne was not situated in his immediate territory. Maybe m*ac mei*c is used here as a loose equivalent of úa, and maybe Luigne is used as a metaphor for the Midlands or perhaps Ireland itself.

I am aware of the fact that the arguments outlined above are not very convincing, and I do not believe that based on these, the question of authorship could be decided in the favour of either poet. An interesting thing, however, is that this poem shares a cheville with F8: cenchor fand (F8. 29), cencor fand (F9. 23). I know of no other example of this phrase, so this might indicate a common authorship of the two poems; and *LL* ascribes F8 to Fland. See also Conclusion, Vol. II, p. 189: **5.6**.

(For much of this argument I am indebted to John Carey.)

Note that many of the personal names in this poem are inventions from place-names or from names for rivers\lakes. I have been able to identify the following ones, although note that some of these identifications are doubtful (the page reference is to Hogan, 1910):

Búas (p. 132)
Búagne (Búagnech?) (p. 132)
Brego (Brega) (p. 123)
Colptha (Inber Colpa) (p. 457)
Cúailnge (p. 312)
Cúalu (p. 313)
Éber (p. 392)
Ébliu (p. 392)
Fúat (Slíab Fúait) (p. 608)
Gosten (Goiste?) (p. 447)
Ítha (Mag nÍtha) (p. 522)
Laigne (p. 474) ?
Luigne (p. 507)
Murthemne (p. 551)
Orba (p. 561) ?
Sobairche (Dún Sobairche) (p. 389)

ANALYSIS OF THE METRE

Metre: debide scaílte (fota) ($7^{x}7^{x+1\text{ or }2}7^{x}7^{x+1\text{ or }2}$).

Stanza structure

$7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}7^{3}$: 1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 10, 16 (7)
$7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$: 5, 6, 7, 13, 14 (5)
$7^{1}7^{3}7^{1}7^{2}$: 3 (1)
$7^{1}7^{3}7^{2}7^{3}$: 15 (1)
$7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}7^{3}$: 17 (1)
$7^{2}7^{3}7^{1}7^{2}$: 18 (1)

Stanzas without *rinn 7 airdrinn* in the first couplet:
$7^{2}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$: 11 (1)
$7^{2}7^{2}7^{1}7^{3}$: 12 (1)

The figures for *rinn* (number of couplets with $7^{x}7^{x+1}$ per total number of couplets) are **24/36=67%**.

Fidrad freccomail is present between the following stanzas: 1+2 (ll. 4-5), 2+3 (ll. 8-9), 7+8 (ll. 28-29), 10+11 (ll. 40-41), 13+14 (ll. 52-53), 15+16 (ll. 60-61) (6 plus the special cases below).
F. f. is present between a stressed and an unstressed syllable in 6+7 (ll. 24-25), 9+10 (ll. 36-37), 11+12 (ll. 44-45). (3)
In 16+17 (ll. 64-65), **Palap** might provide a link.
The figures for *f. f.* are **10/17=59%**.

Alliteration is not present in F9. 30, 36, 40, 42, 44, 54, 55, 64, 68. (9)
Alliteration is not between the last two stressed words in line *d* in F9. 52. (1)

In l. 65 the only way to get alliteration would be to read **fúair** with a lenited **f**. According to *SNG*: 287: 11.35, there is a strong tendency in MIr in relative clauses to lenite the first consonant of a verb where the stress falls on the first syllable, especially in verbs where the deut. and the prot. have the same form. I have one certain example of this feature in these texts: **is é thall a mbarr** (F12. 59), pret. sg. 3 of **do-alla**. The relative is possible here too, so it would be possible to read **fúair**.

In ll. 18 and 34 the only way to get alliteration is to treat **mac\meic** in the construction **X *mac**meic* Y** as stressed words. Otherwise I take ***mac**meic*** to be unstressed in this construction (e.g. F9. 48, 57, 63 and 64--otherwise we would not get alliteration in F9. 48 and 63). See also the section on Internal Rhyme below.
In l. 23 we would get alliteration even if the historical lenition in the case of both **Fúat** and **fand** was marked. See also Vol. II, pp. 25-27: **2.29**.
In l. 56 we would not get alliteration if **Surge** was lenited after *ocus*, as would be expected in OIr. See also Vol. II, p. 73: **10.1**.

The figures for alliteration are **62/72=86%**.

Internal rhyme in the first couplet (1/18=6%)
file : Bile (F9. 29-30)

Internal rhyme in the second couplet (6/18=33%)
mbríg : Īr (F9. 7-8)
thám : Nár (F9. 27-28)
bind : ding (F9. 59-60)
Ītha : *trīch*a (F9. 19-20)
buidne : Mumne (F9. 51-52)
blat : abb (F9. 71-72)

There is imperfect internal rhyme between **Fúat** and **Tūath** (F9. 23-24).
I think it very unlikely that **marb** is meant to rhyme with **marb** in F9. 31-32, and ***mac*** with ***mac*** in F9. 63-64; note that stressed ***mac*** would ruin the alliteration in F9. 63.

Proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in *d* (not counting the last word, which rhymes with the final of *c*): **6/35=17%**.

Analysis of rhyming consonant clusters (using Ó Cuív's classification--1966: 94-103; 1987: 109; see also SMF, Vol. II, pp. 111-112: **2**):

1. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2): C^vC^v--C^vC^v
***cui*mnig : lāechLuignib** (F9. 69-70) (e. r.) **buidne : Mumne** (F9. 51-52) (i. r.)

2. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain S + C/L + ^{h} (rules 3, 4 and 6): L^vS^h--L^vS^h
comse : lōechlongse (F9. 67-68) (e. r.)

3. Two consonants correspond to three

The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2): C^vC^v--$C^vC^vC^v$

Laigne : anble (F9. 45-46) (e. r.)

Elision

a) Unstressed short vowel preceded by another vowel: eleven examples. In six cases, the metre requires elision (F9. 13--**Surge ar** (=**íar**--see Vol. II, p. 71: **9.15**, and *SNG*: 328: 13.16); F9. 21, 51, 52, 72). In F9. 12, 23, 28 and 56 elision is needed only if one expands **7** as ***ocus*** and not as ***is***. (6/11=55%)

b) Dropping of the initial vowel of an unstressed word (prep. + poss. pron.\article):

I. After consonants: dropping: F9. 32.

II. After vowels: dropping: F9. 22.

III. At the beginning of a line: F9. 38, 53 and 54.

On **[im]malle** in F9. 55 and **báiti ocna** in F9. 36, see the Notes on p. 273.

c) Dropping of the final vowel of an unstressed word (prep. + poss. pron.): F9. 3.

d) Dropping of the initial vowel of the conjunction **is**:

I. After consonants: dropping: F9. 4 (**anmand 's a**--note that in *M, F, V,* △ and *E* there is no **'s**).

II. After vowels: dropping: not indicated in spelling: F9. 33, 45.

e) Dropping of the initial vowel of the copula **is**:

There is no dropping in **is tú** (F9. 72).

Dúnad

This poem begins with the word **toīsig** and ends with the word **tóesech**. This is a *saigid* type of *dúnad* (see Vol. II, p. 129: **5.2**). Note that there is also a *dúnad* at the end of the 5th stanza (F9. 20--**tōesech**).

Toīsig na llongse dar ler
dīa tāncatar m*eic* Mīl*ed*
bit mebra limsa rim' lá
a n-anmand 's a n-aideda.

Ēbleō, Fūat, Brego, Blad bil
Lugaid, Murthemne mīlid
Būas, Bres, Būagne na mbríg mór
Dond, Īr, Ēber, H*ē*rimōn.

Amairgen, Colptha cen chrád
Ēb*er*, Hērech, Herennān
Cūalnge, Cúalu, Nár amne
M*u*mne, Luigne *ocus* Laigne.

Fulmān, Ma[*n*]tán, Surge ar sen
Āer, Orba, Ferōn, Fergen
Én, Ún, Etan, Gosten glē
Sētga, Surge, Sobairche.

Palap m*ac* Hērimóin áin
ocus Cach*er* m*ac* Mantáin[1]
do dígail Ītha na n-ech
dechenb*or* *trīch*a tōesech. T.

At-bath Brego i mBregaib bind
marb M*ur*themni 'con mōrlind
Cūalnge *ocus* Fúat cencor fand
ro marbsat Tūath D*ē* D*anand*.

Do-roch*air* Cūalu ní chél

[1] *LL* Mátáin

la Crimthand scorach Scīathbél
do thám Blad i mBladma bind
Nár *ocus* Ēbleō i nĒblind.

Amairgen file na fer
marb i cath Bile Thened
marb Īr i Scelic na Scál
marb 'con*n* Inbiur Erennán.

Dond is Bile is Búan a ben
Díl is Érech m*a*c Mīl*ed*
Būas, Br(a)es, Būagne cosin mblaid
ro báiti[1] ocna Dumachaib.

Do-rochair Sobairche seng
'na dún re Echaid Echcend
Ma*n*tān is Cacher na cned
do-roch*air* la hAmairgen.

Aided Fulmán co feraib
la H*é*rimón ic Slemain
do-roch*air* Lugaid na land
i cath la Firu Domnand.

Do-roch*air* Luigne is Laigne
la maccaib É*b*i*r* anble
do-roch*air* in cethrur cóir
la Íriél m*a*c Hē*r*imóin.

Cethri m*ei*c Ē*b*i*r* tall trā
Āer, Orba, Ferón, Fergna
rānic tarsna buidne a blad
at-bath Mumne i mMaig Crūachan.

[1] ro báided *LL*

'Sin chath for Ten[n]us na treb
'sin maig i tor*chair* Éb*er*
do-rochratar[1] [im]malle[2]
Gosten, Sētga *ocus* Surge.

Ún m*ac* Ucce ard a rath
Én is Etan ildathach
H*ē*rimōn bind na blaide
ros ding i cath Comraire.

Do-cer Suirge m*ac* Duib daith
la Īriél i nArd Inmaith
Ēb*er* m*ac* Ír fer inn óir
la Palap m*ac* Hērimōin.

Palap ūallach fúair rinni
i cath gubach Gēsilli
ā sain co cummair comse
bás tóesech na lōechlongse. T.

A Chr*īst* ós cla*n*naib c*ui*mnig
m*ac* me*ic* Flaind a lāechLuignib
a Rí na mblat is na mbreth
is tú int abb is tū in tóesech. T.

---

[1] torchratar *LL*

[2] *See Note on p. 273.*

NOTES

All references are to Macalister, 1956: 104-111.

Macalister's edition and translation differ from mine in a few significant points, and these are discussed in the Notes.

F9. 5. 40 names have to appear in the first 20 lines of the poem (see pp. 263-264), but Macalister has only 39. This arises from the fact that Macalister takes Blad as a common noun in l. 5. The editors of *LL* take Blad as a proper noun, and I have followed them.

F9. 6. Based on some of the other MSS, Macalister has on muirlind for *LL* mīlid. Mīlid would give us perfect rhyme, unlike muirlind. Macalister gives mīlid as a proper noun in his variant readings; in this way he could get the required 40 names as he takes Blad to be a common noun (see note above). However, in his edited text, he has only 39. I have taken mílid as a common noun, and Blad as a proper one. (See also Macalister's remark cited on p. 263 and my comment.)

F9. 13. The editors of *LL* emend Matán to Ma[*n*]tán, as that is the form of the name which appears in the other MSS and in F9. 39.

F9. 18. See the Note on F9. 13; the only difference is that here we have the gen. of Mantán. The lengthmark over the first a must be a scribal error.

F9. 23. Macalister divides cencor as cen cor, thus subscribing to the view also found in *DIL* that this conjunction consists of the prep. cen + co. This interpretation is reflected in Macalister's translation, too, where he has `*without their being weak*'. However, I take cenco to be the MIr form of ceni (see Vol. II, p. 73: **10.2**), and so I have translated it as `although [...] not'.

F9. 30. The e in Bile is barely legible in the *LL* MS, and so the Facsimile has bil. This is also noted by the editors of *LL*.

F9. 31. Macalister capitalises Scál, while the editors of *LL* do not. I have followed

Macalister, as Hogan also has Scelec na Scál (1910: 592; under Scelec).

F9. 36. There is an extra syllable in this line in *LL*, and this is the MS Macalister follows in his edition. The easiest way of emending this line would be to follow five of the other MSS (*F, M,* △, *E* and *V*), which have either ro báitea or ro báiti (perf. pass. pl. of báidid)--this makes elision between báiti and ocna possible, and in this way one can get rid of the extra syllable. Note that only *D* agrees with *LL*. (In theory, one could also omit ro in *LL* and *D*; however, the problem with this solution is that in *SNG*: 306: 12.70 all the examples of the past\perfect passive without ro are from strong verbs.)

F9. 48. There is a misprint in the diplomatic edition of *LL* where Hérimón is printed for MS Hērimóin.

F9. 53. Macalister capitalises the t of tenus, while the editors of *LL* do not. This line is listed in *DIL* under ? tennus together with another example. The editors have the following remark concerning this word: "*Cf.* teannas `*austerity,*' O'R. (1 tend). But perh. n. loc." There is another example of this word in Macalister, 1956: 160 §476, where it is definitely a place-name (for Tennus). *Cf.* also Hogan, 1910: 632: tendas, tendchill, tendmag--I actually wonder whether the noun in this poem is not identical with the first name mentioned in Hogan, with the neutralised `strong' n between two vowels spelt with a single n. Hogan has "cath Geisille on the Tenus". If this is a place-name, then it is not clear to me what the significance of `the Tennus of the tribes' is.

F9. 55. There are two syllables missing in this line in *LL*. The editors of *LL* have the following suggestion: we should supply and from *C* and, on the basis of *Lc*, emend torchratar to do-rochratar. Note that *LL* is the only MS with torchratar; as well as that, I have only one other example in these poems of the prot. form of a verb used for the deut. where the stressed part of the deut. form does not begin in a vowel or an f, but in a consonant other than f--see Vol. II, p. 78-79: **12.5**. Macalister, who follows the other MSS and has do-rochratar, supplies the other missing syllable from *V* and △ by reading immalle for *LL* malle. So I believe that we should either read do-rochratar and 'malle or do-rochratar immalle.

F9. 62. Macalister interprets *LL* i nArd Inmaith (Hogan, 1910: 42) as in ārd, in maith,

which he translates as `the lofty, the good'. The evidence of the metre seems to indicate that this is the place-name, as with two exceptions, we always get *rinn 7 airdrinn* in the first couplet, too. *M* has i maig ardmaith and *E* Findmac for Inmaith, which spoils the rhyme. The other MSS have Indmaith.

F9. 69. The MS of *LL* has ósna with the na expunged. This is also noted by the editors of *LL*. ósna gives an extra syllble in the line, which is what Macalister has in his edition. According to the editors, the n-stroke in cla*n*naib is omitted in the Facsimile. The fact that Macalister has ōs na and clan[n]aib seems to indicate that he was working from the Facsimile.

F9. 71. Macalister has blath for *LL* blat which he translates as `adornments'. (I presume he means bláth here.) This word would spoil the rhyme with abb; I believe that this must be a transcription error or a misprint. Note that *F* and *M* have brat (`plunder; captivity'), while the other MSS agree with *LL*.

TRANSLATION

(based on Macalister, 1956: 104-111)

The leaders of the naval expedition[1] from across the sea
when the sons of Míl came
I will remember during my lifetime[2]
their names and their violent deaths.

Ébliu, Fúat, Brego, fortunate Blad,
Lugaid, Murthemne--soldiers[3]--,
Búas, Bres, Búagne of the great virtues,
Dond, Ír, Éber, Érimón.

Amairgen, Colptha without anguish
Éber, Érech, Erennán,
Cúailnge, Cúalu, Nár likewise,
Mumne, Luigne, and Laigne.

Fulmán, Mantán, Surge after that,
Áer, Orba, Ferón, Fergen,
Én, Ún, Etan, bright Gosten,
Sétga, Surge, Sobairche.

Palap, the son of splendid Érimón,
and Cacher, the son of Mantán,
to avenge Íth of the steeds
ten and thirty leaders.

Brego died in sweet Bregia,
Murthemne died at the great pool[4],

---

[1] or `invasion'

[2] i.e. as long as I live

[3] Note that in MIr mílid could be either nom. sg. or pl.

[4] = the sea ?

Cúailnge and Fúat, although he was not feeble,
the Túatha Dé Danand killed them.

Cúalu fell, I will not hide it,
at the hands of Crimthand Scíathbél, abounding in horses;
Blad, of plague in sweet Bladma,
Nár and Ébliu in Ébliu.

Amairgen, the poet of the men
died in the battle of Bile Tened;
Ír died in Scelec of the Phantoms,
Erennán died at the rivermouth.

Dond and Bile, and Búan his wife,
Díl and Érech, the son of Míl,
Búas, Bres, Búaigne with renown
were drowned at the Dumacha.

Slender Sobairche fell
in his fort at the hands of Echaid Echcend;
Mantán and Cacher of the wounds
fell at the hands of Amairgen.

The death of Fulmán with men
at the hands of Érimón in Slemain;
Lugaid of the swords fell
in battle at the hands of the Fir Domnann.

Luigne and Laigne fell
at the hands of the sons of wicked Éber;
the four just ones fell
at the hands of Íriél the son of Érimón.

The four sons of Éber yonder then,

Áer, Orba, Ferón, Fergna;
his[1] fame spread over the companies
Mumne died on the plain of Crúachu[2].

In the battle on the Tennus[3] of the tribes,
on the plain where Éber fell,
[there] Gosten, Sétga and Surge
fell together.

Ún, the son of Ucce, high is his bounty,
Ún and many-coloured? Etan,
[it was] sweet Érimón of (the) fame
who crushed them in the battle of Comraire[4].

Suirge, the son of swift[5] Dub fell
at the hands Íriél in Ard Inmaith;
Éber the son of Ír, the man of (the) gold?[6],
at the hands of Palap, the son of Érimón.

Proud Palap (who) found (spear-)points
in the sad[7] battle of Gésell?,
hence briefly and fittingly
the death of the leaders of the naval invasion[8] by warriors.

O Christ, above races, remember

---

[1] = Mumne's?

[2] = Mag Crúachan

[3] See Note on p. 273.

[4] Hogan, 1910: 287 does not provide enough evidence to establish with certainty what the original nom. sg. of this word was.

[5] The adj. could also refer to mac.

[6] *DIL*: Éber inn óir LL 127[b]10 (`*E. of the [sweet] voice*', MacCarthy 156 § 6).

[7] i cath gubach: gubach is not listed in *DIL*. I take it to be an adjectival formation from guba[e], io, m, `mourning, sighing, lamenting'. Macalister translates it as `sad', and I have followed this.

[8] or `expedition'

the son of Fland's son from heroic Luigne;
o King of strength(s) and of judgements
you are the abbot, you are the leader.

RĪG THEMRA DĪA TESBAND TNÚ (F10)

INTRODUCTION

MSS:

LL 131^{b}37

Lc

B iv 2

C iv 3

D iii 3

D iv 3

24 P 25

23 K 32

H. 1. 12 (TCD)

The MS of *LL* is very clearly legible.

Previous edition:

LL 15640-15780 (diplomatic only)

O'Rahilly has quite a few references to this poem in his *Early Irish History and Mythology* (1946): see pp. 209, 213, 218, and 228-229.

ANALYSIS OF THE METRE

Metre: **debide scaílte (fota)** (7^{x} $7^{x+1 \text{ or } 2}$ 7^{x} $7^{x+1 \text{ or } 2}$).

Stanza structure

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

Stanzas without *rinn 7 airdrinn* in the first couplet:
$7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}7^{3}$: 5 (1).

My figures for *rinn* (number of couplets with $7^{x}7^{x+1}$ per total number of couplets) are **46/70=66%**. Ó Cuív's are 44/70=63%, as he subtracted the couplets with the rhymes **tart : Chorm*ac*** (ll. 85-86) and **mbalc : Corm*ac*** (ll. 91-92).

End-rhyme: The spelling does not highlight the end-rhyme in F10. 95-96: **trait : brāgit**.

Fidrad freccomail is not present in 4+5 (ll. 16-17), 5+6 (ll. 20-21), 6+7 (ll. 24-25), 13+14 (ll. 52-53), and in 14+15 (ll. 56-57) (5 examples).
F. f. is present between an unstressed and a stressed syllable in 3+4 (ll. 12-13). (1)
F. f. is present between a stressed and an unstressed syllable in 8+9 (ll. 32-33), 15+16 (ll. 60-61), 18+19 (ll. 72-73), 19+20 (ll. 76-77), 24+25 (ll. 96-97), 25+26 (ll. 100-101), 27+28 (ll. 108-109), 29+30 (ll. 116-117), and 33+34 (ll. 132-133). (9)
F. f. is present between **t** and **d** in 3+4 (ll. 12-13). (1)
In 1+2 (ll. 4-5) **Ech*ach* Feidl*ig*** and **Eocho Feidl*ech***, while in 16+17 (ll. 64-65) **Tūath*ail*** might provide a link. (2)
F. f. is present between the final vowel of the last word in stanza 2 (l. 8) and the first vowel of the first word in stanza 3 (l. 9) (Carney, 1981: 254-255). (1)
The figures for *f. f.* are **29/34=85%**.

Alliteration is not present F10. 2, 8, 20, 22, 25, 28, 30, 32, 36, 48, 52, 58, 62, 63, 64, 76,

80, 86, 88, 96, 98, 106, 109, 111, 114, 124, 125, 127, 138 (29).
Alliteration is not between the last two stressed words in line *d* in F10. 4, 12, 104, and 132 (4). Note that in F10. 76 I took **mei*c*** to be unstressed (construction: **X mei*c* Y**); even if it was stressed, the alliteration would not be between the last two stressed words of the stanza.

In F10. 62 we can only get alliteration if we do not lenite **selbaig** after **ro**. On lenition after the particles **do-, ní, no** and **ro**, see Vol. II, pp. 60-61: **8.4**.
In F10. 124 we can only get alliteration if we treat **ma*c*** as a stressed word.

Ó Cuív's figures for alliteration are **107/140=76%**, and mine agree with his.

Internal rhyme

In the first couplet: we get at least one internal rhyme in all of the first couplets with the exception of stanza 5 (ll. 17-18). Note also that this is the only couplet without *rinn 7 airdrinn* in this poem.
Many couplets have not one, but two pairs of rhyming words; I have separated these from the ones which have only one pair.
Couplets with one internal rhyme (24/35=69%):

tesband : -fessam (F10. 1-2)
ēraim : Frēmaind (F10. 9-10)
mborrthorud : Conchob*or* (F10. 29-30)
Coraind : Moraind (F10. 37-38)
Finn[f]olod : immomon (F10. 49-50)
Temraig : selbaig (F10. 61-62)
Cathaīr : tathaīr (F10. 69-70)
Temraig : derluig (F10. 85-86)
Gunnat : *cum*[m]at (F10. 97-98)
flaith : caith (F10. 105-106)
dīglach : īrach (F10. 117-118)
nGāedel : fāengel (F10. 129-130)
Feidl*ech* : theidmnech (F10. 5-6)
ndíäid : Īäir (F10. 13-14)
certblai : echtrai (F10. 33-34)
Gāedel : ōenfer (F10. 45-46)
trīathach : Fīach*ach* (F10. 53-54)
Tectmair : Rechtaid (F10. 65-66)
oll : Cond (F10. 73-74)
Dētach : sétach (F10. 89-90)
comramach : *for*barach (F10. 101-102)
chīanbla : blī*adna* (F10. 113-114)
rígad : mínglan (F10. 125-126)
Noígīall*ach* : sōerfīallach (F10. 133-134)

In F10. 105-106 **Fothud** seems to rhyme with **Foth*ud***.

Couplets with two pairs of words making internal rhyme (10/35=29%):
Mór : slóg, cert : slecht (F10. 21-22)

Lugaid : cubaid, Rīab : cīal[l] (F10. 25-26)
Find : ing, Fechtnach : ercad (F10. 41-42)
Techt : slecht, tám : nDál (F10. 57-58)
gīal[l]blaid : chlīamain, druing : Cuind (F10. 77-78)
slecht : dlecht, Art : chacht (F10. 81-82)
Corm*ac* : f*or*darc, Cuind : druing (F10. 93-94)
Fīacha : trīathbla, Sraptene : tailcthreibe (F10. 109-110)
Cōelbad : cāenmag, Cruind : Cuind (F10. 121-122)
Elpa : erca, airec : saiget (F10. 137-138)

A consonant from group **x** (C^h) rhymes with a consonant from group **l** (C^v) (Murphy, 1961: 33): **Fechtnach : ercad** (F10. 41-42).

In the second couplet: Note that there are many stanzas where all the stressed words are fixed by the metre in line *d*.

Couplets with one internal rhyme (19/35=54%):

Temraig : debaid (F10. 7-8)
slúag : mūad (F10. 15-16)
chobraind : fogbaim (F10. 19-20)
būadching : Rūadchind (F10. 27-28)
loncho[i]r : tor*chair* (F10. 31-32)
cōelbalc (*Lc* **cēlbalcc**) **: -ērba(i)lt** (F10. 35-36) (See Note on p. 294)
chomthaig : torchair (F10. 47-48)
rogarb : romarb (F10. 63-64)
mbáig : Máil (F10. 75-76)
temel : Nemed (F10. 79-80)
brinda : Chrinna (F10. 91-92)
tríuin : ng(c)íuil (F10. 95-96)
cing : grind (F10. 103-104)
Chommair : -rorraich (F10. 111-112)
ceōlach : treōrach (F10. 119-120)
bretho : Eocho (F10. 123-124)
fírad : scríbad (F10. 127-128)
bethu : Eocho (F10. 135-136)
trēnseng : Hēr*end* (F10. 139-140)

In F10. 111-112 **cath** seems to rhyme with **cath**.

Note that the spelling does not highlight the rhyme in F10. 123-124 and 135-136. See also Vol. II, p. 19: **2.5**.

-rorraich (F10. 112) is an alternative spelling for **-rorraig**, so we have regular rhyme here.

Maybe we should read **glīattráig** (<**glíad** + **tráig**) in F10. 95-96 instead of **glét[h]ráig : īachcnáim** (P^hC^v--$C^hP^hC^v$), as this would give us another perfect rhyme.

Couplets with two pairs of words making internal rhyme (14/35=40%):

thaidbsin : hamsir, ndrechach : Ech*ach* (F10. 3-4)

tigban[n] : Sigmall, ríge : Sīde (F10. 11-12)
tírfeirg : dībirg, toglaig : omnaig (F10. 23-24)
rí : mbí, rréimim : Ēllim (F10. 51-52)
fer : -cer, -fédim : Ēllim (F10. 55-56)
ngrád : Mál, glēir : réil (F10. 59-60)
thathaim : athair, thúaith : chrūaid (F10. 67-68)
rí : mbí, gáeth[glan] : lāechrad (F10. 71-72)
díth : mbíth, dámair : lágain (F10. 83-84)
chroch : goth, bréic : néit (F10. 87-88)
crád : gáb, cáin : láim (F10. 99-100)
maíti : Caīlte, díth : crích (F10. 107-108)
bruig : luid, bét : éc (F10. 115-116)
dalb : marb, drongg[s]eng : Mongfend (F10. 131-132)

A consonant from group **x** (C^h) rhymes with a consonant from group **l** (C^v) (Murphy, 1961: 33): **thúaith : chrūaid** (F10. 67-68).
Note that the spelling does not highlight the rhyme in **maíti : Caīlte** (F10. 107-108).

There is one couplet in which <u>three</u> pairs of words make internal rhyme:
bét : éc, brath[1] **: -bath, bró[i]n : cóir** (F10. 43-44)

There is only one stanza where there seems to be no internal rhyme (stanza 10, ll. 39-40). However, internal rhyme is probably meant between **Cattchend** and **fortend**, with the interchange of stressed **o** and **a** before a non-palatal consonant. (For other similar examples, see Vol. II, p. 18: **2.4**).

In the most elaborate stanzas, there is internal rhyme in both couplets and alliteration in all of the lines (stanzas 4, 11, 14, 17, 18, 21, 23, 30, and 34). In 3, 26 and 33 the only `problem' is that the alliteration is not between the last two stressed words in line *d*.

Proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in *d* (not counting the last word, which rhymes with the final of *c*): **51/71=72%** (according to my calculations); 47/76=62% (according to Ó Cuív). The difference in the second number is due to the fact that I took ***mac/meic*** in the construction **X *mac/meic* Y** to be unstressed (this occurs in five cases:

[1] unless this is **brāth**.

F10. 52, 76, 80, 124 and 136, although see my remark on l. 124 under Alliteration, p. 281). The difference in the second number can be explained by the fact that Ó Cuív probably did not take into consideration some of the emendations below or/and did not accept some of the rhymes listed below: **loncho[i]r : tor*chair*** in l. 31, **bró[i]n : cōir** in l. 43 and **gáeth[glan]** : **lāechrad** in l. 71 (the editors of *LL* do suggest the last two emendations); **cōelbalc : ērba(i)lt** in ll. 35-36, **bretho : Eocho** in ll. 123-124, and **bethu : Eocho** in ll. 135-136.

Analysis of rhyming consonant clusters (using Ó Cuív's classification--1966: 94-103; 1987: 109; see also SMF, Vol. II, pp. 111-112: **2.**):

1. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L + ^{h} (rules 1, 2, 3):
$C^{h}P^{h}$--$C^{h}P^{h}$; $L^{v}P^{h}$--$C^{h}P^{h}$; $C^{v}P^{h}$--$C^{v}P^{h}$
llecht : Necht (F10. 17-18) (e. r.)
cert : slecht (F10. 21-22) (i. r.)
Art : cacht (F10. 81-82) (i. r.)
Techt : slecht (F10. 57-58) (i. r.)
slecht : dlecht (F10. 81-82) (i. r.)
Elpa : erca (F10. 137-138) (i. r.)
cōelbalc : -ērba(i)lt (F10. 35-36) (final pos.) (i. r.)

2. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L (rules 1 and 2): $C^{v}P^{v}$--$C^{v}P^{v}$
nDerg : chrūadcherd (F10. 25-26) (e. r.)

3. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C/L + ^{h} (rules 2 and 3):
$L^{v}C^{h}$--$C^{v}C^{h}$; $C^{v}C^{h}$--$C^{v}C^{h}$
mborrthorud : Conchob*or* (F10. 29-30) (i. r.)
chomthaig : torchair (F10. 47-48) (i. r.)
loncho[i]r : tor*chair* (F10. 31-32) (i. r.)
būadching : Rūadchind (F10. 27-28) (i. r.)

4. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2):
$C^{v}C^{v}$--$C^{v}C^{v}$; $C^{v}C^{v}$--$L^{v}C^{v}$; $C^{v}L^{v}$--$C^{v}C^{v}$
Temraig : selbaig (F10. 61-62) (i. r.)
toglaig : omnaig (F10. 23-24) (i. r.)
comramach : *for*barach (F10. 101-102) (i. r.)
dalb : marb (F10. 131-132) (i. r.)
Cōelbad : cāenmag (F10. 121-122) (i. r.)
chobraind : fogbaim (F10. 19-20) (i. r.)
rogarb : romarb (F10. 63-64) (i. r.)
tigban[n] : Sigmall (F10. 11-12) (i. r.)
cōelbalc : -ērba(i)lt (F10. 35-36) (i. r.) (medial position)
Temraig : derluig (F10. 85-86) (i. r.)
Cor*mac* : *for*darc (F10. 93-94) (medial position) (i. r.)?

5. One consonant corresponds to two consonants: a consonant from class **l** (C^v) or **L** (L^v) is added.

C^vP^h--P^h; S^hC^v--S^h; C^vC^v--C^v; P^h--C^vP^h; L^vP^h--P^h

mbalc : Corm*a*c (F10. 91-92) (e. r.) **tesband : fessam** (F10. 1-2) (i. r.)
dīglach : īrach (F10. 117-118) (i. r.) **Temraig : debaid** (F10. 7-8) (i. r.)
nGāedel : fāengel (F10. 129-130) (i. r.) **tart : Chorm*a*c** (F10. 85-86) (e. r.)
Corm*ac* : *for*darc (F10. 93-94) (i. r.) (final position)
maíti : Caīlte (F10. 107-108) (i. r.) ?

6. One consonant corresponds to three consonants: the added consonants are from class **l** (C^v): C^v--$C^vC^vC^v$; C^h--$C^hC^vC^v$

gīal[l]blaid : chlīamain (F10. 77-78) (i. r.)
rígad : mínglan (F10. 125-126) (i. r.) **Fīacha : trīathbla** (F10. 109-110) (i. r.)

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

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

C^vC^v--$C^vL^vC^v$; $C^vC^vC^v$--C^vC^v

Feidl*ech* : theidmnech (F10. 5-6) (i. r.) **chīanbla : blī*adna*** (F10. 113-114) (i. r.)

b) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L + ^{h} (rules 1, 2, 3):

$C^hP^hC^v$--C^hP^h; $L^vP^hC^vC^v$--$C^hP^hC^v$; C^hP^h--$C^vP^hC^hC^v$; $C^hP^hC^v$--C^vP^h

Tec[h]tmair : Rechtaid (F10. 65-66) (i. r.) **certblai : echtrai** (F10. 33-34) (i. r.)
Sraptene : tailcthreibe (F10. 109-110)[1] (i. r.) **Fechtnach : ercad** (F10. 41-42) (i. r.)

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

$C^vC^vS^h$--L^vS^h

thaidbsin : hamsir (F10. 3-4) (i. r.)

d) The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C/L + ^{h} (rules 2 and 3): $C^hC^vC^v$--C^hC^v

gáeth[glan] : lāechrad (F10. 71-72) (i. r.)

Elision

a) Unstressed short vowel preceded by another vowel: eight examples. In two cases, elision is required by the metre (F10. 107, 109). In four cases, elision is not required by

[1] On the pronunciation of Sraptene see O'Rahilly, 1942b: 185 note 2.

the metre (F10. 71, 90, 103, 108). In F10. 123 (**bretho a blaid**) we either have elision here, or between **chluí a bretho** earlier in the line; or read **cor(o) chluí**. (2/8=25%)

b) Unstressed short vowel + unstressed long vowel: one example. The metre requires elision here (F10. 114). (1/1=100%)

c) Dropping of the initial vowel of an unstressed word (prep. + poss. pron.\article):
I. At the beginning of a line: dropping: F10. 13 (not indicated by the scribe).
II. After consonants: F10. 67 (x2), 83, 87, 96, 128 (not indicated by the scribe in F10. 128).

d) The reduction of **coro** to **cor**: there is no reduction in F10. 100. On **coro chluí** (F10. 123), see a).

Dúnad

The poem begins with the word **rīg** (nom. pl.) and ends with the word **ōenrí** (nom. sg.). See Vol. II, p. 130: **5.5**.

TEXT

Rīg Themra dīa tesband tnú
ad-fessam a n-aidedu
do thaidbsin a ndrechach ndil
co hamsir Ech*ach* Feidl*ig*.

Eocho Feidl*ech* find fine
nīrbo theidmnech timc*r*ide
tathaim i Temraig cen tnú
īar ndebaid frīa mórmaccu.

Eoch*aid* Airem ēraim ndaith
ort i Frēmaind in fīr[f]laith
ba tigban[n] dīa ríge rā
la Sigmall Sīde Nenta.

(I)na ndíäid ba rrí cīa rēl
m*a*c hū[1] Īäir Eterscél
la Nūadait Necht na slúag sen
do-cer i mMaig mūad Maisten.

At-berat Lagin na llecht
robo rí ced Nūadu Necht
a aided cen chobraind cain
nī fogbaim i scríbennaib.

Conaire Mór mad cert cin
slecht cona slóg i mBrudin
īar tírfeirg toglaig in tríuin
la dībirg n-omnaig nIncíuil.

M*a*c Trī Find Lugaid Rīab nDerg

[1] *for* **maccu**

ba cubaid cīal[l] a chrūadcherd
ro marbsat in mbūadching bil
na trī Rūadchind do Laig*nib*.

Lánrí co mborrthorud búan
in Conchob*or* Abratrūad
īar Lugdaig loncho[i]r na lland
nóco tor*chair* la Crimthand.

Co torach[t] ar certblai cain[1]
Étair dīa echtrai ingnaid
Crimthand cōelbalc cloäd chath
nocho n-ērba(i)lt m*ac* Lugdach.

Lānrí Corp*re* Coraind cain[2]
athair Moraind mōrbrethaig
at-bath in Cattchend cen chath
su ba fortend Feradach.

Feradach Find Fechtnach Fáil
ercad cech n-ing co n-ilgráin
ba bét cen brath bró[i]n nā baind
éc at-bath m*ac* cōir Cremthaind.

Cend Gāedel Fīatach Find Fáil
int ōenfer cen imbarbáig
nīro chomthaig ris nach cair
nōco torchair la Fīachaig.

Fīacha Finn[f]olod f*or* nech
nīrb immomon étūalngech

---

[1] caín *LL*

[2] *an* e *is erased after* cain

cīarbo rí co rréimim[1] rath
rod mbí Ēllim m*ac* Conrach.

La Tūathal trīathach īar tain
la m*ac* Fīach*ach* Finn[f]olaid
fer ad-fédim fīad ce*ch* claind
do-cer Ēllim i nAchaill.

Tūath*al* Techt cen tām co tlí
ro slecht i nDál Araidi
lasin ngein co ngrád glēir glē
la Mál m*ac* réil Rochride.

Ro gab Mál Temraig na tor
ro selbaig dar sārugod
ūair rabo rogarb īar tain
conid romarb m*ac* Tūath*ail*.

M*ac* Tūath*ail* Tec[h]tmair na treb
Feidil*mid* Rechtaid rogel
ro thathaim 'na thúaith 'coa thaig
athair Cuind chrūaid Chētch*athaig*.

Ba cend Cathaīr crōda cain
cen tathaīr for Temarmaig
robo rí in gáethglan[2] glē
coro mbí lāechrad Lūagne.

La Tūaith Amrais oll athach
do-cer in Cond Cétchath*ach*
la Tipraiti co mbáig bí
la hōa Máil m*eic* Rochridi.

---

[1] rréim im *LL*

[2] gáeth *LL*; gáethglan *Lc*

Ro gab gīal[l]blaid cech druing de
a chlīamain Cuind Conaire
co tor*chair* cen temel timm
tíar la Nemed m*ac* Srobcind.

Slecht la M*ac* Con cen chacht cned
cen[i] re dlecht Art Ōenfer
a díth ro dámair 'sin chath
dīa mbíth do lágain Lugdach.

Lugaid i Temraig cen tart
coros derluig[1] do Chorm*ac*
ra chroch cen bréic 'coa thír thes
in goth néit tarlaic Ferches.

Fergus Dub Dētach na ndrend
ba rí in sétach snēd[s]eng
co tor*chair* cen brinda mbalc
i cath Chrinna la Corm*ac*.

Do-cer Corm*ac* hūa Cuind chais
f*or*darc ce*ch* druing dronamnais
robbo glét[h]ráig tríuin cen trait
dīa ng(c)íuil īachcnáim 'na brāgit.

Ba Eochaid Gunnat ro glacc
in c*um*[m]at ro thecht Corm*ac*
ūair ro crád ro cáin rīa cath
coro gáb de láim Lugdach.

La Corp*re* comramach cían
flathius f*or*barach fírīan
caín cing f*or* orba a ré

[1] terlaic *LL*

i tóeb grind Gabra Aichle.

Án flaith Fothud Cairpdech crech
corod caith Foth*ud* Airgdech
maíti int Airgdech a díth de
la Caīlte i crích Cruithne.

Ced Fīacha Sraptene im-rá
trīathbla tailcthreibe Temra
is cath Duib Chommair cía thois
fod-rorraich ní cath Chnámrois.

Colla Ūais ūas chīanbla chain
cethri blī*adna* ó Airgīallaib
den bruig ba bét cīaro bá
luid éc īarna innarba.

Ōs Dabull dīglach na ndrend
la Cóiced n-īrach ṅHēr*end*
do-cer in ceōlach cét crech
Muridach treōrach Tírech.

Trīallais Cōelbad m*ac* Cruind chain
cāenmag bá Cuind Cétch*athaig*
coro chluí a bretho[1] a blaid
int Eocho m*ac* Muredaig.

Marb īarna rígad dont ślóg
Eocho mínglan Mugmedō*n*
ro fírad cid cruth aile
ro scríbad (is)sin Scálbaile.

Sīacht cert ṅGāedel cosin ṅgail

[1] brétho *LL*

Cremthand m*ac* fāengel Fid*aig*
do neim ní dalb dronngg[s]eng díur
rod marb Mongfend a derbsíur.

Do Nīall Noígīall*ach* anair
tucad sōerfiallach sobraig
de Muir Ict nī bethu bā
ro mbí Eocho m*ac* Ēnna.

Oc Elpa trīa airec n-áig
rod n-erca saiget gelāin
Nath Í trēnseng cosin tlí
cīarbo é Hēr*end* ōenrí. R.

F10. 10. Note the omission of the lenited f in fīr[f]laith by the scribe. *Cf.* F10. 49 Finn[f]olod and F10. 54 Finn[f]olaid.

F10. 13-14. We should read Īäir as a disyllable if we want to get the correct number of syllables in F10. 14. With one exception we get internal rhyme in the first couplet of every stanza (see pp. 282-283), and the only possibility for internal rhyme in this couplet would be between ndíäid and Īäir. This means that ndíäid must be disyllabic, and the i in (i)na has to be dropped in order to get the correct number of syllables. I have two more examples of díaid/deóid in these poems (F8. 47 and F12. 8), and in both cases they are monosyllabic. However, there are several words in my texts which appear both with and without hiatus (for a detailed discussion of these, see Vol. II, pp. 16-18: **2.2**). The initial consonant of ina is dropped several times: `na appears in F1. 66, F5. 8, 29, F6. 119, F9. 38, F10. 67, 96, F12. 62, and F6. 163 *LL*. Also note that *Lc* and *B iv 2* agree with the *LL* reading here.

F10. 14. mac hu is the corrupted form of maccu.

F10. 21. On the inspired explanation of the phrase mad cert cin (i.e. = mad-cin ceart), see Knott, 1932: 272-274.

F10. 23. Note the omission of the mark of lenition over the f in tírfeirg.

F10. 31. *DIL* suggests (with a question-mark) that we read lonchoir or -chair in order to get internal rhyme with torchair. O'Brien, 1958: 102, seems to take this word as an o\ā adj., a compound of 1 lon, `blackbird, and 5 car, `loving'; `lover of blackbirds' (*cf.* ollchar, lit. `of the lovers of greatness' in F5. 81 and salmchar, `psalm-loving ones' in F5. 82). However, I think that this could also be a compound of 1 lon and the gen. sg. of cor, `tune, melody', and `of the blackbird-like song' would probably make more sense than lonchar, `lover of blackbirds'. The emendation itself (i.e. the insertion of i) is verified by the metre, as this is the only way to get internal rhyme, which is present in all the second couplets with one exception (see p. 283). Note that it would not be possible to read cóir, the gen. sg.? of cór, `chorus, music' (which seems to be an ā-stem in *Féilire 44.22?*), as

there would be a problem with the rhyme. *Lc* has lanncair, and *B iv 2* lonchor (with tor*chair* in the following line in both cases).

F10. 33. One should read caín as cain in order to get the rhyme with ingnaid.

F10. 35. In order to get the correct number of syllables, we should read cloäd as a disyllable.

F10. 36. All of the second couplets have internal rhyme with one exception. Here *LL* has cōelbalc : -ērbailt, while *Lc* cēlbalcc : -ērbalt, and *B iv 2* cōelbalc and -ērbailt. According to *SNG* (233: 3.8), in MIr there is evidence for the change of the diphthong áe/aí/óe/oí to a long vowel. I believe that the rhyme here actually illustrates that the diphthong in cōelbalc is meant to be pronounced as a long vowel, although it is not indicated in spelling in all the MSS. I have another rhyming example illustrating the same change in these poems: in F1. 29-30 (ēin[f]er : fēinned). If we emend -ērbailt to -ērba(i)lt, then we can get rhyme with cōelbalc\cēlbalc in this couplet. Another possibility would be to read ba[i]lc; *DIL* says under balc that the form bailc, an i-stem adjective, also appears later, side by side with balc. In fact, the form with i (nom. sg.) figures in *Mesca Ulad 642 (LL 35037)* (although it may have been influenced by tailc in the same line). Also note that I have a total of six examples of -ērbailt\-ērbuilt in these poems (see Vol. II, p. 88: **12.29**). Apart from the example discussed here, this word occurs in rhyming position only in one other case; and here, too, it would have to be emended in *LL* (F6. 136 *LL*: -ērba(i)lt : thrēnglacc--*R* has -ērbalt).

F10. 43. Read brath with a short a in order to get the rhyme with -bath.
The rhyme requires that we read bró[i]n (:cōir) instead of brón here. The editors of *LL* suggest this emendation, based on *B iv 2* and *Lc*. Although we already have two pairs of words making internal rhyme in this couplet, there are many stanzas in this poem where all the stressed words are fixed by the metre in the last line; and as well as that, the gen. sg. of brón (`without the betrayal of sorrow') seems to make more sense here than the nom. sg. or the gen. pl.

F10. 47. The editors of *LL* are mistaken in not dividing risnach as ris nach; I believe that this is the preposition fri and the pronominal adj. nach. See also *SNG*: 326: 13.2 and 328:

13.15.

F10. 49. The editors of *LL* have the following note on Finnolod: "= Findfolaidh". However, the palatal ending would spoil the internal rhyme with immomon. I think that this is the nom. sg. form here, and we have the gen. sg. in F10. 54 (Finn[f]olaid : tain). *B iv 2* agrees with *LL*, while *Lc* has Finn[f]alaigh : imomain. For the non-marking of lenition, *cf.* F10. 10 fīr[f]laith and F10. 54 Finn[f]olaid.

F10. 51. In *LL* the scribe divides the word rréimim (:Ēllim) incorrectly as rréim im. This is also noted by the editors of *LL*.

F10. 54. Note the omission of the lenited ḟ in Finn[f]olaid. *Cf.* F10. 10 fīr[f]laith and F10. 49 Finn[f]olod.

F10. 71. There is one syllable missing in this line. Based on *Lc*, the editors of *LL* suggest that we read gáethglan instead of gáeth. This emendation is verified by the internal rhyme with lāechrad in F10. 72.

F10. 82. There is one syllable missing in this line (*LL* has cen re dlecht Art Ōenfer). I can see three possibilities here: a) if re is the word which appears under 1 ré in *DIL*, then maybe we should read it as a disyllable (`without a rightful period'); b) *Lc* has cían ro dlecht here, which still leaves us with one syllable lacking (`he deserved it for a long time?'), and c) Prof. Breatnach has suggested that we might read cen[i] re (= ro) dlecht (= dligid) in *LL* (`although he did not deserve it?'). Note that dlecht (: slecht) is fixed by rhyme.

F10. 85-86. We seem to have imperfect rhyme between Temraig and terlaic. *B iv 2* has the same reading as *LL*, while four other MSS, *Lc, D iii 3, C iv 3* and *23 K 32* have derlaic or derlaicc (the past tense of derlaicid, `allows, grants'). This would make sense (`until he granted it to Cormac'), but it would not give us perfect rhyme. *D iv 3* has derluig here, the pret.\perf. of do-luigi, `forgives, remits'. This would give us perfect rhyme with Temraig, unlike the other readings; also note that in F6. 59-60 the rhyme Temraig : derlaig does occur. The *LL* and *B iv 2* readings must have been influenced by tarlaic, the perf. of do-léci, which appears two lines later.

F10. 89. Dubdétach, as the sobriquet of Fergus, would normally be written in one word (cf. *AU 4201* Duibdhedach, *4203* Duibdhedaigh, where the lenition of the initial consonant of détach shows that these two words were actually treated as a compound; *Cóir Anmann* §260 has Dubdhétach). However, here it has to be read as two words, otherwise we would not get internal rhyme with sétach. (With one exception, all first couplets in this poem contain at least one internal rhyme, and here this would be the only way to get internal rhyme.)

F10. 90. Note the omission of the lenited ṡ in sned[ṡ]eng by the scribe.

F10. 96. Concerning the spelling in dīa ṅg(c)íuil, see Vol. II, p. 3, **1.4**.

F10. 112. On the lenition of the initial consonant in Chnámrois, see Vol. II, p. 28: **2.29 II b**.

F10. 118. As Cóiced Éireann normally refers to Ulster, and as the evidence in *AU* indicates that this is the case here, too (see *AU 4386*, where it is stated that Muiredach Tírech was killed by Caelbad son of Crund, king of Ulaid), unlike the editors of *LL*, I have capitalised Cóiced.

F10. 123. The editors of *LL* have the following note on brétho: "*sic*: brethu *Lc*". However, this must be a misprint, as *Lc* has bethu. It is difficult to say whether there is really a lengthmark over the e in *LL*, or whether there is just a slit on the MS page.

F10. 127. The lengthmark is over the f in ro fírad, and maybe this is why there is no dot over the f; but in l. 132 in derbṡiúr both the lengthmark and the dot are placed over the ṡ. Concerning lenition after the particles do, ní and ro, see Vol. II, pp. 60-61: **8.4**.

F10. 128. There is one extra syllable in this line. Read (is)sin.
Scálbaile is a reference to Baile in Scáil.

F10. 131. The form of the adj. under which diúr is listed in *DIL* is diúir. Note that here the non-palatal final consonant is fixed by rhyme (díur : derbṡíur). I take diúr to be the gen. pl. form.

TRANSLATION

The kings of Tara, who are exempt from envy[1],
we will relate their violent deaths
to show their dear, fair ones[2]
as far back as[3] the time of Echu Feidlech.

Echu Feidlech, the fair one of the race,
was not evil and faint-hearted
he died in Tara without envy
after fighting against his great sons.

Echuid Airem, a swift course,
the true prince was killed in Frému
--it was the final deed of his glorious kingship--
at the hands of Sigmall of Síd Nenta[4].

After them, whatever I may declare, Eterscél
Maccu Íair became king,
it was at the hands of Núadu Necht of the long-standing hosts
that he fell on the noble plain of Maistiu.

The Leinstermen of the graves say (it):
even Núadu Necht, he became king
his death without a fine portion\partnership?[5]
I do not find in [the] writings.

Conaire Mór, whose claim is nobly sprung[6]

---

[1] dīa tesband tnú--lit. `from whom envy is lacking'

[2] i.e. probably their retinue. *Cf.* in dīan drechach, `the swift, fair-faced one' in F5. 9.

[3] co--`until' would not make sense here, as Fland *starts* the list of kings with Echu.

[4] See O'Rahilly, 1946: 53, n1.

[5] chobraind--or encounter? *Cf.* F4. 124 crūaid in chomraind.

[6] mad cert cin--I have given Knott's translation here (1932: 272-274).

was slain with his army in Bruiden,
--after the destructive, dry wrath of the strong man--
at the hands of Incéol's fearful band of marauders[1].

The son of the Trí Find, Lugaid of the Red Stripes
the intention of his harsh feats was fitting[2];
the three Red-heads from the Leinstermen
killed the good, victorious champion.

A full king with a constant, great increase
[was] Conchobar Abratrúad,
after melodious[3] Lugaid of the trophies,
until he fell at the hands of Crimthand.

And he reached the fair, proper? plain
of Étar as a result of? his wonderful journey (adventure)
slender and strong Crimthand who used to be victorious in battle,
the son of Lugaid did not die[4].

The full king, fine Corpre[5] of Corann,
the father of Morann of the great judgements,
the `Cathead' died without battle
before Feradach became very strong.

---

[1] This line is cited in *DIL* under meaning b) (`band of marauders') of díberg with a question-mark.

[2] ba cubaid cīal[l] a chrūadcherd--this seems to make more sense than `his harsh feat was a fitting cause', which would be the other possibility here.

[3] lit. `of the blackbird-like song'; see Note on p. 293.

[4] nocho n-ērba(i)lt *mac* Lugdach--in the light of what comes next and looking at the last line of any stanza in general, which in many cases states somebody's death, this line does not seem to make too much sense here. Maybe the h in nocho is a scribal error, and we should read nōco, `until the son of Lugaid died'? I have not been able to trace the event referred to either in *AU* or in *T*.

[5] This seems to be a personal name here and in *AU 4040*, but *cf.* Hogan, 1910: 291: "cath Corainn i ttorchair rí Cinéil Cairpre *Bb 49a, Fia 88*".

Fair, blessed Feradach of Fál
who used to fill[1] every danger with many horrors,
the natural death which the just son of Crimthand died
was a calamity without the betrayal of sorrow or of a deed[2].

The head of the Gaels, fair Fíatach of Fál
the only man without strife?,
--he did not associate [himself][3] with any crime--
until he fell at the hands of Fíachu.

Fíachu Finnfolod, over anyone
he was no overwhelming, great fear,
although he was king with a course of good luck\grace
Éllim, the son of Conrí slew him.

It was at the hands of noble Túathal afterwards,
at the hands of the son of Fíachu Finnfolod
--the man whom I mention? in the presence of every race--
that Éllim fell in Achall.

Túathal Techt without disease, with protection,
was slain in Dál nAraide
at the hands of the person with excellent, evident rank[4],
at the hands of Mál, the bright son of Rochride.

Mál took possession of Tara of the champions\hosts
which he possessed against the [general] wishes,
because he became very harsh afterwards,

---

[1] ercad--this line is cited in *DIL* under 1 ercaid, although the editors do not seem to be sure whether the verbal form belongs to this verb.

[2] i.e. without any betrayal--so that there was no treachery in connection with his death?

[3] nīro chomthaig--note that there is only one example cited for the verb comthaigid (*Magauran* 252) in *DIL*. *Cf.* the noun commaid.

[4] I presume that Fland here plays on the original meaning of Mál, `prince'.

until the son of Túathal killed him.

The son of Túathal Techtmar of the holdings\tribes,
very bright Feidilmid Rechtaid;
he died at home in his *túath*,
the father of stern Conn Cétchathach.

Fierce, fair Cathaír was chief
without reproach on the plain of Tara;
the clear, pure wise one was king
until the warriors of Lúaigne slew him.

It was at the hands of the Túath Amrais, a great blast,
that Conn Cétchathach fell
at the hands of Tipraite with a lively contest,
at the hands of the grandson of Mál, the son of Rochride.

The in-law of Conn, Conaire
got the submissive fame[1] of every band on account of it,
until he fell without soft darkness
in the West at the hands of Nemed, the son of Srobcenn.

By Mac Con, without the hardship of wounds, was slain,
although he did not deserve it?, Art Óenfer[2];
he submitted to his destruction in the battle
when he was slain by the spear of Lugaid.

Lugaid in Tara without dryness\thirst
until he remitted it?[3] to Cormac;

---

[1] gīal[l]blaid = hostage triumph?

[2] See Note on p. 295.

[3] i.e. Tara; for the verb (coros derluig), see Note on p. 295.

the combat-spear[4] which Ferches threw

crucified (pierced?) him[2] without deception in his land in the South.

Fergus Dubdétach[3] of the combats,
the swift-slender, rich one was king
until he fell, without firm falsehood,
in the battle of Crinna at the hands of Cormac.

Cormac, the grandson of curly-haired Conn fell,
the illustrious one of every thoroughly rough crowd;
it was the obvious death of a strong man without fight
when a salmon-bone got stuck in his throat.

It was Echaid Gunnat who seized
all that Cormac possessed[4]
since he persecuted and reviled [people] before battle?[5]
until he went[6] at the hands of Lugaid.

By victorious, long-lived Cairpre
a prosperous, righteous rule
a fine warrior over the heritage of his reign?
on the pleasant side of Gabar Aichle.

---

[1] *DIL* has one example of goth néit under néit from TBC[2] 1915, and explains it as "some kind of spear" in brackets.

[2] i.e. Lugaid

[3] See Note on p. 296.

[4] in *cum*[m]at ro thecht Cor*mac*--this is *DIL*'s translation, which appears under cummat.

[5] ūair ro crád ro cáin rīa cath--the meaning of this line is not clear to me. I have taken ro crád and ro cáin, both of which are fixed by rhyme, to be the perf. sg. 3 of crádaid, `reviles', and cáinid, `torments, persecutes' respectively. However, the fact that the initial consonant is not lenited in either crád or cáin might indicate that ro is the preposition fri here (see Vol. II, p. 60: **8.4** and p. 70: **9.12**). In this case, does ūair stand for fūair?--`he got, by means of torment and tribute'--the problem is that this solution would not make much sense either.

[6] i.e. he died

A splendid ruler, Fothud Cairpdech of plunders,
until Fothud Airgdech exhausted? him;
Airgdech, his death was boasted of[1] on account of it?
by Caílte in the territory of the Picts.

As regards Fíacha Sraptene who travelled[2] about
the lordly plain of the strong stock of Tara,
it is the battle of Dub Commair[3], whatever you may swear,
which overpowered him, not the battle of Cnámros.

Colla Úais, over the fair, distant? plain
from Airgíalla for four years;
although [the fact that] he died was a deed of violence,
he died after his banishment[4] from the land.

[It was] over vengeful Daball of the encounters,
at the hands of [the] wrathful Ulster[men],
[that the] melodious one of hundreds of expeditions fell:
powerful Muiredach Tírech.

Cóelbad, the son of good Crund?[5] traversed
the fair plain which belonged to Conn Cétchathach,
until Echu, the son of Muiredach
overthrew his judgements, his fame.

After his installation as king, at the hands of the army died
gentle-bright Echu Mugmedón;
it was fulfilled, although it was another form

---

[1] *Cf.* F3. 88 (ro maíded--`it was vaunted').

[2] im-rá--lit. `travels'

[3] This was originally a personal name (O'Rahilly, 1946: 499-500).

[4] i.e. after he had been banished

[5] or `of Cruind?' The editors of *AU* have Crund as the nom. in 4386 and 4393. O'Brien, 1962: 571 has nom. Cruind.

which was written in Baile in Scáil.

The right of Gaels with valour sought

Cremthand, the level-white[1] son of Fidach;
[it was] by poison--it is not the lie of trifling crowds which are small in numbers?--,
that Mongfend, his sister killed him.

To Níall Noígíallach from the East
a powerful, noble band of warriors was given;
[it was] from the Sea of Wight, it was not a life of benefit?,
that Echu, the son of Énnae killed him.

It was in the Alps through his plan of fight
that a flash of lightning pierced him[2],
strong-graceful Nath Í with protection
although he was the single king of Ireland.

[1] fāengel appears with this translation from *BB* 272[b]30 in *DIL* under the compounds of fáen.

[2] rod n-erca saiget gelāin--*cf. DIL* under saiget: "torchair do saighit gealain ag sleibh Ealpa" *FM* i 128.3.

MUGAIN INGEN CHONCHRAID CHAIN (F11)

INTRODUCTION

MSS:
LL 145^{b}20
LU 53^{a}1

A prose tale connected to this poem can be found in *LU* 52^{a}12; this tale was edited and translated by Windisch (1884: 194-196; 200-205) and O'Grady (1892: I: 82-84; II: 88-91).

The poem itself was edited from *LU* 53^{a}1 and *LL* 145^{b}20 by Windisch (1884: 196-200; 205-221), who also provides a translation in German. O'Grady edited the poem without translating it (1892: I: 84).

The poem comes just after the prose text in *LU*, and is preceded by "ro chan in senchaid inso .i. Fland Manistrech", while in *LL* the poem is preceded by the ascription "Fland *cecinit*".

ANALYSIS OF THE METRE

Metre: debide scaílte (fota) ($7^{x}\ 7^{x+1\text{ or }2}\ 7^{x}\ 7^{x+1\text{ or }2}$)

Stanza structure

$7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$: 3, 4, 13, 15 (4).
$7^{2}7^{3}7^{1}7^{2}$: 2, 7, 11 (3).
$7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}7^{3}$: 6, 9 (2).
$7^{1}7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}$: 5, 14 (2).
$7^{1}7^{3}7^{1}7^{2}$: 1, 8 (2).
$7^{1}7^{3}7^{1}7^{3}$: 10, 12 (2).

My figures for *rinn* (number of couplets with $7^{x}7^{x+1}$ per total number of couplets) are **22/30=73%**, and Ó Cuív's 19/30=63%, as he subtracted some of the couplets which contain the rhymes below.

End-rhyme

A consonant from group **x** (C^{h}) rhymes with a consonant from group **l** (C^{v}) (Murphy, 1961: 33): **suth : llēcud** (F11. 7-8), **mbrath : senchad** (F11. 57-58).

Stressed **e** + palatal consonant rhymes with unstressed **i/a** + palatal consonant:
feill : C*erbaill* (F11. 3-4).

There is imperfect rhyme between **glicci** and **ambriti** in F11. 19-20.

Fidrad freccomail is not present in the following cases: between stanzas 2+3 (ll. 8-9) (unless the link is between **llēcud** and the second stressed element in stanza 3, **-lluid**), 8+9 (ll. 32-33), 11+12 (ll. 44-45), and 14+15 (ll. 56-57) (4 examples).

F. f. is present between a stressed and an unstressed syllable in 3+4 (ll. 12-13).

F. f. is present between an unstressed and a stressed syllable in 5+6 (ll. 20-21).

In 12+13 (ll. 48-49) **Mugaine** and **Mugain** might provide a link.

The figures for *f. f.* are **10/14=71%**.

Alliteration is not present in F11. 4, 7, 8, 20, 23, 35, 39, 44, 54, 58, 60 (11 cases).

Alliteration is not between the last two stressed words in line *d* in F11. 16 (1).

In F11. 3 the only way to get alliteration is to lenite the initial consonant in **fīalgarta**, the direct object of **ro chren**. (For other examples of the initial consonant of the direct object

being lenited, see Vol. II, p. 28: **2.29 II i**).

According to Ó Cuív, the figures for alliteration are 47/60=78%. Mine are **48/60=80%**; the difference arises from my treatment of F11. 3.

Internal rhyme

In the first couplet (11/15=73%, with two internal rhymes in F11. 29-30):

rosacht : fossalt (F11. 5-6)
dochum : dochond (F11. 13-14)[1]
hālacht : slānalt (F11. 25-26)
hālacht : ānalt (F11. 37-38)
Mugain : chubaid (F11. 49-50)
dubaig : Mugain, grūad : múad (F11. 29-30)
gīal[l]tach : Fīatach (F11. 9-10)
ben*n*ach : chennach (F11. 21-22)
síreclaig : fírecnaid (F11. 33-34)
Findbarr : ndindmall (F11. 45-46)
bétblaid : cétfaid (F11. 57-58)

On the initial vowel in **hālacht** in F11. 25 and 37, see Note at the end of this section, p. 307.

On **bétblaid : cétfaid** (F11. 57-58), see the remark on p. 308 below.

Internal rhyme in the second couplet

All the couplets have internal rhyme. In many couplets all the stressed word in *d* are fixed by rhyme.

Couplets with one internal rhyme (8/15=53%):

tharmaltad : tarmartad (F11. 7-8)
do-rrodáil : for(r)āin (F11. 23-24)
tāraill : álaind (F11. 35-36)
brí : dī (F11. 43-44)
mBregmaige : ndegduine (F11. 11-12)
fethim : cethir (F11. 31-32)
álglan : lāmnad (F11. 39-40)
hollaltaib : Chonnachtaib (F11. 59-60)

In F11. 39-40 and 43-44 there is imperfect rhyme between **ma*c*cān** and **bratān**.

Couplets with two pairs of words making internal rhyme (7/15=47%):

chren : ben, fīalgarta : Dīarmata (F11. 3-4)
band : and, bacalt : attacht (F11. 15-16)
cloí : baí, gell : trell (F11. 19-20)
úan : dúal, deilm : deilb (F11. 27-28)

---

[1] **dochum** must be stressed here.

blattdál : bratān, brón : mōr (F11. 47-48)
róen : nĀed, rūamach : slūagach (F11. 51-52)
glana : clanna, glórda : móra (F11. 55-56)

Proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in *d* (not counting the last word, which rhymes with the final of *c*): **22/28=79%**. My figures agree with those of Ó Cuív. On **bacalt : attacht** (F11. 15-16), **do-rrodáil : for(r)āin** (F11. 23-24), and **glana : clanna** (F11. 55-56), see Notes on pp. 314, 315 and 317.

In his metrical analysis Windisch (1884: 237) has **hálacht** (F11. 25, 37) rhyming with **slānalt** (F11. 26) and **ánalt** (F11. 38). According to *DIL*, the initial vowel of **alacht** is short (they cite one rhyming example with a short vowel). According to the *Léxique Étymologique*, which prints this word with a long **á** (1959: 58), the etymology of this word is uncertain. In F11. 38 one could read **analt** with a short **a**, taking the first element to be the intensive prefix, so we could get rhyme with **alacht** here (with a short **a**). However, as internal rhyme is present in most first couplets, and the only way to get this in F11. 25-26 would be to read **hálacht** with a long **a**, it is altogether very tempting to do this here as well as in F11. 37--in this case, we would of course need to have **ánalt**.

<u>**Analysis of rhyming consonant clusters**</u> (using Ó Cuív's classification--1966: 94-103; 1987: 109; also see <u>SMF</u>, Vol. II, pp. 111-112: **2**):

1. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L + ^{h} (rules 1, 2, 3):
$L^{v}P^{h}$--$L^{v}P^{h}$; $C^{h}P^{h}$--$L^{v}P^{h}$; $L^{v}P^{h}$--$C^{h}P^{h}$
ceirt : c[h]ompeirt (F11. 31-32) (e. r.) **rosacht : fossalt** (F11. 5-6) (i. r.)
hālacht : slānalt (F11. 25-26) (i. r.) **hālacht : ānalt** (F11. 37-38) (i. r.)
bacalt : attacht (F11. 15-16) (i. r.) **hollaltaib : Chonnachtaib** (F11. 59-60) (i. r.)
tharmaltad : tarmartad (F11. 7-8) (second cluster) (i. r.) ?

2. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L (rules 1 and 2): $P^{v}C^{v}$--$P^{v}C^{v}$
síreclaig : fírecnaid (F11. 33-34) (i. r.)

3. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2):
$L^{v}C^{v}$--$L^{v}C^{v}$; $C^{v}C^{v}$--$C^{v}C^{v}$; $C^{v}C^{v}$--$C^{v}L^{v}$; $C^{v}L^{v}$--$C^{v}C^{v}$
Findbarr : ndindmall (F11. 45-46) (i. r.) **fialgarta : Dīarmata** (F11. 3-4) (i. r.)

mBregmaige : ndegduine (F11. 11-12) (i. r.) **deilm : deilb** (F11. 27-28) (i. r.)
tharmaltad : tarmartad (F11. 7-8) (first cluster) (i. r.)

4. One consonant corresponds to two: a consonant from class **l** ($\mathbf{C^v}$) or **L** ($\mathbf{L^v}$) is added: C^vC^v--C^v; L^vP^v--P^v

glórda : móra (F11. 55-56) (i. r.) **gīalltach : Fīatach** (F11. 9-10) (i. r.) ?

5. Two consonants correspond to three

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

$L^vC^vC^v$--C^vC^v; $C^vC^vC^v$--C^vC^v

fondglan : ndegfognad (F11. 41-42) (e. r.) **álglan : lāmnad** (F11. 39-40) (i. r.)

6. Special case: $P^vC^vC^v$--P^hC^h

bétblaid : cétfaid (F11. 57-58) (i. r.) (imp.)

Note that if we read the OIr form, **cétbuid**, then we get perfect rhyme here. *Cf.* **anfad :. Chonchath** in F4. 64. On **df>tf** see Ní Dhomhnaill 1975: 20, §38.

Elision

a) Unstressed short vowel preceded by another vowel: three examples. The metre requires elision in two cases (F11. 31, 55), but only in *LL* in F11. 55. The metre does not require elision in F11. 33. (2/3=67%)

b) **do\de + V; do\de + f:** one example (F11. 41). The metre does not require elision.

Dúnad

The poem begins and ends wih the word **Mugain**. So this is a regular, *saigid*-type of *dúnad* (Murphy, 1961: 44). Stanzas 12 (l. 48) and 14 (l. 56) end in the word **Mugaine**. I believe that in F11. 48 the *dúnad* indicates the end of the section which describes the misfortunes of **Mugain**. Concerning the *dúnad* in F11. 56, see Note on p. 317.

TEXT

Mugain ingen Chonchraid[1] chain
*mei*c Duäch din[2] desMumain
ro chren fīalgarta[3] cen feill[4]
ben Dīarmata m*ei*c C*erbaill*.

Cachtsus rosacht in[5] rīgain
ba fossalt[6] co fīrdígail
ūair nī tharmaltad[7] a suth
co tarmartad a llēcud.

And do-lluid ba gīal[l]tach[8] gnīa
uä féig Fīatach[9] Finnīa
i n-īath mBregmaige[10] co mblait
cōar[11] ndegduine co Dīarmmait[12].

Do-lluid dochum in ríg rúaid
cen dochond[13] is cen dimbūaid
nābad band bacalt a blad[14]

---

[1] Choncraid *LU*

[2] don *LU*

[3] *last four letters erased in LU*

[4] faill *LU*

[5] ind *LU*

[6] bá fósalt *LU*

[7] ná tarmaltad *LU*

[8] gīalltach *LU*

[9] in Fíatach *LU*

[10] i n-íath Bregmaige *LU*

[11] coár *LU*

[12] Díarmait *LU*

[13] dochund *LU*

[14] nábad and bá cathalt blad *LU*

and rod n-attacht[1] in rīgan.

Rādsis ris[2] rānic a less
ní no íccad a hanccess[3]
dīa cloí[4] bad gell co nglicci[5]
ar baí trell i n-ambriti[6].

Rodas[7] b*en*nach Finnīa féig
combad chennach dīa comréir[8]
assa chūch do-rrodáil[9] dig
don mnaí for(r)āin ētrachtgil[10].

Īarom ba hālacht Mugain
slānalt roda sāmsubaig[11]
co mbert úan ropo[12] deilm dī
nārbo dúal do deilb duni.

De ro dubaig dar grūad nglan
Mugain múad[13] in mōrrīgan
ferr lēa[14] a fethim cen chlaind ceirt[15]

---

[1] adacht *LU*

[2] ráidis fris *LU*

[3] ícad a ances *LU*

[4] chloí *LU*

[5] co nglicce *LU*

[6] amrite *LU*

[7] ros *LL*

[8] cóemréir *LU*

[9] fo-rodāil *LU*

[10] for(r)āin ētrochtgil *LU*

[11] rodá sāmsubaid *LU*

[12] nárbo *LU*

[13] maith *LU*

[14] lé *LU*

andās[1] cethir do c[h]omp*eirt*[2].

Nā síreclaig de ar Dīa
ar in fírecnaid Finnīa
tāraill[3] cossecrad do brond
int úan álaind ētrachtoll[4].

Īarom ba[5] hālacht in ben
ropo ānalt (n-)airmiten[6]
é[7] m*a*ccān ro lāmnad de
bratān álglan[8] airgdide.

Audbrais do Finnīa(n) fondglan[9]
arin[10] Dīa dīa ndegfognad[11]
a bratán ūas[12] brí cīa pé
is m*a*ccān dī dīa ēise.

Do-gníth la Findbarr fúaim nglan
cumtach ndindmall ndegfethal[13]

---

[15] cen c[h]laind cirt *LU*

[1] indá *LU*

[2] do chompirt *LU*

[3] tārraid *LL*

[4] ētrochtoll *LU*

[5] bá *LU*

[6] máralt airmiten *LU*

[7] hé *LU*

[8] ālg[l]an *LU*

[9] edprais do Finnīa fond glan *LU*

[10] in *omitted in LL*

[11] día fēgfognad *LU*

[12] ōs *LU*

[13] dindmall daigfethal *LU*

ba blattdál[1] cen brón cīa bé[2]
do bratān mōr Mugaine.

Co mbert[3] Mugain mó ce*ch*[4] claind
do m*a*c cóir chubaid C*er*baill[5]
īar*u*m[6] ōs róen rūamach rē
in nĀed sāer slūagach Slāne[7].

Segait f*or* nert Fōtla fīa
feib doda-rair[*n*]gert[8] Finnīa
glana[9] glórda im gním ṅgaile[10]
clanna móra Mug*aine*. M.

Is sí[11] seo cen bétblaid mbrath
cétfaid araile senchad
cona hollaltaib[12] cen ail
ba de[13] Chonnachtaib Mugain. M.

---

[1] blatdál *LU*

[2] ce pé *LU*

[3] compert *LU*

[4] cach *LU*

[5] Cherbaill *LU*

[6] īarom *LU*

[7] Sláné *LU*

[8] do-rairngert *LL*

[9] in glonda *LL*

[10] nglē *LU*

[11] ( )s í *LU--the* I *is lost in a marginal rent.*

[12] ollaltaib *LU*

[13] bá do *LU*

NOTES

(with discussion of Windisch's Notes, 1884: 196-221)

There are quite a few significant differences between my translation and Windisch's. The most important of these are discussed in the Notes on F11. 3 and F11. 15-16; and in the Footnotes in the Translation section on F11. 5, 7, 53 and 57.

Note that the mark of lenition over f and s is *always* omitted in *LU*: a) after preps.: cen faill (F11. 3), do Finnīa (F11. 41); b) in the second element of a compound: rodá sāmsubaid (F11. 26), fēgfognad (F11. 42), daigfethal (F11. 46); c) after a noun in the dat.: don mnaí for(r)āin ētrochtgil (F11. 24) (in theory, this could be acc. for dat., and the lack of nasalisation might be due to the fact that for(r)āin ends in a nasal; however, in this case we would not get alliteration in the line). do Finnīa fondglan (F11. 41) could be either acc. or dat. with the mark of lenition omitted over the f of fondglan. We would get alliteration in either case.
The mark of lenition over c is omitted once in *LU*: cen c[h]laind (F11. 31). In *LL* this happens once, too: do c[h]ompe*ir*t (F11. 32). Here in the MS the m-stroke stretches over the c as well as the o, so probably this is why the *spiritus asper* was omitted--or it may also be hidden.

F11. 2. Duäch has to be read as a disyllable in order to get the correct number of syllables in the line.

F11. 3. After much deliberation, Windisch interprets fīalgarta as a gen. sg. dependent on cen faill. However, he remarks that in this way ro chren does not have an object. He considers the possibility of garta being the acc. pl. form; however, he dismisses this by saying "allein *gart* scheint im Plural nicht gewöhnlich zu sein" (1884: 207). Besides his translation which appears in the main text ("ohne Vernachlässigung sittsamer Ehre"), in his discussion he proposes another one, too: "ohne Vernachlässigung ehrbarer Gestlichkeit". However, I see no problem with taking fīalgarta as the acc. pl. of fíalgart, u? (`she\who dispensed noble generosity').
As far as faill and feill are concerned, both readings would be possible here, both from the metrical and the semantic point of view (`without neglect' or `wihout deceit'). However, *LU* faill might be better, because in this case in the rhyming pair the quality

of the consonant preceding the stressed and the unstressed vowel (*Cerbaill*) will be the same. See also SMF, Vol. II, pp. 117-118: **2.4**. (Note that Windisch excludes *LL* feill on the grounds that fell is an o-stem--1884: 206--however, according to *DIL*, this can also be an ā-stem).

F11. 4. Windisch notes that the prose text has the form Cerbeóil, gen. of Cerbél, which is probably the older form of the name (*LU 4217*).

F11. 6. The lengthmark over the o in *LU* fósalt (:rosacht) must be a scribal error.

F11. 8. Note that Windisch takes tarmartad as an imperf. ind. form (1884: 210). However, I believe that this is the pret. or perf. passive sg. prot. form of *do-armairt, `intended, attempted', which can only be found in the pret. (perf.?) according to *DIL*.

F11. 10. There is one syllable missing in this line in *LL*. In *LU* Fīatach, which I take to be the gen. of Fíatu, is preceded by the definite article in, which would give us the correct number of syllables. However, one would expect gen. sg. masc. ind Fīatach here--but note that the mark of lenition over the f is *always* omitted in *LU* (see the second Note on this poem, p. 313), and in MIr in could stand for OIr ind (see *SNG*: 259: 7.7 and Vol. II, p. 56: **6.4**; I also have several examples of the article used with a personal name). However, with ind Fīatach we would not get alliteration in the line. So probably the easiest thing to do would be to accept Windisch's suggestion that we follow the *LL* reading, and read úa as a disyllable (on hiatus, see Vol. II, pp. 16-18: **2.2**).

F11. 11. The word íath is stained in *LU*, and so the Facsimile has rath, which is also noted in the diplomatic edition. As Windisch worked from the Facsimile, he has rath in his text.

F11. 15-16. Windisch believes that the *LL* reading (bacalt) is superior to *LU* cathalt, as there should be internal rhyme somewhere in the line, which is here provided by bacalt : attacht (provided of course, that <c> = /k/ here). *LU* cathalt would definitely give us imperfect rhyme here. (We already have internal rhyme in this couplet between band and and; however, in many second couplets all the stressed words are fixed by rhyme in line *d*.) bacalt seems to be a compound of alt; there are several compounds of this word in

this poem: slánalt (F11. 26), ānalt (F11. 38 *LL*) (= máralt--F11. 38 *LU*), and ollalt (F11. 59). bac could either stand for bacc, o, n + m `angle, bend, corner', later also `hindrance', or for 2 boc, o, m `a he-goat'. Or the word could also be boc with /g/, o, ā `soft, gentle, tender'; in this case we would not get perfect rhyme. Windisch gives no translation here; and my tentative suggestion would be that this compound might contain bacc and alt in the gen. pl. In this case the translation would be `so that her fame might not be a period of states of hindrance?'--i.e. so that Mugain would not be remembered by her failure to bear children.

Windisch also thinks that *LL* band is a superior reading to *LU* and, as another and follows soon in the next line, which could have confused the scribe. With the *LL* reading in F11. 15 we get perfect internal rhyme between band and and.

F11. 21. There is one syllable missing in this line in *LL*. We should adopt the *LU* reading here, and read rodas for *LL* ros.

F11. 23. Windisch was not aware of the fact that both fo-dáli and do-dáli existed in OIr, and takes do-rrodāil as do + ro+ fo-dāil.

Windisch also remarks that the dat. sg. cūch is an unusual form. However, it is perfectly understandable from the MIr point of view, as it is the reduction of the OIr dat. sg. cuüch.

F11. 24. *LL* has forrāin and *LU* forrāin, in both cases rhyming with (-rrodáil). *DIL* cites the example from *LU* under forán (for + án), o\ā, `very fine, splendid', although it is not certain if it belongs here, and suggests that this might be forrán, `violent aggression'. However, the meaning of the latter word does not fit in here; and we would not get perfect rhyme here either with -rrodáil (*cf.* forrá[i]n : Allāin in F2. 25-26). I believe that the double r must be a scribal slip, and we should read forān in both MSS.

F11. 25. On the initial vowel in hālacht here and in F11. 37, see p. 307.

F11. 27. I think that nárbo in *LU* is a dittography--another nārbo follows in F11. 28 (see also Windisch, 1884: 198).

F11. 28. In the MS of *LL* the -e in duni is corrected to -i by a subscript letter, and the

Facsimile has dunie; this is also noted in the diplomatic edition of *LL*. This correction might represent an attempt by the scribe to highlight the end-rhyme with dī (for vowel length in this word, see note on F11. 44 below).

F11. 30. *LL* seems to have the superior reading here, as múad rhymes with grūad, while *LU* maith does not. Note that in this way this will be the only first couplet with two pairs of words making internal rhyme.

F11. 35. Windisch notes that *LU* tāraill is superior to *LL* tārraid, as it will give us perfect internal rhyme with ālaind in F11. 36. *DIL* notes that the quantity of the vowel in the pret.\perf. of do-aidlea (tāraill) is uncertain; however, the long ā is fixed by rhyme here.

F11. 38. Windisch considers the *LL* reading (ānalt) to be the superior one to *LU* máralt because of the alliteration with airmiten. On the first element of ānalt, see the remark on p. 307.

F11. 42. There is one syllable missing here in *LL*. *LU* has arin Dīa (*cf.* F11. 33 ar Dīa). We could either accept the *LU* version or read Dīa as a disyllable (see also Vol. II, pp. 16-18: **2.2**). There is a misprint in the diplomatic edition of *LU*, where arin is printed as ar in.
There is an m-stroke added over degfognad (imperf. ind. sg. 3 of fo-gní) by a retracer in *LL*, and the Facsimile has degfognand. This is also noted by the editors of the diplomatic edition. Windisch has degfognand, as he worked from the Facsimile. This incorrect form is cited in *DIL* both under deg-fognaim and fo-gní (as ind. sg. 3). This reading will not give us perfect end-rhyme with fondglan.
Alliteration shows that *LL* degfognad is the correct reading here as opposed to *LU* fégfognad.

F11. 44. Note that the long í in dī is fixed by internal rhyme (:brí).

F11. 46. Windisch seems to take the nasalisation after cumtach in *LL* as a historical one caused by a neuter noun. I think that this is just the acc. used with the passive. (See also Vol. II, p. 34: **3.1**.)

F11. 49. *LU* compert Mugain is corrupt here, as one would expect the gen. Mugaine after nom. sg. compert; however, this would give us an extra syllable, so *LL* co mbert Mugain is the superior reading.

F11. 52. Windisch suggests that the best thing would be to read sóer for sáer in order to get perfect rhyme with róen. However, even by late OIr the diphthongs áe and óe had already fallen together (Thur. §66).

F11. 54. There is one syllable missing here in *LL*, so the *LU* reading (doda- *vs. LL* do-) should be adopted.

F11. 55. There is an extra syllable here in *LL*. Omit in.
Both glana (*LU*) and glonda (*LL*) (:clanna) could be possible here. glana could be the nom. pl. of the subst. adj. glan or of glandae. In both cases it would mean `the pure ones'. The *LL* reading could either be the ā-stem nom. pl. of glond, meaning `exploits' or `champions', or it could stand for the nom. pl. of substantivised glandae, with the interchange of stressed o and a before a non-palatal consonant. For examples of rhyme between stressed o and a before a non-palatal consonant, see Vol. II, p. 18: **2.4**.

F11. 56. Note that there is a *dúnad* here in both MS versions, and the first letter of Mugain, M, is repeated after the last word in *LL*. Windisch (1884: 219) suggests that perhaps this was where the original poem ended, and the next stanza might be a later addition, containing another tradition concerning Mugain's pedigree. This might be supported by the fact that *fidrad freccomail* is not present between the last two stanzas--although note that *f. f.* is absent in four cases in this poem (see p. 305), so this criterion can not be fully trusted.

TRANSLATION

(based on Windisch, 1884: 205-221)

Mugain, the daughter of fair Conchrad
the son of Dáui from South Munster
she\who dispensed[1] noble generosity without deceit
the wife of Díarmait, the son of Cerball.

Barrenness[2] subjugated her, the queen,
it was a lasting state with real punishment
since no offspring from her had been enjoyed[3]
so that she was on the point of being discarded (by her husband)[4].

Then there came, he was an obedient[5] servant[6]
the keen descendant of Fíatu, Finnía[7]
into the land of Bregmag with strength
to our good man, to Díarmait.

He came towards the mighty king
without harm and without disgrace
so that her fame might not be a period of states of hindrance?[8]
there the queen entreated him.

---

[1] For this meaning of crenaid, see O'Brien, 1958: 101.

[2] Windisch seems to think that rosacht refers to Díarmait's wavering in his attraction towards Mugain (*cf. LU 4235-36*) (1884: 209). For rosacht *DIL* gives `delay, hesitation, wavering'; however, it also cites the following example from *Cóir Anmann* 251: "rosacht chlainne `barrenness, sterility (?)'". I believe that `barrenness' would fit in here better.

[3] ūair nī tharmaltad a suth--This is *DIL*'s translation, found under do-meil, where it is followed by a question-mark. I take tharmaltad to be the perf. pass. sg. prot. form of the verb (see Vol. II, p. 164, 12.36). Windisch gives no translation here.

[4] co tarmartad a llēcud-- This is *DIL*'s translation, found under do-armairt.

[5] Note that this is the only example cited in *DIL* for gíalltach.

[6] i.e. of God

[7] Note that this person is also referred to as Findbarr in l. 45; and he is called Findén in the prose text (*LU 4243, 4245, 4249, 4260*).

[8] See Note on p. 314.

She told him that she needed (it)[1]
something that would cure her great debility;
when he overcame [it][2], it would be a pledge with cleverness[3]
for she was (had been) for a period in barrenness.

Keen Finnía blessed her
so that there would be a recompense as a result of her submission[4];
from his cup he poured out a drink
for the very noble, bright-shining woman.

Afterwards Mugain became pregnant
a state of well-being which soothed and rejoiced her[5]
and she bore a lamb, which was a shock to her[6],
which was not natural for a human figure.

On account of this, noble Mugain, the great queen
grew dark over her clear face[7]
she would have preferred to wait[8] without ordinary children[9]
than to conceive a four-legged animal.

---

[1] rānic a less--lit. `she reached its need'.

[2] *LU* `dīa chloí'--`for (or as a result of) his cry?'--this does not seem to make sense here. *DIL* cites this example from *LU* under cióe under the heading "ascription doubtful". They also make allusion to the *LL* reading (dīa cloí) here; however, that probably belongs to cloïd, `overthrows, vanquishes', and that is how I have interpreted this phrase.

[3] i.e. a proof of his wisdom

[4] i.e. because she entreated Finnía. The *LU* reading, [...] dīa cóemréir (`so that there would be a compact as a result of their\her dear wish'), seems to make less sense here.

[5] This is *DIL*'s translation which appears under both sám and subaigidir, followed by a question-mark. I believe that this translation does fit into the context.

[6] I have given a figurative meaning to deilm, `report, tidings, rumour'. Another possibility could be `it was the rumour concerning her'.

[7] i.e. she cried (Windisch). This describes a state of mind completely opposite to that expressed by sāmsubaig in the previous stanza.

[8] ferr lēa a fethim--lit. `her waiting was better in her opinion'

[9] This is *DIL*'s translation, which appears under cert.

"For the sake of God, do not continue to fear it?[10]"
said the truly wise man, Finnía;
"the beautiful, shining-great lamb
came as[2] the consecration of your womb".

Thereafter the woman became pregnant
it was a glorious state of honour;
this was the male child which was born as a result of that
a silvern salmon[3] from a pure brood.

She offered to bright-soled Finnía
--for the sake of God whom he served well--
her noble salmon[4], whichever it may be,
and a son for her after it[5].

By Findbarr was made--a clear sound?--
a shrine of good halidoms, as massive as a fort
it was an assembly of strength? without sorrow, whatever it may be,
for Mugain's great salmon.

And Mugain bore--greater than any other offspring--
for the just, right[6] son of Cerball

---

[1] This is *DIL*'s translation, which appears under eclaigid with a question-mark because of de.

[2] Note that do-aidlea, as a verb of movement, can take a direct object. The *LL* version, tārraid cossecrad do brond, which will not give perfect rhyme, is `the lamb secured the consecration of your womb'.

[3] This example is cited in *DIL* under the meaning `fry, a young fish' of bratán. However, I think that `salmon' would fit in better with the symbolism of the poem. O'Grady translates this word as `salmon' in the prose text.

[4] lit. `her salmon over a hill' = i.e. transcending/surpassing a certain height (nobility?). *Cf.* brí na mbreg `the princess among princesses', Gwynn, 1924: 326.3. Note that this line is cited in *DIL* among the figurative uses of brí with a question-mark.

[5] i.e. she was to have a son after the salmon

[6] This line is cited in *DIL* under the meanings `proper, right' of cubaid.

afterwards over the glorious?[7] path[8] of time
noble Áed Sláne who was rich in troops.

They strive for power over worthy[3] Fótla
as Finnía had prophesied it;
the glorious, pure ones[4] with regard to [the performance of] a valorous deed;
the great descendants of Mugain.

This is without the misfortunate fame of treachery[5]?
the opinion of certain `historians':
that with her great adventures[6] without disgrace
Mugain was from Connacht[7].

---

[1] This example is cited in *DIL* under rúamach, "adj. of uncertain meaning". I take this as coming form ? 2 rúam, `fame, glory?'.

[2] This example is cited in *DIL* under meaning b) of róen, `way, path' (`used loosely of surfaces, spaces and in other derived senses').

[3] *DIL* cites this example under 1 fía (cf. 6 fíad and 1 fíada?), without any meaning given; Windisch takes this as fíu, `worthy'. Kelly (1973: 28, note 11b) reckons that this is an adj. cognate with fíu `worthy', fó `good', and feb `excellence', and translates it as `good', which is how it is translated by Carney, 1964: 74, l. 867, too. It is disyllabic in the poem edited by Carney, but monosyllabic in that edited by Kelly and here. Note that Windisch translates this line as `because of strength, they strive for the worthy Fótla'.

[4] See Note on p. 317.

[5] Windisch: `without the glory of foolishness of deceit\deception'.?

[6] or `states'? Maybe this refers to slánalt, etc.

[7] i.e. not from Munster, as indicated in stanza 1. See also Note on p. 317.

INN EÓL DÚIB IN SENCHAS SEN (F12)

INTRODUCTION

MSS:
LL 150ª48
R 163ª30
23 E 26
24 A 2
H. 4. 1-3 (TCD)

The MS of *LL* is clearly legible.
Most of the Facsimile of *R* is clear.

Previous edition: the poem was edited from *R* with variant readings from *23 E 26* by Ó Donnchadha in *An Leabhar Muimhneach* (1940: 408-411), without any translation.

In the Introduction to the Facsimile edition of *R* B502 (1909: xiii-xiv), K. Meyer has the following comment on this poem:

> "An anonymous poem of twenty-two stanzas enumerating the Christian kings of Cashel from Oengus mac Fraoch (ie. Nadfróich) down to Cormac (mac Carthaig), whose father Tadg died in 1124. The beginning is:
>
> `Do you know the ancient history,
> the name of each king that ruled Cashel?'
>
> There is an imperfect and very corrupt copy of this poem in LL. p. 150a, where it is ascribed to Flann, i.e. Flann Mainistrech, not, as Atkinson thoughtlessly suggests, to Flann mac Lonáin."

It is interesting to note that in *R* this poem is immediately followed by Mide magen and Síl nĀeda Sláine.

The poem in *R* has more stanzas than the poem in *LL*. The last stanza in *LL*

mentions Dondchad, the son of Brían Bórama, who died in 1064; while in *R* the poem ends with the reign of Cormac, who died in 1138. Even down to the reign of Dondchad there is a difference in the number of stanzas contained in the two MSS. There are two stanzas in *R* which are omitted in *LL*, and there is one in *LL* which is omitted in *R*. As connecting alliteration is not always present between stanzas, one can not use this criterion for establishing whether these stanzas were originally an integral part of the poem or not. However, the two extra stanzas in *R* seem to be the logical, chronological continuation of the previous ones (see Byrne, 1973: 278-279), thus I have included them in the main body of the edited text. The *LL* stanza omitted in *R* is the last one in the afore-mentioned MS. As in *R* six extra stanzas were added to the poem bringing the kings up to the reign of Cormac (†1138), it is understandable that the last stanza in *LL* had to be completely rewritten (see my note on ll. 3-4). I believe that the last stanza in *LL* is the original one, so I have included it in the main text.

Note that there is a misprint in the Introduction to *LL*, where this poem is cited as *Inn éol dúib in senchas sin* (1957: xi).

Ó Cuív (1968: 285) questioned Fland's authorship of this poem partly on the grounds that it is longer in *R* than in *LL*, and partly on the grounds that it has the lowest figures among the *debide* poems as far as the metrical analysis is concerned (see Vol. II, p. 103). Concerning authorship, see Conclusion, Vol. II, 189: **5.3**.

ANALYSIS OF THE METRE

Metre: debide scaílte (fota) (7^{x} $7^{x+1 \text{ or } 2}$ 7^{x} $7^{x+1 \text{ or } 2}$).

Stanza structure

$7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}$: 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 11, 15 (7).
$7^{1}7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}$: 2, 17 (2).
$7^{1}7^{3}7^{1}7^{2}$: 8, 12 (2).
$7^{1}7^{2}7^{1}7^{3}$: 10 (1).
$7^{2}7^{3}7^{1}7^{2}$: 14 (1).
$7^{1}7^{3}7^{1}7^{3}$: 16 (1).

Stanzas without *rinn 7 airdrinn* in the first couplet:
$7^{2}7^{2}7^{2}7^{3}$: 6, 13 (2).
$7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}7^{3}$: 9 (1).

My figures for *rinn* (number of couplets with $7^{x}7^{x+1}$ per total number of couplets) are **25/34=74%**. Ó Cuív's are 18/30=60%. My figures will necessary differ from his, as my text contains two stanzas which appear in *R* (and *23 E 26*), but not in *LL* (see the Notes on F12. 45-48 and F12. 53-56, pp. 335). Also, Ó Cuív subtracted the couplets which contain **feib : Eochaid** (F12. 9-10) and **mbarr : Hērend** (F12. 59-60) discussed below, as well as those containing the rhymes **gart : Cormac** (F12. 25-26, 37-38).

End-rhyme

The end-rhyme is not highlighted in spelling in F12. 7-8 (**Gossa : Ōengusa**).
The end-rhyme is deliberately highlighted in spelling in F12. 11-12 (**-closs : Fergos**) (see also Vol. II, p. 5: **1.15**).
Stressed **e** + palatal consonant rhymes with unstressed **i/a** + palatal consonant:
feib : Eochaid (F12. 9-10).
Stressed **a** + non-palatal consonant rhymes with unstressed **e** + non-palatal consonant:
mbarr : Hērend (F12. 59-60).
Stressed **a** + palatal consonant rhymes with unstressed **i** + palatal consonant: **gail : Chasil** (F12. 15-16).
(For a discussion of these rhymes, see Vol. II, pp. 117-118: **2.4**.)

Fidrad freccomail is present in 1+2 (ll. 4-5), 2+3 (ll. 8-9), 4+5 (ll. 16-17), 5+6 (ll. 20-21), 7+8 (ll. 28-29), 8+9 (ll. 32-33), 9+10 (ll. 36-37) (7 cases).
F. f. is present between a stressed and an unstressed syllable in 15+16 (ll. 60-61).
The figures for *f. f.* are **8/16=50%**.

Alliteration is not present in the following lines: F12. 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 32, 38, 40, 43, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 54, 59, 63, 64 (26).
Alliteration is not between the last two stressed words of line *d* in F12. 60. (1)

Note that the only way to get alliteration in F12. 33 is to ignore the otherwise historical lenition in **Fāelad**; or to lenite the initial **f** in **find**, which would not be historical here. On historical and non-historical lenition, see Vol. II, pp. 25-29: **2.29**.
I take **m*a*c** to be unstressed in the construction **X m*a*c Y** (F12. 36, 52, 64, 68).

According to Ó Cuív, the figures for alliteration are 35/60=59%. Again, my figures will necessarily differ from his because of the two extra stanzas in *R* and *23 E 26*. My figures are **41/68=60%** (37/60=62% for *LL*). The difference between my figures and those of Ó Cuív for *LL* can be explained by the different treatment of F12. 33 and 36 (see the remarks above). Concerning **m*a*c** in the construction **X m*a*c Y**, see also the section on Internal Rhyme.

Internal rhyme
As this poem is basically an enumeration of the names of kings, the poet did not have too much scope for playing with language. In the first couplet, **Amalgaid** seems to rhyme with **nAmalgaid** in F12. 13-14, and there is imperfect rhyme between **glaccas** and **catlas** in F12. 65-66.

Second couplet (4/17=24%):

glondchar : Dondchad (F12. 3-4 *LL*)
indled : Fingen (F12. 15-16)
écāir : Gēcāin (F12. 39-40)
comthach : Dondchad (F12. 67-68)

There seems to be rhyme between **Coirp*re*** and **Corp*riu*** in F12. 15-16. However, as the figures for rhyme in this poem are so low, I do not think that this is intended here. (See also Vol. II, p. 121: **2.6**.)
A consonant from group **x** (**C^{h}**) rhymes with a consonant from group **l** (**C^{v}**) (Murphy,

1961: 33) in F12. 3-4 *LL*.

Proportion of rhyming words per stressed words in *d* (not counting the last word, which rhymes with the final of *c*): **4/29=14%** (according to my calculations); 4/28=14% (according to Ó Cuív). Note that I took **mac** to be unstressed in the construction **X mac Y** in F12. 36, 52, 64, 68, and probably this is why the number of stressed words counted for *LL* by Ó Cuív and by me is not the same (concerning **mac** in this construction, see also the section on Alliteration).

Analysis of rhyming consonant clusters (using Ó Cuív's classification--1966: 94-103; 1987: 109; see also SMF, Vol. II, pp. 111-112: **2**):

1. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain P + C/L (rules 1 and 2): C^vP^v--L^vP^v
garg : imard (F12. 13-14)

2. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C or L (rule 2):
C^vL^v--C^vC^v; L^vC^v--C^vC^v
calma : Mathgamna (F12. 53-54) **indled : Fingen** (F12. 15-16)

3. The rhyming consonant clusters both contain C/L + ^{h} (rules 2 and 3): L^vC^h--L^vC^h
glondchar : Dondchad (F12. 3-4 *LL*) **comthach : Dondchad** (F12. 67-68)

4. One consonant corresponds to two consonants
The added consonant belongs to class **L** (L^v): L^vP^h--P^h
gart : Cormac (F12. 25-26, 37-38)

Elision

a) Unstressed short vowel preceded by another vowel: three examples. In all of these cases elision is required by the metre (F12. 25, 37--**soilsi\soillsi a gart**--note that *R* does not have the **a**--see Note on p. 334; F12. 35). (3/3=100%)

b) Unstressed short vowel + unstressed long vowel: six examples. In five cases elision is required by the metre (F12. 9, 15, 22, 34, 35). In one case the metre does not require elision (F12. 18). (5/6=83%)

c) Unstressed long vowel + unstressed long vowel: one example. The metre requires elision here (F12. 27). (1/1=100%)

d) Dropping of the initial vowel of an unstressed word

I. After consonants: there is no dropping in F12. 32.

II. After vowels: there is dropping in F12. 62.

e) **do\de + V; do\de + f:**

The vowel of the preposition is elided: F12. 47, 67.

Dúnad

The poem begins with the word **inn** (unstressed) and ends with the word **Bóruimi**, so only the first and last sound of the poem are identical. See Vol. II, p. 129: **5.3**.

TEXT

Inn eól dúib in senchas sen
ainm ce*ch*[1] rīg ro gab Chasel[2]
ō chreitim glondchar in gnīm[3]
co Dondchad m*ac* in ardríg[4].

Ōengus m*ac* Fraīch[5] fodlad[6] brait
is é ro chreit[7] do P*ā*tric[8]
Feidilmid[9] i mMaig[10] Gossa[11]
ro gab[12] i ndīaid Ōengusa[13].

Eochu īar Feidilmid[14] co feib
ocus Crimthand īar nEochaid
Fergus īar Crimth*and* ro-closs
ocus Garbān[15] īar Fergos.

Amalgaid īar nGarbān[16] garg

---

[1] ca*ch R*

[2] Caissel *R*

[3] ōn chreitim nār t[h]aissich tair *R*--spiritus asper *over the* t?

[4] co Corm*ac* Caissil chētaich *R*

[5] m*ac* Nad Fraīch *LL;* Fr*ae*och ? *R*

[6] fodla *R*

[7] ro c*re*it *R*

[8] do Phātr*a*ic *R*

[9] Feideilmid *R*

[10] immed *R*

[11] *missing in LL*

[12] ro ngab *R*

[13] Ōengosa *R*

[14] Feideilmid *R*

[15] Gabrān *R*

[16] nGabrān *R;* n *is added above the* g *in LL.*

Āed īar nAmalgaid imard[1]
Coirp*re*[2] īar nĀed no indled gail
Fingen[3] īar Corp*riu* Chasil[4].

Cathal īar Fingin fúaim[5] nglan
ocus Fāilbe īar Cathal
Cūān īar Fālbe co Fál
ocus Mōenach[6] īar Cūān.

Cū cen M*āthai*r īar Mōenach
Colgu[7] īar sein[8] Dondchad *cra*ībach[9]
Finguine[10] sūairc[11] a baile
Etarscēl īar Finguine.

Corm*a*c īar sin soilsi a gart[12]
ocus Cathal īar Corm*a*c[13]

Artrí[14] īar Cathal[15] cāem a chlí[16]

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[1] imardd *R*

[2] Ca*irpre R*

[3] Fingin *R*

[4] īar Cai[r]p*re* Caissil *R*

[5] fūam *R*

[6] Moínach *R*

[7] Colgco *R*

[8] sin *R*

[9] crechach *LL*

[10] Finguini *R*

[11] ba sūairc *LL*

[12] soillsi gart *R*

[13] Cormacc *R*

[14] Arttrī *R*

[15] Cathul *R*

[16] cāem chlī *R*

is Ōlchobor[1] īar nArtrí[2].

Ōlchob*or*[3] īar sin sūairc (in) mod
Ālgenān īar nŌlchobor
Māel Fathartaig[4] fodlad graig
Cend Fāelad ina degaid.

Dūnchad īar Cind Fāelad find
Dub Lachtna īar sin sūairc in mind
Finguine īar sin suilsi[5] a grād[6]
cu[7] Corm*a*c m*a*c Culennān.

Corm*a*c īar sin soillsi a[8] gart
is Flaithb*er*tach[9] īar Corm*a*c[10]
cíarb écāir[11] a ainm immach
Cend Gēcāin[12] īar Flaithb*er*tac*h*[13].

Lorcān[14] īar Cind Gēcāin glan
ro gab murigecht Muman

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[1] Ōlchobur *R*

[2] nArttrī *R*

[3] Ōlchobur *R*

[4] Fathardaig *R*

[5] soillsi *R*

[6] *superscript* i *over the* a?

[7] co *R*

[8] a *omitted in R*

[9] Feidlimid *LL*

[10] Cormacc *R*

[11] cīarb ēcāir *R (written together)*

[12] Gegcāin *R* (Gēicāin?)

[13] Corm*a*c *LL*

[14] Lorccān *R*

maith in fer ros gab īar sin
Cellachān cendfind Casil.

[1]Māel Fathardaig fadlad cáin
ro gab dar éis Cellachāin
d'ēis Māel Fathardaig na ndremm
dīan ro gab Dub Dā Ba*ir*enn.

Do-chōid[2] Fer Gráid m*ac* Clērig[3]
i rrīge[4] Casil chēmnig[5]
ocus ros gab[6] ar écin
Mathgamain m*ac* Cendétig[7].

[8]Māel Mūad mac B*ra*in ba calma
ro gab dar ēis M*a*thgamna
co toracht Brīan Bernuis bāin
ro gab Caissel in chētāig.

Ro innsaig Brīan Banba mbind
ar ríge Chasil chendfind[9]
ocus is é[10] thall a mbarr
do chōic cōicedaib Hērend.

---

[1] *This stanza is omitted in LL.*

[2] do-chūaid *R*

[3] in clēirech *R*

[4] i rrīgi *R*

[5] cēimnech *R*

[6] ro gab *R*

[7] Ceinnēitig *R*

[8] *This stanza is omitted in LL.*

[9] a rīge Caissil cennfind *R*

[10] hē *R*

Īar tesbaid Brīain cosin mblad[1]
baí Mumu 'na mórchosnam[2]
coro rígad and īar sain[3]
Dūngal m*ac* Māel Fot[h]artaig[4].

65 [5]Ros gab gilla glaccas slúag
catlas i Casiul chlethrūad
rop comthach d'Hērind uili[6]
Dondchad m*ac* Brīain Bóruimi. IN.

---

[1] cosin blaid *R*

[2] bǣ Mumu 'na mōrchossair *R*

[3] coro rīgsat tall īar tain *R*

[4] Fathardaig *R*

[5] *Six stanzas follow here in R (and in 23 E 26)--see Ó Donnchadha, 1940: 411. The 5th one seems to have been modelled on ll. 65-68 in my text (from LL):*

Ro ngab gilla glaccas *gra*ig
catlas i Caisiul chabsai[d]
rop cenn f*or* hĒrind huile
Corm*a*c Caissil cúlbuidi.

[6] uili *is added above the line.*

NOTES

All references are to Ó Donnchadha (1940: 408-411). There are some misprints in his edition (based on *R*), and these are listed below:
F12. 1: Read sench*as* for sench*ad*; F12. 4: read Caissil for Caisil; F12. 9: read Feideilmid for Feidilmid; F12. 14: read i*m*a*r*dd for i*n*a*r*dd; F12. 33: read Fāelad for Fāelad; F12. 42: read muirigecht for muīrigecht; F12. 47: read Fatha*r*daig for Fatha*r*daigh: F12. 50: read cēimnech for cēimneach; F12. 55: read Bernuis for bernuis (see Hogan, 1910: 112); F12. 60: read cōicedaib for cōcedaib.

F12. 3-4. These two lines are substantially different in *LL* and *R*: *LL* has ō chreitim glondchar in gnīm \ co Dondchad m*a*c in ardríg; while *R* reads ōn chreitim nār t[h]aissich tair \ co Corm*a*c Caissil chētaich. The reason for this is that the *LL* version enumerates the kings of Cashel only to Dondchad mac Bríain Bórama, who died in 1064 (*AU*), thus outliving Flann by 8 years. The six extra stanzas in *R*, enumerating the kings of Cashel down to Cormac, whose father Tadg died in 1124, were added on by somebody else, who had to change not only the last line of the first stanza, but the third line too, in order to get end-rhyme and internal rhyme in the couplet. *23 E 26* agrees with *R*. Note that ll. 81-83 in *R* (the last but one stanza in Ó Donnchadha's edition) seem to be a reworking of the last stanza in *LL*.

F12. 5. There is an extra syllable in this line in *LL*. I believe that we should follow *R* and omit Nad from the name Ōengus m*a*c Nad Fraīch. Note that *23 E 26* agrees with *LL* here, and Byrne, 1973: 293 also refers to this king in the same way. However, I can see no other way of emending this line.
The *R* version fodla brait (`of the distribution of a goad'?), does not seem to make any sense. The word cannot be the gen. sg. of bratt, *cloak*, as the final [t] would not rhyme with the [g] of Pā*t*ric. The omission of the second d in fodla is probably a scribal error. *LL* has fodlad, which makes sense (imper. ind. sg. 3 of fo-dáli, `distributes').

F12. 7. There are two syllables missing here in *LL*. Based on *R*, the editors of *LL* suggest that we supply Gossa after i mMaig, and I have accepted this suggestion. See also Hogan, 1910: 521.

F12. 10. Here the scribe in both MSS must have mixed up Echu and Echuid (this seems more likely than the confusion of final lenited, palatal d and g--*SNG*: 234: 3.18 --, of which I have only 2 certain examples in this text--see Vol. II, p. 22: **2.14**). Note that in *R* ocus is almost always abbreviated as et.

F12. 12. Garbán (*LL*) is the correct name here and in the next line (Byrne, 1973: 293).

F12. 16. Note that the short i in Fingen is fixed by rhyme. (Byrne, 1973: 292 has Fíngen).

F12. 19-20. In order to get the correct number of syllables, we should read Cūān as a disyllable in both cases.

F12. 21-22. The end-rhyme Mōenach : *craī*bach as opposed to *LL* Mōenach : crechach shows that it is *R* which has the correct reading here. *23 E 26* agrees with *R*.

F12. 23. There is an extra syllable in this line in *LL*. Based on *R*, the editors suggest that we omit ba. This solution is also supported by the reading of *23 E 26*.

F12. 25. *R* omits a. This does not change the syllable count, but the meaning of the phrase will be somewhat different (`generosity is brightest\brighter' instead of `brightest is his generosity'). *23 E 26* agrees with *R* here. The same thing occurs in F12. 37.

F12. 27. On elision in this line, see p. 326: **c**.
The ommission of the a in *R* from cāem a chlí is definitely a scribal error, as the lenition in chlī shows. *23 E 26* agrees with *LL* here.

F12. 29. There is an extra syllable in this line in both *LL* and *R*. Omit in? *23 E 26* gives no help here, as its reading agrees with that of the other two MSS.

F12. 37. See the Note on F12. 25 above.

F12. 38. Based on *R*, the editors of *LL* suggest that we read Flaithbertach for Feidlimid. *23 E 26* agrees with *R*. See also the Note on F12. 40 below.

F12. 40. There is one syllable missing in this line in *LL*. Read Flaithbertach (*R* and *23 E 26*) instead of Cormac. Cormac is the last word in F12. 38, so probably this is why the *LL* scribe made the mistake of writing it down again. The end-rhyme only works with Flaithbertach (:immach). See also the Note on F12. 38 above.

F12. 45-48. This quatrain is omitted in *LL*. *23 E 26* agrees with *R* here.

F12. 49-50. As far as end-rhyme is concerned, *23 E 26* agrees with *LL* here, and they both have mac Clērig (:chēmnig). Note that the king list in Byrne, 1973: 292 supports the reading of these two MSS; *R* has in clēirech (:cēimnech).

F12. 53-56. This quatrain is omitted in *LL*. *23 E 26* agrees with *R* here.

F12. 58. *R* and *23 E 26* have a for *LL* ar. This is either a scribal slip, or the preposition a (`out of, from'), and then this couplet would mean `Brian approached sweet Banba / from the kingship of bright-headed Cashel'. It is very unlikely that a stands for i here (at least in *R*), as I have no other example of a used for i in these texts, neither from *LL*, nor from *R*. Note that *LL* ar could stand either for īar or for for. I have one example of ar used for íar (F9. 13), and four of ar used for for (see Vol. II, p. 68: **9.7**, and 71: **9.15**).

F12. 65-68. This quatrain is omitted in *R*; however, ll. 81-84 in *R* seem to be a reworking of this stanza. See also the Footnotes on p. 338.

F12. 68. The *LL* scribe has the following gloss on Bóruimi: ł barrbuidi, `yellow-haired'.

TRANSLATION

Do you know the old, ancient history
the name of every king who ruled Cashel
from the coming of the faith--valiant is the deed--,
to Dondchad, the son of the high-king.

Óengus, the son of Fróech, who used to distribute spoil[s]
it is he who gave allegiance to Patrick;
it was Feidilmid in Mag Gossa
who took possession [of it] after Óengus.

Echu after Feidilmid with excellence,
and Crimthand after Echuid[1];
Fergus after Crimthand--it was heard--,
and Garbán after Fergus.

Amalgaid after fierce Garbán,
Áed after very noble Amalgaid;
Cairpre after Áed who used to exercise valour,
Fingin after Cairpre of Cashel.

Cathal after Fingen--a clear sound--,
and Fáilbe after Cathal;
Cúán after Fáilbe, as far as Fál?[2],
and Móenach after Cúán.

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[1] See Note on p. 334.

[2] *DIL* cites this line under 5 fál. It says that the expression co Fál `as far as Fál' was used in connection with Irish kings to imply that they were high-kings of Ireland. They have the following explanation on our example: "after Failbe, k. of Munster, reigned Cuan, who was also high-king". However, Cúán is not listed among the high-kings of Ireland in Byrne, 1973: 275-276. I believe that there are several possibilities here: the poet is either mistaken or wants to exaggerate; or this could also be 1 fál, `fence, hedge, enclosure' (`protection' in a metaphorical sense?) or 4 fál, `science, learning' (although this word is a badly attested one). If we accept *DIL*'s translation, then the preposition is co, `to, as far as', and in the other cases co, `with' (`with protection'; `with learning'--although this last one is quite unlikely in my opinion).

Cú cen Máthair after Móenach,
Colgu after that, tress-haired? Dondchad;
Finguine--pleasant was his dwelling-place--,
Etarscél after Finguine.

Cormac after that--brightest is his generosity--,
and Cathal after Cormac;
Artrí after Cathal--dear was his authority?--,
and Ólchobor after Artrí.

Ólchobor after that--a pleasant way?--,
Áilgenán after Ólchobor;
Máel Fathartaig who used to distribute horses,
Cend Fáelad after him.

Dúnchad after fair Cenn Fáelad,
Dub Lachtnae after that--pleasant is the crown--;
Finguine after that--brightest is his rank--,
to Cormac, the son of Cuilennán.

Cormac after that--brightest is his generosity--,
and Flaithbertach after Cormac;
although his name was utterly improper
Cend Gécáin after Flaithbertach.

It was Lorcán after bright Cenn Gécáin
who took into possession the lordship of Munster;
good is the man who got it after that:
fair-headed Cellachán of Cashel.

It was Máel Fathardaig, who used to distribute tribute,
who took possession [of it] after Cellachán;
after Máel Fathardaig of the companies
Dub Dá Bairenn took it swiftly.

Fer Gráid, the son of Cléirech went
into the kingship of noble Cashel;
and Mathgamain, the son of Cendétig
seized it by force.

It was Máel Múad, the son of Bran who was valiant,
who took possession [of it] after Mathgamain;
until Brían from bright Bernas appeared
who took Cashel of the great contention[1].

Brían attacked sweet Banba
after (gaining) the kingship of bright-headed Cashel[2];
and it is he who took away their supremacy[3]
of the five provinces of Ireland.

After the death of Brían with fame
Munster was the object of great contention;
until there, after that was made king
Dúngal, the son of Máel Fothartaig.

A youth who controls?[4] an army took it
who sleeps[5] in Cashel of mighty warriors;
may he be a friend to the whole of Ireland:
Donchad, the son of Brían Bóruimi.

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[1] For cét- as an intensive prefix, see O'Rahilly, 1977: 191-193.

[2] See Note on p. 335.

[3] *ocus* is é thall a mbarr--this line is cited in *DIL* from *R* under 1 barr h) `supremacy, preeminence' with the translation `deprived of their supremacy'.

[4] ros gab gilla glaccas slúag--this line is cited in *DIL* under glacaid, `seizes'; gilla glaccas *graig* is cited from one of the additional stanzas of this poem in *R*, and is accompanied with the following translation: "*who handles? (controls?)*". *DIL* also notes that this verb is "of rare occurrence till late Mid. and early Mod. Ir." However, apart from this example, I have ro glacc in F6. 58 *LL* and F10. 97; and nāro thrēnglacc in F6. 135.

[5] catlas--the *R* version, catlas i Caisiul chabsai[d], from one of the additional stanzas, is cited in *DIL* under con-tuili, `sleeps', with a question-mark. I believe that con-tuili makes good sense here.