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POEMS ON THE UÍ DHOMHNAILL
(*circa* 1641)

Ph. D. THESIS

EOIN MAC CÁRTHAIGH

SCOIL NA GAEILGE

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN

OCTOBER 1994

VOLUME I (OF TWO VOLUMES)

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SUMMARY

The concern of this thesis is to produce an edited, translated and annotated text of a set of fifteen poems composed in the mid-seventeenth century in praise of members of the *Ó Domhnaill* dynasty of Donegal. The main source used is *Duanaire Uí Dhomhnaill* ('The Poem Book of the O'Donnells'), a National Library manuscript which was written in the early eighteenth century.

Most of the poems conform both metrically and linguistically to the standards of Classical Irish, a literary dialect which emerged in the twelfth century. The strict rules of this language make it possible, for the most part, to restore the poems to the form in which they were composed before corrupt manuscript transmission took its toll on them.

The edited text of the poems is accompanied in each instance by a parallel reproduction, in Roman orthography, of the version of the composition found in the main manuscript consulted and by a translation. Where more than one manuscript has been consulted, readings from these other sources are also given.

A line-by-line commentary explains any emendations made in the edited text, glosses the translations, identifies significant persons and places referred to in the poems, gives examples (where available) from other sources of idiomatic expressions employed by the poets and draws attention to unusual usages - morphological, semantic, grammatical or syntactic - appearing in the text.

An introductory section deals with (i) references, in other primary sources, to the subjects of these poems and other significant members of the *Ó Domhnaill* dynasty in the period following the Ulster plantation; (ii) identification of the poets; (iii) manuscripts consulted; (iv) the choice of poems, the ordering of poems in the text and previous editions made of four of the poems; (v) the approach taken to editing; (vi) initial mutation; (vii) the use of declensional cases; (viii) other issues of language and metre.

Persons and places mentioned in the text are fully indexed; a glossarial index to the textual commentary is also included.

I ndilchuimhne ar

mo dheirfiúr ionúin

Áine Nic Cárthaigh

(d'éag 26 Lúnasa 1991)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the following people for the help they gave me to complete this thesis:

The trustees and staff of the National Library of Ireland, the Council and staff of the Royal Irish Academy, the Library of Trinity College Dublin.

The Dean of Graduate Studies and the staff of the Graduate Studies office.

Trinity College Dublin, which funded my research.

Prof. Cathal Ó Háinle, Prof. Liam Breatnach, Ms. Máire Ní Bháin, Rev. Terence McCaughey, Mrs. Anne Battersby, Dr. Katherine Simms, Seán Ó Foghlú, Donncha Ó Céileachair, Dóra Pődör, Seán Cooke, Dónal Browne.

My parents, brothers and sisters; Bernie and May McCarthy.

And, most especially, Mary Hassett.

I am particularly indebted to my supervisor, Dr. Damian McManus, not only for the long hours he spent reading this thesis in draft form and discussing it with me, but also for the encouragement and moral support he has always given me.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations followed here by an asterisk are used only in direct quotations from *DIL*; these works have not been consulted directly and they do not appear in the bibliography of this thesis; bibliographical information given on them here is taken from *DIL*, pp. vii - viii. Complete bibliographical information on all other works mentioned below will be found in the bibliography.

AC = *Annála Connacht* (Freeman)

Acall.* = *Acallam na senórach* (Stokes, *Irische Texte* iv, 1900)

AFM = *Annals of the Four Masters* (O'Donovan)

AiDD = *Aithdioghluim Dána* (McKenna)

ALC = *The Annals of Loch Cé* (Hennessy)

Anal. Hib. = *Analecta Hibernica*

Anecd.* = *Anecdota from Irish manuscripts* (Bergin, Best, Meyer, O'Keefe, 1907-13)

AOD = *Dánta do chum Aonghus Ó Dálaigh* (McKenna)

Apalóga = *Apalóga na bhFilí: 1200-1650* (Ó Caithnia)

Aph. = *An Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction* (Gilbert)

Archiv. Hib. = *Archivium Hibernicum*

AU = *The Annals of Ulster* (Hennessy)

BAR = *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill* (Walsh)

BB* = facsimile of *Book of Ballymote* (Atkinson, 1887)

BCC* = *Betha Colaim Chille* (O'Kelleher and Schoepperle, 1918)

An Bheatha Dhiadha = *An Bheatha Dhiadha: nó An tSlighe Ríoghdha* (Ó Fachtna)

BNnÉ* = *Bethada náem nÉrenn* (Plummer, 1922)

BS&D = *Books of Survey and Distribution* (Simington)

BST = *Bardic Syntactical Tracts* (McKenna)

Buaidh = *Buaidh na Naomhchroiche* (Ó Súilleabháin)

Butler = *Poems on the Butlers* (Carney)

C.Cath* = *In cath catharda* (Stokes, *Irische Texte* iv)

Caithr. Thoir.* = *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh* (O'Grady, *ITS* xxvi, xxvii, 1929)

Carolan = *Amhráin Chearbhalláin* (Ó Máille)

CF* = *Cath Finntrága* (Meyer, 1885)

Cín Lae = *Cín Lae Ó Mealláin* (Ó Donnchadha)

Civil Survey = *The Civil Survey A. D. 1654-1656* (Simington)

CML = *Cath Maighe Léna* (Jackson)

Corp. Astron.* = *An Irish corpus astronomiae* (O'Connell and Henry, 1915)

CPR Jas. I = *Calendar of Patent Rolls of James I*

CSPI = *Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland*

Dán Dé = *Dán Dé: The Poems of Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh* (McKenna)

Dán na mBr. = *Dán na mBráthar Mionúr* (Mhág Craith)

Dánfhocail = *Dánfhocail* (T. O'Rahilly)

Dánta Grádha = *Dánta Grádha* (T. O'Rahilly)

DER = *Duanta Eoghain Ruaidh Mhic an Bhaird* (Ó Raghallaigh)

Desid. = *Desiderius / Sgáthán an Chrábhaidh* (T. O'Rahilly)

DiD = *Dioghluim Dána* (McKenna)

DIL = *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (*RIA*) (Quin)

Dineen = *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla* (Dinneen)

Duan. = *Duanaireacht* (Ní Dhomhnaill)

Duan. F.* = *Duanaire Finn* (MacNeill and Murphy, *ITS* vii, xxviii, xliii, 1908, 1933, 1954)

Dwelly = *The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary* (Dwelly)

E. O'Rahilly* = *Dánta Aodhagáin uí Rathaille* (Dinneen, *ITS* iii, 1900, 2nd ed., Dinneen and O'Donoghue, 1911)

Eg. = *Egerton* MS. collection (British Library)

Eg. Gl.* = Glossary in Brit. Libr. Egerton MS. 158 (Stokes, *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie* iii, 1907)

Feis TC* = *Feis tighe Chonáin* (Joynt, Medieval and Modern Irish Series vii, 1936)

Fél.* = *Félire Oengusso Céli Dé* (Stokes, Henry Bradshaw Society xxix, 1905)

Fianaig.* = *Fianaigecht* (Meyer, Todd Lecture Series xvi, 1910)

Fiants = "Fiants of Elizabeth", *Report of Deputy Keeper of Public Records Ireland*

Filí & Fil. Chonn. = *Filí? agus Filidhea?cht Chonnacht* (T. Ó Raghallaigh)

5 17th c. Pol. Poems = *Five Seventeenth-Century Political Poems* (C. O'Rahilly)

Fl. Earls = *The Flight of the Earls: by Tadhg Ó Cianáin* (Walsh)

Flower, *Cat.* = *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. ii (Flower)

Gadelica* = *Gadelica* (a journal of modern Irish), vol. 1, 1912

GB = *The Poems of Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe* (Williams)

Genealogiae = *Genealogiae Regum et Sanctorum Hiberniae by the Four Masters* (Walsh)

GJ = *The Gaelic Journal / Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge*

Gleanings = *Gleanings from Irish Manuscripts* (Walsh)

Gram. na mBr. = *Graiméir Ghaeilge na mBráthar Mionúr* (Mac Aogáin)

Hill, *Plantation* = *An Historical Account of the Plantation of Ulster ... 1608-1620*

IBP = *Irish Bardic Poetry* (Bergin)

IF = *Iomarbhágh na bhFileadh: The Contention of the Bards* (McKenna)

IGT = *Irish Grammatical Tracts* (Bergin)

***IGT* i** = *Irish Grammatical Tracts* (Bergin), introductory tract.

***IGT* ii** = *Irish Grammatical Tracts* (Bergin), tract on declension of nouns.

***IGT* iii** = *Irish Grammatical Tracts* (Bergin), tract on conjugation of verbs.

***IGT* iv** = *Irish Grammatical Tracts* (Bergin), tract on abstract nouns.

***IGT* v** = *Irish Grammatical Tracts* (Bergin), tract on metrical faults.

Inquisition = *Inquisitionum in Officio Rotulorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Asservatarum Repertorium*, vol. II: *Ultoniae*

ISP = *Irish Syllabic Poetry 1200-1600* (Knott)

IT = *Irish Texts*

ITS = Irish Texts Society

Keat. = *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (Comyn & Dinneen)

Laws* = *Ancient laws of Ireland* (O'Donovan, O'Curry, O'Mahony, Hennessy, Atkinson, etc., 1865-1901)

LBran = *Leabhar Branach: The Book of the O'Byrnes* (Mac Airt)

LClAB = *Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe* (Ó Donnchadha)

LClS = *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne* (Walsh)

Lec.* = facsimile of *Book of Lecan* (Mulchrone, Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1937)

Lorg. = *Lorgaireacht an tShoithigh Naomhtha* (Falconer)

LU* = facsimile of *Lebor na hUidre*, 1870; printed edition, Best and Bergin, 1929

Lucerna = *Lucerna Fidelium* (Ó Súilleabháin)

Mac Aingil = *Scáthán Shacramuinte na hAithridhe* (Ó Maonaigh)

MacCarthy* = *The Codex Palatino-Vaticanus, No. 830* (MacCarthy, Todd Lecture Series iii, 1892)

Magauran = *The Book of Magauran: Leabhar Méig Shamhradháin* (McKenna)

Maguire = *Duanaire Mhéig Uidhir* (Greene)

Marcher = *Poems on the Marcher Lords* (O'Sullivan)

Marco Polo* = *Gaelic abridgment of the book of Ser Marco Polo* (Stokes, *ZCP* i, ii, 1897-8)

McKenna "Infixed Pronouns" = "Infixed pronouns in bardic poetry" (McKenna)

McKenna "Initials" = "Initial eclipsis and lenition etc" (McKenna)

McM = McManus, chapter 4 of *Stair na Gaeilge* (McCone)

MD = *Measgra Dánta* (T. O'Rahilly)

Met. Dind.* = *Metrical dindsenchas* (Gwynn, Todd Lecture Series viii-xii, 1903-35)

"Mioneolas" = "Mioneolas meadarachta" (Ní Dhomhnaill)

Misc. Celt. Soc.* = *Miscellany of the Celtic Society* (O'Donovan, 1849 [1851])

Ml.* = *Glosses on the Commentary on the Psalms, Milan* (*Thes.* i).

MR* = *Banquet of Dun na nGedh and the battle of Magh Rath* (O'Donovan, Irish Archaeological Society, 1842)

MS. Mat. = *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* (O'Curry)

NLI = National Library of Ireland

Nua-Dh. = *Nua-Dhuanaire* (De Brún)

Ó Bruad. = *Duanaire Dháibhidh Uí Bhruadair* (MacErlean)

O'C.* = O'Curry's law transcripts in RIA

Ó Cuív (1983) = *The linguistic training of the mediaeval Irish poet* (Ó Cuív)

O'D. = Charles Joseph O'Donnell's account [NLI Microfilm]

Ó Dónaill = *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* (Ó Dónaill)

O'Gr. *Cat.* = *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. i (O'Grady)

O'Hara = *The Book of O'Hara* (McKenna)

Ó Macháin (1991) = "The Early Modern Irish prosodic tracts ..." (Ó Macháin)

Onom. = *Onomasticon Goedelicum* (Hogan)

O'Reilly Poems = *Poems on the O'Reillys* (Carney)

Ó Siadhail (1991) = *Modern Irish* (Ó Siadhail)

Oss.* = *Ossianic Society Transactions* (1854-60)

Párl. na mBan = *Párliament na mBan* (Ó Cuív)

Parrthas = *Parrthas an Anma* (Ó Fachtna)

PB = *The Poems of Pilib Bocht Ó hUiginn* (McKenna)

PBOD = "A poem book of the O'Donnells" (Ó Cléirigh, *Éigse* 1).

PCT = *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis* (Williams)

PH* = *Passions and homilies from the Leabhar Breac* (Atkinson, Todd Lecture Series ii, 1887)

POD = *Poems on the O'Donnells (1200-1600)* (Fraser)

PRIA = *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*

Rawl.* = facsimile of Bodleian MS. *Rawlinson* B 502 (Meyer, 1909)

RC* = *Revue Celtique*, 1870-1964

RIA = Royal Irish Academy

ScM.²* = *Scéla mucce Meic Dathó* (Thurneysen, Medieval and Modern Irish Series vi, 1935)

SGS = *Scottish Gaelic Studies*

Sitzb.* = *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1882-)

1659 Census = *Census of Ireland 1659* (Pender)

Smaointe = *Smaointe Beatha Chríost* (Ó Maonaigh)

Stories from Keating = *Stories from Keating's History of Ireland* (Bergin)

T.Tebe* = *Togail na Tebe. The Thebaid of Statius* (Calder, 1922)

TD = *The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn* (Knott)

Teagasc = *An Teagasc Críosdaidhe* (Mac Raghnaill)

Thurneysen = *A Grammar of Old Irish* (Thurneysen)

Todd. Lect.* = Todd Lecture Series (RIA 1889-)

Top. Poems = *Topographical Poems* (Carney)

Transplantation = *The Transplantation to Connacht 1654-1658* (Simington)

Trí Bior-Ghaoithe = *Trí Bior-Ghaoithe an Bháis: The Three Shafts of Death* (Bergin)

Walsh, "Learned Family" = "The Learned family of Ó Maelconaire" (Walsh)

ZCP = *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*

PREFACE

The text presented in this thesis consists of a collection of fifteen poems on members of the *Ó Domhnaill* dynasty around the year 1641. In some cases, these poems provide the only record of their subjects; in the remainder, they add significantly to what is known of the fortunes of the dynasty after the Ulster plantation of 1608-13. It is hoped that the poetry edited here will be of use to students of the history of seventeenth century Ireland and that it will help to redress the imbalance in primary sources available for this period, in which an abundance of Dublin / London administrative documents contrasts sharply with a distinct lack of material written from an Irish, and especially Gaelic Irish, viewpoint. Thus, while the main focus of this thesis is obviously on the language and metre of the poems, the aim of making them accessible to historical researchers, including those who have little or no knowledge of the Irish language or of the complexities of classical poetry, has been a consideration throughout.

The thesis is divided into four parts:

1. The first of these, the introduction, deals with the following subjects in this order: (i) References, in other primary sources, to the subjects of these poems and to other significant members of the *Ó Domhnaill* dynasty in the period following the Ulster plantation; a genealogical chart of the dynasty is followed by an itemised discussion of the persons appearing in it. (ii) Any information on the poets which is available to this writer from other sources. (iii) A list of the manuscripts consulted with a brief discussion of each. (iv) The principles followed in the choice of poems for inclusion in, or exclusion from, the text. (v) The ordering of poems in the text. (vi) A discussion of previous editions made of poems 5, 6, 7, 12. (vii) The approach taken to editing. (viii) A discussion of initial mutation and of the editorial principles employed in this regard in the edited text. (ix) The use of declensional cases in the text, i. e. nominative replacing accusative, (non-)inflexion in the vocative etc. (x) Other issues of language and metre; since, for the most part, the poems conform both metrically

and linguistically to the practices of classical poetry, this is confined largely to unusual or non-classical forms and usages.

2. The second part of this thesis is made up of (i) the poems themselves, (ii) variant readings from other manuscripts and (iii) a line-by-line textual commentary.

3. The third part consists of indexes to the text; these are: (i) a glossarial index to the notes, (ii) an index of personal names, (iii) an index of place and population names, (iv) an index of poets and (v) an index of first lines of poems.

4. The fourth, and concluding, part contains the bibliography.

Any attempt to edit classical poetry presents the researcher with considerable difficulties; these range from the relatively straightforward, such as what principles are to be followed in regard to such issues as initial mutation, to the more substantive, such as how a particular poem is to be interpreted - especially in the absence of precise knowledge of the historical circumstances in which it was composed. The poems edited here are no exception to this.

This thesis is presented as a contribution to discussion and debate and, it is to be hoped, to a greater understanding of the particular poems involved and of the wider field of classical poetry itself.

My approach has been to highlight all difficulties of which I am aware, pointing these out clearly to the reader; it is felt that the very act of identifying such difficulties is a worthwhile contribution in itself.

Notwithstanding the valuable advice I have received from others while editing these poems - most notably from Dr. McManus - some misinterpretations, ambiguities, inconsistencies and errors must, undoubtedly, remain; while I have made every effort to keep these to a minimum, I am pleased to take responsibility for them.

PART 1:

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1: THE *UÍ DHOMHNAILL*, 1608-55.

This chapter begins with a genealogical chart of the *Uí Dhomhnaill* from *Niall Garbh*, who died in 1439, to *Aodh* "of Larkfield", who died in 1754 and for whom *PBOD* (the MS. from which most of the poems edited in this thesis are taken) was compiled.

All names in this genealogical chart are followed by a number in round brackets. These numbers are used throughout the thesis to identify members of the dynasty without having to have recourse to long genealogies every time an *Ó Domhnaill* is mentioned. The first one or two digits (1 to 10) of these identification numbers tell the reader which generation in the genealogical chart a particular *Ó Domhnaill* belongs to; thus, *Cathbharr* (501) belongs to the fifth generation, whereas *An Calbhach* (901) belongs to the ninth generation and *Aodh* (1001) to the tenth. The last digit identifies members of the dynasty within generations; thus, *Maghnas* (801), who was the son of *Conn Óg* (702), is to be distinguished from *Maghnas* (804), who was the son of *Niall Garbh* (705). Ordering within generations is arbitrary and pays no attention to such considerations as the date of a person's birth, which information is not usually available.

The genealogical chart is followed by an itemised discussion of the persons appearing in it. This discussion is not intended to be a historical essay; rather, in keeping with the hope that the poems edited below will be of use as a historical source, it aims to bring together in one place all references (of which this writer is aware) in other primary sources to the persons enumerated in the genealogical chart. In this way, it is hoped that the researcher will find, in this thesis, as complete a picture of the *Uí Dhomhnaill* of the period as is possible.

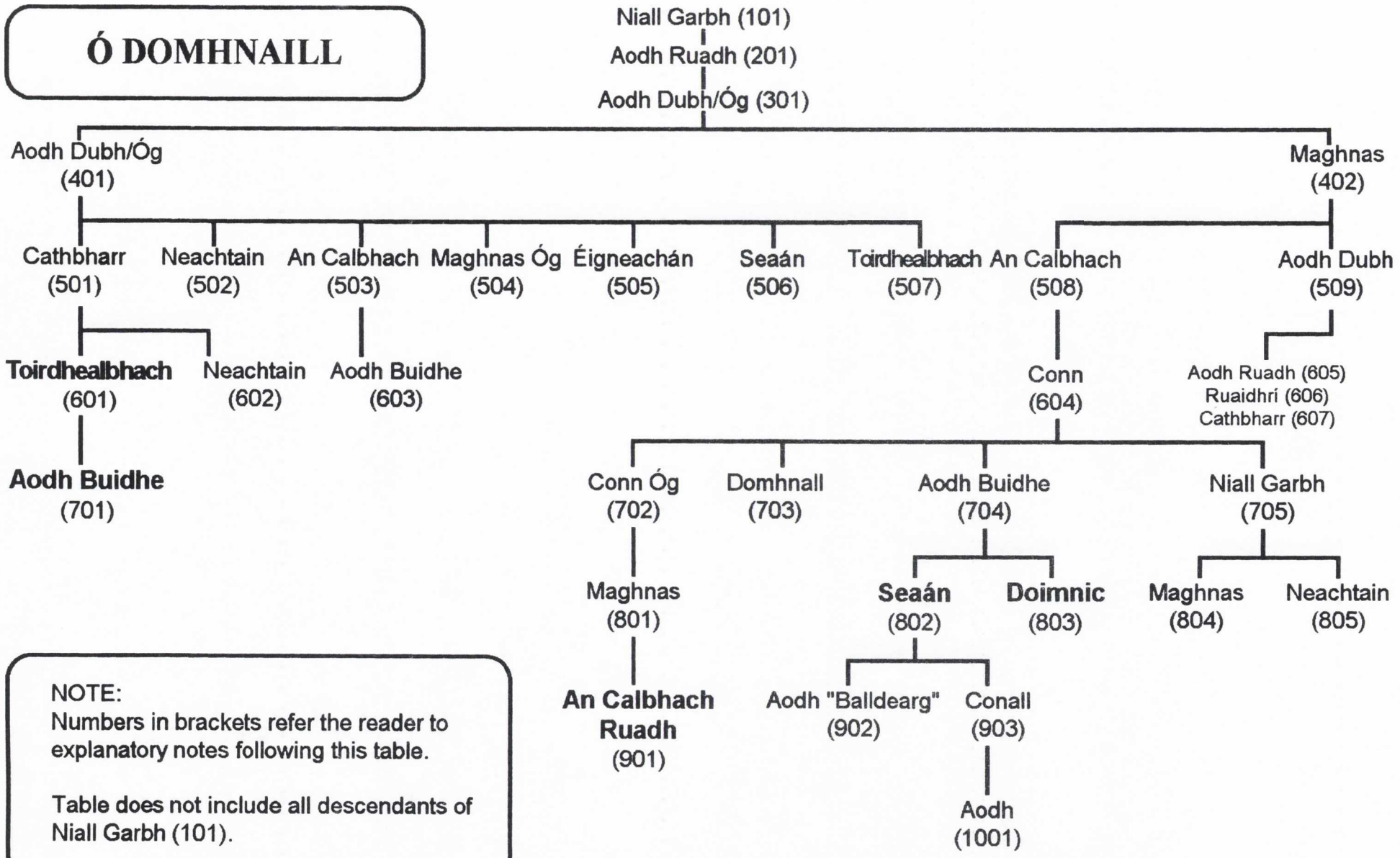
It may be noted that neither the genealogical chart nor the discussion following it are intended to include all members of the *Ó Domhnaill* dynasty in the period concerned. For inclusion here, a member of the dynasty must fulfil at least one of the following criteria: (i) That a poem edited here is addressed to him or her; (ii) that (s)he belonged to one of the main branches of the *Ó Domhnaill* dynasty; (iii) that (s)he was alive between the years 1608-55; (iv) that (s)he had significant descendants living between these years; or (iv) that, living after these years, (s)he had significant *Ó Domhnaill* ancestors living between these years and is of direct relevance to an understanding of the poems edited here.

In the discussion, members of the *Ó Domhnaill* family who died before 1600 are simply identified. Furthermore, since all of the poems edited here are addressed to the descendants of *Aodh* (401) and *Conn* (508), the discussion concentrates on these branches of the dynasty. Thus, since he died in 1439, *Niall Garbh* (101) is merely identified and, since he came from a third branch of the *Ó Domhnaill* dynasty, the Earl of *Tír Chonaill*, *Aodh Ruadh* (605) and two of his brothers (606-7) are only included here and in the genealogical chart for purposes of comparison.

The years 1608 and 1655 (i. e. the period from the beginning of the Ulster plantation to the end of the 1641 war) mentioned in the title of this chapter are meant as a guide to the reader as to what to expect from this chapter rather than as strict cut-off points. Thus, a brief resumé is given of the pre-1608 career of *Niall Garbh* (705), who lived c. 1560-1626, and an account is given of *Aodh "Balldearg"* (902) and *Conall* (903), whose careers extend into the 1690's, in order to bring the discussion down to the *Aodh* (1001) who commissioned the writing of *PBOD*.

The reader will note a lack of women's names in both the genealogical chart and the discussion which follows it. This reflects, on the one hand, the terms of reference of this thesis (the concern of which is the *Ó Domhnaill* dynasty) and, on the other, the scant treatment received by women in the poems themselves and in the official documents of the period. In the itemised discussion, accounts of such women as do receive mention will be found under the entries on their brothers, husbands or sons.

Ó DOMHNAILL



NOTE:
Numbers in brackets refer the reader to explanatory notes following this table.

Table does not include all descendants of Niall Garbh (101).

<u>Niall Garbh (101)</u> s. o. Toirdhealbhach an Fhíona s. o. Niall Garbh s. o. Aodh Buidhe s. o. Domhnall Óg s. o. Domhnall Mór:

This is the *Niall Garbh* who ruled *Tír Chonaill* from 1422-39.

<u>Aodh Ruadh (201)</u> s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

This is the *Aodh Ruadh* who ruled *Tír Chonaill* from 1461-1505.

<u>Aodh Dubh / Óg (301)</u> s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

This is the *Aodh* who ruled *Tír Chonaill* from 1505-37.

<u>Aodh Dubh / Óg (401)</u> s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

Aodh's own line of descent and the names of his children and of one of his wives are confirmed by the following genealogy:

> *Aodh m. Aodha Dhuibh m. Aodha Ruaidh: At iet a chlann Cathbharr, Maghnus Ócc, Éiccnechan ⁊ Seaán; An Calbhach ⁊ Nechtain dies mac don Aedh chédna. Ingen Uí Chonchobair Sligigh máthair na déisi déidhenaighi sin* [*RIA* MS. 23·D·17; quoted *BAR* ii pp. 196-7, §§ 177-8].

The only references to him in the poems edited here are in the description of *Toirdhealbhach* (601) [5·12b] and *Aodh Buidhe* (701) [6·59b] as *ua na dtrí n-Aodh*.

Giving a detailed account of *Aodh*'s early years is outside the scope of this discussion. It is enough to give the following information [points (i) - (vi)], most of which is based on Walsh's discussion in *BAR* (vol. ii, p. 38)] here:

(i) This *Aodh* is probably the "Hugh O Donnell, of Rathnalltayn" who was pardoned in 1591 [*Fiants* 5602, p. 172].
(ii) He saw himself as a contender for the lordship of *Tír Chonaill*.
(iii) Probably as a consequence of this, he did not attend the inauguration, in 1592 of *Aodh Ruadh* (605) [*BAR* i, p. 40, lines 1-2].
(iv) Contrary to *Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh*'s assertion [*BAR* i, p. 52] that he submitted willingly to *Aodh Ruadh*, he only did so when forced to [see *CSPI* 1592-6, pp. 85, 92].
(v) He remained hostile to *Aodh Ruadh*, at one stage reporting to the Dublin administration that the latter should be considered anti-government [*CSPI* 1592-6, p. 94].
(vi) He seems, at a later, stage to have become reconciled with *Aodh Ruadh*, fighting on his side in 1600 and injuring Dowcra [*BAR* i, p. 262].

This *Aodh* (401) received the following grant (for life) in the Ulster plantation:

> Grant to Hugh McHugh Duffe [O'Donnell], gent. Ramalton, one quarter, with the castle thereon; Breaghwy, Nahard, Derriemoenaghan, Carne, Clone, Glanmore, and Glanbegg, each one quarter; in all one thousand acres. Rent, 10 l. 13 s., 4 d. The premises are erected into the manor of Ramalton, with 300 acres in demesne, and a court baron. To hold during life; remainder to Sir Richard Hansard and his heirs forever; subject to the conditions of the plantation of Ulster. 8 December 1610 [Hill, *Plantation*, p. 329].

McKenna [*IF* vol. i, p. xii] suggests - in my view, correctly - that this man was the *Aodh Ó Domhnaill* who was the author of a contribution to the 'Contention of the Bards', *Measa do thagrais a Thaidhg* [*IF* 15].

He is probably - again, as suggested by McKenna [*ib.*] - the subject of the elegy *Ní tráth aithreachais d'fhuil Conaill* [*DiD* 110], by *Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird*, in which the poet reproaches the *Uí Dhomhnaill* for not giving the dead man the lordship over them merited by him. This identification tallies with the description, in *BAR* [vol. i, p. 52], of *Aodh* as *sinnser sleachta Dálaigh m Muirchertaigh* ('the senior of the *Ó Domhnaill* dynasty').

Elsewhere, *Aodh*'s death is dated to 1618; cf.

> *Aodh mac Aodha Duibh dfagháil bháis 1618* [*Oiris Oirdhearca Tire Conaill* / Short Annals of Tír Conaill § 59, *BAR* ii p. 96].

Maghnas (402) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

This is the *Maghnas* who ruled *Tír Chonaill* from 1537-63.

A good account of his career is to be found in: J. G. Simms, "Manus O'Donnell, 21st lord of Tir Conaill"; *Donegal Annual* v, 1962, 115-21.

Cathbharr (501) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (401) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

Cathbharr's line of descent is confirmed by the genealogy quoted above in the discussion of his father, *Aodh Dubh / Óg* (401).

In the poems edited here, *Toirdhealbhach* (601) is addressed as this man's son [5·21b]; and *Aodh Buidhe* (701) is referred to as his grandson [6·41a].

I take the following points (1-3) to refer to him:

1. Pardon, in 1591, for "Caffir O Donnill, of Rathmaulltayn, and Magonius O Donill, of same, gentlemen" [*Fiants* 5602, p. 172].

2. Pardon, dated 10/2/1610, for "Caffer Mᶜ Hugh Duffe O Donell of Kilmacrenan barony in Donegal co." [*Calendar of Patent Rolls James I* 10 / 2 / 7th year (pp. 162-3), § LXVIII-42); also quoted *BAR* ii p. 13].

3. "Grant to Caffer mcHugh Duffe O'Donell, gent. The two half quarters of Fynnower and Omlagh, 128 acres. Rent 1 l., 7 s., 3½ d." [Hill, *Plantation*,

p.329]. This is recorded in the Carew papers as a 1611 grant of 128 acres in "Kilmakrenan" at 27 s., 3½ d. to "Caffrey Mc Hugh Duff" [*CSP, Carew* 1603-24, pp. 238-9].

It would appear, in view of point 3 above, that, the following also refers to the same *Cathbharr*; it would place his death around the year 1628; however, note that the subject's grandfather is (probably mistakenly) named "Gilleduff" rather that "Hugh duffe":

An inquisition taken at Lifford, 19/3/1630 states:

> Caffer Mc. Hugh Mc. Gilleduff O'Donel seis' fuit, de quarter' ter' de Oughterglyny in co' Donnegal, contin' 6 ballyboes ter' - obiit, sic inde seis', circa 2 an' elaps'. - Tirlagh O'Donell, ejus fil' & her', tunc fuit plen' etat', & maritat'. - p)miss', tempore mortis p)d' Caffer, tenebant^{r} de R[eg]e ut de castr' suo Dub', in lib/o & com/un' soccag'. [*Inquisitionum Cancellariae Hiberniae Repertorium*, Vol. ii, *Ultoniae* (1829), Car. i, § 13].

It is likely that the following also refers to *Cathbharr*; we know that he had a brother *Neachtain* [for whom, see § 502, below]:

In a letter, dated 2/9/1628, concerning the Irish plotting in Spain, the Lord Deputy writes (to Lord Conway and Killultagh):

> Last March twelvemonth, or thereabouts, letters were also brought from Spain by Naighter [sic.] O'Donnell, brother unto Caffer O'Donnell, the nearest in blood to the Chief O'Donell, who stayed at examinate master's house a week, and talked of Irish commanders who should bring over a Spanish force [*CSPI* 1625-32, pp. 382-3, § 1145, 2/9/1628].

<u>Neachtain (502)</u> s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (401) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

Neachtain's line of descent is confirmed by the genealogy quoted above in the discussion of his father, *Aodh Dubh / Óg* (401); his mother is identified there as the daughter of *Ó Conchobhair Sligigh*.

He may be the *Neachtain Ó Domhnaill*, "brother unto Caffer O'Donnell" referred to in the official letter quoted above [see § 501·5] who brought correspondence from the Irish leaders in Spain and "talked of Irish commanders who should bring over a Spanish force".

A letter, received at Dublin on 26/10/1628, from Sir William Stewart to the Lord Deputy reports that one "Nauchton O'Donnell" was, at that time, imprisoned at Lifford [*CSPI* 1625-32, p. 396, § 1188]. This may also refer to him.

An Calbhach (503) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (401) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

An Calbhach's line of descent is confirmed by the genealogy quoted above in the discussion of his father, *Aodh Dubh / Óg* (401); his mother is identified there as the daughter of *Ó Conchobhair Sligigh*.

Walsh [*BAR* ii p. 198 n.] suggests that this *Calbhach* may have been the father of Colonel *Aodh Buidhe*; see below *Aodh Buidhe* (603).

Maghnas Óg (504) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (401) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

Maghnas Óg's line of descent is confirmed by the genealogy quoted above in the discussion of his father, *Aodh Dubh / Óg* (401).

I take the following points (1-3) to refer to him:

1. Pardon, in 1591, for "Caffir O Donnill, of Rathmaulltayn, and Magonius O Donill, of same, gentlemen" [*Fiants* 5602, p. 172].

2. An inquisition held at Lifford on 21/3/1st year of Charles I records that:

> The rents, yssues and profitts that were raysed out of the territory of Clanely, within the said barrony of Kilmacrenan, conteyning 30 quarters of land, parcell of the said 240 quarters, for the tyme aforesaid, were received and taken upp, of the rents, yssues and profitts of 12 quarters of the said 30 by Hugh Mc Hugh duffe O'Donnell, and Manus oge Mc. Hugh duff O'Donnell and Tirlagh Mc. Hugh duff O'Donnell his sonnes - The said Hugh Mc. Hugh is dead, and his sonnes are his executors [*Inquisitionum Cancellariae Hiberniae Repertorium*, Vol. ii, *Ultoniae* (1829), Car. i, § 3].

3. A 1611 grant of 64 acres in "Kilmakrenan" @ 13 s., 8 d. to "Manus Mc Hugh Duff" is recorded in the Carew papers [*CSP, Carew* 1603-24, pp. 238-9].

Although this is not confirmed by any genealogical information to hand, it is likely that the *Toirdhealbhach Ruadh* s. o. *Maghnas Óg Ó Domhnaill* referred to in the following administrative documents [points 4-5] was this man's son; this information is given here to avoid confusion between this *Toirdhealbhach Ruadh* and *Toirdhealbhach* (601) s. o. *Cathbharr* (501):

4. A government certificate of 1630 records the marriage of "Onora" 3rd daughter of "Capt Daniell Gorme mcc Swyny [d. 17/2/1636] of Rynedwo Carrigg in the County of Donegall, Esqr, eldt Son and Heir of Dannll mcc Swyny, al[ia]s m*cc* Swyna Fanad" to "Tirlagh o'Donell of Gortnananatteragh in the Said County Gent" [Record taken by Thomas Preston, Ulster King of Arms, 4/6/1638; "Some funeral entries of Ireland", *Irish Memorials of the Dead* viii (1907-9, §631, pp. 180-1].

5. A document dated 8/3/1654 records the dispossession of "Torlagh Ro Mc Manus og O'Donell Irish Papist" of 160 acres held in "Gortnottragh" townland, "Clandevadock" parish, Kilmacrenan barony, co. Donegal. [*Civil Survey*, Vol. iii, Donegal etc., p. 134].

The *Maghnas Ó Domhnaill* of the following points (6-7), son of the *Toirdhealbhach Ruadh* just discussed, would, then, be the grandson of *Maghnas Óg* (504); information on him is included here in support of the distinction drawn above between his father, *Toirdhealbhach Ruadh* and *Toirdhealbhach* (601) s. o. *Cathbharr* (501):

6. Among the petitions, dated 10/12/1660, made on behalf of Colonel "Myles Swyne" and various members of the *Mac Suibhne* family associated with his regiment appealing for restoration of lands which had been lost by them in the Cromwellian settlement (and in return for which they had not received lands in Clare or Connacht), is that of one "Manus O'Donnell" for the quarter of "Gortenenoteragh ... half whereof belongs to his mother Onora Mergagh ny Swyne, during her life. His father was killed captain under the Duke of Ormond at Dublin defeat" [*CSPI 1660-62*, pp. 123-4].

7. Among a list of "Names of the orphans who were under age in 1641 and never in arms till 1648" in Kilmacrenan is that of "Manus O'Donnell; the reversion of Onora as above" [*CSPI 1660-62*, p. 125].

<u>Éigneachán (505)</u> s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (401) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

Éigneachán's line of descent is confirmed by the genealogy quoted above in the discussion of his father, *Aodh Dubh / Óg* (401).

He is probably the "Egnighan O Donnell", "gent.", "of Rathmalltan" pardoned in 1591 [*Fiants* 5602, p. 173].

He may be the subject of the following, both of which refer to the same grant:

1. "Egnaghan O'Donnel" granted 4 baliboes (= 64 acres) in the barony of Kilmacrenan, Co. Donegal in the Ulster Plantation [T. W. Moody, "Ulster Plantation Papers 1608-13", f. 46, *An. Hib.* 8, March 1938, p. 210].

2. One of the seventeen people who co-received a 1611 grant of 1,345 acres in "Kilmakrenan" was "Eghnehan O'Donell" [*CSP, Carew* 1603-24, pp. 238-9].

<u>Seaán (506)</u> s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (401) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

Seaán's line of descent is confirmed by the genealogy quoted above in the discussion of his father, *Aodh Dubh / Óg* (401).

In 1608, during disturbances in Derry city which were led by the *Uí Dhochartaigh* but for which *Niall Garbh* (705) *Ó Domhnaill* was later held to be responsible and imprisoned, this *Seaán* killed an English lieutenant:

> *Ro marbhadh an gobernóir la heócchan mac neill mic gearailt uí dhochartaigh ₇ leutenant corboii lá Seaan mac aodha, mic aodha duibh uí domhnaill* [*AFM* vi 2362].

<u>Toirdhealbhach (507)</u> s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (401) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

Although *Toirdhealbhach* is not mentioned in the genealogy quoted above in the discussion of his father, *Aodh Dubh / Óg* (401), his line of descent is confirmed by the reference in the Lifford inquisition quoted above [see § 504·2] to "Tirlagh Mc. Hugh duff O'Donnell" son of "Hugh Mc Hugh duffe O'Donnell". He is recorded there to be taking up the rents of "Clanely" along with his brother.

<u>An Calbhach (508)</u> s. o. Maghnas (402) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

This is the *Calbhach* who ruled *Tír Chonaill* from 1563-6.

In the poems edited here, *An Calbhach Ruadh* (901) is referred to as a descendant of this man [7·16a].

<u>Aodh Dubh (509)</u> s. o. Maghnas (402) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

This is the *Aodh Dubh* who ruled *Tír Chonaill* from 1566-92 and died in 1600.

<u>Toirdhealbhach (601)</u> s. o. Cathbharr (501) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (401) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

This genealogy is based on the following:

(i) *Toirdhealbhach* is addressed in our text as son of *Cathbharr* [5·21b]; his son, *Aodh Buidhe* (701), is referred to as grandson of *Cathbharr* [6·41a];
(ii) *Toirdhealbhach* and his son, *Aodh Buidhe* (701), are both addressed or referred to as *ua na dtrí n-Aodh* (i. e. 'grandson' or 'descendant of the three *Aodh*s') [5·12b; 6·59b];
(iii) We know from the genealogy quoted above in discussion of *Aodh Dubh / Óg* (401) that there was a *Cathbharr* s. o. *Aodh* s. o. *Aodh Dubh* s. o. *Aodh Ruadh*.

Toirdhealbhach is the subject of our poem 5 and father of *Aodh Buidhe* (701), subject of our poem 6.

I take the following points (1-6) to refer to *Toirdhealbhach*:

1. According to a 1630 government inquisition, one "Tirlagh O'Donell" son of "Caffer Mc. Hugh Mc. Gilleduff [sic.] O'Donel" inherited his father's holding of six ballyboes in the quarter of "Oughterglyny" in Co. Donegal around the year 1628 [for inquisition, see § 501·4, above].

2. (Same man as foregoing.) A document dated 8/3/1654 records the dispossession of "Torlagh McCaffer O'Donnell and, Owen McMurragh Irish Papists" of 160 acres held jointly in "Aughterglyn" townland, "Kilgarvan" parish, Kilmacrenan barony, co. Donegal. [*Civil Survey*, Vol. iii, Donegal etc., p. 130].

3. In a letter dated 27/10/1641, "Everden Mac Swyne", a Justice of the Peace for Co. Donegal, writing from Ray (in Kilmacrenan barony) to an unnamed [government] correspondent, says:

> I fear arresting of the O'Donells in this part of the country. Turlogh Mc Kraffer has brought a great many men out of these parts, and is now with the O'Nealls, who committed the reported mischiefs. A store of men have been raised at Glanfin (Glenfinn). One of them is one of the Gallahers, just returned from the Low Countries .... [*CSPI* 1633-1647, p. 344, 27/10/1641].

For further information on this *Éireamhón Mac Suibhne*, see § 901, 1 (e), below.

4. Among the list of regiments likely to submit to the king given in a 1648 letter is that of "Torlach O'Donell" [*Aph.* i, pt. 2, p. 759, § ccv].

5. "Colonel Manus O Donnell and Colonel Turloch mac Caffrye O Donnell attacked Ballyshannon", Relation of Audley Mervin presented to the House of Commons, June 4, 1642 [*Aph.* vol. i, part 2, p. 470]; for "Colonel Manus", see § 804 below.

6. According to Walsh [*BAR* ii, p. 197, § 177 n.], "Tirlogh mac Caffry O Donnell" was excepted from pardon of life and estate on 12/8/1652; I do not know what Walsh's source is.

Toirdhealbhach is not to be confused with the *Toirdhealbhach Ruadh* s. o. *Maghnas Óg Ó Domhnaill* discussed under *Maghnas Óg* (504) above.

<u>Neachtain (602)</u> s. o. Cathbharr (501) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (401) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

Colonel Henry O'Neill's 1642 "Relation" records that "Nectan O Donnell fitz Cathbharr fitz Hugh Oge" was wounded at the battle of Glenmaquin [quoted from *Aph.* (I have not been able to locate this in *Aph.*) in *BAR* ii, p. 197, § 177 n.].

<u>Aodh Buidhe (603)</u> s. o. (?) An Calbhach (503) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (401) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

This line of descent is by no means certain. The suggestion that this *Aodh Buidhe* may have been the son of *An Calbhach* (503) is made by Walsh in a discussion of *An Calbhach* (503) *Ó Domhnaill*:

> Aodh Buidhe son of Calvach, Colonel 1641-9, a man of influence at a critical period of the Irish war is not placed, unless Calvach the father was son to Aodh Dubh. In the famous Book of O Domhnaill's daughter (Brussels 6131 + 6133) there is an anonymous poem to him commencing *Cia mise a mhic an Chalbhaigh*. See *Irish Men of Learning*, p. 200 [*BAR* ii p. 198 n.]

While the statement that an *Aodh Buidhe* s. o. *An Calbhach Ó Domhnaill* played an influential part in the 1641 war may be correct, I am not aware of Walsh's source for it. In what follows [points 1-3], I give all mentions (of which I am aware) from around this time of the *Aodh Buidhe* to whom Walsh seems to be referring; it is to be noted that the surname *Ó Domhnaill* is not explicitly given in any of them:

1. An *Aodh Buidhe* s. o. *An Calbhach* is mentioned as a commander under *Ó Néill* on 26 / 3 / 1642 [*Cín Lae* p. 5].

2. In an entry dated July 1642, *Ó Mealláin* states *rugadar creacha Aodh Buidhi meic a' Chalbhaigh leo* [*Cín Lae* p. 9].

3. There are two letters from Ormonde to a "Colonel Hugh Boy [O'Donell]" (the addition of the surname "O'Donell" appears to be the editor's): (a) instructing him, in a missive dated 28/8/1649, to march from King's County to Athy and promising to have him reimbursed for expenditure there; and (b), in a letter dated 30/8/1649, enjoining him to carry out the orders of 28/8/1649, indicating that he had been with Ormonde at Drogheda and complaining that, rather than

carrying out orders given on 21/8/1649 to march to "Phillipstowne", he had gone with his regiment to Queen's County [*Aph.* iv, App., p. 452].

I am not aware of any other references to any *Aodh Buidhe* (s. o. *An Calbhach*) from around this time; the suggestion made by Walsh and by the editor of *Aph.* that the *Aodh Buidhe* of points 1-3 above was an *Ó Domhnaill* may simply be based on the frequency with which the names *Aodh Buidhe* and *An Calbhach* occur in that family.

As regards Walsh's assertion that the *Aodh Buidhe* s. o. *An Calbhach* to whom *Cia mise, a mh[e]ic An Chalbhaigh?* [Bibliothèque Royale Brussels MS. 6131-6133, ff. 61-2; = N. L. I. microfilm 470] is addressed was an *Ó Domhnaill*, it must be said that, although this poem is included in an *Ó Domhnaill* poem-book, there is no confirmation in the poem itself (which has no scribal introduction) that this was so. The poem yields only the following information about it's subject: (a) that his name was *Aodh Buidhe* [line 5a]; (b) that his father's name was *An Calbhach* [lines 1a, 12a]; and (c) that he is addressed as *a thús líne chlann gColla* [line 13c]. The poem is little more than a playful challenge, possibly in imitation of the earlier *Tomhais cia mise, a Mhurchaidh* by the eminent *Muireadhach Albanach Ó Dálaigh* [*IBP* 24], to its subject to identify its author; nevertheless, if the subject was, indeed, an *Ó Domhnaill*, one would expect a reference to *Síol nDálaigh* (etc.) to replace or at least accompany the poet's *chlann gColla*.

To sum up, I am not saying that Walsh (who may have had access to sources of which I am not aware) is necessarily wrong in his discussion of this *Aodh Buidhe*; what I am saying is that his identification of this man with the *Uí Dhomhnaill* is to be treated with caution.

<u>Conn (604)</u> s. o. An Calbhach (508) s. o. Maghnas (402) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

This is the *Conn* who was made *tánaisde* of *Tír Chonaill* in 1567, who spent much of his career challenging the leadership of his uncle, *Aodh Dubh* (509), and who died in 1583.

In the poems edited here, *Seaán* (802) is referred to as this man's grandson [2·21a] and *An Calbhach Ruadh* (901) is addressed as his great-grandson [10·48a].

Aodh Ruadh (605) s. o. Aodh Dubh (509) s. o. Maghnas (402) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

This is the *Aodh Ruadh* who was lord of *Tír Chonaill* from 1592-1602, who is the subject of *BAR* and who died on 10/9/1602.

Ruaidhrí (606) s. o. Aodh Dubh (509) s. o. Maghnas (402) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

This is the *Ruaidhrí* who succeeded his brother *Aodh Ruadh* (605), was made Earl in 1603, left Ireland in the 'Flight of the Earls' in 1607 and died in Rome in 1608.

Cathbharr (607) s. o. Aodh Dubh (509) s. o. Maghnas (402) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

This is the *Cathbharr* who accompanied his brother *Ruaidhrí* (606) on the 'Flight of the Earls' in 1607 and died in Rome in 1608.

Aodh Buidhe (701) s. o. Toirdhealbhach (601) s. o. Cathbharr (501) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (401) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

Aodh Buidhe is the subject of poem 6, below. To my knowledge, this is the only record of him.

The line of descent given above for him is confirmed there; he is referred to as: son of *Toirdhealbhach* [6·17b, 51b], heir of *Toirdhealbhach* [6·48b], grandson of *Cathbharr* [6·41a] and as *ua na dtrí n-Aodh* [6·59b].

His mother's name is given there as *Síle* [6·56b].

He died in 1649 [6·69], at the hands of foreign soldiers in Wexford [6·55]; since Cromwell took Wexford in October of that year [Beckett, *Making of Modern Ireland*, p. 102], it is probable that it was at the hands of his army that *Aodh Buidhe* met his death.

<u>Conn Óg (702)</u> s. o. Conn (604) s. o. An Calbhach (508) s. o. Maghnas (402) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

Conn Óg's line of descent is confirmed by the following genealogy [*RIA* 23·D·17, ff. 11r-15v; quoted *BAR* ii, p. 194, § 175]:

> *Clann Chuind mic an Chalbhaigh: Niall Garbh Aodh Buidhe Domhnall ⁊ Conn Ócc*

In the poems edited here, *An Calbhach Ruadh* (901) is addressed as this man's grandson in lines 8·32a; 10·27c.

It is probable that *Conn Óg* was always to be numbered among the followers of his brother, *Niall Garbh* (705), for whose career, see below; however, specific references to him are confined to what follows.

In 1600, he joined his brothers in their conflict against *Aodh Ruadh* (605), the reigning *Ó Domhnaill*:

> *Do deachatar tra a thriar derbraithrech lá Níall isin coimheirghe sin .i. Aódh Buidhe Domnall ⁊ Conn Ócc* [*BAR* i, p. 264, lines 22-4].

He is included in the following pardon, dated 20/3/1601:

> Pardon to Neyle garrowe O Donell, chief of his name, Hugh bouye O Donell, Donell O Donell, and Conn oge O Donell, brothers of the said Neile garrowe O Donell, Cafferie oge m'Cafferie O Donell, Hector O Donell, son of the said Neyle, Cafferie m'Hugh boye O Donell, Hugh boye m'Shane oge, Feyl-lym m'Shane oge, ... Manus oge m'Hugh boy, Rowry m'Hugh boye ... Shane m'Hugh boy ... ("According to a liste made by Capn. Willeys" - 20 March, xliii. (Cal. P. R., p. 584) [*Fiants* 6483 (1600-1), pp. 165-6).

Conn Óg died in 1601 - either at the time of the explosion of *Mainistir Dhúin na nGall* or fighting at the side of his brother *Niall Garbh* (705) during the attack subsequently made on it by *Aodh Ruadh* (605):

> *Torchair don leith oile Conn Occ m Cuinn derbrathair Neill Ui Dhomhnoill co ttribh cedaibh imaille fris eiter guin ⁊ losccadh. Ba rinn ágha ⁊ erghaile ⁊ ba gnath buaidh cecha cedghuine ag an cConn sa do cher don chur sin* [*BAR* i, p. 310, § 170].

This episode is also recorded in *AFM* [1601, p. 2254], probably from the source just quoted. It would appear, however that *Conn Óg* did not die immediately. A letter from *Niall Garbh* (705) says:

> My brother Coyne Oge is grievously hurt with the fall of a house and I fear will scarce recover [*CSPI* Sept. 26, 1601; quoted *BAR* ii p. 208].

<u>Domhnall (703)</u> s. o. Conn (604) s. o. An Calbhach (508) s. o. Maghnas (402) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

Domhnall's line of descent is confirmed by the genealogy quoted above [§ 702] in the discussion of his brother, *Conn Óg*.

It is probable that this man was always to be numbered among the followers of his brother, *Niall Garbh* (705), for whose career, see below; however, specific references to him are confined to what follows.

In 1600, he joined his brothers in their conflict against *Aodh Ruadh* (605), the reigning *Ó Domhnaill*:

> *Do deachatar tra a thriar derbraithrech lá Níall isin coimheirghe sin .i. Aódh Buidhe Domnall ₇ Conn Ócc* [*BAR* i, p. 264, lines 22-4].

He is included in the pardon, dated 20/3/1601, quoted above [§ 702] in the discussion of his brother, *Conn Óg*.

I take the following points (1-3), all of which record the same land grant, to apply to him:

1. "Donnel McQuyn" granted "8 baliboes = 128 acres" in the barony of Kilmacrenan, Co. Donegal in the Ulster Plantation of 1608- [T. W. Moody, "Ulster Plantation Papers 1608-13", f. 46, *An. Hib.* 8, March 1938, p. 210].

2. "Grant to Donell McQuin, gent. The two half quarters of Glancho and Reighmore, 128 acres. Rent, 1 l., 7 s., 3½ d." [Hill, *Plantation*, p. 329].

3. 1611 grant of 128 acres in "Kilmakrenan" @ 27 s., 3½ d. to "Donell Mc Quin" [*CSP, Carew* 1603-24, pp. 238-9].

In 1608, along with his brothers *Niall Garbh* (705) and *Aodh Buidhe* (704) and his nephew *Neachtain* (805), *Domhnall* was held responsible for recent disturbances in Derry and imprisoned; he and *Aodh Buidhe* were released the following year:

> *Niall garbh o domhnaill co na dearbraithribh, ₇ co na mhac neachtain do ghabháil im feil eóin na bliadhna so iar na tubha friú go mbaoi comhaonta eatorra, ₇ ua dochartaigh, a ccur iarsin co hath cliath Niall, ₇ neachtain do chor assaidhe co tor londan*

> *iar saoradh néill ó bhás do breith dlicchidh, 7 a mbeith illaimh isin tor co diuidh a mbeathadh. Aodh 7 domhnall do légadh as a mbraighdeanas iarttain .i. isin mbliadhain ar ccind* [*AFM* vi, p. 2364].

Domhnall is also implicated, along with his brother, *Aodh Buidhe* (704), in accounts of the alleged conspiracy of 1614 to secure the release of *Niall Garbh* (705) and *Neachtain* (805) from the Tower by taking hostages.

The informant "Teage O'Lennan" states that the conspiracy had the backing of *Niall Garbh* (705) and that

> Rorie Oge O'Cahan ... was to make his best strength from Glane Fyne, by his own means, and the force of Donell M'Conn O'Donell and Hugh Boy, his brother ...

According to "O'Lennan", the conspirators hoped to take hostages

> for they thought out of Sir Richard, Mr. Berisforde, and Mr. Rowley, to have Sir Neale Garvie ... and Sir Neale Garvie's son set at liberty who now are in prison in England.

He also alleges that a letter was brought from Spain by "a servant of Rorie O'Donell's to Sir Neale Garvie's brethren" saying they should join the conspirators [*CSPI* 1615-25, pp. 42-3, § 71, 9/4/1615].

The statement of "Cormack M'Redmond Moyle" *Mág Uidhir*, taken before Toby Caulfield and referring to the previous harvest-time, agrees with O'Lennan's in every respect except that no reference is made there to any intention to secure the release of *Neachtain* (805) from the Tower [*CSPI* 1615-25, § 147, pp. 79-81, 27/6/1615].

A list of names of the (alleged) conspirators includes those of "Donell M'Con O'Donell, [and] Hugh Boy M'Con O'Donell, the two brethren of Sir Neale O'Donell, prisoner in the Tower" [*CSPI* 1615-25, pp. 52-3, § 92, 4/1615].

Aodh Buidhe (704) s. o. Conn (604) s. o. An Calbhach (508) s. o. Maghnas (402) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

Aodh Buidhe's line of descent is confirmed by the genealogy quoted above [§ 702] in the discussion of his brother, *Conn Óg*.

It is probable that *Aodh Buidhe* was always to be numbered among the followers of his brother, *Niall Garbh* (705), for whose career, see below § 705.

In 1600, he joined his brothers in their conflict against *Aodh Ruadh* (605), the reigning *Ó Domhnaill*:

> *Do deachatar tra a thriar derbraithrech lá Níall isin coimheirghe sin .i. Aódh Buidhe Domnall ₇ Conn Ócc* [*BAR* i, p. 264, lines 22-4].

He is included in the pardon, dated 20/3/1601, quoted above [§ 702] in the discussion of his brother, *Conn Óg*.

In the poems edited here, *Seaán* (802) is referred to as this man's heir [2·16a] and *Doimnic* (803) is referred to as his son [4·22b].

Aodh Buidhe was imprisoned, along with his brothers *Niall Garbh* (705) and *Domhnall* (703) and his nephew *Neachtain* (805), in the Tower of London in 1608; he and *Domhnall* were released in the following year [*AFM* vi, p. 2364, quoted in § 703 above].

Note also these references in verse to his brief incarceration:

1. In a poem on the imprisonment of his brother, *Niall Garbh* (705):

> *Nár tháire - ná táire mé -*
> *Aodh Ó Domhnaill i ndaoirse;*
> *nár chluineam i láimh re a linn*

ar bhfuigheall áir dá fhoirinn [*DiD* 63·30].

2. In a poem on the imprisonment of his nephew *Neachtain* (805):

Ar n-aonbhráighe Aodh Ó Domhnaill
dóchas Banbha ó aird go haird,
a bhfuair do thail rob tuar ratha,
ná raibh do shluagh Macha a mhairg [*AiDD* 25·23].

I take the following points (1-3), all of which record the same land grant, to apply to him:

1. "Hughe Boye McQuyn" was granted 8 baliboes (= 128 acres) in the barony of Kilmacrenan, Co. Donegal in the Ulster Plantation [T. W. Moody, "Ulster Plantation Papers 1608-13", f. 46, *An. Hib.* 8, March 1938, p. 210].

2. "Grant to Hugh Boy McQuin, gent. The two towns or half quarters of Feart and Glannyreogh in Rosquill, 128 acres. Rent, 1 l., 7 s., 3½ d." [Hill, *Plantation*, p. 329].

3. 1611 grant of 128 acres in "Kilmakrenan" to "Hugh Boy Mc Quin" @ 27 s., 3 d. [*CSP, Carew* 1603-24, pp. 238-9].

He is also implicated, along with his brother, *Domhnall* (703), in accounts of the alleged conspiracy of 1614; for details of this, see § 704, above.

Many authorities [see, for example, *AiDD* i, p. 97; *BAR* ii, p. 195, § 175 n.] accept the assertion - which began, it would appear, with O'Donovan [*AFM*, Appendix p. 2397] - that this *Aodh Buidhe* died in 1649; however, I can find no authority for this date; it seems likely that it arises from confusion with *Aodh Buidhe* (701), the date of whose death is put at 1649 in poem 6 [q. 69], below.

<u>Niall Garbh (705)</u> s. o. Conn (604) s. o. An Calbhach (508) s. o. Maghnas (402) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

Niall Garbh's line of descent is confirmed by the genealogy quoted above [§ 702] in the discussion of his brother, *Conn Óg*.

He is the subject of *Rob soirbh* (or *soraidh*) *gach séd aniodh* by *Gofraidh* s. o. *Brian Mac an Bhaird* [*PBOD* § 87] and of a further two poems [*DiD* 63; Walsh, *Gleanings*, pp. 27-52], which are discussed below.

Niall Garbh's early years are outside the scope of this discussion. It will suffice to say here that there was constant tension (which occasionally erupted into open warfare) between, on the one hand *Niall* and his brothers and, on the other, the reigning *Uí Dhomhnaill*, *Aodh Dubh* (509), *Aodh Ruadh* (605) and *Ruaidhrí* (606). The main bone of contention between them was the succession to the office of *Ó Domhnaill*. In 1600, while *Aodh Ruadh* (605) was away fighting in Thomond, having left *Niall Garbh* to deputise for him in *Tír Chonaill*, the latter, encouraged by the English, rebelled against *Aodh Ruadh*. In the longer term, *Niall* became the victim of a shift of government policy and his alliance with the English availed him little. Further accounts of these years in his life will be found in *BAR* (passim) and in Cyril Falls, "Neill Garve: English ally and victim", *The Irish Sword* (1949-53), 2-7.

The following is the land grant to *Niall Garbh*, dated 18/3/1601:

> Grant to Nealanus garrowe O Donell, gent., chief of his name; of the custody of the country or territory of Tirreconnell, in the province of Ulster, with all lordships, manors, lands, and possessions, as granted to Calvagh O Donell, his grandfather, (excepting the castle and town of Ballishannan with eight hundreds of land adjoining, the fishing of the Earne, all services and rights in Connalia belonging to the crown, grants of bishoprics, presentations of benefices, crown lands, and lands already granted). To hold during pleasure, rendering all rents and customs previously reserved. - 18 March, xliii. [*Fiants* 6482 (1600-1), p. 165].

A document dated 20/3/1601 pardons *Niall Garbh* and his followers; for text, see discussion of his brother, *Conn Óg*, § 702, above.

A detailed list of the considerable lands in his possession at the time of his arrest in 1608 is to be found in MS. *Rawlinson Class A*, 237 f. [*Anal. Hib.*, no. 3, 1931, 185-92].

He was married to *Nuala*, sister of *Aodh Ruadh* (605) *Ó Domhnaill*, who left him and travelled to the continent with her brothers in the 'Flight of the Earls'. *Nuala*'s mother was "Ineen Duffe" (d. o. James *Mac Domhnaill*); according to Hill [*Plantation*, p. 328], this *Inighean Dhubh* was an important prosecution witness in *Niall Garbh*'s 1608 trial.

In 1608, charged with being behind recent disturbances in Derry, *Niall Garbh*, his brothers *Aodh Buidhe* (704) and *Domhnall* (703) and his son *Neachtain* (805) were arrested; although a court failed to impose the death penalty on *Niall*, he and *Neachtain* were imprisoned in the Tower of London [*AFM* vi, p. 2364, quoted above § 703].

The poem, *A bhráighe tá i dtor London* [*DiD* 63], by *Eóghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird*, seems, from internal evidence, to have been composed soon after *Niall* was first moved to the Tower; ostensibly a poem of consolation for *Niall* in his captivity, this may also have been intended for a home audience.

Letters from *Niall Garbh* (in the Tower) to Lord Deputy Chichester request that his commons be made over to him [*CSPI* 1611-14, § 728, p. 390, 9/10/1613; *ib.*, § 731] and list his tenants [*ib.*, § 730].

According to several informants, *Niall*'s brothers plotted, in 1614, to take hostages in order to secure his release from the tower [see above, § 704]. It is clear that, if such an uprising was really intended, it had *Niall Garbh*'s full backing; he himself is said, in these documents, to have assured "Rorie Oge O'Cahan" by letter from the Tower of the reliability, for purposes of rebellion, of his brothers *Domhnall* (703) and *Aodh Buidhe* (704) [*CSPI* 1615-25, pp. 42-3, § 71, 9/4/1615].

Among the "Irish knights" imprisoned in the Tower with whom "Edmond Oge O'Donnelly" (who had served for 5 years under O'Neill in Spain and who was

treated with suspicion by the Dublin administration) is said by an informant to have conferred is "Sir Neale O'Donnell" [*CSPI* 1615-25, § 389, p. 179, 1617].

In 1622, as one of the "imprisoned Ulster Knights", "Sir Neale O'Donnell" was granted a pension of 200 marks per annum [*CSPI* 1615-25, § 822, p. 345, 3/3/1622].

Apparently, even in 1624 *Niall Garbh* was still not trusted by the authorities:

> Irishmen coming out of the Low Countries have been permitted to visit Neal Garvie in the Tower. No good council can be expected from him, and therefore the liberty fit to be restrained ["[...] to Conway; *CSPI* 1615-25, § 1222, p. 498, 31/5/1624].

According to *AFM* [vol. vi, p. 2364, quoted in § 703 above], *Niall* died in the Tower; here is how "Oiris Oirdhearca Tíre Conaill" record his death:

> *Bás Néill Ghairbh iar mbeith i láimh ag Rígh Séamus ocht mbliadhna déag 1626. Aois Néill féin an t-am sin 57* [*BAR* ii, p. 94, § 54].

An elegy on *Niall*, *Bean do lámhaigheadh Leath Cuinn* [Walsh, *Gleanings*, pp. 27-52] by *Gofraidh* s. o. *Brian Mac an Bhaird* [for ascription, see *PBOD* § 90], gives 1625 as the date of his death:

> *Cúig bliadhna fiched fuair me*
> *sé chéd ar ccontus mhíle*
> *ó choimpeirt Dé go dol Néill,*
> *nocha cor é nach oilbéim* [q. 59].

Among a list of prominent northerners (many of whom accompanied *Aodh Ruadh* to Kinsale) in *Tuireamh na hÉireann* is the line *Niall Garbh san Túr 's a Mhac Maonas* [*5 17th c. Poems* IV·332].

Interestingly, a 1646 elegy on *Niall Garbh*'s son *Maghnas* (804) [*Is truagh cor chríche Banbha* [*Stoneyhurst* A·ii·20, vol. ii, pp. 20-4; see intro, chapt. 2, § 1, A, (vii)] describes the latter as 'the son of [the] *Ó Domhnaill*':

Ó bhás deighm[heic] í Domhn[aill]
oircheas d'Fhódla iubhardhuinn
dol ó éagn[ach] dá aithle
i n-éagcruth tar fh[í]oraithne [q. 20].

Maghnas (801) s. o. Conn Óg (702) s. o. Conn (604) s. o. An Calbhach (508) s. o. Maghnas (402) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

In the poems edited here, *An Calbhach Ruadh* (901) is addressed (or referred to) as this man's son in the following lines: 7·10b; 8·15b, 40a; 10·35b, 48a; 11·9a; 12·8b; 13·11b.

O'Donnell - I know not on what authority - names *Maghnas*'s wife as "Margaret d. o. Dubhghall Campbell of Argyle" [*O'D.*, p. 9].

I am not aware of any other references to this *Maghnas*.

Seaán (802) s. o. Aodh Buidhe (704) s. o. Conn (604) s. o. An Calbhach (508) s. o. Maghnas (402) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

Seaán's genealogy to *Aodh Dubh / Óg* (301) is given in the scribal introduction to poem 2, below. This is further confirmed in the poems on him edited here, where he is referred to as *oidhre Aodha* (i. e. '*Aodh*'s heir') [2·16a], *oighre Aodha Buidhe* [3·17a], as 'this son of *Conn*'s son' [3·10a] and *ua Cuinn mheic An Chalbhaigh* (i. e. 'grandson of *Conn* s. o. *An Calbhach*') [2·21a].

Seaán is the subject of poems 2-3, below.

He might possibly be the "Shane m'Hugh boy" whose pardon is recorded in a document dated 20/3/1601, quoted above [§ 702] in the discussion of his uncle, *Conn Óg* (702).

He was married to *Caitir Fhíona* d. o. *Eóghan Ó Ruairc* [see text, 2·56-9]; this *Eóghan* may be the "titulado", Owen Ruork gent", who is listed alongside "Leytrim" townland, "Kiltogher" parish, Baronies of "Leitrim, Mohill and Carrigallan", Co. "Leytrim" in the census of 1659 [Pender, *Census* p. 559].

His participation in the '1641' wars is confirmed by the inclusion in a list of regiments likely to submit to the king given in a 1648 letter of that of "John Mac Hue Boy O'Donell" [*Aph.* i, part 2, p. 759, § ccv·7].

O'Donnell - I know not on what authority - identifies *Seaán*'s mother as "Mary d. o. Maguire, chief of Fermanagh" [*O'D.* p. 9].

Seaán died in either 1655 or 1656 [see below (text), 3·57 and note].

The manner of his death is uncertain; the composer of *Seaán*'s elegy states, rather ambiguously: "I ... did not think that *Cruachán*'s handsome lord would die in any other way than by the weapon-points of [the] foreign [warrior-]bands ..." [3·52]; for further discussion, see introduction to poem 3 of this thesis.

<u>Doimnic (803)</u> s. o. Aodh Buidhe (704) s. o. (?) Conn (604) s. o. An Calbhach (508) s. o. Maghnas (402) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

The absence of an epenthetic vowel in the spelling of this man's Christian name is metrically fixed in a poem edited here as *Doimnic*; cf. the rhyme *Doimnicse* : *gcoimhghleicse* [4·27cd].

While *Doimnic*'s family name is fixed in poem 4 below as *Ó Domhnaill* [4·23a, 49b] and his father's name is given there as *Aodh Buidhe* [4·22b], his line of decent is not absolutely certain beyond this; while the description of him as *ua Í Dhomhnaill* [4·54b] does not conflict with the genealogy given above, it proves little. However, this genealogy seems likely on the grounds that all of the six other poems composed for members of the *Ó Domhnaill* dynasty by *Gofraidh Óg* s. o. *Gofraidh* s. o. *Brian Mac an Bhaird*, the man who composed poem 4

below of which *Doimnic* is the subject, are for or about descendants of *Conn* (604). *Gofraidh* composed two poems on *Seaán* (802) who, if the genealogy proposed here is correct, was *Doimnic*'s brother.

Doimnic was married to *Brighid* [4·56-63]. Beyond the following, I have not been able to identify her: she was d. o. *Éamann* s. o. *Eóghan* [4·60a]; her mother's name was *Caitilín* [4·63b]; her bloodlines are given as *fuil Bhriain* s. o. *Eachaidh* [4·57b] and *clann Colla.*

O'Donnell - I know not on what authority - identifies *Doimnic*'s mother as "Mary d. o. Maguire, chief of Fermanagh" [*O'D.* p. 9]; this is consistent with the description of him in poem 4 below as *braon do chrú Colla na gcath* [line 19c].

Maghnas (804) s. o. Niall Garbh (705) s. o. Conn (604) s. o. An Calbhach (508) s. o. Maghnas (402) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

Maghnas is the subject of two elegies, both of which are ascribed to *Gofraidh Óg Mac an Bhaird* [see intro., chapt. 2, § 1]; these are:

(i) *Tarla leónadh don leith thuaidh* [*Stoneyhurst* A·ii·20, vol. ii, pp. 24-6].

(ii) *Is truagh cor chríche Banbha* [*Stoneyhurst* A·ii·20, vol. ii, pp. 20-4].

His line of descent from *Conn* (604) is confirmed in the second of these, where he is described as *Maghnas mac Néill* [line 62a], *oighre Néill* [13d], *an macsa Néill* [38a], *an maicsin meic Cuinn* [line 12a] and *ua Cuinn* [line 10b]

This poem is, in my view, too corrupt in MS. to be amenable to editing [see intro., chapt. 4, § 1] until such time as a better MS. version of it is located; it gives a valuable battle-roll of *Maghnas*'s military activities, comprising over 20 quatrains. By way of illustration, I give here a sample of some less corrupt quatrains:

G[idh] lór daingne Dhúin na nGall
tar neart anfai[d]h [fhia]n n-eachtrann
'gá deaghthoisg a dhé dob fhearr
do c[h]reachloisg é gan fhuigheall [q. 23].

Lá brisde an Bhearnasa Móir
ar ghallaibh na [n]gníomh n-éagcóir
do thuill barr tar chrú gConaill
rú níor am uraghaill [q. 25]

'S i Ra[s] Go-ar - níor ghníomh tais
bla[d]h éi[f]eachtach dá eangrais
mór amhghar na ngall dá ghoin
go marb[hadh] ann an uarsoin [q. 28].

Lá an m[hó]rchatha sa Bheinn B[h]uirb
dob adhbal [éa]chta a órchuilg
ag drud fan ágh gan fhuireach
go dtug ár na n-allmh[ui]r[e]ach [q. 45].

The poem says that he died in this, his final battle, at Benburb:

An l[á]soin - níor lag an g[h]oimh -
torchair áirs[idh] f[h]óid Fhiontain
ó ló c[h]éile c[h]láir Uladh
do-cháidh Éire ón a[d]hal (?) [q. 46].

and, later on, gives 1646 as the year of his death:

Sé dhei[g]hb[h]l[iadh]na gan dol de
sé chéad, ceathrachad, míle
ó theacht d'aoin[ei]ghir Dé ar ndáil
go ré chaoindeighfhir Cruacháin [q. 63].

That *Maghnas* died in 1646 at Benburb is further confirmed by other contemporary sources [cf. *Com. Rin.* ii, p. 243, § 358; *Aph.* i, part 2, p. 116 (= f.

115); *Cín Lae* f. 38, June 1646; "Oiris Oirdhearca Tire Conaill / Short annals of Tír Conaill" (*TCD* MS. H·i·10, 140), *BAR* ii p. 90, § 31].

That he was a Colonel in the army of General *Eóghan Ruadh Ó Néill* at the time of his death is known from the following sources: (i) *Cín Lae* [p. 35; 1/6/1646], (ii) *Com. Rin.* [vol. ii, pp. 243 & 358] and (iii) *Aph.* [vol. i, part 2, pp. 116 and 470].

The only other direct references to *Maghnas* of which I am aware are:

(i) the statement that "Colonel Manus O Donnell and Colonel Turloch mac Caffrye O Donnell attacked Ballyshannon" [Relation of Audley Mervin presented to the House of Commons, June 4, 1642; *Aph.* vol. i, part 2, p. 470]; for "Colonel Turloch", see § 601, above.

(ii) A line in the poem *Tuireamh na hÉireann: Niall Garbh san Túr 's a Mhac Maonas* [*5 17th c. Poems* IV·332].

Neachtain (805) s. o. Niall Garbh (705) s. o. Conn (604) s. o. An Calbhach (508) s. o. Maghnas (402) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

Neachtain's line of descent is confirmed by the following genealogy:

> *Nechtain m Néill Ghairbh m Cuind m an Chalbhaigh m Maghnusa m Aedha Duibh m Aodha Ruaidh* [*RIA* MS. 23·D·17, ff. 11r-15v; quoted *BAR* ii, p. 196, § 176].

Walsh is probably right in his suggestion [*BAR* ii, pp. 196-7, § 176 n.] that *Neachtain* is to be identified with the "Hector O Donell, son of the said Neyle [garrowe O Donell]" pardoned in March 1601 [for the text of this pardon, see § 702, above].

An account of his early life and of his studies at Trinity College Dublin, which are outside the scope of the present discussion, will be found in *BAR* [vol. ii, p. 196-7, § 176 n.].

In 1608, he was among those arrested by the Dublin authorities after disturbances in Derry; he and his father, *Niall Garbh* (705), were then sent to the Tower of London [*AFM* vi, p. 2364, quoted above in § 703].

Neachtain is the subject of *Eóghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird*'s *Mairg as bhráighe ar mhacraidh Murbhaigh* [*AiDD* 25], which was composed during his captivity. Although this poem cannot be dated with certainty, internal evidence seems to suggest that it was composed within a few years of *Neachtain*'s imprisonment or, at least, that he was very young when he was first installed in the Tower: (i) He is constantly referred to as a child or a youth: e. g. *i n-aois leinbh 'n-a dhamhna duine* [line 6c], *''n-a leanabh i n-am a éirghe* [line 7c], *le hantoil na haoise hóige* [line 13a]. (ii) Furthermore, an additional quatrain refers to *Aodh Buidhe* (704), who was released in 1609 [see § 704 above], as *Ar n-aonbhráighe Aodh Ó Domhnaill* ('our great hostage') [q. 23].

While lamenting *Neachtain*'s captivity, the author of this fine example of classical verse professes relief that the young man is safely locked-away in the Tower and, thus, is not threatened by the many dangerous feats and battle risks to which his valour and nobility of spirit would naturally drive him.

Neachtain receives further mention in a quatrain appended to a poem addressed to his father, *Niall Garbh* (705); the poet says that there would be boundless sorrow if there was no prospect of *Niall* and *Neachtain* being released [soon]:

> *Fa sgaoileadh Néill is Neachtain*
> *muna bheith sunn saoileachtain*
> *do bhiadh an brón mar nach fuil,*
> *ní bhiadh clódh ar cumhaidh* [*DiD* 63·29]

We know from the following references [points 1-2] to him that *Neachtain* was kept in the Tower for many years:

1. According to "O'Lennan", the alleged conspirators of 1614 hoped to take hostages "for they thought out of Sir Richard, Mr. Berisforde, and Mr. Rowley, to have Sir Neale Garvie ... and Sir Neale Garvie's son set at liberty who now

are in prison in England" [*CSPI* 1615-25, pp. 42-3, § 71, 9/4/1615]. It is to be noted, however, that in another confession, although reference is made to the same hostage-taking plan, *Neachtain* is not mentioned [*CSPI* 1615-25, § 147, pp. 79-81, 27/6/1615].

2. In a document dated 3/3/1622, "Nachtain O'Donnell, Esq." is one of the three "prisoners in the Tower" who are each granted pensions of 200 marks per annum [*CSPI* 1615-25, § 822, p. 345, 3/3/1622].

The 'Four Masters', writing between 1632-36 [see intro., chapt. 2, poets § 6], say [*AFM* vi, p. 2364, quoted above in § 703] that *Neachtain* died in the Tower; although this assertion has been questioned [Fr. Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes*, fourth edition, p. 222; quoted *BAR* ii, pp. 196-7, § 176 n.], it is likely that the compilers of *AFM*, who pay so much attention to the *Uí Dhomhnaill* and who wrote their work in the Convent of Donegal [see intro., chapt. 2, poets § 6], were in a position to know and that their statement is the correct one; this places *Neachtain*'s death in or before the year 1636.

An Calbhach Ruadh (901) s. o. Maghnas (801) s. o. Conn Óg (702) s. o. Conn (604) s. o. An Calbhach (508) s. o. Maghnas (402) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

An Calbhach Ruadh is the subject of poems 7-15, below; to my knowledge, these contain the only record of him.

His line of descent from *An Calbhach* (508) is confirmed by the scribal introduction to poem 7 below and also by the internal evidence of the poems themselves: for instance, he is described or addressed as *mac Maghnasa* [7·10b; 8·15b etc.]; *A mheic Maghnais mheic mheic Chuinn* [10·48a]; *a mheic mheic Chuinn* [10·27a]; *ua Cuinn* [8·32a]; and *ua An Chalbhaigh* [7·16a].

He was married to *Eibhilín* d. o. *Uaitéir Mac Suibhne* [8·41 etc.]; nothing is known of her except the little that can be gleaned from the quatrains in praise of her which appear in several of the poems to her husband [for a full list, see index of personal names].

As regards the identity of *Eibhilín*'s father, two possibilities present themselves; he might be either or neither of them; Walsh [*BAR* ii, p. 158], citing no authority, opts for the first:

1. *Uaitéir* s. o. *Lochlainn* of the Fanad branch of the *Mac Suibhne* family, to whom the following points (a - f) refer:

(a) His genealogy is given, in *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne* [p. 115, § 159], as follows: *Do Chlainn tSuibne Fanat bheos: Uater m Lochlainn m Uater m Magnusa charraig m Eoin* etc. [*Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne* p. 115, § 159].

(b) He was granted 896 acres in the barony of Kilmacrenan, Co. Donegal in the Ulster Plantation [T. W. Moody, "Ulster Plantation Papers 1608-13", f. 46, *Anal. Hib.* 8, March 1938, p. 210; *CSP, Carew* 1603-24, pp. 238-9]. These lands were in the townlands of "Bally-Inchenane", "Glanalla", "Glanteedallie", "Ballychonill", "Rathdonnell", "Ballyveagh" and "Creurmie". The grant is dated 17/12/1610 [Hill, *Plantation*, p. 327].

(c) He receives mention in Pynnar's 1618-9 survey of the escheated counties:

> Walter Mc. Laughlin Mc. Swyne hath eight hundred and ninety six acres, called Bellycany and Ragh. He hath built a fair bawne, and a good strong house, all of lyme and stone, himself dwelling in it with his family, being a justice of the peace in the county and conformable to his majesty's laws, serving the king and country upon all occasions, and one that hath ever been a true subject since the first taking in of Loughfoyle... [Walter Harris, *Hibernica: or some antient pieces relating to Ireland never hitherto made publick*, Dublin 1747, p. 101; = Hill, *Plantation*, p. 527].

(d) This may be the building to which the following, which I take to apply to lands in the parish of "Tully", refers:

> On wch parte there is an old Earth fforth, And a Little Stone house sometyme belonging to Walter McSwyne [*Civil Survey*, iii, p. 99].

(e) His lands were inherited by his son, *Éireamhón*, and by his widow, *Gráinne Ní Ghallchobhair*; all of this territory was subsequently lost to them; page references are to *Civil Survey A. D. 1654-1656*, iii:

Éireamhón, (called "Irwin / Irvin / Ervin McSwyne, sone to Walter McSwyne, Irish Papist") lost some of his lands (in "Belligay") by mortgage [p. 101] and the rest (in "Ray", "Balliconally", "Drumcloghen" and "Glendidally") [pp. 129-30] in the 'Cromwellian' plantation. (For further mention of *Éireamhón*, see § 601·3, above.)

Gráinne (who is called "Grany Nigallogher, Relict to Walter McSwyne, Irish Papist") lost her lands in "Drumharey [p. 129] and "Ballikennay" [130]. Later, in a petition dated 10/12/1660, she appealed for the restoration of these lands:

> Grany ny Swyne, the relict of Walter Mc Swyne, Esq, and a Protestant; the quarter of land of Ballykenay [Ballykenny], the half quarter of Droomharve [Drumherrive], and the half quarter of Glenala" [*CSPI 1660-62*, pp. 123-4].

(f) The marriage of *Máire*, daughter of this *Uaitéir* s. o. *Lochlainn*, is recorded as follows:

> "Walter" 3rd son of "Capt Daniell Gorme mcc Swyny [d. 17/2/1636] of Rynedwo Carrigg in the County of Donegall, Esqr, eldt Son and Heir of Dannll mcc Swyny, al[ia]s mcc Swyna Fanad ... mard to Mary datr of Walter mcc Loghlin mcc Swyny of Raye in Com' Donagaule Esqr" ["Some funeral entries of Ireland", *Irish Memorials of the Dead* viii (1907-9, §631, pp. 180-1]. Cf. 2/8/1611,

This may be the "Mary Ni Swyne Irish Protestant", who, in the 1564-6 plantation retained lands in "Gortnathra" [*Civil Survey*, iii, p. 107] and / or the "Mary Ni Swyne relict to Walter M^{c}Swyne Irish Papist" who forfeited lands in "Bellihuriskie" [*ib.*, p. 131] and "Ballihernan" [*ib.*, p. 132].

2. *Uaitéir* s. o. *Domhnall Gorm* s. o. *Domhnall Mac Suibhne Fánad*, record of whose marriage is given in the previous paragraph [i. e. § 1 (f)].

Aodh "Balldearg" (902) s. o. Seaán (802) s. o. Aodh Buidhe (704) s. o. Conn (604) s. o. An Calbhach (508) s. o. Maghnas (402) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

Although he is outside the scope of this chapter, *Aodh* is included here to bring the discussion down to his nephew, *Aodh* (1001), for whom *PBOD* was compiled.

The line of descent given above for him is confirmed in the scribal introductions to two poems in *PBOD* of which he is the subject; he is described there as *[an t-]Iarla Ó Domhnaill .i. Aodh Ó Domhnaill mac Seaáin mheic Aodha Buidhe* [*PBOD* § 103] and *[an t-]Iarla Ó Domhnaill .i. Aodh mac Seaáin, mheic Aodha Buidhe mheic Cuinn, mheic An Chalbhaigh* [*PBOD* § 116], a genealogy which is reconfirmed internally to one of the poems by a reference to him as *Aodh mac Seaáin mheic Aodha* [*PBOD* § 103, line 9a]. These poems are:

(i) *Fearam [fíor]fháilte re hAodh* by *An tAthair Pádraig Dubh Ó Coirnín* [*PBOD* § 103].

(ii) *Rá[naig] a hanam Éire* by *Fearghal Óg* s. o. *Pádraig Óg* s. o. *Pádraig Cam Mac an Bhaird* [*PBOD* § 116].

The first of these was probably composed soon after *Aodh*'s return to Ireland and is clearly intended to win political and military support for him from the Gaelic Irish of *Tír Chonaill*.

The second is similar in many ways to the first. In it, an apologue compares *Aodh* with Julius Caesar and considerable emphasis is laid on identifying him as the one prophesied to save Ireland. The poem seems particularly to have been intended to advance *Aodh*'s claims to leadership of the *Uí Dhomhnaill* and to the title 'Earl of *Tír Chonaill*'; in passing, the poet describes *Aodh* as *Ua Domhnaill* [*PBOD* § 116, line 30a], *Ua Domhnaill Doire* [line 24a] and *Iarla tréan Tíre Conaill* [line 4b]; he states his argument more explicitly when he says *Ua Domhnaill - dluigh gan mhímheas - / is é an t-Iarla tréindíleas* [line 9ab].

Further evidence of *Aodh*'s claims is furnished by a 1691 reference to him as "ce pretendu Tirconnel" [Fumeron, 10/2/1691, *Franco-Ir. Corr.* § 1242 (= Vol. ii, p. 212)].

Aodh's activities during the 1690's, after he returned to Ireland, are well known. After arriving, he spent some time fighting on James's side and then, when the tide of the war began to turn, he switched his allegiance to William; he returned to Spain in 1697 and died there in 1704 [see *NuaDh.* II, index, p. 134]. I give here some contemporary references to him:

(i) He returned to Ireland from the Spanish service soon after the Battle of the Boyne to fight on the anti-Williamite side; a contemporary observer dates *Aodh*'s return to July 1690 [Fumeron, *Franco-Ir. Corr.* § 1242 (= Vol. ii, p. 212)].

(ii) In February 1691, he is found commanding an army of 7-8,000 badly trained Donegal peasants [*Franco-Ir. Corr.* § 1242 (=Vol. ii, p. 212)].

(iii) In a document dated 1/5/1699, he is listed to receive a military pension of £500 from the Williamite government [*Rawl. Class D. 921* f. 109 = *Anal. Hib.* ii (1931), p. 80]; however, he is not mentioned in the Civil and Military Establishment for Ireland under Queen Anne [*Rawl. Class D. 959* = *Anal. Hib.* ii (1931), p. 84].

(iv) The variety of his career is summed up in this quatrain from *PBOD* § 116:

Sbáinneach fírinneach fromhtha,
Francach feasach foghlamtha,
Gaoidheal gan calgguin 'na cheann
tarngairteach d'fhurtacht Éireann [q. 41]

He is also praised there as *Aodh áilghean na n-ilbhéarladh* [line 27b].

(v) He also receives mention in the poem *Máirseáil an tSáirséalaigh*:

Tá an Sáirséalach láidir is a ghunnaí á dtreorú,
is an gcuala tú gur éag sé, Ball Dearg Ó Domhnaill
[*NuaDh.* II, poem 3, lines 21-2].

Conall (903) s. o. Seaán (802) s. o. Aodh Buidhe (704) s. o. Conn (604) s. o. An Calbhach (508) s. o. Maghnas (402) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

As with *Aodh* (902), a brief account of *Conall* (who is also outside the scope of this chapter) is given here to bring the discussion down to his son, *Aodh* (1001), for whom *PBOD* was compiled.

The only information, besides that found in *PBOD*, on this *Conall* of which I am aware is the following [= points (a)-(c)]:

(a) According to T. Ó Cléirigh [*Éigse* i, p. 52], *Conall* was made Lord Lieutenant of Donegal in 1689 by King James; Ó Cléirigh's source is not known to me.

(b) He may be the "Connell Odoneill" found commanding a battalion of "la brigade d'Odoneil" in June 1691 [*Franco-Ir. Corr.* § 1462 (= Vol. ii, p. 337)].

(c) R. S. Ó Coochláin's assertion ["Hugh O'Donnell of Larkfield" [*Donegal Annual*, no. 37, p. 46 & note 5] that *Conall* is mentioned as a Donegal "titulado" on page 49 of the 1659 *Census* seems to be based on a misreading or misunderstanding of the name "Conn" *Ó Domhnaill* which appears there.

Indeed, the fact that, on line 38b of *PBOD* § 105, *Conall* is addressed either as *a chonnachtaigh a chonallaigh* or, if this (the MS. version) is emended to comply with metrical requirements, *a Chonnachtaigh Chonallaigh*, would seem to suggest that, like most other members of the *Ó Domhnaill* dynasty, *Conall*'s family relocated to Connacht after the end of the 1641 war.

However, a fair deal of information on him is to be gleaned from *PBOD* itself. His line of descent, as given above, is confirmed by the full genealogy of his son *Aodh* (1001) which appears on the first page of *PBOD*. *Conall* himself is the subject of two poems in the *duanaire* compiled for his son; these are:

(d) *Clú gach fheadhma ar fhuil Dálaigh* [*PBOD* § 104], which is attributed to *Pádraig Óg Mac an Bhaird*.

(e) *Ní hionann Ultaigh 's Éire* [*PBOD* § 105] by *Éamann mac Néill Ruaidh Uí Chaiside*.

The second of these, *Ní hionann Ultaigh 's Éire*, is designed to show the superiority, by reference to the precedents of *seanchas*, of the Ulstermen over the rest of Ireland's inhabitants and to establish *Conall*'s right to the inheritance to which this superiority entitles them:

> *A-tá Ultach oile ann*
> *caomhruire cuanna, Conall*
> *mac Seaáin dar fhaomh Muire muirn*
> *mheic Aoidh Bhuidhe mheic caomhChuinn* [q. 29]

If the following quatrain is, as seems likely, a reference to *Conall*'s brother *Aodh* (902) rather than to *Aodh Ruadh* (605), the poem was probably composed after *Aodh* (902) returned to Spain in 1697 [see above, § 902]:

> *Cabhair i n-uair a héigin*
> *fuair an Bhanbha bhláithéidigh*
> *go fiadhnach 's bu taom nar thuill*
> *ón Iarla Aodh Ó Domhnaill* [q. 23]

Conall himself is later referred to as *Iarla i n-ionadh Aodha* ('Earl in place of *Aodh*') [line 33a].

The first of the poems mentioned above is problematic in that, except in details such as personal names etc., it corresponds almost exactly to a poem in the Book of O'Hara [for discussion, see intro., chapt. 2, § 5 (vi)]; unless the same poet presented two patrons with what was substantially the same poem, either the *PBOD* poem or the *O'Hara* poem must be a forgery. However, whatever the case, it is unlikely that *Clú gach fheadhma ar fhuil Dálaigh* would have been included in a poem-book written for its subject's son unless it identified *Conall*'s mother and wife correctly; it seems likely, then, that the following information is trustworthy:

(f) That *Conall*'s mother was the *Caitir Íona* daughter of *Eóghan Ó Ruairc* referred to above in the discussion of his father *Seaán* (802); he is referred to as *Mac cródha Chaitreach Fíona* [*PBOD* § 104, line 27a], as a *leathRuarcach* ('a half-*Ó Ruairc*') [line 26d] and as *ua Uí Ruairc* ('grandson / descendant of *Ó Ruairc*') [line 24a].

(g) That *Conall* was married to *Gráinne* daughter of *Ruaidhrí* son of *Maghnas* (804) *Ó Domhnaill*. Her name is given as *Gráinne* in lines 32a and 33c and she is referred to as *Inghean Rughraidhe* ('daughter of *Ruaidhrí*') [line 31a], as *inghean fhialghlan Siubháine* ('generous and pure daughter of *Siubhán*') [line 32b], as *deaghua míndealbhach Maghnais* ('smooth and shapely granddaughter of *Maghnas*') [line 31b] and as *banua Cuinnmheic An Chalbhaigh* ('female descendant of *Conn* son of *An Calbhach*') [line 35b].

Note that another poem, with similar minor differences, which appears in two MSS., in praise of two different people, is discussed below in § 1001.

The information found in points (f)-(g) is substantially confirmed in the discussion of *Conall*'s son, *Aodh* (1001), below.

<u>Aodh (1001)</u> s. o. Conall (903) s. o. Seaán (802) s. o. Aodh Buidhe (704) s. o. Conn (604) s. o. An Calbhach (508) s. o. Maghnas (402) s. o. Aodh Dubh / Óg (301) s. o. Aodh Ruadh (201) s. o. Niall Garbh (101):

This is the man for whom *PBOD*, from which most of the poems in this thesis are edited, was written in 1727 by *Séamas Mág Uidhir*.

Aodh's full line of descent, which appears on the first page of *PBOD*, confirms the genealogy given above for him.

He is the subject of three poems in *PBOD*:

(i) *Rogha carad do char sinn* [*PBOD* § 106], which is attributed to *Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird*.

(ii) *Iomdha séanbhuaidh ag síol gConaill* [*PBOD* § 107 (1-23)] by *An tAthair Pádraig Dubh Ó Coirnín*.

(iii) *Cá bhfuair an tOineach iosdadh?* [*PBOD* § 108], also attributed to *An tAthair Pádraig Dubh Ó Coirnín*.

The first of these is a rather hackneyed panegyric; *Aodh* is praised for his bravery, his generosity, his noble temperament and the like. Particular emphasis is placed on the respect earned for him by his noble roots; for instance, in q. 17, the poet says:

Ód athardhacht mhea[d]hraigh mhóir
biaidh ainm agaibh is ardghlóir
is gairm ó uaislibh gach fhuinn
do uaisligh th'ainm is th'urraim

By addressing *Aodh* as *A dheaghua Rughraidhe réidh* [line 10a], the poet confirms that *Gráinne* daughter of *Ruaidhrí* son of *Maghnas* (804) *Ó Domhnaill* was his mother [cf. § 903, above].

The second of these [*PBOD* § 107, qq. 1-23] is also fairly unremarkable; *Aodh* is praised for his nobility, his generosity and his princely qualities. Directly after qq. 1-23 of this poem in the MS., there is a 14 quatrain lament (in the same metre) for *Aodh*'s wife, Flora Hamilton, which is of greater interest than the address to *Aodh* himself. Ó Cléirigh [*Éigse* i, pp. 137-8] sees this as a sepa-

rate poem. Because the poet does not employ the metrical device of closure, it is impossible to say with certainty whether this lament was meant as a separate poem or as an addition to *PBOD* § 107, qq. 1-23. In my view, however, the latter is the case; the lament begins with the quatrain:

Créad bheir maoithe i mbrugh an deighfhir
d'éis a ndearn[adh (?)] do Dhia na ndúl
do bhiathadh bocht, do charthain chléire
gan marthain méine 'na mhúr

The fact that the audience are not told who *an deighfhear* is suggests that this lament was intended as an addition to the quatrains in praise of *Aodh*; indeed, the first mention of him in it is five quatrains later:

Sníomhach Aodh tar éis a chéile,
caointeach Ulaidh i ngach aird,
biothbhuan brón Banbha gan aithbhe
mun n-amhra fa mairfe mairg

The poet calls Flora *Fló Hamilton*, names her father as *Seón* and gives 12 November 1716 as the date of her death:

Seacht gcéad déag, dhá ocht do bhliadhnaibh
iar mbreith Íosa i mBeithil bhláith
's an dó dhéag do mhí Nói-vimbear
Fló ón éag fuair imneadh áith

In all but a few minor details (such as personal names), the third poem [*PBOD* § 108] listed above replicates, or is replicated by, poem 27 of Carney's *Poems on the O'Reillys*. The fact that the version appearing in *O'Reilly Poems* (where no poet's name is given) is three quatrains longer may suggest that it was the original; however, this is not certain. By way of illustration, I give here quatrains 9-13 of the two poems; note that the *O'Reilly* version given here is that of Carney's text with all MS. readings mentioned by him restored:

PBOD § 108, qq. 9-13 (MS.):

Siol cconuill fríthe foghtha
don mheas iad is iontoghtha
do chongbhail cádhuis dar ccor
is dfoghbhaíl áruis ac(h)adh

Iomdha sgríbhinn is sgreaptra
ag foillsiugh/. firchearta
na nanradh ar fhonn ealga
drong as amhra ilcheárda

Fiadhain air, oirbheart a shean
fiadhain gniómh Et gaisgeadh
dáil séd is maith gan mhine
tréd da bhraith gach buaidhfhile

Gonadh uime as deanta ar ndail
ag an oireacht óg adhnaír
in rioghraidh is trén a ttreas
ar ar shiorchuir sén sáirmheas

Ni haithne dhamh dhíbh díogha
bhar an uaisle oireadha
cia in deighbheangán go dron
bhus deirbhleannan dar ttéghadh

O'Reilly Poems 27, qq. 9-13

Síol Raghallaigh ríogha a nós
mur théid ós drúighean dheargrós
téid ós fholuibh úais oile;
gúais dolaigh don dheaghchuire.

Iomdha sgríbhinn is sgreaptra
ag foillsiúghadh firchearta
na nannra air Fhonn Ealga,
drong is amhra ilchearda.

Fiaghain air, oirbheart a sean,
fiadhain a ngníomh, a ngaisgeadh,
dáil séd is maith gan mhine
tréd do bhraith gach fíor bhaidhbhfhile

Gonadh uime is dénta ar ndáil
a n-oirear chúanna an Chabháin,
'gon ríoghraidh is trén a ttreas
dfíorluidh air lén do léighios

Ní haithne dhamh dhíobh díogha
bhar an Úaisle oireadha
cía in deaghbheangan go dron
bhudh deirbhleannán díar ttéghadh

Another poem addressed, with similar minor differences, to two different people in two different versions, is discussed above in § 903.

Much has been written of *Aodh*; in his description of *NLI* MS. *G.* 167, Ó Cléirigh gives a brief resumé of *Aodh*'s life [*Éigse* i, pp. 52-3]; in "On Hugh O'Donnell of Larkfield" [*Éigse* iii, pp. 21-4], Éamonn Ó Tuathail gives his subject more extensive treatment; Rupert S. Ó Cochláin's "Hugh O'Donnell of Larkfield" [*Donegal Annual*, no. 37, pp. 46-50] is largely a repetition of Ó Tuathail's work but adds some further information on *Aodh*'s descendants.

I have nothing to add to these and the following is confined to summarising what they say about *Aodh*:

(a) That, besides the poets who addressed the poems mentioned above to him, it would appear that *Aodh* also availed of the services of *Toirdhealbhach Ó Cearbhalláin* [Ó Tuathail, p. 22; Ó Cochláin, p. 48].

(b) That, after the death of his first wife, Flora Hamilton, *Aodh* married Margaret, daughter of Hugh Montgomery of Derrygonnelly in Co. Fermanagh [Ó Cléirigh, p. 53; Ó Tuathail, p. 23; Ó Cochláin, p. 46].

(c) That, after 1691, *Aodh* moved from Co. Donegal - first to Mullaghbane in Co. Fermanagh and later, as a tenant, to Larkfield in Co. Leitrim [Ó Cléirigh, pp. 52-3; Ó Cochláin, p. 46].

(d) That, in his *Dissertations on the Antient History of Ireland* [1753, p. 231; quoted Ó Cléirigh, p. 53], Charles O'Conor of Belanagare writes:

> The Tyrconall Race produceth, at this Day, Persons, who reflect back on their Ancestors the Honours they derive from them; particularly, Conall and John O'Donnell ... These excellent General Officers are the Sons of a very worthy Person, Hugh O'Donnell, the present Chief of the Tyrconall Line and of Flora, the Sister of the late General Hamilton ...

(e) That Richard Pococke [G. T. Stokes (ed.), *Pococke's Tour of Ireland in 1752*, 1891; quoted Ó Tuathail, p. 22] gives the following account of meeting *Aodh* in 1752:

> we rid ... to Sr. James Calwells house, this gentleman has spent most of his time abroad, was Aid de camp in the Austrian service to General Odonell, whose father dined with us yesterday, and they say is the head of that family descended from the Earl of Tyrconel and tho' he has only leases, yet he is the head of the Roman Catholicks in this country, and has a great interest, is a sensible man, and well vested in the Irish History, both written and traditional.

(f) That *Aodh* died in 1754 and was buried in Creevelea Abbey in Co. Leitrim; Ó Tuathail [p. 23] quotes the inscription on *Aodh*'s grave:

Pray for the Soul Of
O Donnell Hugh who De

parted this Life Nov^{r} y^{e} 28th
1754. Aged 63 y^{rs}

CHAPTER 2: THE POETS

The names of the authors of all of the poems edited in this thesis are known. In this chapter, I identify each of them more fully, listing other works produced by them and making available any information on them that is available to me.

The poets are discussed here in alphabetical order.

[§ 1] Mac an Bhaird, Gofraidh Óg s. o. Gofraidh s. o. Brian: Poems 2-4, 7-8

A. The poet:

The above line of descent is given in the scribal introduction to poem 2 [= point (i) below]. All other poems which I attribute to him here [points (ii) - (x) below] are ascribed in the MSS. in which they appear simply to *Gofraidh Óg Mac an Bhaird*; nevertheless, identifying *Gofraidh Óg* s. o. *Gofraidh* s. o. *Brian Mac an Bhaird* as their author seems safe on the following grounds (a - h):

(a) (i) is attributed in MS. to *Gofraidh Óg* s. o. *Gofraidh* s. o. *Brian Mac an Bhaird*.

(b) All of (i) - (x) below were composed within 10 - 20 years of each other.

(c) All have as their subjects people from the same part of Co. Donegal.

(d) (ii) has the same subject as (i).

(e) The subject of (iii) is taken to be the brother of the subject of (i).

(f) (iv) and (v) both concern a near relation of the subject of (i) and appear a few pages after it in the MS.

(g) (vi) and (vii) concern a near relation of the subjects of (i) - (v).

(h) (ix) concerns the brother- and sister-in-law of the subject of (iv) - (v).

The following poems [points (i) - (x)], then, can all be attributed with fair certainty to this *Gofraidh Óg* s. o. *Gofraidh* s. o. *Brian Mac an Bhaird*:

(i) *Do dúisgeadh gaisgeadh Gaoidheal* [poem 2 of this thesis] to *Seaán* (802) *Ó Domhnaill* (died 1655).

(ii) *Do toirneadh ceannas clann gCuinn* [poem 3 of this thesis] on the death, in 1655, of *Seaán* (802) *Ó Domhnaill*.

(iii) *Gabhla Fódla Fuil Chonaill* [poem 4 of this thesis] to *Dominic* (803) *Ó Domhnaill*.

(iv) *Treóin an cheannais Clann Dálaigh* [poem 7 of this thesis] to *An Calbhach Ruadh* (901) *Ó Domhnaill*.

(v) *Deireadh flaithis ag féin Gall* [poem 8 of this thesis] to *An Calbhach Ruadh* (901) *Ó Domhnaill*.

(vi) *Tarla leónadh don leith thuaidh* [*Stoneyhurst* A·ii·20, vol. ii, pp. 24-6] on the death, in 1646, of *Maghnas* (804) *Ó Domhnaill*.

(vi) *Is truagh cor chríche Banbha* [*Stoneyhurst* A·ii·20, vol. ii, pp. 20-4] on the death, in 1646, of *Maghnas* (804) *Ó Domhnaill*.

(vii) *Gá mhéad gabháil uair Éire?* [*Stoneyhurst* A·ii·20, pp. 11-17].

(ix) *Cia ler múineadh Maol Muire?* [*Stoneyhurst* A·ii·20; *RIA* 23·G·24 etc.] to *Maol Muire* s. o. *Toirdhealbhach Mac Suibhne* and his wife, *Gráinne* d. o. *Uaitéir* s. o. *Lochlainn* (?) *Mac Suibhne*.

(x) *Táinig tairngire Chiaráin* [*Archiv. Hib.* I, pp. 83-4]. Composed, in 1649, on the (falsely) reported death of *Eóin Ó Cuilleanán*, bishop of Raphoe (who actually died in 1661 [see *ib.*]).

This *Gofraidh Óg* may be the "Gory McAward gent", the "titulado" whose name appears alongside that of "Corr" quarter, described as "ye capital of Letter McAward", and above those of "Cross" q., "Tum" q., "Cullbe" q. and "ye 4 qrs of Craugh & Termon & all ye p'sh of Templecrone" [Pender, *1659 Census*,

p. 48]. As the name suggests, *Leitir Mhic an Bhaird* (now usually anglicised Lettermacaward) was the traditional place of the Donegal *Mac an Bhaird* family; it is in the parish of Templecrone, in the nort-west of the barony of Boylagh and Bannagh, Co. Donegal.

The number of poems composed by *Gofraidh Óg* for the descendants of *Conn* (604) *Ó Domhnaill* suggests that, if such an office still existed, he was their *ollamh* or, at least, that he had some similar - perhaps less formal - arrangement with them.

B. The poet's father:

Gofraidh Óg's father, *Gofraidh* s. o. *Brian* also composed a poem on a member of this sept[1]:

(i) *Bean do lámhaigheadh Leath Cuinn* [Walsh, *Gleanings*, pp. 27-52]; on the death, in 1625, of *Niall Garbh* (705) *Ó Domhnaill*[2].

as well as one to a member of another branch of the *Ó Domhnaill* family:

(ii) *Doirbh don chéidsheal cinneamhuin tairngeartaigh* [*DiD* 83] to *Rudhraidhe* (606) *Ó Domhnaill* who died in 1608.

and the following poems, many of which are of a religious character:

(iii) *Dairt sonn dá seóladh go Tadhg* [*DiD* 78]. To *Tadhg Óg* s. o. *Tadhg* s. o. *Tadhg Ó Baoighill*; McKenna [*AiDD* vol. i, p. xxix] dates the composition of this poem between 1588-1607.

(iv) *Ní chongmhann inbhe acht oirbhert* [*LClAB* 24] To Sir *Éinrí* (d. 1638) s. o. *Seaán Ó Néill* (Clandeboy family).

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1. Except when stated to be otherwise, all of the poems attributed here [points (i) - (viii)] to *Gofraidh* s. o. *Brian* are ascribed to him in the relevant MSS.

2. The poem is unattributed in the MS. consulted by Walsh; it is ascribed to *Gofraidh* s. o. *Brian Mac an Bhaird* in *NLI* G. 167 [cf. *PBOD* § 90].

(v) *Lámh indiu in thionnsgnamh, a Thríonóid* [*DiD* 33]. To the Trinity.

(vi) *A Dhé Athar, t'fhaire rum* [*AiDD* 50].

(vii) *Ag so tráth na cabhra, a Chríosd* [*AiDD* 51].

(viii) *Beir iul damhsa, a Dhé* [*AiDD* 52].

Gofraidh s. o. *Brian* may possibly be the author of the following [points (ix) - (x)]:

(ix) *Fan rath imrid aicme Ír*, *Eg.* 112·478; *Nat. Libr.* G. 127·316 (where it is ascribed to *Gofraidh Fionn Mac an Bh.*); *RIA* E·iv·3 etc.; *Stoneyhurst* A·ii·20, pp. 90-3 (where it is ascribed to *Gofraidh Mac an Bh.*). To *Fachtna* s. o. *Ros Ó Fearghail*, an erstwhile patron, who died before 1646 [see note on 10·53 infra], of *Fear Feasa* s. o. *Lochlainn Ó Maoil Chonaire* [see below].

(x) *Irial codhnach Cloinne Ír*, *Eg* 112; *Stoneyhurst* A·ii·20, pp. 94-6 (where it is ascribed to *Gofraidh Mac an Bh.*).

C. The poet's grandfather:

It is likely that the *Brian Mac an Bhaird* who composed *Ní ar aois roinntear rath buanna* to *Domhnall* s. o. *Toirdhealbhach* s. o. *Ruaidhrí Mac Suibhne Fánad* around 1570 was *Gofraidh Óg*'s grandfather[3].

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3. This poem is edited with translation in Seán Ó Foghlú, *Four Bardic Poems from Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne* (M. Litt. Thesis, Trinity College Dublin, Sept. 1992), pp. 109-20. Cf. also "It is likely that Gofraidh mac Brian Meic an Bhaird, who was composing poetry at the beginning of the seventeenth century, is the son of Brian" [*ibid.*, p. 108]. For dating of poem, see *ibid.*, loc. cit.

[§ 2] Mac an Bhaird, Somhairle s. o. Fearghal s. o. Uilliam Óg: Poem 6

A. The poet:

The above line of descent is given in the scribal introduction to poem 6 of this thesis; this poem is:

> *Neart gach tíre ar Thír Chonaill*, composed in 1649 on the death of *Aodh Buidhe* (701) *Ó Domhnaill*.

This *Somhairle* s. o. *Fearghal* s. o. *Uilliam Óg* is probably identical with the *Somhairle Mac an Bhaird* to whom the following composition is attributed:

> *Ní d'ainbhfios mealltar mac Seaáin* [*LClAB* 38], in praise of *Art Óg* (1600-1677) s. o. *Seaán Ó Néill* (*Cloinne Aodha Buidhe*).

Since the name *Somhairle Mac an Bhaird* is so rare, it is just possible that this man was also the author of the following poem, which I have not been able to date and whose subject I have not been able to identify:

> *Buaine ná a aois iomrádh Taidhg* to *Tadhg* s. o. *Domhnall Mac Conmara*, which is attributed to *Samhairle Mac An Bhaird* in *RIA* 23·H·25 (p. 19r), *RIA* 23·G·25 (pp. 281 & 327) and *CF* 23 (p. 224) [P. Ó Fiannachta, *Clár Lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge: Leabharlanna na cléire agus mionchnuasaigh* (Fascúil I & II), B. Á. C., 1980.]

I am not aware of any other references to this poet.

B. The poet's father:

I am not aware of any other reference to a *Fearghal* s. o. *Uilliam Óg Mac an Bhaird*.

C. The poet's grandfather:

This may be the *Uilliam Óg* s. o. *Cormac Mac an Bhaird* whose death is dated 22/2/1576 in *AFM* and who is described there as *Ó Domhnaill*'s *ollamh*; this *Uilliam Óg* who died in 1576 probably composed the following poems [points (i) - (v) in praise of *Aodh Dubh* (509) *Ó Domhnaill* (who ruled *Tír Chonaill* from 1566-92 and died in 1600), all of which are ascribed simply to *Uilliam Óg Mac an Bhaird* in *PBOD*:

(i) *Gréas dearbhtha duan na Feirsde* [*PBOD* § 38], which is dated 1567.

(ii) *Fada súil Éireann re hAodh* [*PBOD* § 39].

(iii) *Trom an suanso ort, a Aodh* [*PBOD* § 47].

(iv) *Mithidh th'athdhúsgadh, a Aodh* [*PBOD* § 48].

(v) *Biaidh athroinn ar Inis Fáil* [*PBOD* § 52], praising *Aodh Dubh* (509) and satirising *Conchobhar Ó Briain*, Earl of Thomond, and dated 1572.

and also:

(vi) *Trí Coin chosnus clú Gaoidheal* [*Maguire* 18] in praise of *Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir*, who reigned 1566-89 [*Maguire*, p. vii].

This man was, presumably, the father of the *Eoghan Ruadh* s. o. *Uilliam Óg Mac an Bhaird* to whom the following well known poems are attributed in *PBOD*:

(i) *Rob soraidh th'eachtra, a Aoidh Ruaidh* [*PBOD* § 68; = *IBP* 3], addressed, in 1602, to *Aodh Ruadh* (605) *Ó Domhnaill*.

(ii) *Fogas furtacht don tír thuaidh* [*PBOD* § 83; = *DiD* 93, where the poem is attributed to *Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird*] to *Aodh* s. o. *Ruaidhrí* (606) *Ó Domhnaill*.

(iii) *A leabhráin ainmnighthear d'Aodh* [*PBOD* 84; = *IBP* 1], to an *Aodh Ó Domhnaill*, possibly the same as the foregoing or a son of *Cathbharr* (607) *Ó Domhnaill*.

[§ 3] Mac an Bhaird, Uilliam Óg: Poem 1

As pointed-out in the notes on poem 1, the scribal introduction of that poem reads:

> *uilliam og m/c*
> *Uilliam* [space] *uilliam oig m/c an bháird* ....

There is no indication that any of these words is to be omitted; all of this is written in the same hand; the space appears to represent a scribal deletion. It is to be noted, as pointed out by Ó Cléirigh [*Éigse* i, p. 136, § 91], that, in his index to *PBOD*, the scribe, *Séamas Mág Uidhir*, names the author of this poem simply as *Uilliam Óg Mac an Bhaird*.

Clearly, in his introduction to poem 1 of this thesis, the scribe intends to attribute this poem to one of the following [points (i)-(ii)]:

(i) *Uilliam* (or *Uilliam Óg*) s. o. *Uilliam Óg Mac an Bhaird*.

(ii) *Uilliam* (or *Uilliam Óg*) s. o. *Uilliam* (or *Uilliam Óg*) s. o. *Uilliam Óg Mac an Bhaird*.

I am aware of the following persons named *Uilliam* or *Uilliam Óg Mac an Bhaird* who lived in the second half of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century:

1. The present poet:

Poem 1 of this thesis was composed by a *Uilliam* (or *Uilliam Óg*) *Mac an Bhaird*; this poem is:

> *Dia libh, a uaisle Éireann*, composed in 1641.

Since the following two poems were composed in the same area and at around the same time as the foregoing, it is likely that the *Uilliam Óg Mac an Bhaird* to whom they are attributed is identical with the author of *Dia libh*; these are:

> *Díol fáilte ceann ar gcléire* [*Archiv. Hib.* I, pp. 95-7] to *Eóin Ó Cuilleanáin*, bishop of Raphoe, who died in 1661.
>
> *Briocht na seirce i ndiaidh Eóin* [*Archiv. Hib.* I, pp. 98-100] to the same man.

Because

(a) the two poems just mentioned are attributed to *Uilliam Óg Mac an Bhaird* and

(b) it is reasonable, since the poet's father was definitely also named *Uilliam*, to expect that he himself would be distinguished from his father by the addition of the sobriquet *Óg* to his name,

it seems fair to conclude that the present poet was known as *Uilliam Óg*, rather than simply *Uilliam*.

2. *Uilliam Óg* s. o. *Cormac Mac an Bhaird*:

This man died in 1576 and was *Ó Domhnaill*'s *ollamh*; several compositions are attributed to him [see above, § 2, C]. It seems likely, in view of points (i)-(ii) above, that the present poet [author of poem 1 of this thesis] was either his son or his grandson.

3. A third *Uilliam Óg*?:

I give here two references from the early 17th century to a *Uilliam Óg Mac an Bhaird*:

> (a) O'Rahilly ["Irish poets ... in English documents", p. 105, § 35 (c)] quotes the 26 February 1603 pardon [*Fiants* 6761] of a "Wil-

liam oge M^{c}Award", of what he calls "the Donegal branch of the family".

(b) The poem *Tinn liom do mhaoith, a Mháire* [*PBOD* § 81] is ascribed in this MS. to *Uilliam Óg* s. o. *Uilliam Óg Mac an Bhaird*; it is addressed to *Máire* d. o. *Aodh Dubh* (509) *Ó Domhnaill* on the death of *Aodh*, the son of her brother *Cathbharr* (607); this (young) *Aodh* left with the earls in 1607 [see *BAR* ii, pp. 120, 124].

It seems likely, though there is no proof of this, that both of these refer to one man; although O'Rahilly [*ib.*, § 35 (a)] mentions the 1601 pardon [*Fiants* 6563] of a "William oge M^{c}Eward" of the Monaghan branch of the *Mac an Bhaird* family, it is likely that a member of the Donegal *Mac an Bhaird* family, who were traditionally *ollamh*s to the *Uí Dhomhnaill*, would have composed *Tinn liom do mhaoith, a Mháire.*

This *Uilliam Óg* s. o. *Uilliam Óg* is, it is to be presumed, the son of the *Uilliam Óg* (died 1576) s. o. *Cormac* who is discussed in point 2 above.

It cannot, in my view, be said with certainty that he is identical with the *Uilliam Óg* who composed poem 1 of this thesis [see point 1, above]. Walsh identifies the two as the same person; cf.

> Uilliam Óg, brother of Eóghan Rúadh, was living in 1641, and wrote a piece on the events of that year. he also addressed a poem to Máire Ní Dhomhnaill ... [*Irish Men of Learning*, p. 154]

4. Conclusions:

The main objections which might be raised to Walsh's identification of the *Uilliam Óg* s. o. *Uilliam Óg* of point 3, above, as the author of poem 1 of this thesis are:

(i) that it seems to be based largely on the ambiguous attribution, quoted above, of poem 1 of this thesis; and

(ii) that there is a 65 year gap between the death, in 1576, of *Uilliam Óg* s. o. *Cormac* and the composition, in 1641, of poem 1 of this thesis.

The main argument which might be advanced in support of his assertion is that the *Uilliam Óg* of point 3, above, cannot be shown to have been a different man to the *Uilliam Óg* of point 1, above.

The only conclusion I can draw from all of this is that the author of poem 1 of this thesis was either:

(a) *Uilliam Óg* [points 1 and 3, above] s. o. *Uilliam Óg* [point 2, above] s. o. *Cormac*; or

(b) *Uilliam Óg* [point 1, above] s. o. *Uilliam Óg* [point 3, above] s. o. *Uilliam Óg* [point 2, above] s. o. *Cormac*.

[§ 4] Ó Cléirigh, Cú Choigcríche: Poems 5, 9

In his "What we know of Cuchoigriche O Cleirigh" [*The Irish Book Lover*, May-June 1935, pp. 60-66], Fr. Paul Walsh discusses and identifies many of the several persons named *Cú Choigcríche Ó Cléirigh* who are known to have lived in the mid-17th century. In this discussion, he does not reach any conclusions and it is not intended to rehearse his arguments here. The only evidence which might link the author of poems 5 and 9 with any of the persons definitely identified by Walsh is the poet's name itself, *Cú Choigcríche Ó Cléirigh*.

The poems ascribed to *Cú Choigcríche* which are edited in this thesis are:

(i) *Mo mhallacht ort, a shaoghail* [poem 5], addressed to *Toirdhealbhach* (601) *Ó Domhnaill*.

(ii) *Ionmhain an laoidh léaghthar sunn* to *An Calbhach Ruadh* (901) *Ó Domhnaill*.

The only thing that can be said with any measure of certainty is that the many similarities between these compositions - especially the familiar style and didactic tone they share - would appear to establish that they were both composed by the same man.

[§ 5] Ó hUiginn, Maol Muire: Poems 13-5

The following poems [points (i)-(iii)] to *An Calbhach Ruadh* (901) *Ó Domhnaill*, are ascribed in the only MS. in which they appear to *Maol Muire Ó hUiginn*:

(i) *Ort mo cheisd, a Chalbhaigh Ruaidh* [poem 13, below].

(ii) *Fuasgail mo cheasda, a Chalbhaigh* [poem 14, below].

(iii) *Déanam cóir, a Chalbhaigh Ruaidh* [poem 15, below].

A reference in one of these to Sligo Castle [13·10d] suggests that this poet was of the Sligo branch of the *Ó hUiginn* family, from which the better known *Tadhg Dall* also hailed [see *TD* i, pp. xiv - xv].

The present poet may be the *Maol Muire* who composed the following poems [points (iv)-(v)]:

(iv) *Malairt chrotha ar chrích Luighne* [*O'Hara* 25; = *FFC* p. 297] to *Oilill* (d. 1685; cf. *O'Hara* 25 n. intro.) s. o. *Cormac Óg Ó hEadhra*.

(v) *Deacair gan oirbheart ionnradh na huaisleachta* [*RIA* C·iv·1, 166] in praise of *Uilliam* s. o. *Uaithne Ó Maoil Mhuaidh*. *Muiris* s. o. *Brian Óg Ó Maoil Chonaire* also composed a poem for this *Uilliam* [see below, § 7].

As explained in the note which follows, attribution to *Maol Muire Ó hUiginn* is uncertain in:

(vi) *Inghean tSearluis nach claon cuing* [*O'Hara* 27] to *Brighid* (unidentifed). Note that authorship of this poem is by no means certain; the attribution to *Maol Muire Ó hUiginn* appears "not at the head of the poem but immediately after it" [*O'Hara* 27 n., intro. (p. 402)]; fur-

thermore, except for names etc. and some other, fairly minor, differences, this poem coincides exactly with *PBOD* § 104, qq. 31-6, which quatrains are addressed to *Gráinne* d. o. *Ruaidhrí* s. o. *Maghnas* (804) *Ó Domhnaill*, mother of *Aodh* (1001) *Ó Domhnaill* for whom *PBOD* was written; these quatrains are attributed there to *Pádraig Óg Mac an Bhaird*; *O'Hara* 26 (attributed to *Pádraig Óg Mac an Bhaird*) replicates, or is replicated by, *PBOD* 104, qq. 1-30 - which quatrains, also attributed to *Pádraig Óg Mac an Bhaird*, are in praise of *Conall* (903) *Ó Domhnaill*, father of *Aodh* (1001) *Ó Domhnaill* for whom *PBOD* was written; it is difficult to say which MS. contains the forgery; however, attribution of *O'Hara* 27 to *Maol Muire Ó hUiginn* may be treated with scepticism.

The author of poems 13-15 of this thesis [= points (i)-(iii), above] may be identical with the *Maol Muire* s. o. *Eóghan Ó hUiginn* who composed the following [point (vi)]; note the *Connacht* / *Ó Maoil Chonaire* connection:

(vii) *Máthair na horchra an éigsi* [edited from *RIA* C·iv·1 by R. Ó Muirealhaigh in *Éigse* xv, 215-21], lamementing the death, in 1645, of *Muiris* s. o. *Torna Ó Maoil Chonaire*.

and / or with the *Maol Muire* s. o. *Eóghan Ó hUiginn* who composed:

(viii) *Doirbh riaghladh réime flatha* [*RIA* A·v·2, 14ß] to Sir Lucas Dillon.

The author of the points (i)-(iii) above is not to be confused with *Maol Muire* s. o. *Mathghamhain Ó hUiginn*, who was a brother of *Tadhg Dall* and Archbishop of Tuam, who died around the year 1590 [see *TD* i, p. xxiii] and to whom the following [points (a) to (d)] are attributed:

(a) *A fhir théid go Fiadh bhFuinidh* [*MD* 52; = *FFC* p. 192].

(b) *A fhir threabhas an dtulaigh* [*MD* 67; = *FFC* p. 197]

(c) *A theachtaire théid anonn* [*RIA* MS. 23·I·40, p. 76];

(d) *Mochean do theacht, a chláirseach* [*RIA* MS. 3·C·12, p. 217];

Although the following [point (e)] is attributed in MSS. to *Maol Muire* s. o. *Cairbre Ó hUiginn*, McKenna [*AiDD* i, p. xxxiv] suggests that the addition of "s. o. *Cairbre*" to this poet's name may be a mistake and that he should, perhaps, be identified with *Maol Muire* s. o. *Mathghamhain*, author of points (a)-(d) above:

(e) *Do-ní éanmhac ionad cloinne* [*AiDD* 77], an undateable religious poem.

The following [point (f)] is attributed simply to *Maol Muire Ó hUiginn* in *RIA Cat.*; the identity of this *Maol Muire* is difficult to establish; Knott [*TD* ii, p. 316] gives this man a *floruit* of *circa* 1600; if she is right, this *Maol Muire* can hardly be the present poet:

(f) *Créad do luaimhnighe, a Leith Chuinn* [*RIA* 24·P·9, 205; MS. written between 1651-2] for "*Donnchadh mac Domhnaill Chuain tShlighigh*" and his wife.

The author of the following [point (g)] cannot be identified either:

(g) *Slán uaim don dá aoghaire* [*MD* 53; = *FFC* p. 191]; undateable; subjects not named.

[§ 6] Ó Maoil Chonaire, Fear Feasa s. o. Lochlainn: Poem 10

Fear Feasa's line of descent cannot be stated with certainty; however, it seems likely that Walsh[4], who quotes the following genealogy[5]:

> *Paidin Ruadh m. Lochlainn m. Seain Ruaidh m. Lochlainn m. Paidin*

is correct in seeing the *Páidín Ruadh* mentioned there as *Fear Feasa*'s brother; since *Seaán Ruadh* died in 1589[6], the two would be contemporary with each other; furthermore, to my knowledge, this is the only mention in a genealogy around this time (other than its use as *Fear Feasa*'s patronymic) of the name *Lochlainn Ó Maoil Chonaire*, who may be the "Loughlin O'Mulchonry....of Lysnysill"[7] pardonned in the 1580's[8].

Fear Feasa was from *Baile Uí Mhaoil Chonaire* in Co. Roscommon[9], the hereditary lands of his family; we know this both from *Mícheál Ó Cléirigh*'s dedications[10] and from the internal evidence of poem 10[11]. The last definite date we have for him is 1646[12]; however, it would appear that poem 10 was composed by him around the time of the Cromwellian transplantation to Connacht[13].

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4. Walsh, "Learned family", pp. 838-9.

5. From *RIA* MS. E·iv·4, 12.

6. *ALCé*

7. For discussion of this place, *An Lisín Íseall*, which was in the traditional Roscommon lands of the *Uí Mhaoil Chonaire*, and which is mentioned by *Fear Feasa* himself, see note on line 25b of poem 10, below.

8. *Fiants* 4073, quoted Walsh, p. 841.

9. For discussion of this place, see 10·3b n.

10. See, for instance, *Genealogiae*, p. 7.

11. In which he welcomes *An Calbhach Ruadh* (901) *Ó Domhnaill* to *Baile Uí Mhaoil Chonaire*.

12. This is the date he gives for the composition of one of his poems (which is discussed below); see *Dán na mBr.* 39·203.

13. This took place c. 1654. Cf. *Teacht tar Éirne na n-eas mbinn / tre neart Gall na ngníomh*

While he himself is nowhere, to my knowledge, mentioned in administration documents[14], we are helped in locating him by the quite frequent mention in them of *Páidín Ruadh Ó Maoil Chonaire* who, as suggested in the previous paragraph, was probably his brother[15]. This man is mentioned in the Patent Rolls under the year 1618[16]; he is listed as the 1641 owner of lands in the part of Roscommon traditionally inhabited by the *Uí Mhaoil Chonaire*[17]; his retention, in the Cromwellian settlement of 1654-8, of two-thirds of the land he had held in Kiltrustan[18] parish in the year 1641 is also recorded[19].

Fear Feasa's professional concerns included both *seanchas* and *filidheacht*. Only two poems composed by him are known to me - Poem 10 of this thesis and another, *Beag táirthear don dtagra mbaoith*, which he composed in 1646 in defence of *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann* and its authors. Furthermore, some quatrains appended to these poems suggest that, at some stage in his career, he was *ollamh* to one *Fachtna Ó Fearghail*[20]:

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n-inghill [10·19ab] and also poem 9, passim.

14. It is possible (if unlikely), however, that either or both of the following pardons refer to him: (i) that of 1/6/1585 for "Ferfesse O Muckory" (listed among *Uí Mhaoil Chonaire*) of "Clonpluckane" [*Fiants* 4678; quoted O'Rahilly, "Irish poets ...", § 17, pp. 92-3]; (ii) that of 1590 for "Farfasse O Molconnere of Balliekillecomin" [*Fiants* 5439; quoted O'Rahilly, "Irish poets ...", loc. cit.].

15. We know that *Fear Feasa* had a brother of this name from the following genealogy: *Paidin Ruadh m. Lochlainn m. Seain Ruaidh m. Lochlainn m. Paidin* [*RIA* MS. E·iv·4, 12; quoted Walsh, "Learned family", p. 838].

16. He is described there as "Padin Roe O Mulconry of Corweyclog, gent." [*Patent Rolls* 353b; quoted Walsh, "Learned family", p. 839].

17. In Kiltrustan parish, in the townlands (or ballybetaghs) of "Rathmore", "Cloneshannagh" and "Cordramon" (in "Cloneshannagh"); in "ye qr. of Clonshee" in "Cloonecraw" parish, the townlands of "Corkenagh" and "Corgarruffe" [*BS&D*, vol. i, pp. 73 (f. 188), 88 (f. 232)].

18. This (or a townland within it) is the *Ceall Trosdáin* mentioned by *Fear Feasa* in 10·23b.

19. *Transplantation*, p. 276; the "John Conry" named as current owner of parts of "Rathmore" and "Cloneshannagh" townlands [*BS&D* i, p. 73] may have been *Páidín Ruadh*'s son.

Rann ógláchois nír fhigheas,	I have not woven a stanza in *ógláchas* -
a dhealbhadh nír dhearbhdhligheas,	the composing of such would have been improp
don dos lér dingeadh mo neart;	- to the hero on whose account my power has
ní dhingén anos cuaidheacht.	been crushed. I shall not complain.
Rann nír dhealbhas gan dochar	I have never composed a free stanza for the
don tí do thriall mh'ardachadh,	man who endeavoured to exalt me in honour,
Fachtna Uladh, eo Eamhna;	Fachtna of the Ulaidh, salmon of Eamhain;
pudhar nach beo an bheitheardha!	alas that the hero lives not![21]

Nevertheless, it would appear that, in keeping with the traditions of his family, who had been *seanchaidhe* to the *Síol Muireadhaigh*[22] (the *Uí Chonchubhair* and associated dynasties), *Fear Feasa* was more *seanchaidh* than court poet. Besides the obvious fact that the vast bulk of his surviving work consists of prose historical works, and that one of the above-mentioned poems is a contribution to a dispute over points of *seanchas*, the language of poem 10 of this thesis sometimes diverges from the classical standard - which indicates that, while *Fear Feasa* clearly received some training in the composition of *dán díreach*, this training was not as complete as that which a full-time professional poet might have received.

In contrast, his output as a historian was considerable. He collaborated with the 'Four Masters' on the following:

> - From 4/10/1630 to 4/11/1630[23], *a cconvent brathar Observantia Atha Luain*[24] on their book of the genealogies of the kings and saints of Ireland[25].

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21. Quoted here from *Dán na mBr.* 39·200-201.

22. See, for instance, the death notice of his ancestor, *Tanaidhe* [*AC* 1385 § 15].

23. See *Genealogiae*, p. 6.

24. *Genealogiae*, p. 9.

25. Published as P. Walsh (ed.) *Genealogiae Regum et Sanctorum Hiberniae by the Four Masters* (Maynooth, 1918).

- Between 22/10/1631 and 22/12/1631, in the preparation of their version of *Leabhar Gabhála* in *Coinvent Bhráthar Leasa Gobhail ... in easpocóideacht Clochair, i bhFearoibh Manach*[26].

- On their greatest work, *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann*[27]; this was compiled between 22/1/1632 and 10/8/1636 in the Convent of Donegal[28]; however, *Fear Feasa* himself points out that he only worked on the text down to the year 1333 (in Irish history)[29].

We also know the following about him:

- On 18 August 1633, in the "Convent of Donegal" he signed a statement endorsing *Mícheál Ó Cléirigh*'s edition of *Féilire Uí Ghormáin*[30].

- In 1641, with *Cú Choigcríche Ó Cléirigh*, another of the 'Four Masters', he attended the Franciscan general chapter at Multyfarnham, Co. Westmeath, to defend the *Annála* against the objections of *Tuileagna O Maoil Chonaire*[31].

His published response[32], dating from 1646, to *Tuileagna*'s continued attacks, in which he quotes from a wide variety of native sources - as well as the style of the response itself - affords an insight into the work of the 17th century *seanchaidh* and into the breadth of *Fear Feasa*'s own knowledge.

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26. Dedication to *Brian Ruadh Mág Uidhir* quoted *MS. Mat.*, pp. 553-4.

27. Preface to the Annals from Franciscan MS., quoted *Gleanings*, p. 75.

28. Dedication to the Annals, Franciscan MS., quoted *Gleanings*, p. 74.

29. *Fear Feasa*'s address to the reader [*Genealogiae*, p. 134].

30. Whitley Stokes (ed. & transl.), *Féilire hUí Gormáin: The Martyrology of Gorman*, *Journal of the Henry Bradshaw Society* IX, (London, 1895), p. 2.

31. *Fear Feasa*'s address to the reader [*Genealogiae*, p. 135].

32. This consists of a prose tract [published as an appendix to *Genealogiae*, pp. 134-8] and the lengthy *óglách*as poem, *Beag táirthear don dtagra mbaoith*, mentioned above [published as *Dán na mBr.* 39].

[§ 7] Ó Maoil Chonaire, Muiris s. o. Brian Óg: Poems 11-2

Muiris's genealogy is found in q. 3 of *Damhna eólchaire éag Mhuiris*[33], an elegy on him composed after his death in 1664[34]. He was the son of *Brian Óg*[35], son of *Brian*[36], son of *Maoilín*[37], son of *Torna Mór*[38]. His mother's name was *Gráinne*[39].

Muiris receives some mention in administration documents; note the following from *BS&D*[40] (not all of which need refer to him):

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33. *RIA* MS. C·iv·1, between ff. 208-9; while the poet's name is not known, he was clearly an *Ó Maoil Chonaire* [see, for instance, qq. 19-21].

34. Cf. *Míle bliadhan - ceart an chuimhne - / a ceathair, seasga is sé chéad / ó ghein Dé go a oighidh uain[n]e / gné roidhil far buaine ar mbéad* [*Damhna eolchaire éag Mhuiris*, q. 36].

35. *Mícheál Ó Cléirigh* transcribed the life of Saint *Béarach* from a book belonging to this man's family on 6/2/1629: *Slicht droichleabhair sheanda meamtruim cloinne Briain oig ui Maolconaire innsin, a cconveint na mbráthar ag Drobhaois 6 Februarii, 1629. An bráthair bocht Michel ó Cléirigh do sgríobh* [quoted B. Jennings, *Mícheál Ó Cléirigh*, p. 72]. Furthermore, *Brian O\g* was onetime owner of a manuscript containing classical adaptations (e. g. *Tógáil Traí*, *Merugud Ulixis*); cf. *Ag so leabhar Bhríain óig mhic Bríain Ui Maoil Conuire.* [King's Inns MS. 12·38 *r.*, marg.; quoted *King's Inns Cat.*, p. 31]

36. Cf. *Gen. Ui Mhaolchonuire: Brian m Maoilin m Torna m Maoilin m Tanaidhe m Phaidin* [*RIA* MS. E·iv·4, p. 11; quoted Walsh, "Learned family", p. 837]; this man (or his son) may be the "Brian O Mulconre, of Clonplocan" who received a pardon in 1583 [*Fiants* 4240; quoted, O'Rahilly "Irish Poets", p. 93, § 17].

37. This man, who was *ollamh* of *Síol Muireadhaigh*, died in 1519: *Maoilin mac Torna h. Maoilconoire ollam hSíol Murethaig, fer lan do rath ₇ d'ecna et fer do toghadur Geraltaig et Goill tar ollomnaib Erenn ... a ecc a Mainesdir Derg a Tepa* [*AC* 1519, § 9].

38. *Torna Mór*, *ollamh* of *Síol Muireadhaigh* in *seanchas* and *filidheacht*, died in 1468 [*AC* 1468 § 11]. He is identified by Simms [*Ériu* 31, 1980, 136-9] as the author of three *óglách*as poems; interestingly, a rival of his - the court poet *Tuathal Ó hUiginn* - condemns him as a mere *seanchaidh* who has no right to usurp the functions of a lord's poet [see *AiDD* 32; Simms, op. cit.].

39. *Damhna eolchaire*, line 16b.

40. *BS&D*, vol. i, pp. 74 (f. 189), 88 (ff. 231-2); I have not included records of acreage etc.

In Kiltrustan parish (Co. Roscommon):

	1641 owner:	Lands:	Current owner(s):
1.	Maurice ô Mulconry	In Cloneshannagh: Coyle Clough, 1 qr.	Gerald Dillon William ffrench
2.	Maurice ô Mulconry	In Cloneshannagh: Carrowgarry, 1 qr.	Gerald Dillon

In Cloonecraw parish (Co. Roscommon):

	1641 owner:	Lands:	Current owner(s):
3.	Maurice O Mulconry	Clonehye, ½ qr.	Morriss Conry
4.	Maurice O Mullconry	Tawny Pattahan 1 cartron in Dromovollan	Richard Martin Edmund ffallon
5.	Maurice O Mullconry	Corlisdamph 1 cart. in Clonymalin	Edmund ffallon

Some of these might refer either to our *Muiris* or to *Muiris* son of *Torna*[41]; however, since the latter died in 1645[42], number 3 most probably refer to our poet, *Muiris* son of *Brian Óg*. Note further that, in the 1654-8 transplantation, "Morris Conry" of "Cloonahee" retained 61 Irish acres in the parish of "Cloonecraw"[43]; it is likely that this too refers to our poet.

41. For discussion of whom, see below.

42. ibid.

43. *Transplantation*, p. 274.

Since *Muiris*'s place of residence is given in his elegy as *Cluain Seancha*[44], it is likely that numbers 1 and 2 also refer to him.

In his elegy, *Muiris* is frequently described as leader of his family: *ceann dá chineadh* [line 2c]; *Tamhan cumhra Chluana Bolcáin*[45] [15a]; *ceann fine* [19b]; *fear eagair* [20c]. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that he is not among the Roscommon *Uí Mhaoil Chonaire* named as "tituladoes" in the census of 1659[46].

He is referred to as both historian and poet; cf. *an file fíor* [21d]; *Seancha[idh] saor is deighfhear dána* [25a]; *flaith fromhtha, fáidh is file* [4c]; *Sgríbhneóir, léaghthóir leabhar ndorcha* [16a]; *fear ar ar thál fréamh dá foghlaim* [16c]; and also as *ollamh*; cf. *ollamh Cruachan an chláir mhín* [4b]; *ollamh toghtha chuire Cruachan* [17c]; *ollamh sluaigh Mhoighe Maoin* [24d]; he is strongly connected with the Fitzgeralds by the composer:

> *Ardfhuil Ghearailt ó Ghort Maisdean*
> *fa mhaoith bhróin acht iad i n-uaigh*
> *budh casmhail tre éag an ollaimh*
> *gasraidh Ghréag an bhronnaidh bhuain.* [q. 13]

No prose works by *Muiris* are known to me. He composed several poems:

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44. *Aoibhneas, imeirt, ceol is coirmdheoch / i gCluain Seancha ní seol gann / fuair do chách a mian gan mhaoidheamh/ gér gnáth triall na n-aoidheadh ann* [*Damhna eolchaire éag Mhuiris*, q. 23].

45. Since this placename is no longer in use and does not appear in English documents after the 16th c., its precise extent is difficult to ascertain. Three general terms are used to describe all or part(s) of the Roscommon lands of the *Uí Mhaoil Chonaire*; these are *Baile Uí Mhaoil Chonaire* [see 10·3b n.]; *Cluain Bolcáin* / *Cluain Plucáin* (first occupied by the family in 1232 [*AC* 1232 § 10], probably in return for their services as *ollamhain*) and *Cluain Seancha*, the origin of which name is obvious. They may have been co-extensive, as Walsh ["Learned family", 839-42] suggests.

46. These are "Jno [sic.] Conry, gent." and "Olin Conry, gent." [Pender, *Census*, p. 577] and "Bryan Mulconry, gent." [ib., p. 582]; it is tempting to suggest that this "Bryan" may have been a brother of *Muiris* (son of *Brian Óg* son of *Brian*).

(i) *Lúireach Chríosd fan gCalbhach Ruadh* (edited here as poem 11) to *An Calbhach Ruadh* (901) *Ó Domhnaill.*

(ii) *Beannacht chugaibh, a Chalbhaigh* (edited here as poem 12) to the same man.

(iii) *Roinnfead cách re cléir Banbha* to *Féilim mac Éamainn Mhic Dhubhghaill* [*RIA* MS. C·iv·4, 174 & 186], a standard panegyric in *deibhidhe* metre.

(iv) *Do-ghéan seanchas ar fhuil Fhiachaidh* to *Uilliam mac Uaithne mhic Laoighsigh Uí Mhaoil Mhuaidh* [*RIA* MS. C·iv·1], a comprehensive genealogical poem which traces its subject's ancestry back to *Eochaidh mac Fiachaidh*; ironically, *Muiris*'s kinsman *Conaire Óg* wrote a well known letter complaining of ill-treatment he received, because he was believed to be a poet, at the hands of this man's father, *Uaithne Ó Maoil Mhuaidh.*

The following poems (from a single MS.)[47], to various members 17th century members of the Dillon family of Mayo, were probably also composed by him. In no one case is the poet's full name clear; they are variously headed ....*Uí Mhaoil Chonaire*, ...*mac Briain Óig*, *An Muiris céadna* etc. The proximity of the Dillons' lands, especially immediately following the Cromwellian settlement[48], to *Muiris*'s would seem to further strengthen the case for attributing these poems to him:

(v) *Gabhaidh mo shuirghe, a Shior Lúcáis* [p. 20a of MS.]; to Sir Lucas Dillon, second son of Sir Theobald Dillon and his wife[49].

(vi) *Fada go dtoir triath Airtigh* [p. 21ß] to the same two people.

(vii) *Cuirfead comaoin ar charaid* [p. 22ß] to the same two people.

(viii) *A fhir fhágbhas Inis Cuinn* [p. 23ß]; to Sir Lucas Dillon only.

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47. They are to be found in *RIA* A·v·2 [= *RIA Cat.* no. 744], pp. 20-29.

48. Sir Lucas himself held considerable lands in Roscommon [see, for example, *Transplantation*, p. 239].

49. Sir Theobald was created 1st Viscount Mayo in 1621 [*RIA Cat.*, MS. 744].

(ix) *Cia aineacas inn ar leathrom* [p. 25ßi] to the same two people.

Muiris died, as mentioned above, in 1664[50] and was buried in Kiltrustan[51].

Our poet, *Muiris* son of *Brian Óg*, is not to be confused with the following, also named *Muiris Ó Maoil Chonaire*, also living in the early-mid 17th century:

(a) The "Morris O Mulchonile of Adchile" who was pardoned on 3/3/1603 [O'Rahilly, "Irish poets", p. 109, § 44].

(b) The "Morris Conry" who retained 100 acres of his 1641 lands at "Craiganowen" in Killadysert, Co. Clare in the Cromwellian settlement [*Transplantation*, p. 23].

(c) Perhaps the same man as the foregoing: a *Muiris Ó Maoil Chonaire* signed an affidavit in a MacNamara v. O'Brien lawsuit on 12/4/1683 [*Inchquin Manuscripts*, p. 462, § 1394].

(d) The *Muiris* son of *Torna Ó Maoil Chonaire* from Co. Roscommon who assisted the compilers of *AFM* for one month [Preface to *AFM* in Franciscan MS., quoted *Gleanings*, p. 75] and composed the following poems: *Orpheus óg ainm Eoghain* [ed. McGrath, *Éigse* 7, 84-7] in praise of a musician; *Do leónadh Éire i nÁth Luain* [ed. *Filí & Fil. Chonn.*, pp. 283-93] on the death of *Brian Mac Diarmada* on 1/2/1636; *Ní mhaireann d'Éirinn acht Aodh* [ed. *Filí & Fil. Chonn.*, pp. 125-32]; to *Aodh Ó Conchubhair Donn*, who died in 1632. An elegy, *Máthair na horchra an éigsi* [ed. R. Ó Muireadhaigh, *Éigse* 15, 215-21], composed by *Maol Muire* son of *Eóghan Ó hUiginn* (who may be the composer of our

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50. See note 34 above.

51. Cf. *A Cheall Trosdáin, tarla id charcair / ceann cothaighthe ceall is cliar* [lines 27ab of his elegy]. The poet bemoans the fact that *Muiris* was not interred in Elphin, the traditional burial place of his family: *Oil Finn bheos dá mbeith ar aitreabh / áit a aithreadh roimhe riamh / ní bhiadh sdór ar gcisde id chumhgach/ misde go mór cumhdach cliar* [q. 33]; for discussion of this place, see 10·23b, n..

poems 13-15) [see above, § 5], gives 1645 [ib., q. 24] as the year of this man's death.

(e) The Fr. Maurice Conry (of the Thomond branch of the *Uí Mhaoil Chonaire*) who spent much of his working life on the continent, whose *Threnodia Hibernico-Catholica* was published in 1659 and who died in England in the 1660s [See Brendan Jennings, introduction to *Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica*, *Archivium Hibernicum*, vol. 13, 1947, pp. 67-8].

CHAPTER 3: MANUSCRIPTS

In this chapter, the manuscripts consulted in preparing the edited text of poems 1-15 are identified and discussed.

The manuscripts in §§ 1-5 below are arranged here in the order of their importance in the preparation of the edited text. While the manuscripts in §§ 6-12 have also been consulted and are included in the variant readings, they add little to the versions given in the manuscripts in §§ 1-5 and are arranged here in the order in which they were written.

Note that (i) page numbers in round brackets refer to the relevant pages of the manuscripts and (ii) that, in the discussion which follows, "quality" refers to the standard of a particular manuscript's version of the poem(s) in question rather than to such considerations as the scribe's handwriting.

[§ 1] NATIONAL LIBRARY OF IRELAND, G. 167:
Only MS. consulted for poems 1-2 (pp. 313-23), 8-15 (pp. 332-49).
Main MS. consulted for poem 7 (pp. 327-32).
Secondary MS. consulted for poem 5. (pp. 323-6).

This manuscript is fully described and discussed in Tomás Ó Cléirigh, "The poem book of the O'Donnells", *Éigse* 1, 1941, 51-61, 130-41. It is a *duanaire* of poems on the *Uí Dhomhnaill* compiled for *Aodh* (1001) *Ó Domhnaill*. The portion of the MS. concerned here was completed on 29 May **1727** by *Séamas Mág Uidhir* [MS. p. 379]. It is clearly written and its quality varies from fair to very good.

[§ 2] ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, 24·P·27 [Academy Catalogue: No. 4]**:**
Only MS. consulted for poem 6 (pp. 95-101).
Main MS. consulted for poem 5 (pp. 104-8)

The part of the MS. concerned here consists almost exclusively of poems on the *Uí Dhomhnaill* of the 16th and early-mid 17th centuries (and their forbears) and, thus, was probably compiled for a member of that family; it was written in

the **late 17th century** by an unknown scribe. This MS. is clearly written and, for purposes of editing, is by far the highest quality MS. consulted while writing this thesis.

[§ 3] BRITISH LIBRARY, EGERTON 112 [*O'Gr. Cat.* 34-57]**:**
(Consulted in poor quality *NLI* Microfilm 440).
Main MS. consulted for poems 3 (p. 487) and 4 (p. 470).
Secondary MS. consulted for poem 7 (p. 480).

This MS. was written by Muiris Camshrónach Ó Conchabhair between either **June 1779 or June 1780** [see *O'Gr. Cat.*, p. 34] and May 1782 in Cork. The bulk of the MS. is made up of the life of St. Patrick and the writings of Seathrún Céitinn, its collection of poetry beginning only on page 437. The quality, for present purposes, of this MS. is fair.

[§ 4] STONEYHURST COLLEGE, A·11·20 (vol. ii):
(Consulted in poor quality N. L. I. Microfilm 471).
Secondary MS. consulted for poems 3 (pp. 26-30) 4 (pp. 69-73).

According to R. J. Hayes [*Manuscript Sources*, vol. 11, p. 619], this was written by Cormac Ó Corbáin in **1701** and by Eoghan Ó Caoimh in **1703**; I am not aware of any fuller description of this MS. In the case of the poems edited here, where it has been only one of several MSS. consulted for versions of poems 3-4, this MS. has been very useful - often giving the best readings available; however, it is so corrupt in places that it has not been used as a main MS. and would be of little use in the absence of other MSS. with which to compare its readings.

[§ 5] ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, 23·G·24 [Academy Catalogue: No. 257]:
(Photocopy only consulted).
Variant readings for poems 3 (pp. 268-271, 344) and 4 (pp. 275-9).
This MS. was written by Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin between **1795-1821**, mostly in counties Cork and Limerick. It has no particular theme and, in my view, was probably intended by its writer for use as a source for later scribal work by him. The quality of its versions of poems 3-4 is fair to poor.

[§ 6] ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, F·vi·2 [Academy Catalogue: No. 253]:
(Photocopy only consulted).
Variant readings for poem 3 (pp. 255-61).

This MS. was written in **1813** by Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin at Carraig na bhFear, Cork for Seaghán Ó Connúgha; its quality is fair to poor.

[§ 7] ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, 23·C·21 [Academy Catalogue: No. 672]:
(Photocopy only consulted).
Variant readings for poems 3·1-10 (pp. 26-7) and 4 (pp. 27-32).

This MS. was written by Eoghan Caomhánach (Eugene O'Cavenagh of Hospital, Co. Limerick) between **1816-7** in the Clonmel area. The part of it which concerns us here has much the same material in much the same order as the MS. in § 11 below; the two are clearly connected. Its quality is fair to poor.

[§ 8] ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, F·iii·1 [Academy Catalogue: No. 265]:
(Photocopy only consulted).
Variant readings for poem 3 (pp. 276-91).

This MS. was written by Mícheál Óg and Peadar Ó Longáin in **1820**. Where it was written is not, to my knowledge, known. Its quality is fair to poor.

[§ 9] ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, F·ii·4 [Academy Catalogue: No. 284]:
(Photocopy only consulted).
Variant readings for poem 3 (pp. 329-44).

This MS. was written by Peadar Ó Longáin in **1820**. Its quality is fair to poor.

[§ 10] ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, 24·A·17 [Academy Catalogue: No. 74]:
(Photocopy only consulted).
Variant readings for poem 3 (pp. 320-34).

This MS. was written by Peadar Ó Longáin in **1821** at "Curra Chiopáin Cois Laoi"; according to the Academy Catalogue, its main source was the Book of Lismore; its quality is fair to poor.

[§ 11] ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, 23·B·24 [Academy Catalogue: No. 498]:
(Photocopy only consulted).
Variant readings for poems 3·1-10 (pp. 290-1) and 4 (pp. 292-302).

This MS. was written in the **1820's-30**'s by an unknown scribe. The part of it which concerns us here has much the same material in much the same order as the MS. in § 7 above; the two are clearly connected. Its quality is fair to poor.

[§ 12] ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, 23·N·7 [Academy Catalogue: No. 660]:
(Photocopy only consulted).
Variant readings for poem 3·1-10 (p. 21-2).

The name of the scribe of this MS. is unknown; it was written during the 19th century, on paper which, according to the Academy Catalogue, is watermarked "**182(9?)**". Its quality is fair to poor.

CHAPTER 4:

This chapter is in three sections. In the first of these, I explain the rationale behind the choice of poems to edit; in the second, I discuss the order in which the poems thus chosen are presented in this thesis; in the third, I identify and evaluate previous editions made of four of the poems edited here.

[§ 1] CHOICE OF POEMS

The main yardsticks applied in the search for poems to edit were that the poems chosen should conform, more or less, to the standards of the classical language, that they should be linked together by a common theme and that, once edited, they should be of some use to historians. It was felt that the series of poems from the 1641 period in *NLI* G. 167 on members of the *Ó Domhnaill* dynasty fulfilled these requirements.

Poem 1 below, has been added because it directly precedes these compositions in the MS., because it is felt that it provides a good introduction to poems 2 - 15 and because, in my view, it is of considerable historical value in its own right.

Poem 3 is included from other MSS. because it is an elegy on the subject of poem 2 and thus helps to complete the historical picture of the *Uí Dhomhnaill* at that time.

Likewise, poem 4 is included because its subject is the brother of poems 2 - 3.

Poem 6 is included because it elegises the son of the subject of poem 5.

I am aware of only two further poems on the *Uí Dhomhnaill* of this period; these are *Tarla leónadh don leith thuaidh* and *Is truagh cor chríche Banbha*, both of which lament the death, in 1646, of *Maghnas* (804) *Ó Domhnaill*; they are not included because, in the one MS. in which they appear [see intro., chapt. 2, § 1.A.], they are in such poor condition that they are hardly amenable to editing.

[§ 2] ORDERING OF POEMS IN TEXT

The order in which poems are presented in the text follows that of the main MS, *NLI* G. 167; poems which do not appear there are inserted into this framework on these grounds:
Poem 3 is an elegy on the subject of poem 2.
Poem 4 is in praise of the brother of the subject of poems 2-3.
Poem 6 concerns the son of the subject of poem 5.

The ordering of poems 13-15 is discussed further in the introduction to poem 13.

[§ 3] PREVIOUS EDITIONS

Poems 1 - 4, 6, 8, 10 - 11, 13 - 15 are edited here for the first time.

Poems 5 and 9 were printed, with translations, by Eugene O'Curry as appendix 79 to his *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* (Dublin, 1861), pp. 562-9. When it is considered that O'Curry did not have access to the many publications (*DIL*, *BST*, *IGT*, published poetry etc.) available to today's student, his versions of these poems are found to be of an exceptionally high quality. However, it was felt that these compositions would benefit from treatment which applied a more modern standard of scholarship and made use of the facilities at the disposal of today's student and, also, from the addition of a commentary.

Much the same could be said of poem 12, which was printed, with translation, by Paul Walsh in *BAR* ii, pp. 152-5 (and elsewhere). It is included here for the sake of completeness, to place it in its context, for comparison with poem 12 by the same poet, because Walsh's translation is, in some places, questionable, and because it is felt that a more complete edition, which draws attention to any irregularities of language or metre and, where necessary, emends them, is called for.

Poem 7 is re-edited here for the sake of completeness. It is edited with translation by Owen McKernan in *Éigse* 5, 8-24. Unlike the foregoing, McKernan applies today's standards of scholarship and his edition is of a high quality. My edition draws heavily on his, differing from it only by the addition of a commentary, by some, fairly minor, differences in the edited text and translation, by making the style of translation conform with that of the other poems edited here and by consultation of *NLI* G. 167, to which he did not have access and which clears up some of the problems presented by the MSS. used by him.

CHAPTER 5: APPROACH TO EDITING

The treatment of each poem consists of five elements:

1. Manuscript readings:

A diplomatic version of each poem appears in the left-hand column of each page of text. Where more than one MS. has been consulted (poems 3-5, 7 only), this is given from the main MS. used; variant readings from all other MSS. appear together after the text of poems 1-15.

The following scheme is applied in both diplomatic versions and variant readings:

(i) Question-marks are intended to draw the reader's attention to uncertainties in my reading of the MS.; such uncertainties are discussed, as they occur, in the commentary on the text.

(ii) When abbreviations can be expanded in only one way, they are expanded silently; these include suprascript vowels, tall *e* (for *ea*), *g* (for *gan*), *g* (for *gach*) and the symbols for *(a)cht*, *eacht*, *con-*, *as/us*, *ear/eir*; in cases of doubt or where the MS. seems poor or corrupt etc., expansions are given in round brackets.

(iii) Those contractions which involve any measure of editorial decision are let stand; for example, *mc* + stroke, which could be expanded to *m(h)ac* or *m(h)eic*, is printed as *m/c*; the suspensions - and - which stand for a variety of different letter combinations, are printed here as / and /. respectively; *et* and ⁊ (= "and") are also reproduced here; letters written above other letters in MS. are written here in suprascript, after the letter above which they appear in the MS. (e. g. m^{c}).

(iv) All divergences from the main MS. are noted in the variant readings; except where considered significant, however, this does not include the presence or absence of marks of length.

2. Edited version:

This appears in the right-hand column of the text.

The aim, in preparing this version, has been to restore each poem as closely as possible (except in matters of orthography) to the form in which it was originally composed.

The main yardsticks used in standardising are:

(i) Metre: All poems except poem 5 (which is in *deibhidhe, óglách*as) are clearly intended to conform metrically to *deibhidhe, dán díreach* metre.

(ii) The language of the schools: All poems except (in some respects) poems 5, 9-10, are clearly intended by the authors to conform to this standard. For purposes of standardisation here, such texts as *IGT*, *BST* and, in some cases, *Gram. na mBr.* are used as a guide to what was considered (un)acceptable. When these are silent or incomplete, conclusions are based on the evidence provided by the corpus of classical poetry itself. Departures from this standard are discussed, as they occur, in the commentary on the text. In the case of poems 5, 9 and 10, metrical considerations and the internal evidence of each individual composition are the yardsticks applied.

(iii) A standardised orthography: A standardised orthography is adopted throughout. Since the poems' authors themselves would probably have paid scant attention to spelling [see Ó Macháin (1991)], this is a somewhat artificial operation; it is done in the interests of clarity and of consistency and of intelligibility to the modern reader.

In all but a few minor respects, the spelling guidelines set-down by McKenna in *AiDD* (pp. xi-xx) are adhered to. The following are the particulars in which his usage is departed from or in which clarification is considered desirable:

- Long *iu* and *eo* are written *iú* and *eó* to distinguish them from their short counterparts; e. g. *deoch* [1·33c], *gleo-ágh* : *Seo-án* [2·37cd], *Eóraip* [1·8a]; *tiugh* [2·27b], *fiú* [2·12a].
- In unstressed syllables, where *a(i)* , *o(i)* and *u(i)* are interchangeable, *a(i)* is always used; thus *chuguinn* [MS., 1·2d] is written *chugainn*; however, since it is a compound of *geimheal* + *trom*, the spelling of *geimhealtrom* [MS., 8·30d] is retained in the edited text.
- In unstressed syllables, where *ea*, *io* and (short) *iu* are used indifferently, the former prevails; thus *eirionn* [MS., 1·1a] is written *Éireann*.
- "Eye-rhyme" is not sought.
- Prepositional pronouns based on the prepositions *do* and *de* are written unlenited; thus *dhóibh* [MS, 2·3a] is written *dóibh*.
- In words like *a-tá*, *a-nonn*, *a-niú*, *do-bheir* etc., unstressed and stressed syllables are divided by a hyphen.
- In the interests of clarity, pres. indic. cop. is written *is*; pres. rel. cop. is written *as*.

The editorial principles employed in regard to initial mutation, are set-out below [intro., chapt. 6].

The reader may also note that:

(i) Each poem's model and closure are highlighted.
(ii) In some cases, in order to draw the reader's attention to a particular point, square brackets are employed to indicate that an emendation has been made; this is done in a completely arbitrary fashion and no attempt has been made to be consistent in this matter; otherwise, because the edited text of each poem is accompanied by a parallel diplomatic version, emendations are made silently.
(iii) A question mark in round brackets indicates that the edited text is doubtful or uncertain and directs the reader to the commentary on the poem concerned.
(iv) The initial letter of the first element of a (quasi-)place or tribal name is given in lower case; thus, *clár Cuinn* [1·2c], *fine Gaoidhil* [2·7b]; the only exceptions to this are well-established (rather than poetic) names like *Tír Chonaill* [6·1a], *Magh Aoi* [9·19c].

3. Translation:

This appears at the end of each page of text.

It is intended primarily as an aid to understanding the Irish and as an indication as to how this writer believes it should be interpreted. The aim has been to translate as literally as possible without, of course, compromising sense or violating the rules of language. Thus, fluency in English has, to some extent, been sacrificed to ensure an accurate reflection of the original's meaning. Nevertheless, the intention has been to provide a translation which can be understood by itself, without reference to the Irish language original.

It may also be noted that:

(i) A question mark in round brackets indicates that the translation given is doubtful and refers the reader to the notes.
(ii) Some Irish words - proper names and some technical terms (e. g. *ollamh* [9·25a]) - are retained in the translations; these are italicised and given in nom. sing. form; provincial names are given in English.
(iii) The first elements of (quasi-)place and tribal names such as *clár Cuinn* [1·2c], *fine Gaoidhil* [2·7b], even those regularly used in classical poetry, are always translated; thus, "*Conn*'s plain", "*Gaoidheal*'s family" etc.; the only exceptions to this are well-established (rather than poetic) names like *Tír Chonaill* [6·1a], *Magh Aoi* [9·19c], no element of which is translated.
(iv) Metaphorical imagery used in the original is translated literally; thus, *a sduagh* [8·38d] is rendered "O rainbow".
(v) Although there is some argument to be made for the use, in translations of classical poetry, of archaisms, these have been avoided.
(vi) When more than one translation is possible, alternatives are given in the notes.

4. Introduction to each poem:

To avoid cluttering the text, these are given at the beginning of the notes on each poem. They consist of a brief summary of the main themes of each composition and, when information is available, discussion of such matters as its date of composition.

5. Notes:

These appear after the MS. readings. They consist of a line by line commentary on each poem. Their main function is discussion of matters of language and metre, of emendations made and of difficulties with the edited text and, where necessary, of why a particular translation has been chosen above others. However, they also include identification of persons and places appearing in the text; note that this does not extend to names for Tara / Ireland or to mythological ancestral figures, all of which are identified in the indexes.

CHAPTER 6: INITIAL MUTATION

This chapter has two purposes: (i) to classify and list, for the benefit of other researchers, all metrically fixed examples of initial mutation in the poems edited in this thesis; (ii) to establish the principles to be followed in the edited text in regard to initial mutation.

The chapter is divided into 49 sections; each of these has up to three elements:

(i) **Examples** from the edited text; the vast majority of these are metrically fixed. In some cases, however, it has been found helpful to include examples which are not conclusively metrically fixed; when examples given are not metrically fixed, this is indicated.

(ii) **Comments** on these examples; such comments include analysis of the examples given, comparison between the examples given and McKenna's analysis in "Initial eclipsis and lenition ..." [*Éigse* iii, 1941, 52-66], reference to the tracts and examples from other texts.

(iii) A statement of the **editorial policy** adopted, on the basis of the examples given and the comments made, in the edited text.

Note (i) that no examples are given here from Poem 5, in which alliteration is not a metrical requirement; (ii) that, for the purposes of this chapter, "proper name" includes words like *dana(i)r*, *gall*, *goill* etc.; (iii) that "noun" includes substantivised adjectives; (iv) that "epithet" and "ep." mean an adjective or a noun which qualifies the particular type of noun under discussion; (v) that, except when otherwise stated, it may be taken that all examples given from the text are in agreement with McKenna's "Initials" and with *IGT* and *BST*; (vi) that in obvious cases, such as nom. sing. masc., no comments are made; and (vii) that any cause of initial mutation not dealt with in this chapter is discussed in the notes on the text or, failing this, follows the principles set down in McKenna's "Initials".

The sections in this chapter are ordered as follows:

[§ 1] Nom. sing. masc.
[§ 2] Voc. sing. masc. (where voc. sing. form = nom. sing. form)
[§ 3] Voc. sing. of o-masc. decl. (where voc. sing. form = gen. sing. form)
[§ 4] Nom. sing. fem.
[§ 5] Voc. sing. fem.
[§ 6] Gen. sing. masc. of io- or o- declension
[§ 7] Gen. sing. masc. of other declension
[§ 8] Gen. sing. fem.
[§ 9] Genitives lenited in special circumstances
[§ 10] *Sléagar*
[§ 11] Dat. sing. fem. ending in a consonant
[§ 12] Dat. sing. masc. ending in a consonant
[§ 13] Dat. sing. (masc. and fem.) ending in a vowel
[§ 14] Acc. sing. fem. governed by prep.
[§ 15] Acc. sing. masc. governed by prep.
[§ 16] Acc. sing. (masc. or fem.) governed by verb
[§ 17] Acc. sing. (masc. or fem.) after *ní fhuil, nach fuil*
[§ 18] Nom. pl. of o-declension
[§ 19] Nom. pl. of other declension
[§ 20] Gen. pl.
[§ 21] Proper nouns
[§ 22] Affect of *ag so, ag sin* on construction
[§ 23] Prep. *ar*
[§ 24] Prep. *(e)idir*
[§ 25] Prep. *gan*
[§ 26] Prep. *fa, um*
[§ 27] Prep. *mar*
[§ 28] Prep. *ós*
[§ 29] Prep. *tar*
[§ 30] Prep. *tre*
[§ 31] *Gach*
[§ 32] Active regular verbs in rel. position
[§ 33] Neg. part. *ní* before active verb

[§ 34] Rel. neg. part. *nach* before active verb
[§ 35] Rel. neg. part. *nar* before active verb
[§ 36] Prep. + rel. before past active verb
[§ 37] Passive verbs
[§ 38] Forms of *do-gheibh* alliterating with *f-*
[§ 39] Forms of *do-gheibh* alliterating with a vowel
[§ 40] Copula: present indicative positive
[§ 41] Copula: present indicative negative
[§ 42] Copula: present relative positive
[§ 43] Copula: present relative negative
[§ 44] *Má* + present positive copula
[§ 45] Copula: future indicative negative
[§ 46] Copula: future relative positive
[§ 47] Copula: past indicative negative
[§ 48] Copula: past relative positive *dob*
[§ 49] Prep. + rel. + past positive copula

[§ 1] Nom. sing. masc.:

's Áth Seanaigh go snuadh n-óige [10·24c]
Aonghus, Flaithbheartach fiandúr [10·12b]
barr suaimhneasa ná sireadh [7·43d]
dá bhiodhbhaidh ní séad samhail [11·2c]
dar linn, is crann sochair sin [11·5c]
Deireadh flaithis ag féin Gall [8·1a]
duitse nach fáth faltanais [9·16b]
éan seabhaic na sealg bhfuilteach [7·14b]
nach fuair an séimh suilbhirghrinn [6·64b]
ní fáth cóir sírfheirge sinn [14·6c]
ní frioth a fhear samhla soin [2·16c]
rob tuar síothrúin a silleadh [9·29d]
smacht feadhma ar na finfhleadhaibh [3·22d]
tacha suain ar na síonaibh [3·23d]

Editorial policy: *Nom. sing. masc. + no initial mutation of ep. (except with some old neuters - "Síol* ***n****Dálaigh etc.).*

[§ 2] Voc. sing. masc. (where voc. sing. form = nom. sing. form):

a chladh séamhshotal sluaigh Fáil [15·9c]
A thriath Finne na bhfonn dtais [2·40a]

Comments: Inflexion in voc. is discussed below [intro., chapt. 7, § 4].

Editorial policy: *Voc. sing. masc. (which has nom. sing. form) + no initial mutation of ep.*

[§ 3] Voc. sing. of o-masc. decl. (where voc. sing. form = gen. sing. form):

Ná deach fúibh, a fhir ***Fh****inne* [9·29a]

Comments: Inflexion in voc. is discussed below [intro., chapt. 7, § 4]; inflected voc. sing. masc. acts the same as gen. sing. of o-masc. noun [for which, see below, § 6].

Editorial policy: *Voc. sing. of o-masc. decl. (which has gen. sing. form) + lenition of ep.*

[§ 4] Nom. sing. fem.:

Lenites epithet (no examples of proper name as epithet) in:

*cuid **fh**íorchosnaimh dá hanáir* [2·9d]
*is caoi **fh**íre a héagnachghoimh* [6·56d]
*radháigh **fh**ortúin i n-eanghrais* [10·34d]
*ráinig clú **fh**éile dot fhuil* [12·2c]
*rinn **fh**eille ó aos mímhéine* [6·25b]
*suil theaghmhas puinn **fh**iadhaigh air* [8·24c]

Comments: This is fully in keeping with Mc Kenna "Initials", p. 52, where it is stated that len. of a proper name is not obligatory after voc. sing. fem.

Editorial policy: *Nom. sing. fem. + lenition of ep.; + lenition or non-lenition of proper name ep. (following metre then MS.).*

[§ 5] Voc. sing. fem.:

Same as nom. sing. fem. in:

*a bheófhl[ath] ionmhain **fh**oirtill* [14·7d; see note on text].
*a sduaigh **fh**ionndaithgheal éadrocht* [10·40d]

Might also be explained as an instance of "genitives lenited in special cases" in:

a chraobh ***fh****réimhe ríoghChonaill* [13·14b]

Comments: This is fully in keeping with Mc Kenna "Initials", p. 52, where it is stated that len. of a proper name is not obligatory after voc. sing. fem. Inflexion in voc. is discussed below [intro., chapt. 7, § 4].

Editorial policy: *Same as nom. sing. fem.* [see § 4, above].

[§ 6] Gen. sing. masc. of io- or o- declension:

Lenites in:

ar Bhanbha an fhóid ***fh****innghrianaigh* [4·24b]
críoch an daghshluaigh armdha ***fh****inn* [7·30c]
i ndiamhair gach fhuinn ***fh****ásaigh* [8·24d] (MS. ph f)
síol gConaill is Eóghain ***fh****éil* [3·17c]
sluaigh an fhéarchraoi ***fh****uinidhse* [1·35d]
toigheacht trír ***fh****éil oile* [4·8c] (MSS. differ; line short)

and (metrically inconclusively) in:

de shíol fhionnDálaigh ***fh****óid Breagh* [8·19c] (see note on text)

do mhionn súl shíl ***sh****aoirFhiachaidh* [2·26b] (see note on text)

Lenition might also be explained as an instance of "genitives lenited in special circumstances" in:

each iomchair ***fh****ola Dálaigh* [6·28b]

Lenites adjectival standing epithet of proper noun in:

caill Banbha ríghNéill ***Fhr****asaigh* [2·14b]

and (inconclusively) in:

Ná lean acht d'fhuil Éibhir ***Fhinn*** [3·40a]
[r]e haicme úir Éibhir ***Fhinn*** [3·44c]

Lenites proper noun in:

déana, a ghríobh armshl[ua]igh ***Fhinne*** [10·25c]

Does not lenite proper noun in:

ar orlár seanmhúir ***Sligigh*** [13·10d]

and (inconclusively) in:

fa ghléire séanshluaigh ***Saxon*** [8·13d] (see note on text)

Comments: Agrees fully with McKenna "Initials", p. 53, where it is stated that the ep. is usually unlenited if it is a proper name coming second (i) in a quasi-title or (ii) in a coined or poetic compound placename

Editorial policy: *Gen. sing. of o-masc. or io-masc. decl. + lenition of ep.; lenition of proper names is not restored unless required for alliteration.*

[§ 7] Gen. sing. masc. of other declension:

Does not lenite proper noun in:

a ghriangha srotha ***Samhaoir*** [10·48d]
d'uaislibh sleachta seanGhaoidh[il] [3·46b]

Non-lenition metrically inconclusive in:

ag díon fionnmhoighe ***Féilim*** [7·1d]

Lenition in the following is probably better explained as "genitive lenited in special cases":

*sás ionnarbtha **fh**ian n-eachtrann* [7·13b]

Comments: This is fully in agreement with McKenna, "Initials", p. 53; McKenna adds that, although this is rare, lenition does occasionally occur after such genitives.

Editorial policy: *Gen. sing. masc. not of o-masc. or io-masc. decl. + no initial mutation of ep.*

[§ 8] Gen. sing. fem.:

Non-lenition is metrically inconclusive (because line is short a syllable) in:

Béim súla slóigh danar [3·50a]

Editorial policy: *Gen. sing. fem. + no initial mutation of ep.*

[§ 9] Genitives lenited in special circumstances:

When a common noun in gen. sing. or gen. pl. comes before the gen. of a proper noun and combines with it to form a (quasi-)place or tribal name, it is normally lenited, regardless of the normal rules of initial mutation; note that all examples given here from the text fulfil the requirements for *sléagar* [for which, see below]:

*A shearc ollamhan **fh**uinn Breagh* [12·3a]
*bás acht d'airmreannaibh **fh**ian nGall* [3·52c]
*Éag ríoghraidhe **fh**réimhe Cuinn* [3·49a]
*fa bhailbheannaibh **fh**iadh n-eachtrann* [3·52d]
*fuighle naomh **fh**uinn Ughaine* [8·8b]
*Grádh ag eólchaibh **fh**uinn Banbha* [10·8a]
*le laochradhaibh **fh**óid Oiligh* [7·45d]
*re cumhdach **fh**uinn Oilealla* [4·6b]

*na héigseisin **fh**uinn Connacht* [9·12b]
*tar aon d'uaislibh **fh**uinn Eachaidh* [4·51c]
*sás ionnarbtha **fh**ian n-eachtrann* [7·13b]

Although the following example is (metrically) inconclusive, it may be concluded from comparison with line 7·45d (quoted above; from the same poem) that the same rule obtains here:

*d'áirsidhibh **fh**óid fhionnMhacha* [7·40b]

Lenition is (metrically) inconclusive in:

*do mhionn súl **sh**íl shaoirFhiachaidh* [2·26b] (see note on text)
*Do bhrígh **fh**urtachta fhuinn Breagh* [2·25a] (see note on text)

This rule also obtains in the following examples; however, lenition might also be explained by ...

(i) preceding voc. sing. fem.:

*a chraobh **fh**réimhe ríoghChonaill* [13·14b]

(ii) preceding gen. sing. masc.:

*each iomchair **fh**ola Dálaigh* [6·28b]
*de shíol fhionnDálaigh **fh**óid Breagh* [8·19c] (see note on text)

(iii) preceding dat. sing. fem.:

*ag agallaimh **fh**ear n-Éireann* [4·39b]
*do thárrachtain **fh**óid Éireann* [8·31d]
*ar gcéadfhógra **fh**ear n-Éireann* [8·29d]

The following are exceptions to this rule; non-lenition suggests either (i) that this rule was optional or (ii) de-lenition because of *sléagar* [for which, see below]:

a chladh séamhshotal sluaigh Fáil [15·9c]
a ghriangha srotha Samhaoir [10·48d]
d'uaislibh sleachta seanGhaoidh[il] [3·46b]
ar orlár seanmhúir Sligigh [13·10d]

Non-lenition is (metrically) inconclusive in:

Béim súla slóigh danar [3·50a] (MS. s s; line short)
frioth ceannus puirt Párthalóin [7·20b]
fa ghléire séanshluaigh Saxon [8·13d] (see note on text)
ag díon fionnmhoighe Féilim [7·1d]
Do tharngair Pádraig Puirt Dúin [4·8a] (see note on text)

Comments: This is fully in keeping with the analysis made by McKenna, who says ["Initials", p. 54] that, in such cases, "Gen. is usually lenited (its lenition often ... prevailing over the eclipsis or non-affection which might be otherwise regular)".

Editorial policy: *Such genitives are lenited unless lenition precludes alliteration.*

[§ 10] *Sléagar*:

This example can only be explained as *sléagar*:

*'s coigeadal **fh**ian i n-éigean* [4·30d]

The following is probably *sléagar*; however, if *féar an airdríogh* is treated as a (pseudo-)placename (which seems unlikely), it might be an instance of "genitives lenited in special circumstances" (for which, see previous item):

*le maoraibh **fh**eóir an airdríogh* [4·42d]

Comments: These examples are in keeping with McKenna's discussion of this phenomenon in *BST* App. IV (pp. 262-70); only points which apply directly to our text are given here:

(i) *Sléagar* consists of the poetic licence to lenite, to un-eclipse or to delenite a gen. which governs a (following) gen. or an adj. and which would normally be differently initially affected [p. 265, §§ B - C];

(ii) It is common when the gen. affected by *sléagar* is followed by the art. [p. 267, § I].

(iii) Although many "genitives lenited in special cases" fulfil the requirements for *sléagar*, many others do not and, consequently, it "would be wrong to infer from such cases that" [this] "rule ... is simply an application of Slégar" [p. 267, § L].

Note than, in our text, all "genitives lenited in special cases" [for which, see above] fulfil the requirements for *sléagar*.

Note also the following example: *fearr sin ná saidhbhreas eile / daidhbhreas fhir na haithrighe* [*DiD* 22·7].

Editorial policy: *The ordinary (non-'sléagar') rules of initial mutation [as set out in §§ 1-9 above and §§ 11-20 below] are followed throughout, except in the above, metrically fixed, examples.*

[§ 11] Dat. sing. fem. ending in a consonant:

Lenites in:

*Dá mhianaibh i n-uair **fh**eadhma* [4·32a]
*do réir **fh**írfhis na n-eólach* [8·3b]
*ó thír **fh**éaruaine Éibhir* [7·25d]
*rug ar ógbhai[d]h **fh**ionnUladh* [3·11b]
*triath ó chruaidh **fh**orlainn nar fhan* [7·34c]
*'s gaoth ag boing **fh**oichneadh a húir* [6·61c]
*fa choim **fh**oithreadh gach allbhrúigh* [6·61d] (for use of dat. after *fa*, see note on text)

Lenites a following proper noun in:

fiailbhean do shaoirfhréimh ***Shuibhne*** [12·10b]
do bhéin ***Fhódla*** *d'allmharchaibh* [1·18d]

Lenition might also be explained as an instance of "genitives lenited in special circumstances" in:

ag agallaimh ***fhear*** *n-Éireann* [4·39b]
do thárrachtain ***fhóid*** *Éireann* [8·31d]

Lenition is metrically inconclusive in:

don chrích bhuig ***shíodhchobhsaidh sháimh*** [2·9c]
is Éire i n-airc ***fhóirithneach*** [2·18b]
san udhaim ***shéaghainn shuaithnidh*** [6·34b]
Do bhrígh ***fhurtachta*** *fhuinn Breagh* [2·25a] (see note on text)
i gcrích leasaolta ***fhinn Fháil*** [7·33c]
dá [...]ghnúis náir ***fhaoilidh fhinn*** [3·38c]

Comments: This is in keeping with McKenna's analysis ["Initials", p. 55], which is that, after a dat. sing. fem. noun ending in a consonant, (i) if it is a common noun or adjective, the epithet is always lenited; (ii) if it is a proper name, the epithet is "oftener unlenited than lenited".

Editorial policy: *Dat. sing. fem. ending in a consonant + lenition of ep.; non-lenition of a proper name ep. is also considered acceptable.*

[§ 12] Dat. sing. masc. ending in a consonant:

Note that, in all metrically fixed examples given here from the text, the masc. noun in question has the same form in both nom. and dat. sing.

(a) Lenites following epithet in:

ag síol ***fharránta*** *airdNéill* [8·32d]

*ar bhruach **fh**aithche 'narbh **fh**iar ceart* [4·33c] (MSS. differ)
*do gheall gach fáidh d'iúl **fh**oirtill* [8·7b]

Lenition is (metrically) inconclusive in:

*de shíol **fh**ionnDálaigh **fh**óid Breagh* [8·19c] (see note on text)
*do mhionn **sh**úl shíl shaoirFhiachaidh* [2·26b] (see note on text)
*i gclár **fh**innlíghgeal **fh**ear **bh**Fáil* [7·48c] (see note on text)

(b) Does not lenite following epithet in:

Ag snadhmadh síothchána damh [15·12a]
crann do bhláth fíneamhna a fear [4·16c]
do shlógh frosmhoighe Féilim [8·21d]
i bhfiadh Fódla na bhféar lag [8·1c] (MS. *a fiadh*)
a bhfógra dá séan sealad [8·1d]
ar orlár seanmhúir Sligigh [13·10d]

Non-lenition is (metrically) inconclusive in:

ag díon fionnmhoighe Féilim [7·1d]

Comments: Many of the above examples contradict McKenna's analysis in "Initials" [p. 55], which is that a dat. sing. masc. ending in a consonant has the same effect on the initials of following words as a dat. sing. fem. ending in a consonant [for which, see above § 11].
He qualifies this elsewhere when commenting on the rule postulated in *IGT* i § 157 that a *tuillréim* [i. e. a dat. sing.] (masc. or fem.) lenites a following word, by saying that "It seems doubtful whether *tuillréim* is meant to include dat. sg. which is same" [in form] "as dat. sg." [*BST* App. VIII, § 21].
It is clear from the examples given above that, for the purposes of the present text, the opinion he expresses in *BST* is the correct one.

Editorial policy: *Dat. sing. masc. ending in a consonant + lenition or non-lenition of ep. (as required by metre or, failing this, following MS.).*

[§ 13] Dat. sing. (masc. and fem.) ending in a vowel:

(a) Fem.: Followed by lenition in the following two examples; however, ...

Lenition may be regarded as an instance of *sléagar* in:

D'ithe fhéarghuirt each an ríogh [4·41a]

Lenition may be regarded as an instance of "genitives lenited in special circumstances" in:

ar gcéadfhógra fhear n-Éireann [8·29d]

(b) Masc.: Does not lenite in:

rob slán dar seise suthain [11·1d]

(c) Gender unknown:

do chumhra saor na Suibhneach [8·41d]

Comments: None of these examples contradict McKenna's analysis ["Initials", p. 55], which is that (i) a dat. sing. masc. or fem. ending in a vowel is usually followed by non-mutation of its epithet(s); (ii) that, however, "lenition of epithet is not uncommon"; and (iii) that *ú* (dat. of *ó*) always lenites.

Editorial policy: *Dat. sing. masc. or fem. ending in a vowel + non-lenition of ep.*

[§ 14] Acc. sing. fem. governed by prep.:

Eclipsis (metrically) inconclusive in:

fa chrích saoir bhfonnórtha bhFáil [1·34c] (MS. *shaoír*)

Eclipsis or non-mutation (metrically) inconclusive in:

fa ghléire séanshluaigh Saxon [8·13d] (see MS.)

Comments: Examples given here are inconclusive. According to McKenna ["Initials", p. 59]: *Prep. (+ poss.) + acc. sing. fem. + eclipsis of ep.*; except rarely "the epithet is eclipsed or has initial *c*, *t*, *p*, *f*".

Editorial policy: *Acc. sing. fem. governed by prep. + (following MS.) eclipsis or non-mutation of initial of ep.; if MSS. conflict, eclipsis is preferred.*

[§ 15] Acc. sing. masc. governed by prep.:

Ep. unaffected in:

ní tre rún fallsa, ro-feas [9·1c]
mo-nuar le foirneart forráin [6·4d]

Ep. might be eclipsed or unaffected in:

mar shíol séanamhail Suibhne [8·45d]
gan sgur slóigh nó sochaidhe [3·21d]

Ep. eclipsed in:

Gach aird fa fhonn ***bh****Fódla ar fad* [6·19a]
acht aois iúil go bhfios ***bh****fortail* [10·36c]

Eclipsis (metrically) inconclusive in:

fa fhiadh ***bhf****ionnardghlan* ***bh****Fionntain* [7·41d]

Comments: These examples are fully in keeping with McKenna's analysis ["Initials", p. 56], which is that, in the construction *prep. + acc. sing. masc.*

+ *ep.* (in the absence of def. art. or poss. adj.), the initial of the epithet is eclipsed or unaffected.

Editorial policy: *Acc. sing. masc. governed by prep. + (following MS.) eclipsis or non-mutation of initial of ep.; if MSS. conflict, eclipsis is preferred.*

[§ 16] Acc. sing. (masc. or fem.) governed by verb:

Initial of (masc. or fem.) object (and, if present, its ep.) not affected by verb (even when directly following verb) in:

dar sgríobh Seanán saoileachtain [7·53d]
do bháidh flaitheas a bhféineadh [3·10d]
Ná fuilngeadh siad Fódla i bhfad [8·9b]
nach séanfadh seal adhainte [10·32b]
go ndlighfinn../../ cuimhne seanchais bhar sinnsear [9·3bd]
Ná fuilngeadh siad Fódla i bhfad [8·9a]

Non-lenition (metrically) inconclusive in:

mór ní ... / do-ní sochar siórrdhaidhe [8·22cd]
nach carann séad saoghalta [2·58d]

Comments: Examples given here are in full agreement with McKenna, whose analysis indicates that, in all cases when an acc. sing. is not defined by art. or poss., in the sequence *verb + acc. sing. masc. or fem. (+ ep.)*, both acc. sing. and - if present - ep. either (i) must be unaffected or (ii) can be unaffected [McKenna, "Initials", pp. 55-9].

Editorial policy: *1. Verb. + no mutation of initials of direct object and its ep. or 2. Follows MS. if MS. does not contradict McKenna "Initials"; if MSS. conflict, eclipsis of ep. is preferred.*

[§ 17] Acc. sing. (masc. or fem.) after *ní fhuil, nach fuil*:

Initial of acc. sing. (masc. or fem.) noun (same in form as nom. sing.) not affected in:

easbhaidh ag nach fuil fuigheall [4·1d]
ní fhuil súil [r]e saoileachtain [3·9b]

Comments: The first of these examples is in keeping with the teaching that an undefined masc. noun following *ní fhuil* could be lenited or unlenited [*BST* 69a·15-9, 33, 40; 69b·1-6]; the second appears to contradict the teaching that a like fem. noun should be lenited [*BST* 69a·35-9].

Editorial policy: ***Ní fhuil, nach fuil*** *+ (as required by metre or, failing this, following MS.) non-lenition or lenition of following word.*

[§ 18] Nom. pl. of o-declension:

Lenites proper noun in:

Gaoidhil ***Fhódla*** *an fhuinn sgathaigh* [3·26a]

Comments: Agrees fully with McKenna, who says ["Initials", p. 52] that an ep. that is gen. of a proper name is usually lenited, exceptions to this being rare.

Editorial policy: *Nom. pl. of o-decl. + lenition of ep.*

[§ 19] Nom. pl. of other declension:

Does not affect ep. in:

airrdhe flatha ná fágaibh [13·14d]
Gabhla Fódla fuil Chonaill [4·1a]

Editorial policy: *Nom. pl. not of o-masc. decl. + no mutation of ep.*

[§ 20] Gen. pl.:

Eclipses (or appears to eclipse) ep. in:

cruas ábhachta na bhfear ***bhfis*** [10·35c]
fa ghéagFhódla na sreabh seang [8·29c]
laoich armnuaidhe na sról seang [7·9c]

Editorial policy: *Gen. pl. + eclipsis of ep.; for poems 5 & 9, see notes on individual instances (none of which are metrically fixed).*

[§ 21] Proper nouns:

(a) Follow rules for common nouns in:

déana, a ghríobh armshl[ua]igh ***Fh****inne* [10·25c]
fiailbhean do shaoirfhréimh ***Sh****uibhne* [12·10b]
gáir sdoc fa fhéin ***fh****innEamhna* [4·32b]
Gaoidhil ***Fh****ódla an fhuinn sgathaigh* [3·26a]
Ná deach fúibh, a fhir ***Fh****inne* [9·29a]
d'uaislibh sleachta seanGhaoidh[il] [3·46b]
a ghriangha srotha Samhaoir [10·48d]
ag díon fionnmhoighe ***F****éilim* [7·1d]
A shluagh ***F****ódla, féachaidh air* [1·34a]
i gcrích leasaolta fhinn ***Fh****áil* [7·33c]
mar shíol séanamhail ***S****uibhne* [8·45d]

(b) Do not follow rules for common nouns in:

ar orlár seanmhúir ***S****ligigh* [13·10d]

Inconclusive in:

do mhionn shúl shíl ***shaoirFhiachaidh*** [2·26b] (see note on text)
fa ghléire séanshluaigh ***Saxon*** [8·13d] (see note on text)
d'áirsidhibh fhóid ***fhionnMhacha*** [7·40b]
fríoth ceannus puirt ***Párthalóin*** [7·20b] (see note on text)

(c) Adjective forming part of name follows usual rules of (non-)lenition in:

caill Banbha ríghNéill Fhrasaigh [2·14b]

(d) Lenition unexplained in:

soir fa aibhnibh ***fhionnUladh*** [3·55d; see note on text]

Comments: All of these are dealt with in the above sections.

Editorial policy: *Proper names are eclipsed whenever common nouns in the same position would be eclipsed. (Non-)lenition of proper names is discussed in §§ 1-20, above; in practice, the principles set out in §§ 1-20 usually amount to (non-)lenition of proper names following metrical requirements or, in the absence of these, the main MS. consulted.*

[§ 22] Affect of *ag so, ag sin* on construction:

These do not affect construction in any examples from the present text; the only metrically fixed instance is:

ag sin feidhm na finnealbha [7·9b]

Other examples of *ag so, ag sin* from the text are:

"Ag so daoibh ", ar sé, "an sompla [1·30a]
ag sin eiseamláir agaibh [1·34b]
ag sin feidhm na finnealbha [7·9b]
Ag so an cheird dá dtugais toil [12·5a]

Ag so an treas duan duibhse [15·9a]
Ag so le a ríomh a rogha [4·29a]

[§ 23] Prep. *ar*:

Lenites following noun in:

acc. / dat. sing. diff. from nom. sing.:

*a dhíon Uladh ar **fh**éin Gall* [2·49c]
*roinnte ar **fh**oirinn allmharaigh* [1·9b]
*gan fháth ná bris th'annsa ar **fh**ior* [9·30c]

acc. dat. sing. same as nom. sing.:

*dom dhíon ar **fh**éinnidh orrdhraic* [15·6d]
*marcach dob fhearr ar **fh**éasgain* [6·36c]
*Ní hionmhaoidhte ar **fh**uil Dálaigh* [3·20a]
*nar sgaith ar **fh**éile d'fheadhnaibh* [10·17c]
*Tuar cogaidh ar **fh**ear mh'anma* [14·8a]

Inconclusive in:

*ar cheart, ar **fh**éile, ar **fh**eardhacht* [8·33d]

Does not lenite in:

Go bráth nar faghthar ar faill [11·5a]
Seasa[idh] ar son a chéile [1·17a]

Note that lenition or non-lenition after *ar* is optional in *ar f(h)ad*, *ar f(h)eadh* etc. [see *BST* 191·1-3]:

Lenited in:

*mac Síle ar **fh**eadh gach éanlaoi* [6·56b] (MS. eadh)
*tú an uairse ar **fh**ud na Banbha* [2·55c]
*ní fhaicim, ar **fh**eadh mh'eólais* [8·32b] (MS. ar feadh)

Not lenited in:

Gach aird fa fhonn bhFódla ar fad [6·19a]

Comments:

Editorial policy: *Prep. **ar** (= "on" etc.) + lenition of dat. sing; + lenition of acc. sing. differing from nom. sing.; + lenition or non-lenition (as required for alliteration or, failing that, following MS.) of acc. sing. same in form as nom. sing. **Ar** + lenition or non-lenition of **fad, feadh** etc.*

[§ 24] Prep. *(e)idir*:

*eidir **fh**ianaibh allmhu[i]r[e]ach* [7·26b]

Comments: According to McKenna ["Initials", p. 64], lenition is obligatory after *(e)idir*. I am not aware of any example from classical poetry in which it is not followed by lenition.

Editorial policy: *Prep. **(e)idir** + lenition.*

[§ 25] Prep. *gan*:

Lenites in all cases:

*atáid gan **fh**ear n-agallmha* [3·18b]
*deich ríogha gan **fhr**easabhra* [4·6d]
*Díoghladh orthaibh gan **fh**uireach* [7·41a]

*gan **fháth** n-oirbhire fam thuinn* [14·1c]
*umhla gan **fheirg** gan uamhain* [11·8d]

except:

*ní gnáth séan gan **sealaidheacht*** [8·2d]

Comments: The clear implication of the following citations from the tracts is that *gan* is always followed by lenition, even of a following *s-*:
(i) *As éidir uirrdhighthe ⁊ séimhighthe do thuigsin ó résún, nach abuirthear d'ogham no do ghóidheilg. **Ar** ó innsgne **.sinn.** cuiridh uirrdhioghadh ar an uile fhocal, ⁊ cuiridh **gan** séimhioghadh gion go ttuigthear do ghóidheilg ⁊ gion go habuirthear d'ogham é* [*IGT* i § 7].
(ii) ***Gan Shaidhbh** as .c. ann ó bheith na hégmhuis; **gan tShaidhbh** .l. ón chéill sin ⁊ as .c. ó bheith aice* [*BST* 213·18-9].
(iii) ***gun** ⁊ **gon** ⁊ **gan tsháoidh** (ó bheith aige), **gan sháoidh** (ó bheith na égmhuis)* [*IGT* i § 70].
(iv) *Ní déntar cadad ar úathadh s; **bean tsháor** .l.; **bean sháor** .c.* [*BST* 213·16].
(v) ***Don fhior** agus **gun fhior** mur sin, **gan fh[ior]** mur sin, **gan fh[ea]r** a n-**a** amháin ó bheith na égmhuis; **agan fhior**, a thosach a n-**a** agus a dheireadh a n-**u** 's a n-**o** 's a n-**a*** [*BST* 213·31-3; the emendations are McKenna's (in footnotes to the text); MS. *gan fhear ... gan fhior*].
(vi) ***Mar, gan, dar**, ní chuirid réim ar .f. achd réim connsuine, ⁊ cuirid ar .b. ⁊ ar iollradh .f. ⁊ .b.* [*BST* 214·31-2].

Note also these metrically fixed examples from other texts: *mé gan **sheise** ó shain a-nall* [*DiD* 77·3]; *Do-ghéabh róm gan **fholta** gan imreasain* [*DiD* 70·16]; *gan mhnaoi gan **fhear** 'ga hoirbhire* [*DiD* 114·33]; *a chruth gan **fhúath** ó fheadhain, / a ghuth cúach a gcéiteamhain* [*IBP* 15·7]; *A aithne as éidir dhamhsa, / sibh gan **fhíacha** oramsa* [*IBP* 32·3]; *sadh gá mbí ciall agus cruth / iar agus í gan **fholach*** [*IBP* 32·17]; *ní mór dhamhsa, [is] Aodh 'na fhochair, / asna caol gan **fhothain** é* [*IBP* 33·11].

Since non-lenition of *s-* after *gan* is metrically fixed in the last example cited above from the present text, it is felt that it is safer to presume that, in practice,

cadad after *gan* was (perhaps incorrectly) considered acceptable by some poets; consequently, in cases where *cadad* is shown after *gan* in the main MS. consulted, lenition is not restored in the edited text.

Editorial policy: *Prep.* ***gan*** *+ lenition of all following initials except* ***d-, t-, s-.***

[§ 26] Prep. ***fa, um:***

Always lenite, regardless of the case they govern:

's í fa ***fh****oirinn ainmhianaigh* [4·15b]
fa gach aoineing um ***fh****iadh Breagh* [3·12c]
gáir sdoc fa ***fh****éin fhinnEamhna* [4·32b]
gur chuiris é fa ***fh****oirgneamh* [9·17d]
lámh fa ***Fh****ódla d'fhóiridhin* [2·19d]

Comments: According to McKenna ["Initials", p. 64], lenition is obligatory after *fa, um.* The only example of (metrically fixed) non-lenition of which I am aware is *ní mó fa fion faoiltechus* = "the mirth is no greater when under the influence of wine" [*Maguire* 2370].

Editorial policy: *Prepp.* ***fa, um, im*** *+ lenition.*

[§ 27] Prep. ***mar:***

Lenites in:

Bíodh nach beinn mar ***fh****ilidh ann* [13·6a]
ó táid agam mar ***fh****ínné* [9·14b]

Comments: According to McKenna ["Initials", p. 64], lenition is obligatory after *mar.*

Editorial policy: *Prep.* ***mar*** *+ lenition.*

[§ 28] Prep. *ós*:

Lenites in:

*'na airdrígh ós **f**hunn Éimhir* [2·30b]

Comments: The tracts are silent on this; lenition is present in the following (prose) example (which is intended to show that *ós* takes dat.): *Cuirfead mo láimh ós **f**hior .c., ós **f**hear .l.* [*BST* 188·21]. The only metrically fixed examples to hand also show lenition after *ós*; cf.*do-chuaidh triath ós **f**hoirind óir* [*O'Hara* 2306]; *fleadha 'gá n-ól it **f**hochair, / a ghlór eala ós **f**hionnshrothaibh* [*IBP* 15·9]; *foillsigh dhóibh a rabháigh rinn, / a bhranáin óir ós **f**hidhchill* [*TD* 2·7].

Editorial policy: *Prep. ós + lenition.*

[§ 29] Prep. *tar*:

Lenites in:

*tar **f**hianaibh Éireann 's gach cruth* [10·7c]

and in the following inconclusive example:

*tar **f**híoch, tar **f**haobhar na bhfear* [1·26c]

Comments: Both lenition and non-lenition were permissible after this prep. [*BST* 192·3]. While allowing both, *BST* 190·1-3 seems to see lenition as preferable. Lenition is much more common; however, cf. the following examples of non-lenition: *Ó chroidhe tar fiadh bhfuinidh* [*IBP* 5·14a]; *beannacht siar tar seanfhairge* [*IBP* 5·16b].

Editorial policy: *Prep. **tar** + lenition or non-lenition (as required for alliteration or, failing that, following main MS.).*

[§ 30] Prep. *tre*:

Lenites in:

*tre ghrádh nó tre **fh**uath oram* [14·3d]

Comments: I am not aware of any metrically fixed example in which *tre* is not followed by lenition.

Editorial policy: *Prep. **tre** + lenition.*

[§ 31] *Gach*:

Lenites gen. sing. masc. in:

*i ndiamhair gach **fh**uinn fhásaigh* [8·24d] (MS. ph f)

Does not lenite gen. sing. fem. in:

fríoth sníomh gach soighde mar sin [1·29c]

Following (leniting) prep. *ós*, does not lenite dat. sing. masc. in:

Fógrais d[á] gach f[io]r dá shliocht [1·25a]

Comments: Examples here are consistent with McKenna's statement that "*gach* generally lenites a gen. masc. or a dat. masc. or fem." [McKenna, "Initials", p. 63]. Cf. also ***Bean gach fhir, bean gacha fir** .c.* [*BST* 216·8].
It would appear that number, case and gender of a noun directly preceding *gach* have no effect on (non-)lenition of a noun following it.
The following metrically fixed examples (from other texts) of *gach* + gen. sing. o-masc. nouns suggest that lenition of such nouns was the usual practice:

Le héindigh d'ibhe gach ***fhir*** */ do ibh féinnidh Line fhleidh* [*BST* 216·14]; *Beire geall gach* ***fhir*** *dá aimhdheóin / mo chin dream dhan taibhgheóir thú* [*IGT* ii § 50, ex. 1308]; *Dia dot eadráin ... / ... / ar ghoin n-ainchridhigh gach* ***fhir****, / 's ar mhoir n-ainbhthinigh idir* [*IBP* 3·3]; *Rob suilbhir aghaidh gach* ***fhir*** (: *Sligigh*) *IBP* 3·6]; *cumhain leam ... / go lór d'fháisdine gach* ***fhir*** [*O'Reilly Poems* 1470-1]; *do ráidh gan aoradh gach* ***fhir****, / do shaoradh cháigh, a chléirigh* [*GB* 18·8]; *go bráth acht athair gach* ***fhir*** */ rachaidh cách gan a chluinsin* [*GB* 18·21].

However, non-lenition in the following examples suggests that non-lenition of such nouns after *gach* was another option at the poet's disposal: *Fuath gach fir fuidheall a thuaighe* [*LBran* 3857]; *Ní bhiadh ag feithiomh gach fuinn / cnuasach milis mheic Cearbhoill* [*IBP* 27·4].

The only metrically fixed examples to hand which show poetic practice in regard to initial mutation of other nouns are the following: (i) *rí 'na aonduine ós gach* ***fhior*** [*DiD* 9·10]; (ii) *is díleas inn dá gach* ***fhior****; / sinn fá dhímheas níor dligheadh* [*DiD* 101·32]. These are also in keeping with McKenna's analysis; note that, in the second example, *dá* + *gach* is followed by lenition of a dat. sing. masc. noun - whereas, in the example given above from the present text, it is followed by non-lenition of a similar noun.

Although they are by no means conclusive, these examples suggest that (i) words preceding *gach* had no effect on initial mutation of words following it; (ii) a gen. sing. o-masc. noun directly following *gach* is usually lenited; (iii) that non-lenition of a masc. noun is always an option after *gach*.

Editorial policy: *Because the above conclusions are tentative, the main MS. consulted is followed in regard to initial mutation after* ***gach****, except when the metre requires otherwise; non-lenition of all nouns after* ***gach*** *is considered acceptable; lenition of gen. sing. masc. or dat. sing. masc. or fem. is considered acceptable.*

[§ 32] Active regular verbs in rel. position:

The only metrically fixed ex. is:

ort ***fhéachaid*** *an ingheanraidh* [2·48b]

Editorial policy: *Active regular verbs in rel. lenited.*

[§ 33] Neg. part. *ní* before active verb:

Lenites initial of following verb in:

an fíor flatha uaidh ní fhuil [3·23c]

Editorial policy: *Ní + lenition of active verbs.*

[§ 34] Rel. neg. part. *nach* before active verb:

Does not affect initial of following verb in:

nach fuaras freagra éigin [14·3b]
easbhaidh ag nach fuil fuigheall [4·1d]
braoich bhar searcfhonn nach sillir [10·19d]
nach suidhe i seilbh andúthchais [2·19b]
Ré nach fuair dá bhfaghadh sé [6·67a]

Editorial policy: ***Nach*** *+ no mutation of initial of following verb (except in poem 10; see 10·37a, n.; see also 5·1b, n.).*

[§ 35] Rel. neg. part. *nar* before active verb:

Lenites in:

*drong armfhuileach nar **fh**óir neart [7·31c]*
*ós é nar **fh**eall uirreise [6·25d]*

Lenition not (metrically) conclusive in:

triath ó chruaidh fhorlainn nar fhan [7·34c]

Editorial policy: *Nar + lenition.*

[§ 36] Prep. + rel. before past active verb:

Lenites following verb in:

Tearc athair dar fhás romhaibh [10·17a]

Editorial policy: *Prep. + rel. + lenition of past active verb.*

[§ 37] Passive verbs:

Not lenited (where lenition would be expected in active verbs) in:

ní tre rún fallsa, ro-feas [9·1c]
suil faghar fios a chéidfhréamh [13·15b]
Uaidh féin[e] fríoth an seóladh [1·16a]
Go bráth nar faghthar ar faill [11·5a]

However, note the following exception:

cara fhíorthar i n-éigin [2·18d]

Comments: Although this is nowhere, to my knowledge, discussed in the tracts, it is clear that, as a rule, passive verbs were not lenited. Cf. the following, metrically fixed, examples from other texts: *Ní faicfidhear, foirbhthe an béd / lorg a ccraoitheadh ná a ccroimsdéd* [*IBP* 8·10]; *Ní filltear fiodhradh abhla / le hubhlaibh feadh fionn-Bhanbha* [*IBP* 8·13]; *brúaigh easgadh na ngríanshroth nglan, / seasgadh fianbhoth ní fédtar* [*IBP* 29·13]; *fa bhrón ní saoilfidhe sibh* [*IBP* 31·22].
It is not clear whether this extended to passive verbs in rel. position; according to McKenna ["Initials", p. 65], the writing of lenition in such verbs in MSS. is

"less regular" than is the writing of lenition in active rel. verbs. Note that len. of rel. pass. is metrically fixed in the example given above from the present text and in *An cíos fhuilngthear as a uchd / gidh bé neach do-ní an umhlucht* [*O'Hara* 1285-6].

Editorial policy: *Verbs in passive never lenited (except at 2·18d, as above).*

[§ 38] Forms of *do-gheibh* alliterating with *f-*:

Present passive (all moods):

fios na fréimhe go bhfaghar [13·13d]
gach cuire le bhfaghair gach fáidh [2·44c]
Go bráth nar faghthar ar faill [11·5a]

Past indicative positive:

fuair an file ón úrGhaoidheal [10·15b]
Geall fírfhéile fuairsead so [10·9a]

Past relative:

Meinic fuair fear na sealga [8·24a]
ní sibh fuair a bhfrí[o]th dá bhlas [1·45c]
As t'éifeacht féin fuair tusa [9·26a]

Alliteration with *f-* inconclusive in:

ceathrar as fhéile fuair Flann [10·12c] (MS. *féile fuair flann*)
ortsa fuair Fionn fáisdine [2·43b] (MS. *fuair*)

Editorial policy: See § 39.

[§ 39] Forms of *do-gheibh* alliterating with a vowel:

Past indicative:

*ag díon Éireann **uaradair*** [4·12d]

Past relative:

*caidhe an t-oirléim **uarabhair*** [1·36b] (MS. *fuarabhair*)
*síol na dtréad **uairse d'fhearaibh*** [4·18c] (MSS. *fuairsi* etc.)
*Is eadh do-**uair** ar tos[aigh]* [3·37a]

Editorial policy: *Forms of **do-gheibh** are never written **fh-**, always **f-** (without lenition) or **vowel-**.*

[§ 40] Copula: present indicative positive:

Does not lenite in:

*Do bhí fós - is **feirrde** soin* - [4·7a]
*Tabhradh fós - is **feirrde** a rath* - [7·45a]

Editorial policy: *Pres. indic. cop. **is** + no mutation of initial of following word.*

[§ 41] Copula: present indicative negative:

Does not lenite in:

*dá bhiodhbhaidh **ní** séad samhail* [11·2c]
*Do-gheibh gach fear - **ní** fáth rúin* - [8·27a]

Editorial policy: *Pres. indic. cop. neg. **ní** + no mutation of initial of following word.*

[§ 42] Copula: present relative positive:

Seems to lenite but all examples are inconclusive:

*ceathrar as **fh**éile fuair Flann* [10·12c]
*fughnacht as **fh**earr aicise* [4·2b] (MS. f)
*Nó más f[h]earg as **f[h]**achain daoibh* [14·6a]
*Anois, ar an uair as **fh**earr* [1·14a]

Note (metrically fixed) *cadad* in:

don eing shaoirse is sé as samhail [6·10c]

Non-lenition metrically inconclusive in:

bean gan aonolc as fearr fos [12·10c; see note on text]

Comments: According to the main tracts, lenition after positive form of present rel. cop. is obligatory; cf. *as **fearr** mé iná thú, fearn lom air. ... as mór as **fh**earr mhé iná thú* [*IGT* i § 90]; cf. also *BST* 199·11; *TD* vol. I, p. lxxviii; *McM* § 3·2 (g). This lenition is not confined to comp. and superl. adjj. but applies to all adjj. and nouns; cf. *Gidh mór ré rádha ríar airdrígh / ní íar chána is **fh**airbrigh dfhir* [*IGT* ii § 38, ex. 980]; *rinn ghlasmhuire ar aba a huilc, / amhsoine as **fh**ada iarmuirt* [*IBP* 3·22].

Non-lenition (because of *cadad*) prevails when the following word begins with *s-*; cf. *Ag so cadad do-níthear le híairmbérla ... as tú as **sine*** [*IGT* i § 52]; e. g. *nó an bhfuil ní as soillse ná so* [*ISP* p. 43, line 10c; quoted *McM* § 3·2 (g)], *fear Muighe Sléacht as seang glac, / nochor fhearr Mac Céacht nó Ceat* [*Magauran* 157-8], *Aigneach Daoile na bhfleadh bhfuar / an fear as saoire ná an sróll* [*Magauran* 175-6], *a fhionnfholtach is séimh socht / do sgéimh iongantach éadrocht* [*Dánta Grádha* 16·87-8; *dán díreach* poem].

Lenition after *as* is by far the commonest practice. However, Ó hEódhasa says that lenition or non-lenition was opional; for discussion, see 12·10c, n.

Editorial policy: *Pres. rel.* ***as*** *+ lenition of following noun or adj. except (i) in 12·10c [see note on text]; (ii) when following noun or adj. begins with* ***s-****; (iii) lenition or non-lenition of following* ***d-****,* ***t-*** *follows main MS.*

[§ 43] Copula: present relative negative:

Does not lenite in:

duitse nach fáth faltanais [9·16b]
céim socrachta nach sirthe [7·58d]

Editorial policy: *Pres. rel. cop. neg.* ***nach*** *+ no mutation of initial of following word.*

[§ 44] ***Má*** **+ present positive copula:**

Lenition not metrically conclusive in:

Nó más ***fh****earg as* ***fh****achain daoibh* [14·6a] (MS. f f)

Comments: *Más* is usually followed by lenition; cf. the following examples from other texts: *Is é an crann-soin, a chroch Íosa, / t'adhbharsa - más* ***fh****íor don sdair* [*DiD* 2·9]; *Lámh Í Dhomhnuill Dúna ós Sáimh / d'easgor más* ***fh****íor san Eadáill* [*IBP* 4·8]; *Mairg chaitheas dlús re dhalta / más* ***fh****íor d'éis a dheaghsgagtha* [*DiD* 104·1]; *más* ***fh****íor ar haithriseadh dhúinn* [*AiDD* 40·8]; *Atáim inchóra re hAodh / más* ***fh****iú re a earla ngégclaon* [*BAR* ii, p. 98, q. 1]. However, non-lenition after *más* does occur; e. g. *más fíor is folamh 'n-a gar, / 's ní foghar míol 'n-a mothar* [*DiD* 112·15].

Editorial policy: ***Más*** *+ lenition or non-lenition of initial of following word following (i) metre, then (ii) main MS. consulted.*

[§ 45] Copula: future indicative negative:

Does not lenite in:

fa-ríor ní b[udh] sia bhar seal [1·31c]

Comments: The only example of which I am aware in which *ní budh* is followed by lenition is *nó ní budh **sh**ia do shaoghal* [*IBP* 38·15].

Editorial policy: *Fut. indic. cop. (neg. or pos.)* ***(ní) budh*** *+ no mutation of initial of following word.*

[§ 46] Copula: future relative positive:

Lenites in:

*gach ní [bhus] **fh**íor aidéa[mhair]* [13·17d; see note on text]

Note (metrically fixed) non-lenition or *cadad* in:

is sé bhus sáimhe suaimhneas [2·3d]

Comments: This appears to have the same effect as pres. rel *as* [for which, see above]. I am not aware of any reference to this matter in the tracts; the only other metrically fixed example to hand shows lenition: *Mícheál oirn bhus **fh**ear garma / seadh 'n-a mhoirn ní míotharbha* [*DiD* 64·37].

Editorial policy: *Fut. rel. cop. (pos.)* ***bhus*** *+ lenition or non-lenition of following word (as metre requires or, failing this, following MS.); the only other examples of* ***bhus*** *in the present text are at 2·23c, 15·10b.*

[§ 47] Copula: past indicative negative:

Lenites in:

*innach fuair - 's níor **fh**eidhm éanlaoi* [6·21b]

Editorial policy: *Past indic. cop. neg.* ***níor*** *+ lenition of following word.*

[§ 48] Copula: past relative positive *dob*:

Lenites in:

*gurbh iad dob **fh**earr d'uaislibh Fáil* [10·10c]
*marcach dob **fh**earr ar fhéasgain* [6·36c]

Editorial policy: *Past rel. cop. pos.* ***dob*** *+ lenition of following word.*

[§ 49] Prep. + rel. + past positive copula:

Lenites in:

*ar bhruach fhaithche 'narbh **fh**iar ceart* [4·33c]

Editorial policy: *All forms of prep. + past cop. ending in* ***-r(bh)*** *+ lenition of following word.*

CHAPTER 7: USE OF CASES:

This chapter is in divided into 7 sections, which are ordered as follows:

[§ 1] Use of nominative for accusative
[§ 2] Use of accusative with passive verb
[§ 3] Use of 'IGT' accusative form in nominative position
[§ 4] Use of vocative case
[§ 5] Nom. sing. replacing gen. pl.
[§ 6] Nom. and dat. sing. used indifferently after prep. 'i n-' regardless of presence or absence of the idea of movement
[§ 7] Possessive adjectives anticipating a following genitive

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[§ 1] . Use of nominative for accusative:

Although the use of nom. for acc. under certain conditions in the classical language may be symptomatic of a general process in the Irish language of levelling of cases, it would be a mistake to believe that, where a noun or substantivised adjective had a distinct acc. form, this could be replaced by the nom. at the whim of the poet. *Cosg réime* (use of nom. for acc.) is dealt with in some depth by the grammarians and it is clear from what they say that nom. could replace acc. only in certain, well-defined circumstances. What follows is a collection (with commentary, where necessary) of all the instances of this phenomenon noted in the poems edited here. Since some of these examples would fit into more than one category, classification is, to some extent, arbitrary.

[§ 1 (a)] Caused by following *do* + vn.:

Metrically fixed:

Easbhaidh duine ... / ... / tug ***Éire*** *ó éanbhuaidh do chur / fa ghléire séanshluaigh Saxon* [8·13]; acc. sing. would be *Éirinn*.

tug s[ia]d fa mhéala an ***Mhumha****; /[i]s i[a]d sgéala a sgarthana* [3·33cd]; acc. sing. would be *Mumhain*; *an Mhumha [do chur] fa mhéala* is understood; see note on text.

Metrically fixed but rhyming partner could easily be emended to rhyme with acc. sing. in:

*dá bhfógra - dál a dlighidh - / **lámh** fa Fhódla d'fhóiridhin* [2·19cd]; acc. sing. would be *láimh* [*IGT* ii § 192] (var. *dáil* would rhyme with this).

Not metrically fixed:

*An t-athair ... / tug **soighead** do na soighdibh / uaidh i láimh gach duine díobh* [1·28]; acc. sing. would be *soighid* [*IGT* ii § 54]; *soighead [do chur]* is understood.

*do iarr oirn ar **gcroch** d'iomchar* [5·20b]; acc. sing. would be *croich* [*IGT* ii § 39].

*Fógra[i]s d[á] gach f[io]r dá shliocht / **glac** shoighead uile i n-aoineacht / ... / ... do bhriseadh* [1·25]; acc. sing. would be *glaic*.

Commentary: Cf. the following from *IGT* i § 76: .. *coisgidh an t-oibriughadh nó cíall an oibrighthe bhíos a ndíaigh an fhocuil an réim chuireas an t-oibrioghadh bhíos roimhe air ... Coisgidh cíall an oibrighthi nach abuirthear a ndíaigh an fhocuil an réim chuireas an t-oibriughadh bhíos roimhe air, achd go mbí cíall an oibrighthi ann*; and the following examples given there:

*Do chonnuic sinn **gobhal gheal** / re teagh cCinn Choradh **do chur**; cóir, **ga a cur** lochdach*; acc. would be *gobhail*.

*Tug grádh a einigh ar Áodh / gur fháomh **lámh** san tteinidh thríomh*; ***do chur** a chíall*; acc. would be *láimh*.

Cf. also:

> *ní thug* ***creach*** *uaibh d'anamhain / t'each an uair nach inshiobhail* [*AiDD* 65·20]; acc. would be *creich*.

[§ 1 (b)] Caused by preceding *acht*:

Metrically fixed:

> *Ní léigeadh aoinneach uirre / ... / acht* ***rí*** *an chruinne - 's fa dleacht dí; / níor chleacht uirre acht an t-****airdrí*** [6·35]; acc. sing. would be *(aird)rígh* [*IGT* ii § 21].

Commentary: Cf. ***Nó*** *agus* ***achd*** *agus* ***gach ré*** *ní leigid réim tarrsa ar an bfocal theagmhus na mbeól, agus ní chongmhuid gan réim achd sin* [*BST* 238·25 - 239·2 = *IGT* i § 109] = "They do not allow Réim to pass over them and to affect a word following them; but it is only that word which they keep from having Réim" [*BST* n.].

[§ 1 (c)] Because of factative construction:

Metrically fixed:

> *ro lá an* ***fhinngheal*** (: *tinmheadh*) *dá hinneall* [6·8d]; acc. sing. would be *finnghil*.

Not metrically fixed:

> *Is é éag a Aodha féin / tug an* ***chríoch*** *uile d'aoinmhéin / fan ngaillreachtsa dá sní a seadh* [6·15]; acc. sing. would be *crích*.

[§ 1 (d)] Caused by separation of direct object from verb:

Not metrically fixed:

*Do bhraithfinn féin d'inis Ír / - oircheas dóigh a craobh ceiníl - / **slat** dan cóir cabhair a cneadh* [8·14]; acc. sing. would be *slait*.

*Do chongbhadar riamh roimhe / **críoch** Banbha, bean Iúghaine, / gan tolg ina taobhaibh soin* [4·4]; acc. sing. would be *crích*.

*Féachaidh uile ó láimh go láimh / an **ghlac**soin 'na glaic iomláin* [1·26ab]; acc. sing. would have to be *glaicsin*.

Commentary: For examples [cited *McM.* § 4·4] of this from other texts, cf. the following:

*Deacair go bhfuighinn feasda / ... / ... / aon**chara*** (: *thaobhthana*)[*TD* 3·45ad]; acc. would be *-charaid* [*IGT* ii § 6].

*sdiúir, a Dhomhnaill, na **sluaigh** soir / buail do ghormloinn ar Ghallaibh* [*DiD* 74·33]; acc. would be *sluagha* [*IGT* ii § 96].

*beir id bheol a thechtairi / na **roinnsi*** (: *thoirrsi*) *do-ním anonn* [*LClAB* 2·42-3]; acc. would be *ronna* or *runna* [*IGT* ii § 74].

[§ 1 (e)] Caused either by separation of direct object from verb or by joining of two direct objects by *agus* / *is*:

Metrically fixed:

*gur mharbh Conn Eóghan amhra / 's a **dhrong** dheóradh dhanardha* [7·36cd]; acc. would be *droing*.

*Báthaidh gach béas naimhdighe / 's an **tsíon** chagaidh gacha cinn / do bhíodh agaibh i n-Éirinn!* [1·39]; acc. sing. would be *sín*.

Not metrically fixed:

Meinic fuair fear na sealga / ró sníomha is ***síon*** *dhoineanda* [8·24b]; acc. sing. would be *sín*.

Commentary: The three examples just given might also be instances of separation of direct object from verb, for which see previous item.
The forms taken by two direct objects (joined by *agus*) of one verb are dealt with at length in *BST* 70b·2-37; to explain the above examples, it is enough to know that, in the construction "verb. + first dir. obj. + "and" + second dir. obj.", the second dir. obj. may be treated as an afterthought and left in nom.

[§ 1 (f)] Post-classical nom. for acc.:

Not metrically fixed:

fuarais ***beatha*** *gan náire* [5·33c]; acc. sing. would be *beathaidh* [*IGT* ii § 7].

fuarais ***beatha*** *ionmholta* [5·23b]; acc. sing. would be *beathaidh* [*IGT* ii § 7].

Commentary: Although both of the above could be emended to *beathaidh* without upsetting the metre, this is not done, since they are from an *óglách*as poem which departs from the classical standard in other ways also.

[§ 2] Use of accusative with passive verb:

Not in edited text; for discussion, see 1·31b, n.

[§ 3] Use of 'IGT' accusative form in nominative position:

Examples given here are categorised under their *IGT* (nom. sing.) counterparts:

cur: = "warrior", acc. sing. *curaidh* replacing nom. sing. 12·4b.
gríobh: = "a griffin"; acc. sing. *gríbh* replacing nom. sing. 10·1c.
sduagh: = "arc, rainbow", acc. sing. *sduaigh* replacing nom. sing. 10·40cd.
sgoth, sgath: = "flower, best choice", non-*IGT* nom. sing. *sgaith* (?) 10·17c; non-class. nom. pl. based on this *sgaithe* (?) 9·20d.

[§ 4] Use of vocative case:

In preference to discussing (non-)inflexion in the vocative piecemeal in the notes on the text, all metrically fixed instances of this which occur in the text are given together here. It will be noted that, with only three **exceptions (see § 4.B.3.**, below), no examples contradict *BST* 220·11 - 221·20, for a commentary on which, see O. Bergin, "Nominative and vocative", *Ériu* ix, 92-4.

[§ 4.A.] Nouns in ordinary (non-metaphorical) use:

[§ 4.A.1.] Nouns of o-masc. declension:

[§ 4.A.1.i.] Nouns in singular:
These (and any adjectives accompanying them) have the form they would have in gen. sing. position:

(a) Personal names:

a ***Thoirdhealbhaigh*** (: *leabhraibh*) [5·13b]

a ***Chalbhaigh*** (: *bhail*) [9·18d]
a ***Chalbhaigh*** (: *dtoil*) [10·52d]
a ***Chalbhaigh*** (: *fhuil*) [12·2d]
a ***Chalbhaigh*** (: *ghloin*) [8·39b]

*a **Chalbhaigh*** (: *oil*) [10·16b; 14·10d]
*a **Chalbhaigh*** (: *anmhain*) *chóir* (: *éadóigh*) [10·4c]
*a **Chalbhaigh*** (: *chaladhghlain*) [10·1a]
*a **Chalbhaigh*** (: *ndonnamhlaigh*) [14·1a]
*a **Chalbhaigh*** (: *ngarbhghoil*) [10·51d]
*a **Chalbhaigh*** (: *ollamhnaibh*) [12·1a]
*a **Chalbhaigh Ruaidh*** (: *anbhuain*) [13·1a; 15·1a]

(b) Common nouns:

*a **laoich*** (: *braoich*) [10·19c]
*a **laoich thréin*** (: *chéim*) [15·2c]
*a **mhacaoimh*** (: *daoibh*) [13·8b; 14·6b]
*a **mhacaoimh*** (: *thaoibh*) [14·10b]
*a **mheic*** (: *deit*) *mheic Chuinn* [10·27c]
*a **mheic mhir*** (: *chluinsin*) [9·28a]
*a **mhílidh*** (: *dá-ríribh*) [12·3c]
*Ná deach fúibh, a **fhir Fhinne*** [9·29a]

Note further the following, which might also be categorised with personal names [in § A.1.i.(a), above]:

*a **shaoghail*** (: *gcoir*) [5·10d]
*a **shaoghail*** (: *robhaoghail*) [5·1a]
*a **shaoghail*** (: *thoir*) [5·8b]

[§ 4.A.1.ii.] Nouns in plural:
In voc. position, these have acc. pl. form.

*a **Éireanncha*** (: *dearbhtha*) [1·41d]

[§ 4.A.1.iii.] Collective nouns:
In voc. position, these have nom. sing. form; imperatives referring to them must be in pl.

*A **shluagh Fódla, féachaidh** air* [1·34a]

Compare:

A ***shlúagh*** *dérach an domhain / trúagh an férach fúarabhair* [*BST* 220·18]

[§ 4.A.2.] Nouns of other masc. declension:

[§ 4.A.2.i.] Personal names:
Note inflexion of adjective in:

a ***Eibhilín óig*** (: *urchóid*) [15·10a]

[§ 4.A.2.ii.] Common nouns:
Same as nom. sing. in:

a ***fhlaith*** (: *sgaith*) *an chaoinlis Cuinnse* [13·5c]
a ***niadh*** (*bhiam*) [15·3d]
A ***thriath*** *Finne na bhfonn dtais* [2·40a]
liomsa, a ***rí caithmheach*** *Cearmna, / bí go maithmheach muinteardha* [15·1cd]

[§ 4.A.3.] Feminine nouns:
When sing., these (and any adjectives accompanying them) have nom. sing. form:

*i n-iorghoil ní heólach sinn, / a bheó****fhl[ath]*** *ionmhain* ***fh****oirtill* [14·7cd & see note on text]

[§ 4.B.] "Metaphorical words and terms of affection":

When sing., these have nom. form, regardless of gender and declension; all examples below are sing. So that they may be compared with nouns that are not used metaphorically, they are divided into masc. and fem. here. **For exceptions, see § B.3.**

[§ 4.B.1.] Feminine nouns:

a ***chas*** (: *las*) [2·40c]
a ***chiabh*** (: *fhiadh*) ***chlaondonn*** (: *aonfhonn*) [10·2d]
a ***dhearc*** (: *teacht*) ***ghlan*** (: *Cruachan*) [9·10c]
a ***dhearc mhall*** (: *Fréamhann*) [2·50a]
a ***dhóigh*** (: *cóir*) [14·6d]
a ***dhreach*** (: *beath*) ***chaoindeas*** (: *aoineas*) [10·6d]
a ***ghéag bharrghlan*** (: *adhbhar*) [15·5c]
a ***ghéag ghlantairtheach*** (: *féad antaithleach*) [14·9c]
a ***ghlac gheal*** (: *mhac Míleadh*) [8·37c]
a ***ghné gheal*** (: *fhoirgneamh*) [9·17c]
a ***ghruaidh ghlan*** (: *ionadh*) [15·7c]
a ***lámh*** (: *ghrádh*) ***lonn*** (: *oram*) [14·3c]
a leaca shaor, a ***ghruaidh gheal,*** */ nó uainn gá taobh ar tuilleadh?* [13·4cd]
a ***sduagh*** (: *dual*) *chréileabhar Chualann* [8·38d]
dleacht [ua]nn a iomaithbhear ort, / a ***sd[ua]gh fhionndaithgheal*** *éadrocht* [10·40cd; MS. *sduaigh* : *uainn*]
a ***sgath*** (: *bhrath*) [2·43c]
a ***thuir*** (: *chuir*) [13·9d]
a ***chiall*** (: *fhial*) [10·39d]
a ***ghríobh*** (: *dhíon*) [10·25c]
ná déantar dimbríogh dom dhán / a ***rinnghríobh éachtmhar*** *Iomdhán* [14·5cd]
a ***lámh*** (: *ghrádh*) *bheóghonta biodhbhadh* [7·49d]
a ***ghríbh*** (: *thír*) [10·1c]
a ***ghríbh*** (: *tír*) [10·21d]

[§ 4.B.2.] Masculine nouns:

a ***bhláth*** (: *fháth*) *coillbhile* [14·1d]
a bhriseadh síodha, a ***chosg*** *cean, / a* ***phosd*** *díona na ndraoidheadh* [7·51cd]
a ***cheapalt*** (: *meatacht*) *méinne Míleadh* [10·31d]
a ***chladh séamhshotal*** (: *éanfhocal*) *sluaigh Fáil* [15·9c]
a ***chomhrún*** (: *ngormshúl*) *calma curadh* [13·7d]
a ***fholt lag*** (: *orad*) [2·44a]
a ***bhrath*** (: *sgath*) *anacail d'Éirinn* [2·43d]
a ***ghrádh*** (: *dhál*) *daghfhoithneadh Daoile* [10·44d]
a ***ghrádh*** (: *grádh*) *treabhadhbha Tuathail* [10·30d]
... a ***ghrádh*** (: *lámh*) *ban* [7·49c]
a ***lúdh*** (: *cúl*) *buaidhridh na Banbha* [2·48d]
a ***mhionn*** (*liom*) [13·11d]
a ***mhóradh*** (: *róghar*) *iúil na n-eólach* [10·49d]
a ***rún*** (: *dúnn*) [14·4c]
a ***shódh*** *daghbhuaidhe ós gach dionn, / a* ***chlódh*** *anbhuaine Éireann* [7·52cd]

[§ 4.B.3.] Exceptions to this:

The following, the first two of which are from a poem which is, in several respects, post-classical, break this rule:

a ***chaomhchroinn*** (: *chaomhchloinn*) *go gcruth toile* [10·38c]
a ***chroinn*** (: *chloinn*) *chneasda chroidhe* [10·28c]
a ***chaithchnis*** (: *aithris*) [7·55c]

Note the following examples, which are also exceptions to this rule:

beag d'anbhuain bhus eagail libh / a ***dhreagain*** *armruaidh Oiligh* [*TD* 2·39cd; quoted *McM.* § 4·12];
A eolaigh an daghbhroit duinn, / a ***leomhain*** *do dhaghloit druing* [*Magauran* 428];

and also:

foillsigh dhóibh a rabháigh rinn / a ***bhranáin óir*** *ós fhidhchill* [*TD* 2·7];
's lámh ag gabháil na séd seang / a ***bhranáin*** *déd fád dhíchioll.* [*IBP* 11·31];
la ag gabail a nGlinn Fhinne / a ***branáin*** *fhinn fhidhcille* [*POD* 6·10].
is anáir an fhir Osgair, / a ***bhranáin ghil*** *ghormrosgaigh* [*IBP* 24·25]

[§ 4.C.] Masc. substantivised adjectives:

[§ 4.C.1.] In non-metaphorical use:

Although this is not discussed in the tracts, it is clear that these (and any adjectives accompanying them) were treated in the same way as nouns.

a ***chéibhfhinn*** (: *Éirinn*) *go néimh neamhloig* [2·54d]
a ***ghrinn*** (: *linn*) ***dhearcmhoill*** (: *leathtroim*) [10·20d]

Compare:

nach leigthior dís inn re haóincheird, / a fhinn fhíochbhuirb (: *críochbhuird*) [*IBP* 17·28]

[§ 4.C.2.] In metaphorical use:

Although this is not discussed in the tracts, it is clear that these (and any adjectives accompanying them) could have gen. sing. form. The only examples in the text are:

a ***chnuasghloin*** (: *fuasgail*) *chneasda gan oil* [14·10c; for *-sgh-* : *-sg-* rhyme, see note on text]
a ***bhonnbháin*** (: *chongbháil*) *chródha i gcogadh* [15·4d]

Compare:

*atá ar phóig d'fhoghbháil aguibh / **a bhonnbháin óig abhraduibh*** [*TD* 1·17];

[§ 5] Nom. sing. replacing gen. pl.:

(a) (In keeping with correct classical practice) after '*mór n-*':

*mór **gcathsdair*** (:*mhacsoin*) *ar a ghráin ghliadh* [2·33c & n.].
*Gidh mór **gcontabhairt** chatha* [3·51a].

(b) (Diverging from the teachings of the tracts but in keeping with some, later classical practice) after multiples of 'ten':

*Tríocha **bliadhain** do-bhí sin* [2·30a & n.] (not metrically fixed).
*Tríocha **bliadhain** gi-bé lais* [8·4a] (not metrically fixed).

[§ 6] Nom. and dat. sing. used indifferently after prep. 'i n-' regardless of presence or absence of the idea of movement:

*Is gur gnáth teaghlach id **theagh*** (: *sinnsear*) [9·21a]
*ní fhuil uasal nó íseal / nach léir ina **theach*** (: *seach*) *muirn mhór* [9·22bc]
*'s buird leathna gach laoi 'na d**toigh*** (: *chonair*) [23c]

[§ 7] Possessive adjectives anticipating a following genitive:

***a n-**ainchridhe, **a n-**aininne, / **aosa** síorthnúidh bhar ngruadh ngeal* [9·29bc]

*... ó taoi **'na bh**fail, / **iúlchlann gC**onaire ó Chruachain* [10·27ab]

CHAPTER 8:

OTHER ISSUES OF LANGUAGE & METRE

This chapter is intended simply as a guide to the text and notes; points raised here are discussed in the notes on the line number given in each instance.

The chapter is arranged as follows:

[§ A] LANGUAGE:

- [§ A.1] NOUNS
- [§ A.2] ADJECTIVES
- [§ A.3] INTENSIVE PREFIXES
- [§ A.4] PREPOSITIONS
- [§ A.5] VERBS
- [§ A.6] OTHER

[§ B] METRE:

- [§ B.1] VOWEL ELISION
- [§ B.2] RHYME
- [§ B.3] ALLITERATION
- [§ B.4] THE METRICAL ADORNMENT *BREACADH*
- [§ B.5] THE METRICAL FAULT *CAOICHE*
- [§ B.6] CLOSURE

[§ A] LANGUAGE:

[§ A.1] NOUNS:

(a) Non-classical / non-*IGT* noun forms (classified here under their *IGT* ii counterparts):

allmharach: (subst.) = "a foreigner"; non-*IGT* var. *allmhuireach* 7·26b.
baoghal: Var. (non-class.) nom. sing. *baoghail* 4·42c.
beatha: Non-class. acc. sing. *beatha* 5·23b.
bruach: Non-class. var. *braoch*, nom. pl. *braoich* 10·19d.
compráid: Var. spelling *compráit* 5·13cd.
Conn: (name); non-class. gen. sing. *Coinn* 9·9d.
díoth: non-*IGT* nom. sing. *díth* 9·26c; non-*IGT* dat. sing. *díth* 3·29d.
fiadhain: non-class. nom. pl. *fiadhna* 5·4c.
flaith: non-*IGT* nom. / voc. sing. *flath* (fem.) 14·7d.
fonn: = "a plain", non-class. nom. pl. *fonna* 4·19d.
forrán: See *forránta*, below (adjectives).
innise: (vn. of *innisidh* = "tells"); non-classical syncopation in *innse* 9·14a.
námha: Non-class. nom. pl. *náimhde* 5·37a;
obair, obar: Non-*IGT* dat. sing. *obar* (?) in *ón obarsoin* 7·37d.
rí: = "king", non-*IGT* nom. pl. *ríogha* 4·6d.
sdair: Non-class. nom. pl. *sdairthe* 5·4c;

(b) Non-*IGT* noun gender:

flaith: = "a prince", treated as fem. with art. and adjj. 11·7b.
saoi: = "a sage", treated as fem. with art. 13·1d.

[§ A.2] ADJECTIVES:

aon-: = "one, any", non-class. division from noun in *aon fhial* 10·39c.

farránta: 8·32d; the noun form *farrán* is condemned in *IGT*.

meanmnach: 4·35a; condemned in *IGT*.

[§ A.3] INTENSIVE PREFIXES:

ro(i)-, ra(i)-: Replaced by *ró(i)-*, *rá(i)-* 1·1d.

[§ A.4] PREPOSITIONS:

fa: Non-classical (simple pronoun) form *faoi* 5·8d.

[§ A.5] VERBS:

(a) Non-classical / non-*IGT* verb forms:

a-tá: non-class. emph. 1 sing. pres. indic. *taoimse* 12·8c; non-class. 2 sing. pres. subj. *bheir* 10·37c; non-class. 3 sing. past dep. *raibh* 5·2a; non-*IGT* 3 sing. past rel. *bhaoi* 10·39b.

dlighidh: non-class. forms in *dleactaim* (1 sing. pres.), *do dhleacht* (3 sing. past) 9·27c.

do-gheibh: = "gets"; non-class. 2 sing. sec. fut. *ghéabhtha* (without preceding *do*) 10·5a.

do-ní: = "does, makes"; non-class. 3 sing. pres. *do-ghní* 10·13a; non-*IGT* 2 sing. imperative *déan* 10·23a.

luidh: (non-classical) 3 sing. past of *téid* or correct 3 sing. past form of the (non-classical) verb *luidhidh* 3·48c.

tuitidh: Non-class. 3 sing. past *do-chear* 3·39c;

(b) Non-classical verb endings:

(i) *-(a)ir*, 2 sing. pres. and fut.:

rachair [5·37d], *sillir* [10·19d], *bheir* [10·37c]; *aidéamhair* (?) [13·17d].

(ii) *-tar* (replacing *-thar*), pres. pass.:

féachtar (not metrically fixed) [5·2d].

(iii) *-faoi* (replacing *-faidhe*), sec. fut. pass.:

féachfaoi (metrically fixed) [9·25c].

[§ A.6] OTHER:

Other aspects of language are discussed in INITIAL MUTATION [intro., chapt. 6] and USE OF CASES [intro., chapt. 7].

[§ B] METRE:

[§ B.1] VOWEL ELISION:

(a) Long vowel not elided after short vowel in:

M'aos ionmhaine ós iad sin [9·13a; seven syllables].

(b) Long vowel not elided after long vowel in:

[']s Magh Aoi ón réim i raibhe [9·19c; seven syllables].

[§ B.2] RHYME:

(a) (Classical) rhymes in *-da*:

sealga : dhoineanda [8·24ab].

(b) Non-classical treatment of spelling to provide rhyme:

séimhcheart : *éifeacht* (rhyming non-classically as */éibhtheacht/*) [8·34cd].
Chruachain : *uathmhair* (rhyming non-classically as */uafar/*) [7·44cd].

(c) *Comhardadh brisde* rhyme replacing (metrically required) *comhardadh slán* rhyme:

aoingheal : -ghaoidheal: [10·15ab]

(d) Bad rhymes in *-s-*:

chnuasghlan : *fuasgladh* [14·2cd].
chnuasghloin : *fuasgail* [lines 14·10cd].

(e) *Comhardadh brisde* endrhyme in an *óglách*as poem (in which all other endrhymes are *comhardadh slán*):

latsa : *arsachta* [5·34ab].
thuigsin : *-thuirsigh* [5·35cd].

[§ B.3] ALLITERATION:

(a) Division of words for alliteration:

budh-eacht [6·59c] (in contradiction of *BST*).
Alax Andar [6·30b].

(b) Use of feminine infixed pronoun to provide alliteration:

's an eingsi ar seal ***n[os]*** *socraigh* [2·32c]

(for further examples of use of infixed pronouns, see "Glossarial index to the notes" s. v. *-s*).

[§ B.4] THE METRICAL ADORNMENT *BREACADH*:

'S í 'gun ríghse fa ***mhuirn*** *mhóir*
trer dháil di d'aoibh is d'onóir,
ní ***muirn*** *nar mheisnigh a brígh*
muirn *an eichsin ón airdrígh* [6·32]

[§ B.5] THE METRICAL FAULT *CAOICHE*:

acht ao[s] ***iúil*** *go bhfios bhfortail,*
fios gach ***iúil*** *'ga n-o[rracht]aibh* [10·36cd].

[§ B.6] CLOSURE:

Dia [1·1a] ... ghaisgea**dh** [1·47d];
Do [2·1a] ... n-athar**dho** [2·55d];
Inghean [2·56a] ... hairrdh**i** [2·59d];
Do toirneadh [3·1a] ... **do toirneadh** [3·58d];
Gabhla [4·1a] ... fíor**ghabhla** [4·55d] ... fíor**ghabhla** [4·63d];
Mo [5·1a] ... théar**mo** [5·42d];
Neart [6·1a] ... Modhair**ne** [6·70d];
Treóin [7·1a] ... sir**the** [7·58d] ... maoidh**te** [7·59d] ... n-uaisleach**ta** [7·63d];
Deireadh ... **dheireadh** [8·40d] ... romha**d** [8·46d];
Ionmhain [9·1a] ... roich**ion** [9·30d] ... **ionmhain** [9·34d];
Mo-chean do[d] chuairt, a Chalbhaigh [10·1a] ... **mo-chean do[d] chuairt, a Chalbhaigh** [10·52d], (+ 53, no closure).
Lúireach [11·1a] ... **lúireach** [11·12d];
Beannacht [12·1a] ... **bheannacht** [12·8d];
Ós [12·9a] ... dúthch**os** [12·10d];
Ort [13·1a] ... aidéa[mh**air**] [13·17d], (+ 18, no closure).
Fuasgail mo cheasda, a Chalbhaigh [14·1a] ... **fuasgail mo cheasda, a Chalbhaigh** [14·10d], (+ 11, no closure).
Déanam [15·1a] ... **dhéanamh** [15·11d], (+ 12, no closure).

PART 2:

TEXT

PART 2: SECTION (A):

POEMS 1 - 15

POEM 1

MS. version: (NLI G. 167, p. 313)

uilliam og m/c
Uilliam [space] uilliam oig m/c an bháird
do rinne an dansa ag greasacht fhear neireann
Et aga ccomhairliugh/. im shnadhmad rer oile in
énbháidh charthann/. Et in én aonta a ttús an
chogaidh oirdheirc ·1641·

1. Dia libh a uaisle eirionn
tógb/. tosach caithreímionn
tánaig uair dfoírithin caígh
roimhithe an uain dfaghaíl

2. Fríth le faidhibh fada o shoin
acht amhain méd bhar bpeacaidh
cosg an mhadhmasa chlair cuinn
dáil na cabhrasa chuguinn

3. Rath an tos/. triall tar libh
cosnamh dúthchais dion creidimh
go ttí da thuile maithis
rí na nuile ardfhlaithis

Edited text:
(no other MSS. consulted)

1. **D**ia libh, a uaisle Éireann;
tógb[haidh] tosach caithréimeann;
tánaig uair d'fhóirithin cháigh;
róimhith[idh] an uain d'fhagháil.

2. Fríoth le fáidhibh fada ó shoin
- acht a-mháin méad bhar bpeacaidh -
cosg an mhadhmasa chláir Cuinn,
dáil na cabhrasa chugainn.

3. Rath an tosaigh trialltar libh,
cosnamh dúthchais, díon creidimh
go dtí dá thuile maithis
rí na [h]uile ardfhlaithis.

---

1. God be with you, O nobles of *Éire*; initiate [your] triumphs! The time to help everyone has arrived. It is high time [for you] to have got the opportunity [that you now have].

2. Long ago, prophets foretold the ending of this defeat of *Conn*'s land [and] the apportioning of this help to us; only the extent of your sinfulness [has prevented the fulfillment of these prophecies].

3. Let the benefit[s] of leadership be tried by you so that protection of heredity and of [the] faith may come from the wave of goodness of the king of all high lordship.

4. Céd laoidh/. as coir oraibh
creid/. críosd ler cheanglobhair
fegh/ bhar ccoimhneart fa a ceann
na sénaidh dfoirneart éireann

5. Tabhr/. én aghaidh air feín
dochas i ndia sa dheighreír
mó ina congamh bhar lámh libh
do thorn/. bhar ndál ndoil/.

6. Tárrabhair ré fa roicheas
fa anró fa anfhlaitheas
a uaisle gaoidheal is gall
nar saoil/. uaibhsi dfulang

[4]. Céadlaoidheadh as chóir oraibh:
creidimh Críosd ler cheanglabhair
féaghaidh bhar gcoimhneart fa a ceann -
ná[s] séanaidh d'fhoirneart Éireann.

[5]. Tabhraidh éanaghaidh air féin
dóchas i nDia 's a dheighréir
- mó iná cungnamh bhar lámh libh
do thurnamh bhar ndál ndoiligh.

[6]. Tárrabhair ré fa roicheas,
fa anró, fa anfhlaitheas,
a uaisle Gaoidheal is Gall,
nar saoileadh uaibhse d'fhulang.

---

4. The first exhortation you should get is: Look to [using] your combined strength on behalf of the [true] Christian faith to which you have bound yourselves! Do not, as a result of the oppression of *Éire*, deny it!

5. As one man, trust in God and in his goodwill, [goodwill] which [will be] of greater significance in ending your difficult plight than the help [the actions] of your [own] hands [will give you].

6. O nobles of the *Gaoidheal*s and of the *Gall*s, for a while [past] you have been in a state of great weakness, in difficulty and under tyranny which you were not expected to withstand.

7. Do turnadh teas bhar nuaille
fríth adhbhar bhar neccruaidhe
do gach taoibh fa adhbha Airt
sa ttarla dhaoibh do diubhairt

8. Follas fan eoraip uile
bhar martra bhar moghsuine
gach lén, g/. imneadh g/. oil
gach trén dar himr/. oroibh

9. A taíd bhar mbailte bun/.
roinnte ar fhuirinn allmhurr/.
go sreathaibh míne clach ccuir
sgath bhar ttiré fa a ttreadaibh

[7]. Do turnadh teas bhar n-uaille;
fríoth adhbhar bhar n-éagcruaidhe
d[á] gach taoibh fa adhbha Airt
's a dtarla daoibh do dhiubhairt.

[8]. Follas fan Eóraip uile
bhar martra, bhar moghsaine,
gach léan, gach imneadh, gach oil,
gach tréan dar himreadh oraibh.

[9]. A-táid bhar mbailte bunaidh
roinnte ar fhoirinn allmharaigh
go sreathaibh míne clach gcuir
sgath bhar dtíre fa a dtréadaibh.

---

7. The fervour of your pride has been cooled; with all the aggression you have suffered, the cause of your weakness has come from all sides, all around *Art*'s home.

8. Your intense suffering [and] your bondage, all [the] tragedy, anxiety and misfortune [you have suffered] and all [the] power that has been [tyranically] exercised against you are well known all over Europe.

9. Your home places, [covered] with smooth streets of alligned stones, have been apportioned to a foreign team [and] the best of your land is under their herds.

10. Doibh sin as oidhreacht isi
an ghasr/. ghall nuaidhisi
sibh fein is eachtrannaigh ann
fan/t dhrongaibh dfein eachtrann

11. Mosgailtear meanma cosnaimh
ionnaibh ar an adhbhar soin
is rún cath/.e fa a cheann
fa mhúr rathfhoirbhthe Raoireann

12. Treig/. bhar ttuirsi cridhe
liamhaidh bhar lanna meirgidhe
sgaoil/. bhar mbratach a brios
maoidhidh atach go haithios

[10]. Dóibh sin as oidhreacht ise
an ghasraidh Ghall nuaidhise;
sibh féin as eachtrannaigh ann
fa neartdrongaibh d'fhéin eachtrann.

[11]. Mosgailtear meanma cosnaimh
ionnaibh ar an adhbharsoin
is rún cathaighthe fa a cheann,
fa mhúr rathfhoirbhthe Raoireann.

[12]. Tréigidh bhar dtuirse cridhe!
Liamhaidh lanna meirgidhe!
Sgaoilidh bhar mbratach a brios!
Maoidhidh atach go háitheas!

---

10. It is to them - this host of new *Galls* - that she is [now] an inheritance; [now] it is you, under [the dominance of] powerful groups of a band of foreigners, who are [the] strangers there.

11. For that reason, let a defensive mentality and [the] intention to give battle for *Raoire*'s castle of the perfect ramparts be awoken in you.

12. Abandon your heartfelt sorrow! Polish [your] rusty swords! Release your banner from derision! Make a call to victory!

13. Ionann ciall leam da laoidh/.
an fionnghall an fiorghaoidheal
is taosga is tírsin na bfionn
sdo dhislibh aosda eirionn

14. Anois ar an uair as feárr
in ainm dé a uaisle éireann
leanaidh go calma bhar cceart
gab/. bhar narma in eínfheacht

15. O do spor an Spiorad naomh
bhar naign/. uile dén taobh
deacair dóigh dhíbh do dheanamh
g/. tír roímh da roilegh/.

[13]. Ionann ciall leam dá laoidheadh
an fionnGhall, an fíorGhaoidheal
as taosga is tírsin na bhfionn
's do dhíslibh aosda Éireann.

[14]. Anois, ar an uair as fhearr,
i n-ainm Dé, a uaisle Éireann,
leanaidh go calma bhar gceart!
Geabhaidh bhar n-arma i n-éinfheacht!

[15]. Ó do sbor an Sbiorad Naomh
bhar n-aigneadh uile d'éantaobh
deacair dóigh díbh do dhéanamh
(?) - gach tír róimh dá roiléaghadh.

---

13. In my opinion, the import of [any] incitement of the fair *Gall* and of the true *Gaoidheal*, who was in that country of the fair ones first, will be same as the import of the ancient claims of *Éire*.

14. Now, at the best of times, O nobles of *Éire*, bravely seek your rights in God's name! Take up your arms together!

15. Since the Holy Spirit has spurred on all your morale together, it is difficult to make a soft target of you; before you, every country [...].

16. Uaidh fein frith an séol/.
bhar neart arís daithbheodhadh
ni as sia na faghaid bhar bfaill
do anaig dia bhar ndoghraing

17. Seasamh ar son a cheile
tuigeadh cách bhar ccoimhdhéine
séididh fa ghallaibh bhar ngoimh
rannaidh na héigin oroibh

18. O fuair bhar bfearg afobhairt
na cluintear uaibh iomchomhairc
in g/. ceím dfogra orthaibh
do bheín fódla dallmhorchaibh

[16]. Uaidh féin[e] fríoth an seóladh
bhar neart ar-ís d'aithbheódhadh;
ní as sia ná faghai[r] bhar bhfaill;
do anaig[h] Dia bhar ndoghraing.

[17]. Seas[aidh] ar son a chéile;
tuigeadh cách bhar gcoimhdhéine;
séididh fa Ghallaibh bhar ngoimh;
rannaidh 'na éigin oraibh.

[18]. Ó fuair bhar bhfearg a fobhairt,
ná cluintear uaibh iomchomhairc
i ngach céim d'fhógra orthaibh
do bhéin Fhódla d'allmharchaibh.

---

16. God has warded-off your plight. It is from Him that the guidance to revive your power once more has been received. May you not be caught unawares any longer.

17. Stand up for each other; let everyone understand that you are [all] equally vehement; direct your anger towards foreigners [and not at each other]; divide this [task you face] among you as a necessity.

18. Since your anger has been tempered, let it not be heard that you petition [the] foreigners at every stage to take *Fódla* from them.

19. Na biodh tnúth caígh le chéile
dimreasain no daimhréidhe
ag leagh/. an uile eang
déanadh gach duine a dhícheall

20. Na biodh re aithris oraibh
dream go suaimhneach sódhamhail
gan sniomh reann g/ rochtain ccath
sdream na ccotchaibh da ccúmhdach

21. Na biodh feasda re a radh ruibh
drong ag gabhail re gallaibh
is ar oile i nonn sa nall
Et drong oile in énrann

[19]. Ná bíodh tnúth cáigh [r]e chéile
d'imreasain nó d'aimhréidhe
(?) ag léaghadh an uile eang
déanadh gach duine a dhícheall.

[20]. Ná bíodh re [a] aithris oraibh:
' dream go suaimhneach sódhamhail
gan sníomh reann, gan rochtain gcath
's dream 'na gcodchaibh dá gcumhdach '.

[21]. Ná bíodh feasda re a rádh ruibh
' drong ag gabháil re Gallaibh
is ar-oile a-nonn 's a-nall
agus drong oile i n-éanrann'.

---

19. Let not everyone be jealous of one another because of contention or disagreement - let everyone do his best [.....].

20. Let you not be open to being called 'A group who are settled and smug who are restricted to their [present] possessions with no spears being brandished or battles reached'.

21. From now on, let it not be possible to say of you: 'One group [of them is] siding with *Gall*s and so on (?), coming and going [between both factions], and another group [is joined] in a single alliance [with each other]'.

22. An ccualabhair cian o shoin
eisiomlair úghdair eolaigh
re nég da oidhreadhaibh feín
ceím or fhoirmeamhail iadséin

23. Cinnios da ccur re chéile
inntleacht do dhruim deighchéille
da chloinn do chuaidh i ttarbha
i roinn no in uaim athardha

24. Cruinnighidh ina ceann soin
re hucht écca da nathoir
g/. baidh don chloinn sin dar chumm
sar fhoillsigh dháibh a dérumm

22. An gcualabhair, cian ó shoin,
eiseamláir ughdair eólaigh
re n-éag (?) dá oidhreadhaibh féin
- céim ór fhoirmeamhail iadséin.

23. Cinn[is] dá gcur re chéile
inntleacht do dhruim deighchéille
dá chloinn do-chuaidh i dtarbha
i roinn nó i n-uaim athardha.

24. Cruinnighidh ina ceann soin
re hucht éaga dá n-athair;
gach báidh don chloinnsin dar chum
's ar fhoillsigh dáibh a-déaram.

---

22. Have you heard the exemplar [given] long ago by a knowledgeable author to his own heirs before [his] death (?)? [It was] a deed which resulted in them being united (?).

23. To make them act towards each other in [a way that was informed either by] division or [by] fatherly unity, he devised a plan born of sound wisdom which benefitted his family.

24. For that purpose, [the family] gathers [together] before their father's death; I shall tell of all the love that he conceived for that family and of all that he made known to them.

25. Fógras do g/. fear da shliocht
glac shoigeatt uile in aoiniocht
ma do thuill a chlann a chion
gan roinn ar ball do bhrisiodh

26. Féchaid? uile ó laímh go laímh
an ghlac soin na glaic iomlaín
tar fhióch, tar fhaobhar na bfear
sni frioth baoghal na briseadh

27. Iongnadh an fhorail athur
a chur oírn mar ordachadh
ni thig dhínn ni nár a nos
gnímh do chaidh tar ar ccummos

[25]. Fógra[i]s d[á] gach f[io]r dá shliocht
glac shoighead uile i n-aoineacht
- má do thoill a chlann a chion -
gan roinn ar ball do bhriseadh.

[26]. Féachaid uile ó láimh go láimh
an ghlacsoin 'na glaic iomláin
tar fhíoch, tar fhaobhar na bhfear
's ní fríoth baoghal 'na briseadh.

[27]. "Iongnadh an fhoráil athar:
a chur oirn mar ordachadh
- ní thig díonn - ní náir a-nos -
gníomh do-cháidh tar ar gcumas".

---

25. He directed each man of his progeny - if his family deserved his love - to [try to] break a whole quiver of arrows together without dividing it up [into individual arrows].

26. [Passing it] from hand to hand, they all try [to break] that quiver without dividing it [up into individual arrows] and, despite the men's anger and keenness, there was no danger of it being broken.

27. [Said the family:] "Amazing is the paternal injunction: our being ordered [to perform] an act that is beyond our ability; we are not capable of it - it is not honourable now."

28. An tathair ga fhaicsin sin
tug soighead do na soigdibh
uaidh i laímh g/. duine dhióbh
dar bhaídh an uile eisíoth

29. Riú mar do rann an fisígh
go singil na soighde sin
fríth sniómh g/. soighde mar sin
no oírdne dhiobh do dheinímh

30. Acc so dhaoibh //an sompla // ar sé//
chuímhdeochas bhar ccumhochta
a chiall da ccoimheltair libh
a chlann ghrádhach an nglaic sin

28. An t-athair 'g[á] fhaicsin sin
tug soighead do na soighdibh
uaidh i láimh gach duine díobh
dar bháigh an uile eissíodh.

29. Riú mar do rann an fisidh
go singil na soighde sin
fríoth sníomh gach soighde mar sin:
n[a h]oirdne díobh do dhéinimh.

30. "Ag so daoibh ", ar sé, " an sompla
chuimhdeóchas bhar gcumhachta;
a chiall dá gcoimhéaltair libh,
..... ".

---

28. Noticing that, the father gave one of the arrows into the hand of each one of them, [an expedient] by which he suppressed all contention.

29. When the sage bestowed those arrows singly on them, the bending of each arrow was achieved in that way, [i.e.] their division into portions [of single arrows].

30. "Here", says he, "is the exemplar which, if its import is observed by you, will protect your power [for you] ....."

31. O chéile da ccuirthear libh
a chlann ghradhach an nglaicsin
fariór ni ba sia bhar seal
sni bhia briogh in bhar mbriseadh

32. Congnaidh re chroidhe
na faghadh aos diomdhaidhe
do ghrádh moigh/. no múr tte
cúl bhar ccroidheadh re chéile

33. Aontaighid ar aba soin
dibhe in aoíneacht o an Athoir
deoch ghraidh a ngáol fhuile fein
nar dhoigh daon nduine iadséin

[31]. " Ó chéile dá gcuirthear libh,
a chlann ghrádhach, an g[h]laicsin,
- fa-ríor - ní b[udh] sia bhar seal
's ní bhia bríogh in bhar mbriseadh ".

[32]. " Congnaidh ..... re chroidhe!
Ná aghadh aos diomdhaidhe,
do ghrádh moigheadh n[a] múr dte,
cúl bhar gcroidheadh re chéile ".

[33]. Aontaighid ar aba soin
d'ibhe in aoineacht ó a n-athair
deoch ghráidh a ngaolfhuile féin
nar dháigh d'aonduine iad-séin.

---

31. "Alas, O loving family, if that quiver is divided up [into individual arrows] by you, your rule will last no longer and it will require no strength to break you."

32. "Keep ... heart! For love of the plains of the warm ramparts, let hostile people not find your hearts turned away from each other".

33. For that reason, because of their father['s words], they agree to drink together the loving draft of their own blood relationship, with the result that they were no soft target for anyone.

34. A shluagh fódla fechaidh air
ag sin eisiomlair agaibh
fa chrích shaoír bhfonnórrtha bfáil
do thaobh comhmorrtha is comhgraidh

35. Acht do bhithin bhar mbés fein
do bhrígh na bíthi denmheín
tearc buaidh nach bearthaoi libhsi
sluaigh an fherchraoi fhuinidhsi

36. Cia an tiompodh tainic oraibh
caidhe an toirleim fuarabhair
g/ dlaoi theagair uaibhsi ann
do mhédaigh uaisle eachtrann

[34]. A shluagh Fódla, féachaidh air;
ag sin eiseamláir agaibh
fa chrích saoir bhfonnórtha bhFáil
do thaoibh chomhmórtha is chomhghráidh.

[35]. Acht do bhithin bhar mbéas fein
do bhrígh nach bíthe d'éinmhéin
tearc buaidh nach béarthaoi libhse
sluaigh an fhéarchraoi fhuinidhse.

[36]. Cia an tiompódh táinig oraibh ?
Caidhe an t-oirléim uarabhair
gan dlaoi théagair uaibhse ann
do mhéadaigh uaisle eachtrann ?

---

34. O host of *Fódla*, look at it: there is an exemplar about the noble, golden-landed territory of *Fál* for you which concerns mutual magnifying and loving.

35. If it wasn't for your own ways, for [the fact that] you are never of one mind, rare the victory that would not have been won by you hosts of this grassy land of the sunset.

36. What is the upset that has overcome you? Whence the rout that you have suffered, that has exalted foreign nobles, with no sheltering screen [being provided] there by you?

37. Ag tuill/. diomdha Dé bhí
ar an ccorsa an cceín bheithí
crioch na sgél, go sguirthear dhe
ni fuighthear trén no treise

38. Gidh minic do meall/. sibh
le saidhbhreas oír is eidigh
o ata i ccinneadh clodh bhar cceas
lór ar ling/. don fhlaitheas

39. Múch/. na folta fine
báthaidh gach bés naimhdighe
san tsíon chog/. gacha cinn
do bhiodh agaibh in eirinn

[37]. Ag tuilleadh diomdha Dé bhí
ar an gcorsa an gcéin bheithí
- críoch na sgéal - go sguirthear de,
ní fuighthear tréan nó treise.

[38]. Gidh minic do mealladh sibh
le saidhbhreas óir is éidigh
ó a-tá i gcinneadh clódh bhar gceas
lór ar lingeadh don fhlaitheas.

[39]. Múchaidh na folta fine!
Báthaidh gach béas naimhdighe
's an tsíon chagaidh gacha cinn
do bhíodh agaibh i n-Éirinn!

---

37. At the end of the day, until this [state of affairs] is discontinued, as long as you [go on] incurring the displeasure of the living God in this way, neither power nor strength will be attained [by you].

38. Since the overcoming of your troubles is destined [and] although it is often that you have been seduced by wealth of gold and cloth, enough lordship has been taken [from you].

39. Quench the family feuds! Submerge every hostile way [of behaving] and the warring atmosphere of every [individual family-] leader [fighting for himself] which you used to have in *Éire*.

40. Tabhr/. in bhar ttuinn anf/.
én aghaidh ar allmharchaibh
na leónaidh bhar ngabhla gaoil
séol/. bhar narma deantaoibh

41. Bhar naindísle eadraibh feín
leig/. dhíbh diádha an caithréim
no atá an bhaídh g/ a bheith dearbhtha
sar cleith uaibh a éireanncha

42. Sguir/. do chailg a cheíle
tabhraidh do dhruim deighmheíne
deanaidh deachtadh úr ann sa
cúl don chleachtadh chodarsna

[40]. Tabhraidh in bhar dtuinn anfaidh
éanaghaidh ar allmharchaibh!
Ná leónaidh bhar ngabhla gaoil!
Seólaidh bhar n-arma d'éantaoibh!

[41]. Bhar n-aindísle eadraibh féin
leigidh díbh - diadha an caithréim! -
nó a-tá an bhuaidh gan bheith dearbhtha
's ar cleith uaibh, a Éireanncha.

[42]. Sguiridh do chailg a chéile!
Tabhraidh, do dhruim deighmhéine
- déanaidh deachtadh úr annsa! -
cúl don chleachtadh chodarsna!

---

40. In your stormlike torrent, face foreigners as one man! Do not destroy [the people in] your own kinship forks! Direct your arms [against the same enemy] from one side [of the conflict]!

41. Put away your disloyalty among yourselves - [this would be] a godly triumph! - or victory is not assured and is hidden from you, O *Éireannaigh*.

42. Stop undermining one another! Out of goodwill, turn your backs on quarrelsome behaviour! Make a new and loving compact [with each other]!

43. Biodh in gach énaírd uaibhsi
roúmhla don arduaisle
aice amhain as beite i nglas
na laímh as creidte an ceannas

44. A uaisle chenel cconaill
a iolchraobha a henchrobhaing
ni mín do gríos/. bhar ngoimh
da ttiosadh dhíbh a dhioghoil

45. Gibe meas no modh iomchair
fríth le hénchuid deirionnchaibh
ni sibh fuair a bfríth da bhlas
bhar ndíth do chuaidh o chunntas

[43]. Bíodh i ngach éanaird uaibhse
ró umhla don arduaisle;
aice a-bháin as beite i nglas;
'na láimh is creidte an ceannas.

[44]. A uaisle Cheinéal Conaill,
a iolchraobha a héanchrobhaing,
ní mín do gríosadh bhar ngoimh
dá dtíosadh díbh a dhíoghail.

[45]. Gibé meas nó modh iomchair
frí[o]th le héanchuid d'Éireannchaibh,
ní sibh fuair a bhfrí[o]th dá bhlas
- bhar ndí[o]th do-chuaidh ó chuntas.

---

43. As a result of you[r actions], let there be great humility everywhere towards high nobility; it is by her alone that one should be bound; in her control, leadership is credible.

44. O nobles of *Conall*'s race, O manifold branches of her one cluster, if you could avenge it [being called forth, this would show that] your venom was not provoked with impunity.

45. Whatever esteem or respectful behaviour has been enjoyed by one group of Irishmen, it is not you who received the taste that was got of it; your privation has gone beyond reckoning.

46. Do beanadh dhíbh mas dal truim
rian loingsi is eachr/. naluinn
droibheil no leathbhruaigh ni libh
na oiléin gealchuain gainmh/.

47. Biodh nach biadh eiré uile
deinghealladh is denluighe
iongnamh leó bhar suan re seal
g/ lua ar ghleodh no ar ghaisg/.
[dia·libh·]

[46]. Do beanadh díbh - más dál truim -
rian loingse is eachradh n-álainn;
droibhéil nó leathbhruaigh ní libh
[nó] oiléin ghealchuain ghainmhigh.

[47]. Bíodh nach biadh Éire uile
d'éinghealladh is d'éanluighe,
iongnamh leó bhar suan re seal
gan luadh ar ghleó nó ar ghaisgea**dh**.

---

46. Though it be a serious matter, the path[s] of ships and of beautiful horses ha[ve] been taken from you; you do not own [even] rough places, marginal lands or islands with sandy and bright harbour[s].

47. Though it may be that not all of [the inhabitants of] *Éire* would make the same promise and the same oath [as you], they are amazed by your slumbering for a while [past] with no mention of battle or of prowess.

POEM 2

MS. version: (NLI G. 167, p. 317)

Gofraidh óg m/ gofr/.a m/c br/ m/c
an bhaird do rinne an dánsa do Sheaan
o dhomhn/ m/ Aodha bhuidhe mheic
cuinn m/c an Chalb/., m/ maghnasa
m/ Aodha dhuibh $_{7}$ⁿc

1. Do dhuisg/. gaisg/. gaoidheal
fada anonn bhus neartmhaoidheamh
an bhuaidh rolonn rug an ceart
tug a honoir san uaisleacht

2. Do tógbhadh meanma mac Rígh
do reacadh tlás ar threinbhrigh
ciodh acht guaisbhearta gniómh tte
dion na huaisleachta an eirghe

Edited text:
(no other MSS. consulted)

1. Do dúisgeadh gaisgeadh Gaoidheal,
fada a-nonn bhus neartmhaoidheamh;
an bhuaidh roláin rug an ceart
tug a honáir san uaisleacht.

2. Do tógbhadh meanma mac ríogh;
do reacadh tlás ar thréinbhríogh;
- ciodh acht guaisbhearta gníomh dte? -
díon na huaisleachta an éirghe.

---

1. The valour of the Gaels, which shall be a powerful boast far from now, has been awoken; justice has won complete victory and has given nobility back its honour.

2. The spirits of kings' sons have been raised; meekness has been exchanged for strong force. What is this but fervent, hazardous deeds? The rising [of their spirits] is honour's protection.

3. Do coindhleadh coindle an fheadhma
tanaig claochlodh cinneamhna
ar neart laímhe gibe bheas
as sé bhus sáimhe suaimhneas

4. Ar feadh eíreann theas is th/.[f. 318]
tre ar adhain innte danbhuain
beag ttarbha acht armghniomh re headh
ag daghdhion banbha ar bhuaidhr/.

5. Do chongmhail caígh na ccreideamh
dísliugh/. uilc eithreigeadh
ga ttamaid da treidhibh gill
taim[cc] ar eir/. déirinn

[3]. Do coinnleadh coinnle an fheadhma;
tánaig claochlódh cinneamhna;
ar neart láimhe gi-bé bheas
is sé bhus sáimhe suaimhneas.

[4]. Ar feadh Éireann, theas is thuaidh,
tre ar adhain innte d'anbhuain,
beag dtarbha acht airmghníomh re headh
ag daighdhíon Banbha ar bhuaidhreadh.

[5]. Do chongbháil cháigh 'na gcreideamh,
d'ísleaghadh uilc eithrigeadh
- gá dtámaid, dá tréidhibh gill -
tánaig ar éirigh d'Éirinn.

---

3. The candles of action have been lit; a transformation of destiny has occurred; it is whoever is strong in power whose peace will be most tranquil [once the war is over].

4. For a while past, all over *Éire*, north and south, as a result of all the unrest which has enkindled in her, anything other than an act of arms virtuously defending *Banbha* from trouble has been of little profit.

5. Everything that has been happening [of late] to *Éire* has arisen from everyone being kept in their faith [and] from the minimisation of the harm done by heretics; in short, [it has arisen] from her worthy qualities.

6. Eireochaid dháibh na dheadh/.
uaisle innsi muireadh/.
go tti indiaidh a ttuile treas
biaidh gach duine na dhíleas

7. Eiré a rís dfill/. orrthoibh
fine gaoidheal gniomhorth/.
b/. he as tarrachtain iar ttrioll
da sgé dfandocr/. eirionn

8. An drong chuirfeas le a cosnamh
banbha na mbrugh solasghlan
deís a bfoghla dhiobh do dhol
ríomh a ttarbha as da ttiodol

6. Éireóchaid dáibh 'na dheaghaidh,
uaisle inse Muireadhaigh,
go dtí i ndiaidh a dtuile treas
biaidh gach duine 'na dhíleas.

7. Éire arís d'fhilleadh orthaibh,
fine Gaoidhil ghníomharthaigh,
b[udh] é as tarrachtain iar dtrioll
dá sgé d'fhan[n]docraibh Éireann.

8. An drong chuirfeas le a cosnamh,
Banbha na mbrugh solasghlan,
d'éis a bhfaghla díobh do dhol,
ríomh a dtarbha is dá dtiodal.

---

6. Because of this, the nobles of *Muireadhach*'s island will attack them, with the result that after their flood of assaults, everyone will be in [control of] his [own hereditary] property.

7. What will transpire after a while, as a result of what has arisen from *Éire*'s helpless (?) difficulties is *Éire* returning to active *Gaoidheal*'s family.

8. After the cessation of the plundering [that is] being perpetrated against them, those who take part in the protection of *Banbha* of the clear, bright mansions will be entitled to count the profits they make.

9. Ni bhia ag an tí nach ttuillfe
dhisi ar ccur a cathuighthe
don chrích mbuig shiodhchobhs/. shaímh
cuid fiorchosn/. da hanaír

9. Ní bhia ag an tí nach tuillfe,
dise ar gcur a cathaighthe,
don chrích bhuig shíodhchobhsaidh sháimh
cuid fhíorchosnaimh dá hanáir.

10. As doibh bhias a sochar soin
siol cconoill dar teach teamhoir
ar chosnamh mas cinnte cion
um dhosmhagh ngrinnte ngaoidhiol

10. Is dóibh bhias a sochar soin,
síol gConaill dar teach Teamhair,
ar chosnamh más cinnte cion
um dhosmhagh ngrinnte nGaoidheal.

11. Clann dál/. na ngniomh ngairthe
diath banbha as ceann cath/.the
teacht na hoidhreacht dhóibh as dluigh
sloígh go noirbheart na narmuibh

11. Clann Dálaigh na ngníomh ngairthe
d'iath Banbha is ceann cathaighthe;
teacht 'na hoidhreacht dóibh as dluigh
- slóigh go n-oirbheart 'na n-armaibh.

---

9. Once hostilities have been banished from her, he who does not earn it will not have a portion of the soft, firmly peaceful, settled territory for true protection of her honour.

10. If victory is assured, it is *Conall*'s seed, whose house is *Teamhair*, who, in return for protection [of her] throughout the lovely, warm, wooded plain of the *Gaoidheal*s, shall reap her reward.

11. *Dálach*'s family of the flaming deeds is *Banbha*'s war leader; it is they, hosts skilled at arms, who are entitled to come to inherit her.

12. Fiú a ccosnamh ar chrích logha
a nois is a nallana
tar neart g/. díne dar dhluigh
ceart na Ríghe da rochtuin

13. Leath a bfuaradar danbhuain
ag clódh anfaidh eachtrannshluaigh
síol céimlonn dál/. os di
ni tárroidh én drong eili

14. Ga ttú as orthaibh dob oil [f. 319]
caill banbha RíghNeill fhras/.
ar fh?ás dibh conuill g/ choir
rolainn fa acás do chobhoir

[12]. Fiú a gcosnamh ar chrích Logha
a-nois is a-nallana
tar neart gach díne dar dhluigh
ceart na ríghe dá rochtain.

[13]. Leath a n-uaradar d'anbhuain
ag clódh anfaidh eachtrannshluaigh
síol céamlonn Dálaigh - ós di -
ní thárraidh éandrong eile.

[14]. Gá dt[ám], is orthaibh dob oil
caill Banbha ríghNéill Fhrasaigh
ar fhás d'uíbh Conaill gan choir
rolainn fa a cás do chobhair.

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12. Their protection of *Lugh*'s territory, now and in the past, is more deserving of the right of attaining the kingship than is the power of any other people who would be entitled to this right.

13. No other race suffers [even] half of all the adversity that *Dálach*'s agile and active progeny has sustained while overcoming the storm of the foreign host - (?) since it is for her [they have endured this] (?).

14. What I am saying is that losing royal *Niall Frasach*'s *Banbha* would be a misfortune for the faultless issue of *Conall*'s descendants, great blades for [the] alleviation of her difficulty.

15. San amsa mar gach naimsir
fríth do chloinn an chonaillsin
dinis cuinn tríath a tab/.
le buing cliach do churadhaibh

16. Oidhre Aódha nar ér sgoil
pailm chumhra chloinne dál/.
ni fríth a fhear samhla soin
b/. meadh cabhra da cheardoibh

17. Do ghabh sé dóchas fa a ceann
buime shil Neill iath eíreann
gan guais re nguin g/ grádh cruaidh
lámh do chur ina cabhair

15. San amsa mar gach n-aimsir,
fríoth do chloinn an Chonaillsin
d'inis Cuinn triath a tabhaigh
le buing Cliach do churadhaibh.

16. Oidhre Aodha nar éar sgoil,
pailm chumhra chloinne Dálaigh,
ní fríoth a fhear samhla soin
budh meadh chabhra dá cheardaibh.

17. Do ghabh sé do chás fa a ceann,
buime shíl Néill, iath Éireann;
gan ghuais re nguin, gan ghrádh cruidh,
lámh do chuir ina cabhair.

---

15. In present times, as [has] always [happened in the past], the lord to gain control of *Conn*'s island by means of (?) the taking [back] of *Cliú* from [foreign] warriors has been found from [among the ranks of] the family of that *Conall*.

16. The likes of *Aodh*'s heir - fragrant branch of *Dálach*'s family who has never refused a school - who, as a result of his accomplishments, would equal him for [capacity to] help has never been found.

17. He has adopted concern for the land of *Éire*, nurse of *Niall*'s descendants; with no fear of injury or love of chattels, he has set about helping her.

18. Ar lasadh a lot neimhneach
is Eiré in airc foirithneach
tug fiorchor da cara o chneidh
cara fíorthor in éigin

19. Uaisde da céibh chúlchais
nach suidhe i seilbh anduthchais
da bfogra dál a dlighidh
lámh fa fhólla dfoíridhin

20. Seaan deidgheal nach daor cuing
dan dú ceannas clair conuill
ni hionchuir in iongn/. air
fionnmhagh Criomhthuinn do chabhair

[18]. Ar lasadh a lot neimhneach,
is Éire i n-airc fhóirithneach,
tug fíorchor dá cara ó chneidh
cara fhíorthar i n-éigin.

[19]. Usaide dá céibh chúlchais
nach suidhe i seilbh andúthchais
dá bhfógra - dál a dlighidh -
lámh fa Fhódla d'fhóiridhin.

[20]. Sea-án déidgheal nach daor cuing,
dan dú ceannas chláir Conaill,
ní hionchuir i n-iongnadh air
fionnmhagh Criomhthainn do chabhair.

---

18. After her intense wounds becoming inflamed, with *Éire* in [dire] need of help, a friend who is proven in [her hour of] need has made a true effort to cure her.

19. If - something she is entitled to - he announces an undertaking to help *Fódla*, [it will be] easier, as a result of this, for her curly-backed hair, which, under foreign control, is not settled [or tranquil].

20. It is not to be wondered at that *Seaán* of the bright teeth, whose behaviour is not base, to whom the leadership of *Conall*'s land is natural, should help *Criomhthann*'s plain.

21. Dfiorua Cuinn m/c an chalb/.
coír do bhanbha bhorrabhlaigh
tabhairt caoi asócrachta sin
ar aoi docrachta indeabh/.

22. Ni hionann daoire indearbhghoil
daoinneach sdoidhre toirrd/b/.
fa chrích ccroirighin cconnla
dfoirithin na hathorrdha

23. A sé tug teandal teinnt/.e
o chuan Doire daingEntigh
sgél bhus fiach go bráth ar bail
go hath clíath aga cabhair

21. D'fhíorua Cuinn mheic An Chalbhaigh,
cóir do Bhanbha bharrabhlaigh
tabhairt caoi a socrachta soin
ar aoi docrachta i ndeabhaidh.

22. Ní hionann daoire i ndearbhghoil
d'aoinneach 's d'oidhre Toirdhealbhaigh
fa chrích gcróirighin gConnla
d'fhóiridhin na hathardha.

23. Is é tug teandáil teintigh
ó chuan Doire daingintigh
- sgéal bhus fiach go bráth ar bail -
go hÁth Cliath aga cabhair.

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21. On account of [the] hardship [he has endured] in the fray, appletree abounding *Banbha* should give the means of [achieving] her [own] tranquility to the true grandson of *Conn* son of *An Calbhach.*

22. Throughout *Connla*'s territory of the steadfast strongholds, nobody has suffered as much pain in true battle to help the fatherland as *Toirdhealbhach*'s heir.

23. It is he who, while helping her, brought flaming battle from the firm and solid harbour of *Doire* to *Áth Cliath* - (?) she will always be indebted to him for this (?)

24. A sé nach an o fhoghail
da buain a broid orchrodhaigh
do ghuais teagmhala treas tteann
i tteas eadrana eireann

25. Do bhrigh furtachta fuinn breagh
do liaigh cabhra clann míleadh
an laochthuir n/. gabh o ghreis
ni saorthuir ar lag leigheis

26. A tuitim fein na fiach/.
do mhionn súl síl saoirfhiach/.
tug sé a heasgar ar an innsi
meastar é don éirinnsi

24. Is é nach an ó fhoghail
dá buain a broid orchradhaigh
do ghuais teagmhála treas dteann
i dteas eadrána Éireann.

25. Do bhrígh fhurtachta fhuinn Breagh
do liaigh cabhra chlann Míleadh,
an laochthuir nach gabh ó ghreis,
ní saorthair [a] lagh leighis.

26. A tuitim féin 'na fiachaibh
do mhionn súl shíl shaoirFhiachaidh
tug sé, a heasgar [na h]inse;
measdar é don Éirinnse.

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24. In [his] enthusiasm to defend *Éire* [and] to free her from miserable bondage, it is he who does not hold back from a plundering out of fear of encountering hard battles.

25. By dint of the helping of the land of *Breagha* by the physician who aids *Míl*'s families, th[is] heroic tower who never goes from a battle, her medical fees are not absolved.

26. By means of [causing] the island's blooming, he has caused her herself to be forfeit as [medical] fees to [himself,] the apple of the eyes of *Fiachaidh*'s noble progeny; he is considered [fitting] for this *Éire*.

27. Fiú a dhochar i mbanbha breagh
tearc brat nach tiughle a thill/.
sna faghadh a horlaimh sin
a toradh dfoghbhail idir

28. Dochar oile a aithghein sin
fa bhanbha i ttráth a tabhaidh
fuaír an Rí corbm/c ua cuinn
a chlí ar chomhlot nir choigill

29. Righe banbha thoir is thiar
gabhas mac con m/c maicniadh
fa rath toile gan tubha
iar ccath mhuighe mucrumha

[27]. Fiú a dhochar i mBanbha Breagh
- tearc brat nach tiugh le a thilleadh -
's na[ch] aghadh a horláimh sin
a taradh d'fhoghbháil idir.

[28]. Dochar oile a aithghin soin
fa Bhanbha i dtráth a tabhaigh
fuair an rí Cormac, ua Cuinn;
a chlí ar chomhlot níor chogaill.

[29]. Ríghe Banbha, thoir is thiar,
gabhais Mac Con mac Maicniadh
fa rath toile gan tubha
iar gcath Mhoighe Mucramha.

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27. At all events, even were he not to get control of her, the difficulty he has suffered in *Banbha Breagh* [on her behalf] entitles him to [, at the very least,] receive payment from her; [this is as self evident as the fact that] rare is the cloak that is not [made] thick[er and warmer] by being wrapped [more tightly around a person].

28. One like him, King *Cormac*, grandson of *Conn*, had [similar] trouble [on an]other [occasion] over *Banbha* when he demanded [control of] her; he did not preserve his body from injury.

29. After the battle of *Magh Mucramha*, *Mac Con* son of *Maicniadh* took the kingship of *Banbha* east and west and, without opposition, [held her] in [a state of] loving prosperity (?).

30. Triochat bl/.ain do bhí sin
na airdrigh os fonn éimhir
feind/.e daghraith go ngné ngloin
sdob anfhlaith e mon amsin

[30]. Tríocha bliadhain do-bhí sin
'na airdrígh ós fhunn Éibhir
- féinnidh daghraith go ngné ngloin -
's dob anfhlaith é mun n-amsoin.

31. Nir mhair an tansa ar thréad cuinn
acht corbm/c g/ cás niomruill
glac dóidleabhar go nge ngil
sdob oigleanamh é idir

[31]. Níor mhair an tansa ar thréad Cuinn
acht Cormac gan chás n-iomraill,
glac dhóidleabhar go ngné ngil,
's dob óigleanabh é idir.

32. Gan cead a chinn do thógbhail
do bhí corbm/c cruth ógnaír
san eingsi ar seal nar shocroigh
feadh treimsi g/ t/achtoin

[32]. Gan chead a chinn do thógbháil
do bhí Cormac cruthógnáir
's an eingse, ar seal n[os] socraigh,
feadh treimhse gan tarrachtain.

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30. This clear-faced, fortunate warrior was high-king over *Éibhear*'s land for thirty years and a tyrant for that time.

31. It is accurate to say that, for this period, only *Cormac* - who, indeed, was [only] an infant - was left [to rule] over *Conn*'s flock.

32. [During that period,] *Cormac*, young and noble of form, did not have permission to lift [up] his head, and this land (which, later on, he was to calm) was not rescued for some time.

33. Ar tteacht in oirbheart gidheadh
do chorbm/c chriche gaoidheal
mor ccathsdair ar a ghrain ghliadh
nir shaimh don m^{c}soin m^{c}niadh

34. Brugh cuinn do chorbm/c na ngiall
fagbhus m^{c} con m/c Maicniadh
domhan re a ghniomhr/. goile
ro dhamh brioghmhar boroimhe

35. Smacht m(h?)eic con do cuir/. dhí
leis an ccorbm^{c}sa at chluintí
fuinn dealbhdha fan míne muir
Ríghe teamhra gur thab/.

[33]. Ar dteacht i n-oirbheart gidh eadh
do Chormac chríche Gaoidheal
- mór gcathsdair ar a ghráin ghliadh -
níor sháimh don mhacsoin Maicniadh.

[34]. Brugh Cuinn do Chormac na ngiall
fágbhais Mac Con mac Maicniadh
d'omhan re a ghníomhradh goile,
rodhamh bríoghmhar Bóraimhe.

[35]. Smacht Meic Con do cuireadh dí
leis an gCormacsa ad-chluintí
fuinn dhealbhdha fan míne muir
ríghe Teamhra gur thabhaigh.

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33. However, once *Cormac* of the land of the *Gaoidheal*s had come of age, it was not peaceful for that son of *Maicniadh* (many are the battle tales of his horror of combat).

34. For fear of the martial actions of [that] great, energetic stag of *Bóraimhe*, *Mac Con* son of *Maicniadh* left *Conn*'s house to *Cormac* of the hostages.

35. The control of *Mac Con* was removed from her by this *Cormac* of whom you are hearing, with the result that he received the kingship of *Teamhair*, well formed plains around which [the] sea is most calm.

36. Tearc airdrigh do shuidh o shoin
i ccrich cuinn os treibh tuath/
m(ni?)ór lóchrann oirrdhearc don fhuil
acht mór chlann corbm/c codhuil

37. Ionann sa chách a ccor sin
ar na naithne as a nairrdhibh
mór ngleoágh da hanlot air
seaan is corbm/c codhail

38. Ga fios nach dáilfeadh Dia dhó
tré fhulang fuachta is anró
mar fríth le corbm/c clár breagh
ágh na ndonnshlat dar díbhsean

[36]. Tearc airdrígh do shuidh ó shoin
i gcrích Cuinn ós treibh Tuathail
- mór lóchrann n-ordhraic don fhuil -
acht mórchlann Cormaic Codhail.

[37]. Ionann sa chách a gcor sin
ar n-a n-aithne as a n-airrdhibh,
- mór ngleo-ágh dá hanlot air -
Seo-án is Carmac Codhail.

[38]. Gá fios nach dáilfeadh Dia dó
tre fhulang uachta is anró
mar frioth le Cormac clár Breagh
ádh na ndonnshlat dar díbhsean.

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36. Since then, besides [kings who were members of] the great family of *Cormac* of *Codhal*, few high-kings have ruled over *Conn*'s territory, controlling *Tuathal*'s home; many are [the] illustrious [guiding] lanterns [who have come] from th[at] blood[line].

37. After their being recognised through their [good personal] qualities, the circumstances of *Seaán* and of *Cormac* of *Codhal* are much the same; many are [the] tumultuous battles that have faced him as a result of [his attempts to protect] her [from] being greatly wounded.

38. Who knows that, as a result of [him] suffering cold and hardship, God would not bestow on him the good fortune of the brown wands [... ...], just as the plain of *Breagha* was received by *Cormac*.

39. Ni chronaigh a dheacra dhó
abfaghann sé dolc is danró
fonn cladhshocair na cclár bfionn
do ghrádh anocail eirionn

40. A thriath finne na bfonn ttais
tugais anál don eaglais
dot f(h?)oinneamh a chos na ccean
do las coindeal san ccreideamh

41. Dtfeidhm cosgair mar gach cion
do dhúisigh gaisg/. gaoidheal
a bhrath céile claír ul/.
dan dóigh eire dfuasgul/.

39. Ní chronaigh a dheacra dó
a bhfaghann sé d'ulc 's d'anró,
- fonn cladhshocair na gclár bhfionn -
do ghrádh anacail Éireann.

40. A thriath Finne na bhfonn dtais,
tugais aná[i]l don eaglais;
dot fhoinneamh, a chas na gcean,
do las coinneal 'san [ch]reideamh.

41. Dot fheidhm cosgair, mar gach cion,
do dhúisigh gaisgeadh Gaoidheal,
a bhrath céile chláir Uladh
dan dáigh Éire d'fhuasgaladh.

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39. He does not complain of how [very] difficult for him the evil and hardship he suffers for love of protecting *Éire* - tranquil-bordered land of the fair plains - are.

40. O lord of *Finn* of the smooth plains, you have given life to the church; as a result of your energy, O feat-performing foot, the candle of the faith has lit-up [once more].

41. As [happens] with every feat [you perform], the valour of the *Gaoidheal*s has awoken as a result of your triumphant action, O hoped-for spouse (?) of the plain of Ulster who is likely to free *Éire*.

42. Searc Pháttraicc do chloinn chonaill
tug do theacht da núrchrobhuing
a ghniomh leomhain mar leantar
sar shíol eog/ oirbheart/.

43. Tú do chan colum cille
ortsa fuair fionn faísdine
a sgáth rodhocair fa rinn
a bhrath anocail déirinn

44. Nós Adhamnain a fholt lag
do labhair ultán orad
cuire le bfaghair g/. fáidh
sdo labhair buile bearchaín

[42]. Searc Phádraig do chloinn Chonaill
tug do theacht dá n-úrchrobhaing,
a ghníomh leómhain mar leantair,
's ar shíol Eóghain oirbheartaigh.

[43]. Tú do chan Colam Cille,
ortsa fuair Fionn fáisdine,
a sgath rodhocair fa rinn,
a bhrath anacail d'Éirinn.

[44]. 'Nós (?) Adhamhnáin, a fholt lag,
do labhair Ultán orad
- cuire le bhfaghair gach fáidh -
's do labhair buile Bearcháin.

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42. [Saint] *Pádraig*'s love for *Conall*'s family and for the progeny of accomplished *Eóghan* has made their noble cluster capable of the way his [own] lion-like act is followed [by them].

43. It is you *Colam Cille* spoke of [and] regarding you that *Fionn* received a prophecy, O hope for *Éire*'s protection, O [sword-]edge most imposing at [spear-]point.

44. Like *Adhamhnán* (?), O gentle hair, *Ultán* spoke of you and *Bearchán*'s prophecy referred to you - [they are] a band among whom every prophet is found.

45. Tusa bun breithre gach naoimh
sas tusa an míl/. macaoimh
tú as postt don tairrngire tinn
do chosg ainbfine déirinn

46. A sheaain o iath eamhna
tú cairptheoír na cinneamhna
mór clú do cheíme ar gach cor
ar fhéile as tusa toghthar

47. A chur is a chosg teannta
a shéimh a dhraig díleannda
tú nach maoth ar brú bearna
tú an laoch go cclú ccinneamhna

[45]. Tusa bun bréithre gach naoimh
's is tusa an mílidh macaoimh;
tú as phosd don tairngire tinn
do chosg ainbhfine d'Éirinn.

[46]. A Sheaáin ó iath Eamhna,
tú cairptheóir na cinneamhna;
mór clú do chéime ar gach cor;
ar fhéile is tú toghthar.

[47]. A chur is a chosg teannta,
a shéimh, a dhraig dhíleannta,
tú nach maoth ar brú bearna,
tú an laoch go gclú gcinneamhna.

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45. You are the [prophesied] youthful soldier and the basis of what every saint said; it is you who are the foundation of the firm prophecy regarding the staunching of the outlanders from *Éire*.

46. O *Seaán* from *Eamhain*'s plain, you are the fated charioteer; great is the fame of your march on every [martial] circuit [you make]; for generosity, it is you who are chosen.

47. O agent and stauncher of harrying, O gentle one, O floodlike dragon, it is you who are not weak in a battle gap [and] it is you who are the hero with destined fame.

48. Tú an macaomh go mein reabhr/.
ort fhéchaid an ingheanr/.
a chruaidhneimh ar cúl do gha
a ludh buaidhr/. na banbha

[48]. Tú an macaomh go méin reabhraidh,
ort fhéachaid an ingheanraidh,
a chruaidhneimh ar c[h]úl do gha,
a lúdh buaidhridh na Banbha.

49. Tú shuidhfeas i seilbh bhar sean
ar ccosg anbhuana is airgn/.
a dhion ul/. ar fheín gall
dot cheim cur/. gan conchlann

[49]. Tú shuidhfeas i seilbh bhar sean
ar gcosg anbhuana is airgneadh,
a dhíon Uladh ar fhéin Gall,
dod chéim curadh gan chonchlann.

50. Bu haoibhinn duit a dhearc mhall
ar ccosg faghla fuinn fremhann
soighidh go seancholt b/. dhein
sgo seanphurt oiligh air(?)seín

[50]. Budh aoibhinn duit, a dhearc mhall,
ar gcosg faghla fuinn Fréamhann,
soighidh go seanCholt budh-dhéin
's go seanphurt Oiligh ais-séin.

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48. O one who [re]moves *Banbha*'s worry, (?) O [man of] harsh venom [when you are] behind your javelin (?), it is at you the maidens stare; you are the youth with a playful nature.

49. O defence of *Ulaidh* against the *Gall* host, it is you who, having ended tribulation and destruction by means of your incomparable heroic action, will sit in your ancestors' possessions.

50. O slow eye, after the plundering of *Fréamhann*'s land has been ended, going to old *Colt* itself and thence to the old fort of *Oileach* will be marvellous for you.

51. Bu héd le heamhain mhacha
mar chuirfe dhi a deacracha
os seilg thfiall/. dleaghair di
teamhair dot iarr/. uaithe

[51]. Budh éad le hEamhain Mhacha
mar chuirfe di a deacracha,
ós seilg th'fhiallaigh dleaghair di,
Teamhair dot iarraidh uaithe.

52. Bu haoibhinn fa dheoidh dhuitsi
i naít bhar bfleadh bfióruisge
in iongnais s greadh sdo ghealgha
tioghfhrais s na bfleadh bfineamhna

[52]. Budh aoibhinn fa dheóidh duitse
i n-áit bhar bhfleadh bhfíoruisge
i n-iongnais ghreadh 's do ghealgha,
tioghfhrais na bhfleadh bhfíneamhna.

53. In aít do chuislionn catha
b/. ceól a chleath fionnmhacha
mar chuimhne ar cheídfhios do chean
fuighle theigéas is thfeínneadh

[53]. I n-áit do chuisleann catha
budh ceól, a chleath fhionnMhacha,
mar chuimhne ar chéidfhios do chean,
fuighle th'éigeas is th'fhéinneadh.

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51. Since seeking to obtain your band is her [i. e. *Teamhair*'s] entitlement, *Eamhain Macha* will be envious - [especially considering] the way you will rid her of her [own] difficulties - of *Teamhair* asking you of her.

52. In the end, in the absence of blows and of your bright spears,it will be excellent for you having the thick showers of wine feasts replace your feasts of true water.

53. O rod of fair *Macha*, the words of your learned men and warriors recalling the original knowledge of your feats will be the music which replaces [that of] your war horns.

54. A rún na mban o bhreaghmhuighe
a ua cuinn on ccuirmtheamhruigh
tu déirinn as beín a broid
a cheibhfhinn go néimh neamhloig

55. Tú fhóirfeas an mór san mion
tú coindeal gaisg/. gaoidheal
tú an uairsi ar fud mbanbha
tug uaisle ina nathardho
[·do·]

56. Inghean Eoghain as caoin cruth
planda rioghfhola Ruarcach
ar nannsa da toinnchneas tug
nach oircheas dhamhsa adearmud

54. A rún na mban ó Bhreaghmhoigh,
a ua Cuinn ó chuirmTheamhraigh,
tú d'Éirinn is béin a broid,
a chéibhfhinn go néimh neamhloig.

55. Tú fhóirfeas an mór 's an mion,
tú coinneal ghaisgidh Gaoidheal,
tú an uairse ar fhud na Banbha
tug uaisle ina n-athar**dho**.

56. Inghean Eóghain as chaoin cruth,
planda ríoghfhola Ruarcach,
ar n-annsa dá toinnchneas tug
nach oircheas damhsa a dearmad.

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54. O darling of the women from *Breagha*'s plain, O descendant of *Conn* from *Teamhair* of the goblets, O brightly shining fair-locked one, you are a deliverance from bondage for *Éire*.

55. You are the one who will help the great and the small; you are the candle of the valour of the *Gaoidheal*s; you are the one who, all over *Banbha*, now causes nobles to be [back] in their patrimony.

56. My love for the skin-surface of *Eóghan*'s daughter, a plant of the royal blood of the *Uí Ruairc* makes it improper for me to neglect to mention her [here].

57. Meín ceannsa aobhdha umhal
teist ar n/. tteid urdhúbhadh
tearc mná b/. cuirthe a ccomhar
ata uirthe ag ardaghadh

58. Bel deadsholas nach daor cion
baincheann oiris na naoidh/.
glór ro mhall go méd molta
nach ccarann séd saoghalta

59. Maith do char caitriona
clódh uilc muchadh míoghniomha
is gach foirmshlighe as dual di
ni tuar oirbhire a hairrdhe(?)
[·do·]

57. Méin cheannsa, aobhdha, umhal,
teisd ar nach téid urdhubhadh,
tearc mná budh cuirthe i gcomhar
a-tá uirthe ag ardaghadh.

58. Béal déadsholas nach daor cion,
baincheann oiris na n-aoidheadh,
glór ramhall go méad molta
nach carann séad saoghalta.

59. Maith do char Caitir Íona
clódh uilc, múchadh míghníomha
is gach foirmshlighe as dual di
- ní tuar oirbhire a hairrdhi.

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57. [She has] a gentle, pleasant, humble nature [and] a reputation that is never eclipsed; there are few women comparable to her who surpass her.

58. Woman who presides over a meeting of guests, bright-toothed mouth whose affection is not base, highly praised most noble voice who does not love a [single] worldly valuable.

59. Well has *Caitir Íona* loved the defeating of evil, the extinguishing of wrongdoing and [so also has she loved] every manner and way that is fitting for her - her traits are irreproachable.

POEM 3

MS. version: (Egerton 112, p.487)

Gofra óg m/c an bháird cc[t]

1. Do toírneadh ceannas chlann ccúinn
tárla dhóibh dia do dhoghruing
cneasghoin do chuir le a tteann
easbadh ag nách fuil fúigheall

2. Do baineadh bláth a bhfortúin
táin/. tréan an fhorm?udhthnúith
fá roighnibh shíl ccúinn na ccuradh
gan puinn díobh g/ diobúghadh

3. Do bh?ain[eadh?] ní beag an choir
ní gnáth tréan ag toír aclaidh
gíodh ceím tnúith barántas breadh
súil do ghabháltas gaoidheal

Edited text:
(see also MS. readings)

1. **Do toirneadh** ceannas chlann gCuinn
tarla dóibh - dia do dhoghraing -
cneasghoin do chuir le a dteann,
easbhaidh ag nach fuil fuigheall.

2. Do beanadh bláth a bhfortúin,
táinig tréan an fhormadtnúidh
fa roighnibh shíol gCuinn gcuradh
- gan phuinn díobh gan díobhaghadh.

3. Do beanadh - ní beag an choir:
ní gnáth tréan ag tóir aclaidh -
gidh céim tnúidh barántas Breagh,
súil do ghabháltas Gaoidheal.

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1. The authority of *Conn*'s families has been brought low; they have suffered a body-blow that has added to their distress, an absence that leaves nothing - what an affliction!

2. The flower which brought them fortune has been plucked; the force of envy has impugned (?) the choicest [members] of the warrior-like progenies of *Conn* so that not [even] a few of them have escaped destruction.

3. Though control of *Breagha* is something to be envied, hope of stewardship [of *Éire*] by the *Gaoidheal*s has been lost; this is no small offence; (?) it is not usual for a pursuing party that [, because it has no land,] subsists on fishing to have [any] power (?).

4. Air shíol ccuínn an eóil iomshláin
tárla truagh an eisiomhláir
ceím toghla tolcha na bhfionn
comhdha orchra na héireann.

5. Do bhí riamh roimhe a niugh
ag uaislibh gall is gaoidheal
fá chlár néill tnúith re a ttiodal
ceím ar ccúl gur chuíreadar

6. Taín/. gá truaighe diombuaidh
teárma gliadh an ghaoidhilshluaidh
nach fuil eírge dhóibh a ndán
tré fhoír eírne go hiomshlán

4. Ar shíol Cuinn an eóil iomláin
tarla - Truagh an eisiomláir! -
céim toghla tolcha na bhfionn
comhdha orchra na hÉireann.

5. Do bhí riamh roimhe [gus ']niodh
ag uaislibh Gall is Gaoidheal
fa chlár Néill tnúdh re a dtiodal
céim ar gcúl gur chuireadar.

6. Táinig - gá truaighe diombuaidh? -
téarma gliadh an Ghaoidhealshluaigh
nach fuil éirghe dóibh i ndán
tre fhóir Éirne go hiomlán.

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4. The event which is destroying the hill of the fair ones [and] which secures (?) the ruination of *Éire* - Sad the parallel! - has [also] befallen *Conn*'s seed who led so well.

5. Up to the present, until they suffered [this] reverse, the nobility of the *Gall*s and of the *Gaoidheal*s always envied their title to *Niall*'s plain.

6. The end of the battles of the *Gaoidheal* host has come about throughout the whole land of *Éirne* - what misfortune is more pitiable? - with the result that no resurrection is in store for them.

7. Gabhla gaoidheal na ngliadh tteann
síol ccuínn mhídhe ó nách maireann
atá clár seímh cómhréidh Chonnla
fá chóimhreír dfh?éinn allmúrdha

8. Air mbé?ain dfoirinn da haidhbhle
stiuire a loinge laíndaingne
ní leó a laoidheang nó a lucht sin
go sgaoileann dulc?a nanfadh

9. Ag crích an fhuinn ealtaig
ní bhfh?uil súil le saoileachtain
air cclodh aoibhneasa chl(ann) ccuinn
ar ccall cóimhshlea(cht)a Conaill

7. Gabhla Gaoidheal na ngliadh dteann
síol gCuinn Mhidhe ó nach maireann
a-tá séimh c[h]oimhréidh Chonnla
fa choimhréir d'fhéin allmhardha.

8. Ar mbéin d'fhoirinn dá haidhbhle
sdiúire a luinge lándaingne
ní leó a laoidheang nó a lucht s[o]in
go sgaoileann d'ulc an anfaidh.

9. Ag crích [Fódla] an fhuinn ealtaigh
ní fhuil súil [r]e saoileachtain
iar gclódh aoibhnea[cht]a chlann gCuinn
ar gcall caoimhshleachta Conaill.

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7. Since the descendants of *Conn* of *Midhe*, upholders of the *Gaoidheal*s of the harsh fights, are no longer alive, *Connla*'s uniformly level smooth one is under submission to a foreign host.

8. [In stormy seas,] when a ship's crew - no matter how good they are - lose control of their strong ship, neither their vessel nor its cargo are theirs [to control] until the storm abates.

9. After the destruction of the happiness of *Conn*'s families, with the loss of *Conall*'s beautiful progeny, the territory of *Fódla* of the flock-filled plain has no expectation of having anyone to hope in.

10. Ó bhás an mhicse mic Cuinn
atá ag cineál cconaill
dúbl/. cráidh chaitheas a ccion
do bháidh flaitheas a bhféinneadh

11. Néal tuirsi as truime púghair
rug air ógbhaibh fhionn ula
éag do chath leomhain ó ccuinn
créad acht aithleónadh orainn

12. Seán ó dómhnuill do dhul
tug néul cianfhoirfe cumhaidh
fá gach aoin?eing uim fhiadh breadh
tré aoibhil gliadh na ngaoidheal

[10]. Ó bhás an mheicse mheic Cuinn
a-tá ag [caoimh]chinéal Conaill
dúbladh cráidh chaitheas a gcion
do bháidh flaitheas a bhféineadh.

[11]. Néal tuirse as truime pudhar
rug ar ógbhai[d]h fhionnUladh;
éag do chaithleómhan ó gCuinn
créad acht aithleónadh orainn?

[12]. Seaán Ó Domhnaill do dhul
tug néal cianfhoirbhthe cumhadh
fa gach aoineing um fhiadh Breagh
tre aoibhill gliadh na nGaoidheal.

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10. As a result of the death of this son of *Conn*'s son, *Conall*'s race are afflicted by a doubling of [their] torment which is wearing-down their well-being [and] has destroyed their warriors' sovereignty.

11. A cloud of depression whose hurt is most oppressive has taken hold of the youths of fair Ulster; what is the dying of the battle lion of *Conn*'s descendants but a re-wounding of us?

12. The departure of *Seaán Ó Domhnaill* has caused an abiding and complete cloud of grief to hang over every single district [all] around the land of *Breagha*, as a result of the [loss of the] battle-spark of the *Gaoidheal*s.

13. Ionann caointear dá chumhaidh
an ulltaibh sa niarmhúmhain
is fá chruacháin Mheadhbhe a moigh
sfá thuathaibh teamhr/. tuathail

14. Ata an bhean ó nás aniar
ó chéis choruinn só choirrshliabh
nách déine a r aoighe a nultaibh
ag caoi le cheíle a cconnachtibh

15. Ataíd fos na trí tonna
sa bhfuil déirinn eaturrtha
ag caoi róghoimhe chlann ccuinn
tré bhárr nd$_7$.fhol/. ua ndomnuill

13. Ionann caointear dá chumhaidh
i n-Ultaibh 's i n-iarMhumhain
is fa Chruachain Mheadhbha a-muigh
's fa thuathaibh Teamhra Tuathail.

14. A-tá an bhean ó Nás a-niar
ó Chéis Chorainn 's ó Choirrshliabh,
- nach déine ar a aoi i n-Ultaibh -
ag caoi le chéile i gConnachtaibh.

15. A-táid fós na trí tonna
's a bhfuil d'Éirinn eatorra
ag caoi raghoimhe chlann Chuinn
tre bharr ndaghfhuile ua nDomhnaill.

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13. Alike are people lamenting out of grief over him in Ulster and in West Munster and around *Meadhbh*'s *Cruacha* and around the petty principalities of *Tuathal*'s *Teamhair*.

14. From the west, the woman from *Nás*, [the woman] from *Céis Chorainn* and [the woman] from *Coirrshliabh* are together in Connacht lamenting [him to such an extent] that [lamentations] for him are no more intense [than theirs] in Ulster [itself].

15. Moreover, the three oceans and all of *Éire* that is in between them are lamenting the great pain of *Conn*'s families over [the death of] the leader of the good blood[line] of *Domhnall*'s descendants.

16. A thír chonaill an chrotha ghil
do bhí dhuit am le toíghir
go bás an mhicsi mic cuinn
nár chás dhuitsi gach doghruing

17. Deág oighre aodha bhuídhe
ataíd uíle an eólchuire
siól cconaill is eógain fhéil
beóghoin is doghaing dhóibhseín

18. Gidh eadh fionnghaoidhil bruaich bhanbha
ataid g/ fhear nagallmha
do fhréimh chaithréidh chraoi bheárnais
aithbhéim ar t^{n}aoi a ttigh(ear)mhais

16. A Thír Chonaill chrotha gil
do bhí duit am le t'oighir
go bás an mheicse mheic Cuinn
nár chás deitse gach doghraing.

17. D'éag oighre Aodha Buidhe
a-táid uile i n-eólchaire
síol gConaill is Eóghain fhéil
beóghoin as dodhaing dóibhséin.

18. Gidh eadh, Gaoidhil bhruaich Banbha
a-táid gan fhear n-agallmha
do fhréimh chaithréidh chraoi Bhearnais
aithbhéim ar [Thr]aoi a dtighearnais.

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16. O *Tír Chonaill* of the bright form, until the death of this son of *Conn*'s son you had time in the company of the heir to you - with the result that [, hitherto,] no difficulty distressed you.

17. As a result of the death of *Aodh Buidhe*'s heir, a severe wound that is grievous for them, all of the progeny of *Conall* and of generous *Eóghan* are in mourning.

18. Moreover, the *Gaoidheal*s of the border[land]s of *Banbha* are [now left] without an advocate [who is] of the battle-ready root of the enclosure of *Bearnas* - a further blow to the [beleaguered] Troy of their lordship.

19. Dórduibh cráb/. críche breadh
dollamhnuibh ínse gaoidheal
mur fhionnmaoid a dhamhna dhúinn
tárl/. iomlaoid an fhortuín

[19]. D'ordaibh crábhaidh chríche Breagh
d'ollamhnaibh inse Gaoidheal
- mar fhionnmaoid: a dhamhna dúinn -
tarla iomlaoid an fhortúin.

20. Ní hionmhaodhte air fhuil ndál/.
a ccur tar a ccéad chánuibh
sgrios na ngaoidheal do ghabh de
ní mhair aonfhear (dá) nuaisle

[20]. Ní hionmhaoidhte ar fhuil Dálaigh
a gcur tar a gcéadchánaibh
- sgrios na nGaoidheal do ghabh de -
ní mhar aoinfhear dá n-uaisle.

21. Díol truaighe mur tá a niogh
a náit aínis m/c míleadh
gaír bhroin ambun gach baile
g/ sgur slóidh nó soch/.e

[21]. Díol truaighe mar a-tá a-niodh
i n-áit áinis mhac Míleadh
gáir bhróin i mbun gach baile
gan sgur slóigh nó sochaidhe.

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19. [With *Seaán*'s death,] a change [for the worse] of fortune has befallen the religious orders of the territory of *Breagha* [and] the *ollamh*s of the island of the *Gaoidheal*s - as I [myself] am finding out [since] the same is true for me.

20. [Because] not one of their nobles is [still] alive, *Dálach*'s blood[line] should not be criticised for being deprived of their erstwhile tributes; [see that] the destruction of the *Gaoidheal*s has proceeded from it.

21. Piteous the way there is now, in place of the joy of *Míl*'s descendants, a cry of sorrow in the end of every town(land), with no movement of troop or army.

22. Mac rígh g/ rún reabhr/.
snuadh eólcuire ar ingheanraigh
snas teadhma air ghort geamhair
smacht feadhma air na finnfhl/.dhaibh

23. Ní fhásaid tortha talbhan
do thréig grian a griasamhla
an fíor flatha uaidh ni fhuil
tacha suaín air na síonaibh

24. Gá ttú acht as tríd tarrthaigh
eág coghnaicc clann rióghdhálaicc
a chinneadh mar ráinig ris
taínig fille a bhflathais

[22]. Mac[raidh] ríogh gan rún reabhraidh,
snuadh eólchaire ar ingheanraidh,
snas teadhma ar [gach] gh[a]rt geamhair,
smacht feadhma ar na fínfhleadhaibh.

[23]. Ní fhásaid to[irthe] talmhan,
do thréig grian a gríosamhladh,
- an fíor flatha uaidh ní fhuil -
tacha suain ar na síonaibh.

[24]. Gá dt[ám] acht is tríd tárraidh
éag codhnaigh chlann ríoghDhálaigh;
a chinneadh mar ráinig ris,
táinig filleadh a bhflaithis.

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22. Kings' sons are without playful intention; maidens have a sorrowful appearance; a sickly look is coming over [every] field of young corn; there is a check on the holding of wine feasts.

23. The fruits of the earth are not growing, [the] sun has abandoned its ember-like adornment [of the earth], the weather lacks composure; because of [the loss of] him there is no just rule [with its attendant environmental benefits].

24. What I am saying is that [all of] this has come about because of the death of the leader of the families of royal *Dálach*; when his fate caught up with him, a reversal of their lordship occurred.

25. Ionann chaoinid cleath doire
daoine is dúile talmhuidhe
eoín bhruachmhara da beannaibh
neóil uathmhara an árdreannuibh

26. Gaoidhil fódla an fhuinn sgathaicc
tré oighre chuinn chéadchathaicc
aodhuire aca ní fhuil
slata caomh moighe cobhthaigh

27. Síol aírmheach eireamhoin uill
bás Seaín ó chrú cconaill
is créim do chailg a rath
a mhairg déirinn is éagnach

[25]. Ionann chaoinid cle[i]th Doire
daoine is dúile talmhaidhe,
eóin bhruachmhara dá beannaibh,
neóil uathmhara i n-airdreannaibh.

[26]. Gaoidhil Fhódla an fhuinn sgathaigh
tre oighre Cuinn Chéadchathaigh
aodhaire aca ní fhuil
- slata caomhmoighe Cobhthaigh.

[27]. Síol áirmheach Éireamhóin uill:
bás Seaáin ó chrú Conaill
is créidhim do chailg a rath
a mhairg d'Éirinn as éagnach.

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25. Alike do people and earthly elements [and living beings] lament *Doire*'s chief, sea-side birds from her peaks and terrifying clouds in [the] heights.

26. As a result of [the death of] *Conn Céadchathach*'s heir, the *Gaoidheal*s of *Fódla* of the flower-covered plain, wands of *Cobhthach*'s beautiful land, do not have a shepherd.

27. The death of *Seaán* from *Conall*'s blood[line], woe over whom is *Éire*'s complaint, is a gnawing that has punctured the well-being of great *Éireamhón*'s glorious progeny.

28. Eág míl/. mhaicne dálaigh
ceann aogh/. gach aonghábhaidh
criothn/. adhar coír má a ceann
bioth phúghair chaích go coitcheann

[28]. Éag míleadh mhaicne Dálaigh
ceann [caomhna] gach aonghábhaidh
- criothnaghadh as cháir 'ma cheann -
biothphudhar cháigh go coitcheann.

29. Táin/. ainseín eacht eile
criothn/.adh a cosmhuile
do dhíth a ccuradh sa cceann
go crích múmhan na míleadh

[29]. Táinig ainséin eacht oile
criothnaghadh a chosmhaile
do dhíth a gcuradh 's a gcion
go crích Mumhan na míleadh.

30. Rioghacht eíreann ma nam sin
ag Art m/c cuinn chathabhsaigh
ceím dú[ch?]a ór chóimhfhill a chonn
san múmhain ag oilioll oluim

[30]. Ríoghacht Éireann mun n-aimsin
ag Art mac Cuinn chathaidhbhsigh
- céim dubha ór choimhfhill a chonn -
's an Mhumha ag Oilill Ólom.

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28. The death of the soldier of *Dálach*'s descendants, leader who protected against every danger, is a lasting calamity for everyone in general; quaking [with fear] is the appropriate response to it.

29. On another [comparable] occasion, a similar trembling befell the territory of Munster of the soldiers for want of their warriors and their feats.

30. At that time, *Art*, son of battle-splendid *Conn*, held the kingdom of *Éire* - a sad matter as a result of which his head bowed (?) - and *Oilill Ólom* had Munster.

31. Tig ainseín go brugh bhanbha
buídhean dhuaibhseach dhanardha
lór do choimhghe air neamhrath níadh
go hoighre meanamn^{ch} mhaicniadh

32. Do hinnleadh g(ér) ghleó goimhe
air lár mhóighe Mochraimhe
sul ráin/. a ndeadrán de
teagmháil dá ttaínig turbhaigh

33. Do tuitsiod ann nióir thuar teamuill
Art cródha is clann chonaill, oilill
tugsio?d fa mhéala an mhúmha
sio?d sgéala a sgartana

[31]. Tig ainnséin go brugh Banbha
buidhean dhuaibhseach dhanardha
- lór do choimhghe ar neamhrath niadh -
go [n-]oighre meanmnach Maicniadh.

[32]. Do hinnleadh géirghleó goimhe
ar lár Mhoighe Mucraimhe
sul ráinig a n-eadráin air
- teagbháil dá dtáinig turbhaidh.

[33]. Do thuitsead ann - níor thuar tinn -
Art [óg] cródha is clann Oilill;
tug s[ia]d fa mhéala an Mhumha;
[i]s i[a]d sgéala a sgarthana.

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31. Then a stern foreign band - sufficient protection [for him] against a warrior's misfortune [of being defeated in battle] - comes to the land of *Banbha* with *Maicniadh*'s spirited heir.

32. Before they could be prevented from it, a fierce and spiteful battle was prepared [for] in the middle of *Magh Mucraimhe*; [it was] an encounter from which disaster came.

33. Brave young *Art* [*Aoinfhear*, son of *Conn Céadchathach*] and *Oilill*'s family - it was no omen of [future] strength - fell there; [by their deaths] they caused Munster to be in sadness; that is the story of their parting.

34. Nualldhubha oilioll ann sin
do bhaineas bríogh an adhbhair
sdair na dhéoig fá lios lógha
iar bhfios eóil a easbadha

35. An chéad fhear do chuaidh on chaith
go righ múmhan fa? mór teaghlach
suaill nár théalaigh cáil a chnis
sgéal oil a naigh dá h?aithris

36. Tásg a chloinne sa chleámhna
taín/. damhna doimheanma
sgeál truaighe fá gnátharrsa goimh
san láthair sin uaidh da?inimnigh

[34]. Nualldhubha Oilill ann soin
dó bheanas bríogh an adhbhair
- sdair 'na dheóidh fa lios Logha -
iar bhfios eóil a easbhadha.

[35]. An céidfhear, do-chuaidh ón chath,
([rí] Mumhan fa mór teaghlach)
suaill nar théalaigh cáil a chnis
sgéaloil an áigh dá haithris.

[36]. Tásg a chloinne 's a chleamhna
táinig - damhna doimheanma,
sgéal truaigh fa gnáth[airsidh] goimh -
san láthairsin uaidh d'[anmhain].

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34. It is with *Oilill*'s heartbreak at this, after learning of his loss, that the import of the matter [being told of] is concerned; there is an allegory about *Lugh*'s rampart based on it.

35. (?) As a result of the tale and sorrow of the battle being recounted, the [life-giving] substance of the body of the aforementioned man ([i. e.] the king of Munster, whose family had been large [previous to the battle]) [and] who escaped [attending] the battle, almost drained [completely] (?).

36. News came of his family and his in-law staying away from him in that place [because they had fallen in battle there]; [this was] a cause of sorrow, a grievous tale whose pain was [...].

37. A seadh do fuair air tosach
ó theachtaire a turuissin
dó sa?n gé nar bhfann bisigh
gach soisear ann dinnisin

38. Gach fear do inniseadh dó
do thigidh claochlódh crotha
dá ghnúis náir fhaoilicc fhinn
acht baídh aoinfhir na inntinn

39. Ar Oilioll mór an mhiodhoil
cia heile dfh?uil eíreamhóin
do chear ón mh?úmhain a niug
na lean curuighe cruachain

37. Is eadh do-uair ar tos[aigh]
ó theachtaire, a[n] tura[ssoin],
- dósan gé nar bhann bisigh -
gach sósar ann d'innisin.

38. Gach [ainm] do hinniseadh dó
do-igeadh claochládh crotha
dá [...]ghnúis náir fhaoilidh fhinn
- acht báidh aoinfhir 'na inntinn.

39. Ar Oilill mór an mhiodhóil:
"Cia heile d'fhuil Éireamhóin
do-chear ón Mhumhain [san] mhoigh?
Ná lean curai[dh a] Cruachain!".

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37. The first news he received from a messenger on that occasion - though this did not improve things for him - was for every junior [who fell] there to be told of.

38. With every [name] that was told to him, a change of form used come over his [normally] [... ,] modest, cheerful [and] fair face; however, love for [only] one man [was] on his mind.

39. Said great *Oilill* of the mead-drinking: "Who else of *Éireamhón*'s blood[line] from Munster fell in the plain? Do not continue with [telling of the death of] a [single] warrior from *Cruachain*!

40. Ná lean acht dfuil eíbhir fhinn
innis uait ar sa oilill
na deaghfhir as doilge libh
na ceil oirne an oighidh

41. Ataoi liosda ag leamhuin sgéal
do tráith truagh an mísheún
fuair gléoghal nar dheaghrath dó
eóghan meanamnach do mhacsa

42. A chlann sa bhráthre bunaidh
leis sion geár dháil docamhuil
a mbrónghoin accás nióir chuir
do bhás eóghain anuai?rsin

40. "Ná lean acht d'fhuil Éibhir Fhinn.
Innis uait!" arsa Oilill;
"Na deighfhir as doilghe libh
ná ceil[idh] oirne a n-oighidh".

41. "A-taoi liosda ag leanmhain sgéal!
Do [thuit] tr[á] - truagh an mísheán -
- fuair gleóghal nar dheaghrath dó -
Eóghan meanmnach, do mhacsa".

42. A chlann 's a bhráithre bunaidh
leissean gér dháil dhocamhail,
a mbeóghoin i gcás níor chuir
do bhás Eóghain an ua[rsoi]n.

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40. Said *Oilill*: "Speak only of the blood[line] of *Éibhear Fionn*. Speak out! Do not conceal from me the deaths of the good men who[se deaths] are most troubling to you".

41. [Said the messenger:] "You are tenacious at seeking news! Your son, spirited *Eóghan*, who had a battle that was not fortunate for him, has fallen."

42. Although the mortal wounding of his family and his close kin was a distressing matter for him, he paid no heed to it at that time because of the death of *Eóghan*.

43. Do chuaidh a cclaochlódh crotha
do dhúisig a dheacracha
sgéala an mhoighe ó do mhoigh
fréamha a chroidhe do chuardaicc

[43]. Do-chuaidh i gclaochlódh crotha;
do dhúisigh a dheacracha;
sgéala an mhoighe ó do mhoidh,
fréamha a chroidhe do chuardaigh.

44. Do sgar barántas bhanbha
ar oilioll sa h?athardha
le haicme uír éibhir fhinn
gan súil aoinfir le héirinn

[44]. "Do sgar barántas Banbha",
ar Oilill, " 's a [n-]athardha
[r]e haicme úir Éibhir Fhinn
gan súil éinfhir [r]e hÉirinn".

45. Ionann doilioll má chloinn choír
sdfuil ndálaicc air ndul Seáin
nióir thráith dá neimhseadh a nois
deireadh ag cách dá cconntas

[45]. Ionann d'Oilill 'ma chloinn cháir
's d'fhuil Dálaigh ar ndul Seaáin
- níor thráth dá neimhsheadh a-nos -
deireadh ag cách dá gconntas.

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43. It began his troubles; his appearance changed [for the worse]; since the [bad] news from the plain [of battle] broke it, he examined the depths of his heart.

44. Said *Oilill*: "Authority over *Banbha* and their [own] patrimony have departed from the noble family of *Éibhear Fionn* and no man has [any] hope for *Éire*".

45. It is the same [now] for *Dálach*'s blood[line] after *Seaán*'s departure as it was [then] for *Oilill* [in his grief] over [the loss of] his righteous family; the present was no time for them to be weak; everyone has given up accounting them [to be of importance].

46. Tarla a nois tré bhás aoinfhir
duaislibh sleachta seanghaoidheal
dul fá bhreith gasraidhe gall
a leith amhsaine dfulang

[46]. Tarla a-nois tre éag aoinfhir
d'uaislibh sleachta seanGhaoidh[il]
dul fa bhreith ghasraidhe Gall
i leith amhsaine d'fhulang.

47. Coill chubhra chloinne dálaicc
air na buain na beangánnuibh
doilge an crann [déi?]gheanach di
crann do réidhfhíodhach ríghe

[47]. Coill chumhra chloinne Dálaigh
ar n-a buain 'na beangánaibh,
doilghe an crann déidheanach di,
c[l]ann do réidhfhiodhach ríghe.

48. Ní bhiadh treínbhríodh na ttorchuir
do shiól ccúinn ó Chonnallchaibh
ní béofhál don leath ór luidh
Seán dá mbiadh na bheathaicc

[48]. Ní bhiadh tréinbhríogh 'na dtorchair
do shíol Cuinn ó Chonallchaibh
- ['na] b[h]eofhál don l[eith] ór luidh -
Seo-án dá mbe[ith] 'na bheathaidh.

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46. Now, as a result of the death of one man, it has fallen to the lot of the nobles of the progeny of ancient *Gaoidheal* [*Glas*] to submit to the judgement of the foreign soldiery as regards suffering military domination.

47. Now that the fragrant forest of *Dálach*'s family has been cut down [and is reduced to] consisting of [severed] branches, [the loss of] the final tree of [this] family of smooth branches of kingship is [all the] more difficult [to bear].

48. Were *Seaán* [still] alive [and functioning] as a living fence for the part [of the country] from which he has [now] departed, there would be no great significance in [the loss of] those [other *Tír*] *Chonaill* men of *Conn*'s progeny who have fallen [in battle].

49. Eág ríoghraidhe fhreímhe cuinn
do chuir tráith ó chrú cconaill
meád a ndoilge na dheaghaidh
a ccuimhne as a ccroidheaghaibh

50. Beím súla sloig danar
damhna an fhoinn se dfásúghadh
gan aon duill?e budh dóigh dháibh
ag foír ch?aomh múighe cruachain

51. Giodh mór cconntabhairt catha
fuair a mbeárnuibh baoghlacha
gá namhaid ar ccúl dá chur
dá ttnúth taín/. a thúrnamh

[49]. Éag ríoghraidhe fhréimhe Cuinn
do chuir tr[á] ó chrú Chonaill
méad a nduilghe 'na dheaghaidh
a gcuimhne as a gcroidheadhaibh.

[50]. Béim súla slóigh danar
damhna an fhuinnse d'fhásaghadh
gan aonduine budh dóigh dáibh
ag fóir chaomhmoighe Cruacháin.

[51]. Gidh mór gcontabhairt chatha
fuair i mbearnaibh baoghlacha
'ga námhaid ar gcúl dá chur,
dá dtnúdh tánaig a thurnamh.

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49. Moreover, the greatness of their sorrow after him has put the memory of the death[s] of the kings of *Conn*'s [genealogical] root out of the hearts of *Conall*'s blood[line].

50. The foreign host looking [jealously and] malevolently [at *Seaán*] is the cause of this land's being laid waste [as a result of his death] with the host of *Cruachán*'s beautiful plain having no-one who would be a hope for them.

51. Though many are the battle-dangers he encountered in perilous gaps, being pressed back by his enemy, it is as a result of their jealousy that his downfall has come [about].

52. Nióir shíl meisi sní mé amháin
go bhfúigheadh caomhfhlaith cruachain
bás acht dairimreannuibh fhiann gall
fá bhailbheangaibh fhiadh neachtrann

53. Go ttugadh [dia?] díolghadh do
nár thuíll sé fá bhruach banbha
críoch na mball ngortsholas ngeal
dfoltanas gall is gaoidheal

54. Minic dá rádh ruathar niadh
tímchioll éireann sgach aon rian
dob fhiu a bháidh le cloinn ccobhthaicc
ag roinn aigh air allmhúrchaibh

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[52]. Níor shíl meise 's ní mé a-mháin
go bhfuigheadh caomhfhlaith Cruacháin
bás acht d'airmreannaibh fhian nGall
fa bhailbheannaibh fhiadh n-eachtrann.

[53]. Go dtug[a] Dia díolghadh dó
[ma]r thuill sé fa bhruach Banbha
- críoch na mball ngortsholas ngeal -
d'fholtanas Gall is Gaoidheal.

[54]. Minic d[o-rad] ruathar niadh
timcheall Éireann 's gach aoinrian
- dob fhiú a bháidh [r]e cloinn gCobhthaigh
ag roinn áigh ar allmharchaibh.

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52. I - and it is not only me - did not think that *Cruachán*'s handsome lord would die in any other way than by the weapon-points of [the] foreign [warrior-]bands [fighting] over [control of] the prosperous peaks of the lands of foreigners.

53. May God give him respite from the enmity of *Gall*s and *Gaoidheal*s, just as he deserved [such respite when still alive] in the border[lands] of *Banbha*, territory of the field-bright and radiant places.

54. Often did he make a warrior-onslaught throughout *Éire* in every single path, meting-out war to foreigners; his affection for *Cobhthach*'s family was [a] valuable [thing to have].

55. Do leanfuíghe air a lorg sin
ag cur gliadh catha air ghallaibh
a laighnibh fá moigh múmhan
soir fá aibhnibh fiónnuladh

[55]. Do leanfaidhe ar a lorg soin
ag cur gliadhchatha ar Ghallaibh
i Laighnibh ['s i] moigh Mumhan
soir fa aibhnibh f[h]ionnUladh.

56. A chaithréim d/. chuir a suím
dá adhbhar as nách feáduim
duamhuin sloígh gall air ghaoidheal
snách am coír dá chómhmáodheamh

[56]. A chaithréim do chur i suim
dá adhbhar as nach éadaim:
d'uamhain shlóigh Gall ar Ghaoidheal
's nach am cóir dá chomhmaoidheamh.

57. Sé chéad déag bl/.ain bhuan
ch?úig is caogad le cómhluadh
ó theacht doighir dé nar ndál
gur oigheadh sé ár Seán

[57]. Sé chéad déag [is (?)] bliadhain bhuan,
cúig is caog[a] le comhluadh
ó theacht d'oighir Dé 'nar ndál
g[o a] oigh[i]dh - [is] sé ar Seaán.

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55. [Were his battleroll to be composed,] his track [in his circuit of Ireland,] waging warlike battle on foreigners, would be traced in Leinster and in the plain of Munster [and] eastwards around the rivers of fair Ulster.

56. There are two reasons why I cannot make his battleroll known: because of a *Gaoidheal*'s fear of the *Gall* host and because t[his] is not an appropriate time to celebrate [the memory of] him.

57. (?) Sixteen centuries and a lasting year, along with a further five and fifty [years have elapsed] between the coming of God's heir among us and his - i. e. *Seaán*'s - death. (?)

58. Do bhádar eang ar oile
siól ccuinn ós clár iúguine
drong dob fheárr séan na seal
a ttean? as tréan do toirneadh
do//toírneadh//ceannas//chlann//ccuinn

[58]. Do bhádar, eang ar oile (?),
síol gCuinn ós chlár Iúghaine
- drong dob fhearr séan [ina] seal;
a dteann is tréan **do toirneadh.**

58. [...], [the members of] *Conn*'s progeny, a band whose prosperity was great in their time, were in control of *Iughaine*'s land; their strength is strength which has been brought low.

POEM 4

MS. version: (Egerton 112, p. 470)

Gofradh óg m/c an bháird cc/t

1. Gabhla fódla fuil chonuill
   lucht iomchair gach anfholuing
   croinn chómhlána is daingne dhi
   sailge congmhála a ceime

2. Balladha is daingne dhisi
   fúghnacht is feárr aicisi
   lucht deaghchómhaill ghloír riógh ngl/
   póirshiól gl/ chonaill gulb/

3. Sás congmhála a teallaigh te
   dlaoi dhíona a teaghair th?ighe
   cuírt rióghbhanbha na raon nglan
   fiór ghabhla a saor le a seasamh

Edited text:
(see also MS. readings)

1. **Gabhla** Fódla fuil Chonaill,
   lucht iomchair gach anfholaing,
   croinn chomhlána as daingne di,
   sailghe congbhála a céime.

2. Balladha as daingne dise,
   fughnacht as fhearr aicise
   - lucht daghchomhaill glóirríogh nglan -
   póirshíol glanChonaill Gulban.

3. Sás congbhála a teallaigh te
   dlaoi dhíona a téagair thighe
   cúirt ríoghBhanbha na raon nglan
   fíorghabhla a saor le a seasamh.

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1. The upholders of *Fódla* are *Conall*'s blood[line], bearers of every oppression, full trees who are most firm for her, supports who maintain her status.

2. The seed of bright *Conall Gulban*, pure[-hearted] glorious kings who uphold [*Éire*], are her strongest walls [and] the best fence she has.

3. By means of their resistance, [they are the] means by which the hearth of the court of royal *Banbha* of the bright paths is kept warm, the thatch which protects the roof of her house [and] the true upholders of her nobles.

4. Do chongmhadar riamh roimhe
crioch bhanbha bean iughoine
g/ tolg ina taobhaibh sin
faobhair a ccolg dá chabhair

5. Nióir léigeadar leór do smacht
an feadh do bhí fa a mbárdacht
suim do chur an aoineach eile
air bhrugh dhaoineach dairine

6. Do shíol cconaill chláir crionna
le cumhdach fhuinn oilealla
croinn díona fá bhreaith bhanbha
deich ríogha gan freasabhra

4. Do chongbhadar riamh roimhe
críoch Banbha, bean Iúghaine,
gan tolg ina taobhaibh soin
faobhair a gcolg 'gá cabhair.

5. Níor léigeadar - lór do smacht -
an feadh do bhí fa a mbardacht
suim do chur aoinneach eile
[i m]brugh daoineach Dairine.

6. Do shíol Conaill chláir Crionna
[r]e cumhdach fhuinn Oilealla
croinn dhíona fa breith Banbha
deich ríogha gan fhreasabhra.

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4. With the edges of their swords helping her, they have always kept the territory of *Banbha*, *Iúghaine*'s woman, free from a [military] breach in her mountain [barrier]s.

5. As long as it was under their stewardship, they allowed no-one else to show interest in *Dairine*'s populous home - what power!

6. From the progeny of *Conall* of the plain of *Crionna* there were ten unopposed kings, sheltering trees who were *Banbha*'s choice, [who came forth] to protect *Oileall*'s land.

7. Do bhí fós as feairrde sin
dá fhithchid naomh do naomhaibh
dá shíol a mbanbha na mbeann
ag díon gach anma air ifrionn

8. Do tharangair pádruig phuirt duinn
s colum fa cráibhtheach naduir
toigheacht trír fhéile eile
dhíobh air an réim ríogroíghe

9. An lá nách leo nás go neimh
teamhair na ríóg nó ráth caisil
cómhshlógh gach cuire na gceann
uile ó fhórmhór na héirionn

7. Do bhí fós - is feirrde soin -
dá fhichid naomh do naomhaibh
dá shíol i mBanbha na mbeann
ag díon gach anma ar ifreann.

8. Do tharngair Pádraig Puirt Dúin
's Colam fa cráibhtheach nadúir
toigheacht trír fhéil oile
díbh ar an réim ríoghraidhe.

9. An lá nach leó Nás go neimh
Teamhair ríogh nó Ráth Chaisil
- comhshlógh gach cuire 'na gceann -
uil[l]e ó fhormhór na hÉireann.

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7. As well as this, there were two score saints of his progeny - and she is the better for it - in *Banbha* of the peaks protecting every soul from hell.

8. *Pádraig* of *Port Dún* and *Colam* [*Cille*] whose disposition was pious prophesied the addition of a further generous three of them to the king list.

9. Whenever fierce *Nás*, royal *Teamhair* or the fort of *Caisil* are not in the possession of th[is] combined host which is opposed by every band, most of *Éire* is in need of help (?).

10. Do bhí aca tuar a ttréin
oileach is inis saimh?eír
puirt ríoghroighe réar chruadh cuir
rioghdhoire thuaidh is teamhair

[10]. Do bhí aca - tuar a dtréin -
Oileach is Inis Saimhéir
- puirt ríoghraidhe rer chruaidh cuir -
ríoghDhoire thuaidh is Teamhair.

11. Dob iad sin gan teacht re a tteann
árdphuirt oireachais eirionn
cinn oireacht na nó?rghlac nglan
ría ttoigheacht mhórmh/c míl/.

[11]. Dob iad sin, gan teacht re a dteann,
ardphuirt oireachais Éireann
cinn oireacht na n-órghlac ngeal
re dtoigheacht mhórmhac Míleadh.

12. An duadh th?ar chách sg/ch conair
a ccathaibh a cconghalu?ibh
lé ríomh a ccéimeann cogaidh
ag díon éireann fuaradar

[12]. Anduadh tar chách 's gach conair
i gcathaibh, i gconghalaibh
- [r]e ríomh a gcéimeann [g]cogaidh -
ag díon Éireann uaradair.

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10. They had - a sign of their strength - *Oileach* and *Inis Saimhéir* - fortresses of a dynasty against which attacks were difficult [to make] (?) - royal *Doire* in the north and *Teamhair*.

11. Before the advent of *Míl*'s great sons, those [places], their strength unassailable, were the capital places of *Éire*, the chief [places] of the [noble] councils of the bright golden hands.

12. To enumerate their martial deeds: in every path, they, more than anyone else, have suffered great hardship in battles [and] in engagements protecting *Éire*.

13. Atáid uile deóig a ndéoig
siol cconaill dáis is daimhdheóin
dáibh f/ dórláimh lé a nais
ag congmháil ceíme is ceannais

[13]. A-táid uile, deóigh i ndeóigh,
síol gConaill d'áis is d'aimhdheóin
dáibh féine d'orláimh [r]e a n-ais
ag congbháil chéime is cheannais.

14. A cur as an riocht roimhe
dá ttí iomlaoid aimsire
air chru an chinnbhile ó bhoinn bhreag
dóibh is déimhnighthe a dídhean

[14]. A cur as an riocht reimhe
dá dtí iomlaoid aimsire
ar chrú an cheinnbhile ó Bhóinn Breagh;
- dóibh as deimhnighe a dídean.

15. Inis Banbha an fhoinn ghrianaicc
sí fá fhoirinn ainmhianaicc
cádhas a treabh taobh air lár
gan fh?ear le a ttaobh a tochradh

[15]. Inis Banbha an [ghuirt] ghrianaigh
's í fa fhoirinn ainmhianaigh
cádhas a treabh taobh [re] lár
gan fhear le a dtaobh a tochrádh.

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13. By means of the [burden of] power they carry, all of *Conall*'s seed, [both] willingly and unwillingly, are upholding status and leadership for themselves.

14. It is as a result of her being transformed from her previous form that a change of mood may come over the blood[line] of the leading tree from *Bóinn Breagh*; they are the ones most certain to protect her.

15. And she under the control of a malevolent faction, the complaint of the isle of *Banbha* of the sunny plain, is that reverence for her septs is bowed to the ground with no man at their side [to support them].

16. Céile is cubhaidh dá cneas mín
do inneósainn é déirinn
crann bhláth fineamhna a fear
táth rígheamhna dá roiseadh

17. Ata fear don dual a dóigh
ma ta sí ag iomchar anshóigh
plannda dúir na ríog roimhe
bíodh a súil le sághaile

18. Do bheárdaois feín a feis do
dá mbeith tráth air a togha
síol na ttréad fuairsi dháibh
tré uaisle a géag geineallaicc

[16]. Céile as chubhaidh dá cneas slim
do inneósainn é d'Éirinn
- crann do bhláth fíneamhna a fear -
táth ríghEamhna dá roiseadh.

[17]. A-tá fear dan dual a dóigh
má tá sí ag iomchar anshóidh
plannda d'úir na ríogh roimhe
- bíodh a súil [r]e sádhaile.

[18]. Do-bhéardaois féin a feis dó
- dá mbeith tráth ar a togha -
síol na dtréad uairse d'fhearaibh
tre uaisle a g[h]éag ngeinealaigh.

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16. Were he to accomplish the rallying of royal *Eamhain*, I would announce to *Éire* a spouse who is fitting for her smooth skin - her man is a tree of vine-flower.

17. If she is bearing hardship, there is a man for whom [having] her hoping [in him] is natural, a plant of the soil of the kings who preceded him - let her hope be for comfort.

18. Though it might be a while after her choosing [him], the descendants of the bands of men she [has] received would give him her hand [in marriage] on account of the nobility of his genealogical branches.

19. Géag chúbhra do chlainn cconaill
sdfionnfhuil eoghain amhramha?ill
[*St.* braon do chrú cholla na ccath
na fonna rú fa riarach

20. Crann do choill mhoir an mhaoidhoil
dfhionfhuil eachaig muighmheadhoin]
sruth teígle nách tuil le baois
eígne ón duibh is ón ndrobhaois

21. Ua chuinn ó theamhraicc na ttreabh
scuinn chaoin ó chruachain lighean
do chrú ndálaicc drúim air drúim
do sháraicc clú an chéadchuinn

19. Géag chumhra do chloinn Conaill
's d'fhíonfhuil Eóghain abhramhoill
braon do chrú Colla na gcath
- na fonna rú fa riarach.

20. Crann do choill mhóir an mhiodhóil
d'fhíonfhuil Eachaidh Muighmheadhóin
sruth téigle nach tuil le baois
éigne ón Duibh is ón Drobhaois.

21. Ua Cuinn ó Theamhraigh na dtreabh
's Cuinn chaoin ó Chruach[á]n Lighean
do chrú Dálaigh druim ar druim
do sháraigh clú an chéadChuinn.

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19. Fragrant branch of *Conall*'s family and of the winelike blood[line] of *Eóghan* of the noble eyelash, drop of the blood of *Colla* of the battles - the plains were submissive to them.

20. Tree of the great mead-drinking forest, of the winelike blood[line] of *Eachaidh Muighmheadhóin*, calm river that is not overflowing with frenzy, salmon from the [River] *Dubh* and the [River] *Drobhaois*.

21. Descendant of *Conn* from *Teamhair* of the homesteads and of *Conn* from *Cruachán Lighean*, [he is one] of the blood[line] of *Dálach* who, one and all, surpassed the fame of the first *Conn*.

22. A noírbheart ní dheachaidh dhe
m/c aírmheach Aodha búighe
gaisgeadh ciall feile agas fos
as rian dréime le a dhúthchus

23. Atá Doimnic ó Dómhnaill
duaisle is déifeacht ionchómhlainn
na dhíol céile aga clár slím
dá ccládh eíre na héirinn

24. Tárla gach mian da miannaibh
air bhanbha an fhóid fhinnghriannaicc
dá bhfuairsi le chéile a ccorp
a thréighthe a uaisle a abhacht

[22]. A n-oirbheart ní dheachaidh de,
mac áirmheach Aodha Buidhe;
gaisgeadh, ciall, féile agus fos
is rian dréime [r]e a dhúthchas.

[23]. A-tá Doimnic Ó Domhnaill,
d'uaisle is d'éifeacht ionchomhlainn,
'na dhíol céile ag a clár slim
dá gcládh Éire 'na hÉirinn.

[24]. Tarla gach mian dá mianaibh
ar Bhanbha an fhóid fhinnghrianaigh
dá bhfuairse le chéile i gcurp
a thréidhe, a uaisle, a ábhacht.

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22. Their skill-at-arms has not deserted *Aodh Buidhe*'s noteworthy son; [possession and practice of the qualities of] prowess, wisdom, generosity and perseverance are the way to strive [to attain] his [family's] native disposition.

23. *Doimnic Ó Domhnaill*, [a man who is] capable because of [his] nobility and efficacy of giving battle, through whom *Éire* changes [back] to being an *Éire*, is worthy of being the spouse of her smooth plain.

24. *Banbha* of the fair and sunny land has got everything she desired as a result of all that she has found together in a [single] body: his accomplishments, his nobility [and] his humour.

25. A mhaordhacht a mhéinn reabhraigh
a aobhdha seal sibheanraigh
a chlú a ndeabhaidh uair eile
a ttruaill leabhair lúirighe

[25]. A mhaordhacht, a mhéin reabhraidh,
a aobhdha seal sibheanraidh,
a chlú i ndeabhaidh uair eile
i dtruaill leabhair lúirighe.

26. A chródha a cheannas feadhna
a chairpeoracht cinneamhna
a bhárr feíle ag cruadh cath
a thréighthe air lúth sar lámhach

[26]. A chródha, a cheannas feadhna,
a chairptheóracht chinneamhna,
a bharr[adh] féile ag cr[ú]dh cath,
a thréidhe ar lú[d]h 's ar lámhach.

27. Dá mbeadh mar do bhí an allód
sión chogaidh sgach conairród
fán ccóimhghleicsi don té dá ttig
dob é an dominicsi dominic

[27]. Dá mbeadh, mar do bhí a-nallód,
síon chogaidh 's gach conarród,
fan gcoimhghleicse [a]n té dá dtig
dob é an Doimnicse Doimni[g].

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25. His dignity, his playful nature, his graciousness during merry-making [and], on another occasion, his reputation in conflict [dressed] in the supple armour of a breast-plate.

26. His bravery, his leadership of a troop, his fated charioteering, his great generosity when milking battles [for booty], his qualities in regard to speed and marksmanship [with weapons].

27. Were there to be, as there used be long ago, conditions of war in every path-way, this very *Doimnic* would be the one who is capable [of facing] this strife (?).

28. Do bhiadh fa cheart chláir Fódla
suas re cách don chéadfhógra
go bhfeinn áigh chrannruadh churadh
deaghshluagh cháich do cheannsúghadh

29. Ag so le a ríomh a rogha
congháir chliar eóil ealadha
fianna tarbhdha gan tacha
mianna damhna deaghfhlatha

30. Ceól do iárrfadh uair eile
seís cholg ag leódh laochraidhe
toír ag groideagair gliadh sgreadh
scoigeadal fhiann a néigean

[28]. Do bhiadh fa cheart chláir Fódla
suas re cách don chéadfhógra
go bhféin áigh chrannruaidh churadh
daghshluaigh cháigh do cheannsughadh.

[29]. Ag so [r]e a ríomh a rogha
congháir chliar eóil, ealadha,
fianna tarbhdha gan tacha
- miana damhna deaghfhlatha.

[30]. Ceól do iarrfadh uair oile
séis cholg ag leódh laochraidhe
tóir ag groideagar gliadh 's greagh
's coigeadal fhian i n-éigean.

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28. At the first summons [to arms], he would be up against everyone, [fighting] over the right[s] of *Fódla*'s land with a red-speared war-band of warriors, good hosts who subdue everyone.

29. Here, to tell of his choice, are the desires of the makings of a good lord: bullish [warrior] companies in abundance, art [and] the knowledgeable clamour of poet bands.

30. The [type of] music he would seek on another occasion is the melody of rapiers hacking soldiers, [the sound of] a pursuing party hurriedly deploying battalions and horses and the harmonious music of companies in [the] stress [of battle].

31. Sróll data ag dul re crannaibh
fuaim dá bhuain a buadhbhallaibh
meanamna air fheinn ghairgbheódh gh?rinn
ceím le a náirdéobha a íntinn

32. Dá mhiannaibh a nuair fheadhma
gáir sdoc fá fh?éinn finneamhna
laoich ag tinnme chealg is crann
is imle learg na luaithreagh

33. As aít eígin go clar cuinn
dá ttigeadh ua chlann cconaill
air bhruach faiche nar bhfiar ch?eart
do bhiadh aithne air a eifeacht

[31]. Sróll data ag dul re crannaibh
fuaim 'gá bhuain a buabhallaibh
meanma ar fhéin ghairgbheódha ghrinn
céim le a n-airdeógha a intinn.

[32]. Dá mhianaibh i n-uair fheadhma
gáir sdoc fa fhéin fhinnEamhna
laoich ag tinnmhe chealg is [chean]
is imle learg 'na luaithreadh.

[33]. [A h]áit éigin go clár Cuinn
dá dtigeadh ua chlann gConaill,
ar bhruach fhaithche 'narbh fhiar ceart
do bhiadh aithne ar a éifeacht.

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31. [The] beautiful satin [of battle standards] being fixed to poles, sound being extracted from bugles, a fiercely lively strong host in high spirits [- these] are things that with which his spirits will rise.

32. Among his desires in time of action are the cry of bugles around the soldiery of fair *Eamhain*, warriors hacking during ambushes and exploits, and the borders of battlefields reduced to ashes.

33. Were the descendant of *Conall*'s families to come from somewhere to *Conn*'s plain [of *Teamhair*], his efficacy would be recognised on the edge of a [castle's] green in which justice was [being] distorted.

34. Dár haithnigheadh géar bhog sin
corm/c mór m/c airt aoinfhir
fear dar chubhaidh a chrann air
le lugh/. tháll a tteamhraicc

35. Lúghaidh meanamnach m/c meic Con
tárla dia do phúghair
ceim grionnárdghlan dá ghné slím
dar hionarbadh é a héirinn

36. Aimsir éigin dá eis sin
taínig lughaidh lión cobhlaicc
go crích fhódghloin bhfínn fáil
ógbhaicc nár thím a tteangmháil

[34]. Dar haithnigheadh, gérbh óg sin,
Cormac mór mac Airt Aoinfhir,
- fear dar chubhaidh a crann air -
le Lughaidh thall i dTeamhraigh.

[35]. Lughaidh meanamnach (?) M[a]c Con
tarla [dó] - dia do phudhar -
(?) céim grionnardghlan dá ghné shlim
dar hionnarbadh é a hÉirinn.

[36]. Aimsear éigin dá éis soin
táinig Lughaidh líon cobhlaigh
go [caoimh]chrích bhfódghloin bhfinn bhFáil
ógbhaidh nar thim i dteagbháil.

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34. By which means, though he was young, great *Cormac* son of *Art Aoinfhear*, a man on whom it was fitting that lot[s thrown for] her should fall, was recognised by *Lughaidh* over in *Teamhair*.

35. (?) A deed [that was] strong, great and pure for his smooth face, and because of which he was banished from *Éire*, befell spirited *Lughaidh Mac Con* - what misfortune!

36. Some time after that, *Lughaidh* came to the [beautiful (?)] bright-plained and fair territory of *Fál* with a fleetful [of men], a warrior-band who were not yielding in an[y] encounter.

37. Goirid tráth air tteacht don eaingsi
nó gur throid na tímpchillse
dár fhiórat a ttuinn tachair
air ríoghmhac chuinn chéadchathaicc

38. Ceannas fódla ó mhuir go muir
tárla ó ló sin ag lughaidh
níor é lá méadaighthe a mac
go lá a chéadaithne air chorm/c

39. Lá dá raibh lugh/. na lann
ag agallamh fh(ear) neírionn
leaca fuilngeach go ngné ngloin
sé go tuillmheach atteamhraicc

[37]. Gairid, trá, ar dteacht don eingse
nó gur throid 'na timchillse
dar fhíorat a dtuinn thachair
ar ríomhac Chuinn Chéadchathaigh.

[38]. Ceannas Fódla ó mhuir go muir
tarla ón lósoin ag Lughaidh;
níorbh é lá méadaighthe a mac
go lá a chéadaithne ar Chormac.

[39]. Lá dá raibh Lughaidh na leann
ag agallaimh fhear n-Éireann
leaca fhuilngeach go ngné ngloin
's é go tuillmheach i dTeamhraigh.

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37. It was shortly after their coming to this land that there was a fight for her as a result of which their martial waves swelled over *Conn Céadchathach*'s royal son.

38. From that day on, *Lughaidh* had control of *Fódla* from coast to coast; the day of her sons being exalted did not come until the day *Cormac* was first recognised.

39. [It was] on a day on which *Lughaidh* of the mantles, hardy cheek of bright aspect, [now that he was] profitably [installed] in *Teamhair* was addressing the men of *Éire*.

40. Do bhí Cormac croidhe g?lán
dá fhulach air na ógan
duamhan laige aghéag ngoile
stréad aige nionghoire

41. Dithe feárghuirt each an riogh
teíd an treád sin tuar eisiódh
is beag da ccreidís dá chuing
mar do bheidís gan bhuachaill

42. An éiric ithe an fheóir ghloin
gabhthar chéadna tráth an tréad sin
sgur baoghail na ndéoigh a ndíon
le máoraibh fheóir an aírdrígh

[40]. Do bhí Cormac, croidhe lán,
'gá fhalach air 'na ógán
d'uamhan laige a ghéag ngoile
's tréad aige 'gá n-ionghaire.

[41]. D'ithe fhéarghuirt each an ríogh
téid an tréadsoin - tuar eissíodh -
- is beag dá gcreidís dá chuing -
mar do bheidís gan bhuachaill.

[42]. I n-éiric ithe an fheóir ghloin
gabhthar cheana, trá, an tréadsoin
- sgur baoghail 'na ndeóigh a ndíon -
le maoraibh fheóir an airdríogh.

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40. Out of fear of the weakness of his [own] warlike limbs, *Cormac*, stout heart, was kept hidden from *Lughaidh* when he was a youth and a flock was being herded by him.

41. That flock - omen of conflicts - starts grazing the king's horses' pasture as though they were without a shepherd; if they heeded his [supposed] sway [over them at all], it is little [attention they paid to it].

42. Moreover, in recompense for the eating of the clear grass, that flock is seized by the high-king's pasture wardens - after them [impounding the flock], protecting it [would have been] a perilous [attempt at] releasing [it].

43. Tuitfigh ar lui?gh más lór sin
duinn na caoire san ccluanaicc
oighre na riógh ó ráth breagh
do ráidh nar dhiór air/n dhligheadh

44. Lór ar corm/c an chneis ghloin
barr na ccaorach san chluanaicc
do ghlór mhall a modh eagair
mar luach ann nár itheadur

45. Le cómhrádh chormaic í chuinn
tug teamhair teach chriomhthain
múr na slógh nár haoradh dfuil
claonadh mór ina múraibh

[43]. "Tuitfi[d]", ar Lugh, "más lór soin
dúinn na caoirigh san chluanaidh";
oighre na ríogh ó ráith Breagh
do ráith nar dhíor an dligheadh.

[44]. "Lór", ar Cormac an chneis ghloin,
"barr na gcaorach san chluanaidh"
do ghlór mhall i modh eagair
"mar logh ann, 'nar itheadair".

[45]. Le comhrádh Cormaic í Chuinn
[do-]ug Teamhair, teach Criomhthainn
- múr na slógh nar haoradh d'fhuil -
claonadh mór ina múraibh.

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43. "If that is sufficient, said *Lugh*[*aidh*], "the sheep in the meadow will be forfeit to me"; the heir of the kings from the rampart of *Breagha* said that th[is] ruling was not [a] fitting [one].

44. "The wool of the sheep in the meadow is sufficient as compensation for what they have eaten" said bright-skinned *Cormac* in a stately voice in a commanding fashion.

45. Upon [hearing] the speech of *Cormac*, grandson of *Conn*, *Teamhair*, *Criomhthann*'s house, rampart of the hosts who were never satirised as regards [the purity of their] blood[lines], bowed down her walls.

46. Corm/c an fial nár feartach
ar lúghaidh tráth an tarngearthach
a sé an fear do éiligh inn
sní meadh aoinfhir anéirinn

47. Lúgh/. meárdha is múr teamhra
do aithrisiodh infheidhma
tromshlat tar dhóigh nách teachaidh
corm/c cáidh dá cceartbhreathaibh

48. Ga ttá leis ní leanabh air
fágbhaidh lúgh/. tráth teamhair
doighre airt air na aithne
cairt nár dhoilge dearrsgnaighthe

[46]. "Cormac an fialnár feartach",
ar Lughaidh, trá, "an tairngeartach
- is é an fear do éiligh inn
's ní meadh éinfhir i n-Éirinn".

[47]. Lughaidh meardha is múr Teamhra
do aith[nighsead] infheadhma
- tromshlat tar dháigh nach deachaidh -
Cormac cáidh dá [ch]eirtbhreathaibh.

[48]. Gá dt[ú] leis ní leanabh air
fágbhaidh Lughaidh, trá, Teamhair
d'oighre Airt ar n-a aithne
- cairt nar dhoilghe dearsgnaighthe.

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46. Moreover, *Lughaidh* said: "It is *Cormac*, the wonder-working, generous and noble one, the prophesied one, who is the man who has contradicted me and he [, being so young and, therefore, so weak] is not the equal of a single man in *Éire*".

47. [Thus, it is seen that both] impetuous *Lughaidh* and the rampart of *Teamhair* recognised beautiful *Cormac* - strong beam who did not disappoint [the] hope[s placed in him] (?) - to be worthy to rule by his correct judgements.

48. I will not go on about it; what I am saying is: once *Art*'s heir[, *Cormac*,] had been recognised, *Lughaidh* left *Teamhair*, a charter that was no surpassing (?) grief, to him.

49. An aithne chéadna ag crú chuinn
an?iogh air dhoiminic ó domhnuill
ar thur oírbhearta sgach nalt
ar rún toírbhearta ar thábhacht

[49]. An aithne chéadna ag crú Cuinn
a-niú ar Dhoimnic Ú Dhomhnaill
ar thúr oirbhearta 's gach alt
ar rún toirbhearta, ar thábhacht.

50. Air gach meinn aird na niongnais
air fhoirim air bhreith bhreitheamhnais
air smacht fíre fá cheart cháich
air reacht tíre do thógbháil

[50]. Ar gach méin aird 'na n-iongnais,
ar fhoirm, ar bhreith bhreitheamhnais,
ar smacht fíre fa cheart cáigh,
ar reacht tíre do thógbháil.

51. Fáiltiúghadh cháich ré a ghnúis ghloin
claonadh teamhra an tráith sin
tar aon duaislibh foinn eochaig
don uair? sin chúinn cheartbhreathaicc

[51]. Fáilteaghadh cáich re a ghnúis ghloin
claonadh Teamhrach an tráthsoin
tar aon d'uaislibh fhuinn Eachaidh
don uai[n]sin Chuinn cheirtbhreathaigh.

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49. Nowadays, *Conn*'s descendants give the same recognition to *Doimnic Ó Domhnaill* because of [his] seeking [the opportunity to perform] a heroic deed at every juncture, because of [his] inclination towards liberality [and] because of [his] substance.

50. [And,] along with them, because of [his possession of] every [other] lofty quality [too]: because of [his] manner, because of [his] delivery of [sound] judgement[s], because of [his] rule [that is] truthful in regard to everyone's right[s and] because of [his] upholding of a country's law.

51. The bowing of *Teamhair* that time to that lamb of right-judging *Conn* is the welcoming by all of [*Doimnic*']s clear visage in preference to any [other] one of the nobles of *Eachaidh*'s land.

52. Do féachadh a lámh leabhair
a ttreasaibh gan tuirsíoghadh
cáomhghlac d/. chínn air gach coír
tar chormac re linn lúghaidh

53. Ní fúighthear aointír u?ile
tímpchioll fódla féaraighe
go lorg a loinne air a laimh
a nórd coinne do chongmháil

54. As faitt?he a cheart air chlar cuinn
feachtar uaibh ua í dhómhnuill
dual dó a tromshlait a ttoigh
nó coír chormaic don chursin

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[52]. Do féachadh a lámh leabhar
i dtreasaibh gan tuirseaghadh
comhghlac do chinn ar gach coir
tar Chormac re linn Lughaidh.

[53]. Ní fúighthear aointír oile
timcheall Fódla féaraighe
g[an] lorg a loinne [le] a láimh
i n-ord coinne do chongbháil.

[54]. Is fai[d]e a cheart ar chlár Cuinn
- féachthar uaibh ua Í Dhomhnaill ! -
- dual dóigh a tromshlait i dtoigh -
'ná cóir Chormaic don chursoin.

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52. The slender hand of [this] grasp that has overcome every crime, surpassing *Cormac* during *Lughaidh*'s reign, has been tested in fights without wearying.

53. In order [for him] to keep an appointment [that he has made to wed *Éire*] (?), no other country, [all] around grassy *Fódla*, will be left by his hand without the mark of his sword [on it].

54. Behold the descendant of [the] *Ó Domhnaill*! His right to *Conn*'s plain is [of] longer [standing] than [was] *Cormac*'s entitlement [to it] at that time - in a[ny] house, it is natural to hope in a firm [, central, roofing] beam.

55. Níor bh iongnadh do chrú cconaill
teacht a náit a nuradhaill
go flaith liag fá bheím banbha
ós iad féin a fiór ghabhla

56. Fuair Doiminic mar as dual dó
tochmairc a tuar garma
bláth mháilleach ó mhágh meadhbha
saimhbheach gan oil n-aimseardha

57. Craobh fineamhna thaibhgheas toil
dfionnfhuil bhriain mhóir mheic eachaig
géag chúbhra do chloinn ccolla
clann dár úmhla eachtorrtha

[55]. Níorbh iongnadh do chrú Conaill
teacht, i n-áit a n-uraghaill,
go flaith Liag fa bhéim Banbha
ós iad féin a fíor**ghabhla**.

[56]. Fuair Doimnic mar is dual dó
[...] tochmhairc a tuar garma,
bláth mailgheach ó mhoigh Meadhbha,
saimhbheach gan oil n-aimseardha.

[57]. Craobh fhíneamhna thaibhgheas toil,
d'fhíonfhuil Bhriain mhóir mheic Eachaidh
géag chumhra do chloinn Colla,
c[roi]nn dar umhla eachtarrtha (?).

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55. Since they themselves are her true supports, it would be no wonder if, instead of their talk, *Conall*'s blood[line] were to come to *Liag*'s prince concerning the smiting of *Banbha*.

56. As is natural for him [and] by means of meriting fame, *Doimnic* has received a [prize (?)] for courtship, a browed flower from *Meadhbh*'s plain, a summer bee devoid of any temporal blemish.

57. A vine branch who wins affection, of the wine-like blood[line] of [the] great *Brian* son of *Eachaidh*, a fragrant branch of *Colla*'s family, trees to whom [....] have [always] been most submissive.

58. Do dháil dia do dhreich thromdha
maordhacht is meais measardha
mar tá agá chraoibh riamh roimhe
ciall is aoibh is ailghine

59. Do thoirbhir dia dreich naoi
na tréighthe as dual do dheaghmhnaoi
tearc dar dáileadh acht disi
dleacht an áireamh uirthesi

60. A?ir lorg eámoinn m/c eógain
mbríghid do bhuaintreóraicc
go freagra as léire linne
eagna féile is fírinne

[58]. Do dháil Dia d[á] [d]reich thromdha
maordhacht is meas measardha,
- mar tá aga [c]raoibh riamh reimhe -
ciall is aoibh is áilghine.

[59]. Do thoirbhir Dia dá dreich naoi
na tréidhe as dual do dheaghmhnaoi
- tearc dar dáileadh acht dise -
dleacht a n-áireamh uirtheise.

[60]. Ar lorg Éamainn mheic Eóghain
[inn] Brighid do bhuaintreóraigh
go freagra as léire linne:
eagna, féile is fírinne.

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58. Just as her [genealogical] branch have always had [these qualities], God has given her dignified face [the qualities of] majesty and measured judgement, wisdom, attractiveness and gentleness.

59. God has given her fresh face the qualities befitting a virtuous woman - few, except for her, are those on whom they have been bestowed - it is right that she be famed for them.

60. [Following] in the footsteps of *Éamann* son of *Eóghan*, (?) *Brighid* has constantly led me [, when I ask myself what her personal qualities are,] to an answer that is very clear to me (?): [those of] wisdom, generosity and truthfulness.

61. Gruaidh mar rós leaca mar lil
rosg neámhanta air nós oighre?
dá málainn chaola chearta
chaomha air aghaidh innealta

62. Corp deághlá?n is díol ceana
glaca laga láingheala
béal aobhdha gan oil ndealbhdha
dá troig mhaordha mhéirleabhra

63. Géag chúbhra do chriadh ciníl
inghean cheannsa ch?aitilín
bean dán soirbh an seán garma
leár lég/. foirm a fíorghabhla
gabhla // fódla // fuil // chonaill //

[61]. Gruaidh mar rós, leaca mar lil,
rosg néamhanda ar nós oighridh,
dá mhalaigh chaola chearta
chaomha ar aghaidh innealta.

[62]. Corp dea[ghlán] as díol ceana,
glaca laga láingheala,
béal aobhdha gan oil ndealbha,
dá throigh mhaordha mhéirleabhra.

[63]. Geág chumhra do chriaidh chiníl
inghean cheannsa Caitilín,
(?) bean dan soirbh [a] séan garma
(?) ler léagh (?) foirm a fíor**ghabhla**.

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61. Roselike cheek, lillylike face, pearly eye like ice, two slender, even, lovely eyebrows on a graceful face.

62. A good and complete body that is a fitting object of love, smooth completely bright hands, a gracious mouth with no defect in its form, two majestic, slender-toed feet.

63. *Caitilín*'s gentle daughter is a fragrant branch of noble soil,
(?) a woman for whom her [own] good fortune in regard to fame is pleasant and in whose opinion the state of her true [genealogical] fork is [....] (?).

POEM 5

MS. version: (RIA 24·P·27, p. 104)

Cúchoigcriche o cleir/. do rinne an
dánso do thoirrdhealb/. o dhomhn/
m/c Cathbharr

1. Mo mhallacht ort a shaoghail
mairg nach ttuig do robhaoghail
sgo ccuire féin i ccéill dúin
nach díol gradhaighthe tfortún

2. Giodh iomdha Rí ar a raibh meas
fuair uaít Ríghe agus flaitheas
sda ttugais muirn fésda is fleadh
fechtar a ccríoch fa dheir/.

Edited text:

(see also MS. readings)

1. **Mo** mhallacht ort, a shaoghail;
mairg nach tuig do robhaoghail
's go gcuire féin i gcéill dúnn
nach díol grádhaighthe t'fhortún.

2. Gidh iomdha rí ara raibh meas
fuair uait ríghe agus flaitheas
's dá dtugais muirn féasda is fleadh
féachtar a gcríoch fa dheireadh.

---

1. My curse on you, O world; since you yourself prove to us that your wealth is not a worthy object of love, woe to [anyone] who does not understand [the] great danger [you present].

2. Though many the respected kings who received kingship and sovereignty from you and to whom you gave [the] mirth of feasts and parties, their end is seen ultimately.

3. Iomdha flaith as feasach linn
iomdha airdrigh dob inghill
ria ngein chríosd tárla ar do mhuin
sdo thrasgrais síos go talmhuin

4. Riogha is monairc an domhain
o ata aníul nar nurchomhair
mas fiadhna stairthe na ndrong
dearbhaid gor fíor anabrom

5. Riogha na nAssardha is mead
tugais dóibh seal nar roibheag
callachdha is pearsa nar lag
fuairseat seal, caít nar gabhsat

[3]. Iomdha flaith as feasach linn
iomdha airdrí dob inghill
re ngein Chríosd tarla ar do mhuin
's do thrasgrais síos go talmhain.

[4]. Ríogha is monairc an domhain,
ó a-tá a n-iúl 'nar n-urchomhair,
más fiadhna sdairthe na ndrong
dearbhaid gur fíor a n-abram.

[5]. Ríogha na n-Assardha is Mead
tugais dóibh seal nar roibheag;
Callachdha is Pearsa nar lag
fuairsead seal - cáit ar ghabhsad ?

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3. I know of many [a] prince and worthy highking who was on your surface before Christ's birth and whom you crushed down to the ground.

4. Since lore concerning the kings and monarchs of the world is available to us, the histories of the[se] throngs, if [accepted as] evidence, prove that what I am saying is true.

5. You gave the kings of the Assyrians and of the Medes a not insubstantial period [of rule]; [the] Chaldeans and [the] Persians, who were not weak, had their day [too but] where have they gone?

6. Alaxandair monarc mór
céid Empir grég na nglanshlógh
ger mhór a mheas sa roineart
nír chian a ré ód mharcoigeacht

[6]. Alaxandair, monarc mór,
céidimpir Gréag na nglanshlógh,
gér mhór a mheas 's a roineart
níor chian a ré ód mharcaigheacht.

7. Iulius cesar go nágh
céd impeir réil na Romhán
ar ngabhail an domhain lais
a shaoghal cread far thrasgrais

[7]. Iúil-i-us Céasar go n-ádh,
céidimpir réil na Rómhán,
ar ngabháil an domhain lais,
a shaoghail, créad far thrasgrais ?

8. Nir eírigh neach thiar no thoir
ar druim do rotha a shaoghail
nach é dheir/. iar gach sódh
a chur faoi an roth fa dhubrón

[8]. Níor éirigh neach, thiar nó thoir,
ar druim do rotha, a shaoghail,
nach é a dheireadh, iar gach sódh,
a chur faoi an roth fa dhubhbrón.

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6. Though immense the respect and huge power enjoyed by [the] great monarch Alexander, first emperor of the Greeks of the pure hosts, his spell [in power] was not long as a result of [the fact of] your riding [on him in the grave].

7. After the conquest of the world by him, why, O world, did you destroy fortunate Julius Caesar, glorious first emperor of the Romans ?

8. O world, no-one - West or East - has [ever] risen on the back of your wheel who did not, after [enjoying] every comfort, end up being put under it in great sorrow.

9. Boicht an tsaog/ ima seach
dhíoth as beite dhoibh buidheach
ni thabhra ní dhoíbh dot mhaoin
sni bheana diobh do chomhmaoin

10. Coír abhuidhe re Dia dil
armbreith inaimsir creidimh
is cr/ dar leigheas or ccoir
sgan adhradh dhuitsi a shaoghail

11. Ata thall beatha oile
bh?ias go suthain síorruidhe
air ar ccionn ag Righ na nuile
gan cead duitsi achealguire

[9]. Boicht an tsaoghail ima seach
díot is beite dóibh buidheach:
ní thabhra ní dóibh dod mhaoin
's ní bheana díobh do chomhmaoin.

[10]. Cóir a bhuidhe re Dia dil
ar mbreith i n-aimsir chreidimh
is Críosd dar leigheas ó ar gcoir
's gan adhradh duitse, a shaoghail.

[11]. A-tá thall beatha oile
bhias go suthain síordhaidhe
ar ar gcionn ag rígh na n-uile
gan chead duitse, a chealgaire.

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9. In their turn, the poor of the world should be thankful to you; you give them none of your wealth and do not remove your favour from them.

10. Thanks for our being born in an era of faith and for Christ curing us of our transgressions should go to beloved God without you being worshipped, O world.

11. In spite of you, O beguiler, the king of all has another life, which will be long-lived and eternal, in store for us in heaven.

12. Cíall a ndubhairt ann so dhuit
a úa na ttrí nAodh noirdhuirc
indoigh go mbeith gráin ó thoil
agad ar ghlóir an tshaoghoil

[12]. Ciall a ndubhairt annso duit,
a ua na dtrí n-Aodh n-ordhraic,
i ndóigh go mbeith gráin ó thoil
agad ar ghlóir an tsaoghail.

13. A sgéala mar ta i leabhraibh
na monaircsi a thoirrdhealbhaidh
ni ba meisde ag dia bar naít
gan dol díobh na ccompraítt

[13]. A sgéala mar tá i leabhraibh
na monaircse, a Thoirdhealbhaigh,
ní b[udh] meisde ag Dia bhar n-áit
gan dol díobh ina gcompráit.

14. Crádh liom do gheimhliugh/. daór
sgan tadhall dhuit ar mhiothaom
acht fíorfhuath mur tá re treall
eachtrann ar uaislibh eíreann

[14]. Crádh liom do gheimhleaghadh daor
's gan tadhall duit ar mhíothaom
acht fíorfhuath (mar tá re treall)
eachtrann ar uaislibh Éireann.

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12. Here for you, O descendant of the three illustrious *Aodh*s is the meaning of all He said in the hope that you might willingly hate the glory of the world.

13. (?) [The likelihood of you attaining] the place [in heaven] that God has for you will be none the worse for it if [the moral to be gleaned from] comparing the stories, as [documented] in books, of these monarchs does not elude you, O *Toirdhealbhach* (?).

14. Your being chained [and] unfree - and without you committing an[y] evil deed, but [simply because of] the harbouring by foreigners (as has been the case for some time now) of true hatred for the nobles of *Éire* - is a torment to me.

15. Gidheadh déna dimbrigh dhe
da niarra sibh meas foirfe
do bheith oraibh thall sa bhus
gloír do Dhia a tá ar do chumus

16. Smuain o thús go rugadh sibh
i nam crábhaidh is creidimh
mar nach rugadh (mor re a mheas)
na monairc thuas do airmheas

17. Tabhair foigheide id bhroid
gabh comhairle o gach caroid
da bhfuilnge martra gan choir
buaine dhuit beatha shuthoin

[15]. Gidh eadh déana dimbrígh de
dá n-iarra sibh meas foirfe
do bheith oraibh thall 's a-bhus;
glóir do Dhia a-tá ar do chumas.

[16]. Smuain ó thús go rugadh sibh
i n-am crábhaidh is creidimh
mar nach rugadh - mór re a mheas -
na monairc thuas do áirmheas.

[17]. Tabhair foighidin id bhroid,
gabh comhairle ó gach caraid;
dá bhfuilnge martra gan choir,
buaine duit beatha shuthain.

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15. However, if you want there to be perfect respect for you [both] in heaven and on earth, make little of this; [giving] glory to God is within your power.

16. Firstly, think [of the] significant consideration that, unlike the kings I have enumerated above, you were born in an era of piety and faith.

17. Have patience in your bondage; take advice from every friend; if, without sin[ning], you suffer martyrdom, eternal life [will be all the] more lasting for you.

18. Tanaig iósa tre nar ccoir
do nimh anuas on athoir
sdo dhoírt fuil a chuirp uile
air ar ngradh tre thrócuire

19. Ar dhoírt g/. mairtír da bfuil
o thús sgo deireadh dhomhuin
do budh mó sgél braon don fhuil
do dhoirt iosa tre ar cciont/.

20. Fuair criosd bás croiche air ar son
do iarr oruinn ar ccroch diomchor
sar ttoil do chuma re a thoil
agus é feín do leanmhoin

[18]. Tánaig Íosa tre n-ar gcoir
do nimh anuas ón Athair
's do dhoirt fuil a chuirp uile
ar ar ngrádh tre thrócaire.

[19]. Ar dhoirt gach mairtír dá bhfuil,
ó thús go deireadh dhomhain,
do budh mó sgéal braon don fhuil
do dhoirt Íosa tre ar gciontaibh.

[20]. Fuair Críosd bás croiche ar ar son,
do iarr oirn ar gcroch d'iomchar
's ar dtoil do chuma re a thoil
agus é féin do leanmhain.

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18. As a result of our [original] sin, Jesus came down from heaven from the father and, out of mercy, shed all the blood in his body in return for our love.

19. For all the blood that all the martyrs shed, from the beginning to the end of the world, a [single] drop of the blood Jesus has spilled through our sins would be a more significant matter.

20. Christ died on the cross for us; he asked us to carry our cross, to make our will accord with His [will] and to follow Him himself.

21. Fuair tusa sas cuirthe asuim
a mheic cathbharr í dhomhnuill
ní o dhia Et ré fa rath
ni dlighe bheith dhe diomdhach

22. Fuairais saoghal fada glan
barr ar sheachtmhoghad bliaghan
long an anma an corp go ngraín
mithidh dhó port do ghabhail

23. Re linn siothchána is socra
fuarais beatha ionmholta
iar bplanntughadh it thír thall
dainbhfine aintrein eachtrann

[21]. Fuair tusa - 's is cuirthe i suim -
a mheic Cathbha[i]rr Uí Dhomhnaill,
ní ó Dhia agus ré fa rath;
ní dhlighe bheith de diomdhach.

[22]. Fuarais saoghal fada glan
- barr ar sheachtmhoghad bliadhan;
long an anma, an corp go ngráin,
mithidh dó port do ghabháil.

[23]. Re linn síothchána is socra,
fuarais beatha ionmholta
iar bplanntughadh id thír thall
d'ainbhfine aintréin eachtrann.

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21. O son of *Cathbharr Ó Domhnaill*, you have received possessions and a fortunate life from God and this should be considered [by you]; you are not entitled to be ungrateful to Him.

22. You have received a long and pure life [of] more than seventy years [duration]; it is time for the ship of the soul, the despised body, to enter port.

23. During peace and stability after plantation in your country yonder by tyrannical foreign usurpers, you lived a laudable life.

24. Inam cog/. da eís sin
g/. ar lean sibh dot dhaoinibh
do shaorais iad ar ghorta
ar bhás fuachta is fiornochta

25. Cia hé an flaith do freímh dálaigh
do reír iuil an annaláigh
tug oiread cobhartha libh
in am cogaidh da dhaóinibh

26. Do shiris leo ceann i cceann
urmhor chúig ccoigidh eiréann
da ndidean ar gach feadhain
do ghallaibh do ghaoidhealaibh

[24]. I n-am cogaidh dá éis sin
gach ar lean sibh dod dhaoinibh
do shaorais iad ar ghorta,
ar bhás fuachta is fíornochta.

[25]. Cia hé an flaith do fhréimh Dálaigh,
do réir iúil an annálaigh,
tug oiread cobhartha libh
i n-am cogaidh dá dhaoinibh ?

[26]. Do shiris leó, ceann i gceann,
urmhór chúig gcóig[ea]dh Éireann
dá ndídean ar gach feadhain
do Ghallaibh, do Ghaoidhealaibh.

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24. After that, in wartime, you freed all those of your people who followed you from famine [and] from death by cold or by true nakedness.

25. According to annalistic lore, what prince of *Dálach*'s stock gave as much help to his people in wartime as you did?

26. With them you traversed most of the five provinces of *Éire*, one after the other, protecting them from every host of *Galls* [and] of *Gaoidheals*.

27. Nir thaistilsead tír dhiobh so
i leith cuinn no ileith mogho
nach biodh tnúth in gach baile
riú sgan iad na ccomhnaidhe

28. Mo an furtacht tugadar dhóibh
no abhfuairseat uatha donoír
sdo lean diobh (os sgél fíre)
dream do lucht gach eintíre

29. Do chosain tú iad amhlaidh
re ré an chogaidh chatharmaigh
ceithre bliaghna doirbhe dég
nar leígis faill na ccoimhed

[27]. Níor thaisdilsead tír díobh so
i leith Cuinn nó i leith Mogha
nach bíodh tnúth i ngach baile
riú 's gan iad 'na gcomhnaidhe.

[28]. Mó an furtacht tugadar dóibh
ná a bhfuairsead uatha d'onóir
's do lean díobh - ós sgéal fíre -
dream do lucht gach éintíre.

[29]. Do chosain tú iad amhlaidh
re ré an chogaidh chatharmaigh
- ceithre bliadhna doirbhe déag
nar léigis faill 'na gcoimhéad.

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27. They did not journey through a [single] land of all of these, in *Conn*'s half or in *Mogh*'s half, where there used not be hostile feeling towards them even if they did not linger [there for long].

28. The help they gave them was greater than the honouring they received from them and - since it is a true story [I will tell it] - a group of every land's populace joined them.

29. You defended them thus throughout the battle-weaponed war - fourteen trying years during which you never neglected to protect them.

30. Gidh mór dióbh do bhí beó bocht
ag teacht chugaibh da bfurtocht
sda ttugais maoin tar an ccoír
a admhail aniu as edóigh

31. Cumhain leam go riomhthaoi sin
tri mhíle bó ar do mhuinntir
agus iad uile ar bhar ccur
fad leagadh is fad ghearr/.

32. Rugais leat fós iar gach seal
iad uile ag dol fa dhligheadh
gor sgaoilseat siar agus soir
ag port eirne fad lamhaibh

[30]. Gidh mór díobh do bhí beó bocht
ag teacht chugaibh dá bhfurtacht
's dá dtugais maoin tar an gcóir,
a admháil a-niú is éadóigh.

[31]. Cumhain leam go ríomhthaoi sin
trí mhíle bó ar do mhuintir
agus iad uile ar bhar gcur,
fad leagadh is fad ghearradh.

[32]. Rugais leat fós iar gach seal
iad uile ag dol fa dhligheadh
- gur sgaoilsead siar agus soir -
ag Port Éirne fad lámhaibh.

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30. Though there are many of them who were destitute when coming to you for help and to whom you gave wealth beyond the call of duty, admission of this today is unlikely.

31. I recall that your people used be reckoned to have three thousand cows and that these had all been put under your tax and tribute to you[rself] by you.

32. After everything you still brought them all with you in your care (?) when [you were] submitting to the law at *Port Éirne* until they scattered westwards and eastwards.

33. Ré bheg mbliaghan ge a tá sibh
ar fhírbhegán dot mhuinntir
fuairais beatha gan naíre
snir mhiadh leat a hiomlaíne

34. Biodh nar dhiongmhála latsa
ar tteacht go haoís arsachta
beatha measardha (deanas)
dob fhéarr í na braighdeanas

35. Tréig do dhiomus na lean de
mithidh dhuit i neirr thaóise
saoghal na meang do thuigsin
snach tú a mhaín do rothuirs/.

[33]. Re beag mbliadhan gé a-tá sibh
ar fhírbheagán dod mhuintir,
fuarais beatha gan náire
's níor mhiadh leat a hiomláine.

[34]. Bíodh nar dhiongbhála latsa
ar dteacht go haois arsachta
beatha mheasardha deanas,
dob fhearr í ná braighdeanas.

[35]. Tréig do dhíomas; ná lean de;
mithidh duit, i n-eirr th'aoise,
saoghal na meang do thuigsin
's nach tú a-mháin do rothuirsigh.

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33. Although, for a few years [past], you have had very few of your people [around you], you have lived a life devoid of [any reason to feel a]shame[d] - and [yet,] its fullness has not seemed honourable to you.

34. Although, having reached old-age, [leading] a temperate life for a while might not seem fitting to you, it would be better than [the] captivity [in which our sins place us].

35. Abandon your pride [before God]; do not persist in it; [now] at the tail[-end] of your life, it is time for you to comprehend th[is] world of wiles and [to understand] that it is not only you it has greatly saddened.

36. Caithreím sfeárr fa ghrein ghloin
do neoch dar ghein ar talmhoin
sar buaine dhó thall iar ndol
buaidh ar dheamhan sar dhomhon

37. Tri naimhde an anma gach am
diabhal saoghal sa cholann
da mbei?ra tusa a mbuaidh sin
rachair go réidh don Ríghthigh

38. Guidhim Dia riot a rún dil
na léig fuil chriost inaisgidh
tuill re haithr/.e ghéir ghloin
do dhol isin síth shuthoin

[36]. Caithréim as fearr fa ghréin ghloin
do neoch dar ghein ar thalmhain
's a[s] buaine dó thall iar ndol,
buaidh ar dheamhan 's ar dhomhan.

[37]. Trí náimhde an anma gach am
diabhal, saoghal 's an cholann;
dá mbeire tusa a mbuaidh sin
rachair go réidh don ríghthigh.

[38]. Guidhim Dia riot, a rún dil,
ná léig fuil Chríosd i n-aisgidh;
tuill re haithrighe ghéir ghloin
do dhol isan síth suthain.

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36. For anyone born on the earth, the best triumph under the clear sun, and the one which is most lasting for him after going to heaven, is victory over [the] devil and [the] world.

37. The three ememies of the soul are always [the] devil, [the] world and the body; if you defeat them, you will easily get into the royal house [of heaven].

38. Beloved darling, I pray to God for you; do not let [the shedding of] Christ's blood be in vain; by means of incisive and pure penance, earn your entry into eternal peace.

39. Déna an tinchreachadh dhlighe
o thús go eirr thaimsire
sgrúd a bhfuair tú gach tan
sa ndearnais ris san saoghal

40. Biodh tuirse is conguin chridhe
ort tre thuill/. oirbhire
an tí ar a ttug/. gan choir
na mílti crecht tred chiontoibh

41. Ma do chraidhis neach o thoil
i cclú i maoín na tre sgannoil
déna aisiog ann go coír
do reír bhreithe an chonfesoír

[39]. Déana an t-inchreachadh dhlighe:
ó thús go heirr th'aimsire,
sgrúd[aidh] a bhfuair tú gach tan
's a ndearnais ris san saoghal.

[40]. Bíodh tuirse is conghuin chridhe
ort tre thuilleadh oirbhire
an tí ara dtugadh gan choir
na mílte créacht tred chiontaibh.

[41]. Má do chráidhis neach ó thoil
i gclú, i maoin ná tre sgannail,
déana aiseag ann go cóir
do réir bhreithe an choinfeasóir.

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39. Do the [self]criticism that you should; examine everything you ever got, from the beginning to the [tail-]end of your time, and what you did with it in life.

40. Feel contrition and heartfelt remorse for earning the reproach of the blameless one on whom, because of your sins, thousands of wounds were inflicted.

41. If you have willfully injured anyone in [terms of their] reputation [or their] goods or by scandal[ous behaviour which gave them occasion to sin], make amends for this in the correct manner, in accordance the confessor's judgement.

42. Budh luaithe liomsa ina libh
(le toil Dé) dfhios an righthigh
mo bhuille sguir a sé so
dhíobhse a ndeir/. mo thérmo
[mo mhallacht]

[42]. Budh luaithe liomsa iná libh
(le toil Dé) d'fhios an ríghthigh;
mo bhuille sguir is sé so
díobhse i ndeireadh mo théarmo.

42. With God's will, I would sooner seek out heaven than you would (?); [now,] at the end of my days, this is my word of parting with you.

POEM 6

MS. version: (RIA 24·P·27, p. 95)

Somhairle m/c Fearg/ m/c uilliam oíg
m/c an bhaird do rinde an mharbhn/. so
daodh ó dhomhnaill

1. Neart gach tíre ar thír chonaill
tug dhi drud re daordoghaing
nach leir ceart da dheinimh dhi
tre neart gach einfhir uirre

2. Neart gach aoín uirre re headh
tre abhfuair si dulc na naimsear
sa neart fein cuirthior ar ccúl
ni fuighthior ceim gan claochludh

Edited text:
(no other MSS. consulted)

[1]. Neart gach tíre ar Thír Chonaill;
tug di drud re daordhodhaing
nach léir ceart 'gá dhéinimh di
tre neart gach éinfhir uirre.

[2]. Neart gach aoin uirre re headh
tre a bhfuair sí d'ulc na n-aimsear
's a neart féin cuirthear ar gcúl
- ní fuighthear céim gan chlaochlúdh.

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1. The power of every country is over *Tír Chonaill*; [this] has caused her to move [inexorably] closer to the distress of being enslaved, with the result that, through every single man's power over her, no justice is to be seen being done her.

2. As a result of all she has suffered of the evil of the times, she has been under everyone's power for a while [past] and her own power is being diminished; no glory is achieved but it is destroyed.

3. Lion tri rioghacht da rochtain
naision eile diomarcaigh
tír chonaill fa dhoghra de
abhforgla ag ro bhuing ríaise

4. Siad da hagra sni ccúis cheirt
an meidsi ar uille a haimhn(eir)t
an oidhreacht mar nar dhual daibh
mo nuar le foirneart forráin

5. Mar ta si a seilbh gach cuire
sgan í anurlaimh énduine
toil gach duine do ní anos
si fa gach cuire, a cconcos

3. Líon trí ríoghacht 'gá rochtain
náision eile d'iomarcaidh
Tír Chonaill fa dhoghra de
a bhforghla ag robhuing riai-se.

4. 'S iad 'gá hagra - 's ní cúis cheirt
an méidse ar uille a haimhneirt,
an oidhreacht mar nar dhual dáibh -
mo-nuar le foirneart forráin.

5. Mar tá sí i seilbh gach cuire
's gan í i n-urláimh éanduine,
toil gach duine do-ní a-nos
's í fa gach cuire i gconcos.

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3. *Tír Chonaill* is in sorrow because of the forces of three kingdoms reaching (?) her - with another nation superfluous - [and] most of them overly consorting with her.

4. And, alas, they [are] claiming her by means of violent oppression - and, [especially] considering the extent of her powerlessness, [this] is not a just [legal] case since the inheritance has never belonged to them [by right].

5. [With] the way she is in the possession of every host and not under the control of one individual, being in [a state of] conquest under every band, she does everyone's bidding now.

6. Tugsat so dantrom uirre
go ccuirthior i nanbhfainne
re huille an antruim da sniomh
buime altruim na nairdriogh

7. Ni mhair an toil budh toil di
ni mhair tra afeidhm na fhoirmsi
gidh é a croidhe amhain ni mar
do ghráin fan oire diomchar

8. Doigh nach bhfuil andhán disi
aitheirghe on teidhm tinnisi
atá da tinmeadh re treall
ro la an fhinngheal da hinneall

[6]. Tugsad so d'antrom uirre
go gcuirthear [í] i n-anbhfainne
[l]e huille an antruim 'gá sníomh
buime altraim na n-airdríogh.

[7]. Ní mhair an toil budh toil di
ní mhair trá a feidhm nó a foirmse
gidh é a croidhe a-mháin ní mhar
do ghráin fan oire d'iomchar.

[8]. Dóigh nach fuil i ndán dise
aithéirghe ón teidhm tinnisse
a-tá 'gá tinmheadh re treall
- ro lá an fhinngheal dá hinneall.

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6. Such is the oppression they have visited upon her that she, the foster-mother of the highkings, is put in [a state of] weakness by the hugeness of the oppression that is troubling her.

7. The will she used to have endures no longer; indeed, her exertion or her figure do not persist [either]; moreover, out of hatred of carrying the burden [of *Aodh*'s death], not even her heart survives.

8. Revival from the bout of sickness that has been afflicting her for a while [past] is probably not in store for her - it has caused the fair and bright one to be harnessed.

9. Créd fa mbiadh da teidhm tuisl/.
eirghe san chrích conaillsi
don aimhneart da sleachtann sin
ó ghaillreacht eachtdrong naing/.

[9]. Créad fa mbiadh dá teidhm tuisle
éirghe san chrích Conaillse
don aimhn[io]rt dá sléachtann sin
ó ghaillreacht éachtdrong n-ainghidh ?

10. Alba ar neg ualasd aithigh
drong nar le da lán caithimh
don eing shaoirsi ase as samhail
re ré a daoirsi ag danaraibh

[10]. Alba ar n-éag Ualasd (?) aithigh
drong nar lé 'gá lánchaithimh
don eing shaoirse is sé as samhail
re ré a daoirse ag danaraibh.

11. An iothruaidh bhós do bhí abphéin
ar ndol ching Randail rothreín
gach roineimh sa rinn da guin
ar noidh/. chinn a cosnaimh

[11]. An Iothruaidh bhós do bhí i bpéin
ar ndol Ching Randail roithréin,
gach roineimh sa[n] rinn 'gá guin
ar n-oidhidh chinn a cosnaimh.

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9. Why, as a result of her [being afflicted by a] disastrous calamity, should this territory of *Conall* be able to rise up from the powerlessness to which, as a result of the [imposition of the] foreign [legal] dispensation of a feat-performing wicked band, she is bowing down ?

10. Scotland having a crowd who were not hers fully enjoying her fruits for a while (?), after the death of *Ualasd* (?), is a likeness to this noble land during her foreigner-imposed slavery.

11. Moreover, Norway was is torment after the departure [in death] of very powerful King *Randal*, with all the terrible poison in the spear (?) injuring her after the killing of her defending leader.

12. An Righ Sailbearna di ar ndol
crich lochlann fa bhroin mbiodhb/.
da núa roinn gan dísle on druing
tuaruim don chrichsi conuill

13. Mór ccrioch eile da neasb/.
bhíos fa lén lan dimreasnaibh
iar mbás a ruireadh do rinn
cás a ttuireamh acht tuairim

14. Tír conaill ni beart bhisigh
//ón ló terna a seisi soin
//ar chor na ccrioch neile sin//
en la treisi ní tharroigh

[12]. An rí Sailbearna di ar ndol
críoch Lochlann fa bhróin mbiodhbhadh
'gá nuaroinn gan dísle ón droing
tuaraim don chríchse Conaill.

[13]. Mór gcríoch eile dá n-easbhaidh
bhíos fa léan, lán d'imreasnaibh
iar mbás a ruireadh do rinn
cás a dtuireamh acht tuairim.

[14]. Tír Chonaill - ní beart bhisigh! -,
ar chor na gcríoch n-eileisin,
ón ló téarná a seise soin
éanlá treise ní tharraidh.

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12. The territory of the *Lochlainn*, under an enemy host being newly divided without proprietary right by th[at] host after the death of King *Sailbearna* resembles this territory of *Conall*.

13. [There are] many other territories which, as a result of the death of their rulers at spearpoint, are sorrowful and full of feuds for lack of them; [however] the grief behind lamentation of them is but an approximation [to that of *Tír Chonaill*].

14. Since the day her companion died, *Tír Chonaill* - this is no help to her! -, [being] in the [same] state as those other territories, has not enjoyed a single day of strength.

15. Ase eg a Aodha fein
tug an chrioch uile daoinmhein
fan ngaillreacht sa da sní aseadh
sdo ní a haimhneartsa dinneal

16. Aodh buidhe ó domhnaill do dol
tuigeadh cach gurab e as adhbhor
dar leir dairmeart/. re a hais
gun fhéin airmeart/. amhnais

17. Ni biadh sí uadh gan iomghuin
da mair/. mac toirrdealb/.
fan smacht fhreimh as dochar dhi
tre ro chur aintrein uirre

15. Is é éag a Aodha féin
tug an chríoch uile d'aoinmhéin
fan ngaillreachtsa dá sní a seadh
's do-ní a haimhneartsa d'inneal.

16. Aodh Buidhe Ó Domhnaill do dhol
tuigeadh cách gurab é as adhbhar
dar léir d'airmeartaibh re a hais
'gun fhéin airmeartaigh amhnais.

17. Ní bhiadh sí uadh gan iomghuin
dá maireadh mac Toirrdhealbhaigh
fan smaichtfhréimh as dochar di
tre rochur aintréin uirre.

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15. It is the death of her own *Aodh* that has caused the whole territory to be of one mind regarding this foreign rule as a result of which her vigour is wearing away and which causes her powerlessness.

16. Let everyone understand that it is *Aodh Buidhe Ó Domhnaill* departing [in death] that is the cause of all the [military] manoeuvres, by the [well-]equipped and cruel band, that are to be seen along her borders.

17. If *Toirdhealbhach*'s son were alive, she would not be without waging war over the controlling race which is a bane to her by means of [its] excessive exercise of tyranny upon her.

18. San taoibhsi theas do chlár cuinn
as sia dfhodla ó chrich conuill
da maireadh triath baoille abhus
ní bhiadh daoire ar adhuthchus

19. Gach aird fa fhonn bhfodla ar fad
do bhiodh Aodh re hucht namhad
do mhian anacail da fhonn
ar anshocair fhian neachtronn

20. Tearc áit no lios a laighnibh
in nar chuir treas thren aingidh
ar aoí an ghlan fhuinn budh dluigh dhó
do mhuigh tadhaill suil terno

[18]. San taoibhse theas do chlár Cuinn
as sia d'Fhódla ó chrích Conaill
dá maireadh triath Baoille a-bhus
ní bhiath daoire ar a dhúthchas.

[19]. Gach aird fa fhonn bhFódla ar fad
do bhíodh Aodh re hucht námhad
do mhian anacail dá fhunn
ar anshocair fhian n-eachtrann.

[20]. Tearc áit nó lios i Laighnibh
innar chuir treas thréanainghidh
ar aoi an ghlanfhuinn budh dluigh dó
do mhuigh thadhaill suil téarnó.

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18. If *Baoill*'s prince was alive in this world in this southern part of *Conn*'s plain, which, of [all of] *Fódla*, is furthest from *Conall*'s territory, his homeland would not be in slavery.

19. Desiring to defend his land from suffering [imposed] by hosts of foreigners, *Aodh* used [always] be facing enemies [in battle] all around the land of *Fódla*.

20. Rare is the place or rampart in Leinster in which, before he departed from [this] transitory world, he did not wage powerful and ruthless battle for the sake of the clear land that was his right.

21. Ga fód a ccóigead chonraoi
in nach fhuair snír fheidhm en laói
gleo on daorfhuilsi chraoi cuinn
ar aoi an chaomfhuinnsi conuill

22. Iomdha leacht is luighe goill
iomdha cuirt mhór na mionroinn
da fheidhm gliadh amoigh meadhbha
tar toil a bhfían bhfírfhearrdha

23. Ni lugha sa niath ultach
ait a ghleo ndoirbh ndioghaltach
fear re mbiodh grain ag gall/.
ag dion an chlair chonall/.

21. Gá fód i gcóigeadh Con Raoi
innach fuair - 's níor fheidhm éanlaoi -
gleo ón daorfhuilse chraoi Cuinn
ar aoi an chaomhfhuinnse Conaill.

22. Iomdha leacht is luighe goill
iomdha cúirt mhór 'na mionroinn
dá fheidhm gliadh i moigh Meadhbha
tar toil a bhfian bhfírfheardha.

23. Ní lugha san iath Ultach
áit a ghleó ndoirbh ndíoghaltach,
fear re mbíodh gráin ag gallaibh,
ag díon an chláir Chonallaigh.

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21. What is the place in *Cú Raoi*'s province in which - and it was no one day's fighting - he did not receive battle from this base bloodline of *Conn*'s territory for the sake of this beautiful plain of *Conall*?

22. Many the foreigner's tomb and (flat) grave, many the great court shattered as a result of his martial effort[s] in *Meadhbh*'s plain, in spite of [the best efforts of] their truly manly companies.

23. No fewer in the land of Ulster are the locations in which [this] man whom *Gall*s used fear waged trying and vengeful battles in defence of the plain of *Conall*.

24. Dobe a bheó san a beo soin
do be a bhás a bás bunoidh
teasda an tír an énlo is Aodh
a mbrigh do erno dentaobh

25. Teid trithe on taobh go ceile
rinn feille ó aois mimheine
deg an te gar fhearr isi
os é nar fheall uirrisi

26. Mar ta ar neg Aodh í dhomhnaill
fa breith dhoirbh gach danarghoill
dob amhdháigh gan ég don eing
san tréd anbhail da hinghreim

[24]. Dob é a bheósan a beó soin;
dob é a bhás a bás bunaidh;
teasda an tír i n-éanló is Aodh
- a mbrígh do-éarnó d'éantaobh.

[25]. Téid tríthe ón taobh go céile
rinn fheille ó aos mímhéine
d'éag an té 'gar fhearr ise
ós é nar fheall uirreise.

[26]. Mar tá ar n-éag Aodh[a] Í Dhomhnaill
fa bhreith dhoirbh gach danarghoill,
dob amhdháigh gan éag don eing
's an tréad anbháil 'gá hinghreim.

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24. His life was her life; his death was incontestably her death [too]; the country perished on the same day as *Aodh* - their strength died together.

25. As a result of the death of the person under whose control, since it is he who did not prove false to her, she was best-off, a treacherous spear goes through her from one side to the other at [the hands of] malevolent ones.

26. [Considering] the way, with the death of *Aodh Ó Domhnaill*, she is under the difficult-to-bear authority of every foreigner [with] th[at] terrible band ravaging her, it would be unlikely for the land not to die.

27. Ger bheasumhal í re linn
ata anois snir bé a hinntinn
umhal da gach naón fa nimh
da pudhar tre Aodh doighidh

28. Gur chuir si a marcach da muin
each iomchuir fola daluigh
nochar fhaomh duine ara druim
suidhe ó Aodh na hughuim

29. Sompla as coír na conchlann so
tarla a sdair uáign/. aosdo
fáth na sdaire as cuirthe a ccéill
sa raibhe uirthe doilbheím

[27]. Gérbh easumhal í re [a] linn
a-tá a-nois 's níorbh é a hinntinn
umhal dá gach aon fa nimh
dá pudhar tre Aodh d'oighidh.

[28]. Gur chuir sí a marcach dá muin
each iomchair fhola Dálaigh
nochar fhaomh duine ar a druim
suidhe ó Aodh ina hudhaim.

[29]. Sompla as chóir 'na conchlann so
tarla i sdair uaignigh aosda;
fáth na sdaire is cuirthe i gcéill
's a raibhe uirthe d'oilbhéim.

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27. Though she was assertive during his [life]time, she is now - something that used not be her disposition - submissive to everyone under [the] heaven[s] as a result of the misfortune she has suffered through *Aodh* being slain.

28. Until the mount of *Dálach*'s blood[line] threw her rider, *Aodh*'s sitting in her harness allowed no-one [else to sit] on her back.

29. An exemplar with which it is right to compare her [actions] is found in an ancient and unique story; considering all the abuse she has been subject to, th[is] story's import is worth communicating.

30. Rí an domhain ó ur go hur
mac Pilip Alaxandur
cáin gun Righ ar gach ruire
do bhrígh áigh is amhsuine

31. Each gun Righ budh Rioghdha breath
tearc do bhí ar doman daoineach
ameasg each a samhail sin
breath na hagh/. nír bh?éidir

32. Sígun Ríghsi fa mhuirn mhoir
trér dháil di daoibh is donóir
ní muirn nar mheisnigh abrígh
muirn an eichsin an AirdRigh

[30]. Rí an domhain ó ur go hur
mac Pilip Alax Andar
cáin 'gun rígh ar gach ruire
do bhrígh áigh is amhsaine.

[31]. Each 'gun rígh budh ríoghdha breath;
tearc do bhí ar domhan daoineach
i measg each a samhail sin;
breath 'na haghaidh níorbh éidir.

[32]. 'S í 'gun ríghse fa mhuirn mhóir
trer dháil di d'aoibh is d'onóir,
ní muirn nar mheisnigh a brígh
muirn an eichsin ón airdrígh.

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30. By means of battle and campaigning, Philip's son Alexander, king of the whole world had the tribute of every prince.

31. The king whose judgement was regal had a horse; no judgment [that another horse was superior to her] could be made against her; rarely in the populous world has there been her likes among horses.

32. Being held in great favour by this king, the favour that horse received from the high king is favour which, because of the happiness and honour he gave her, encouraged her efficacy.

33. Glésdar uadh da inntleacht féin
udhaim dhaor don each ainnsein
sdo ní a caomhna ar a chomhair
an Rí saordha senamhail

34. Gidh be trath do triall/. sin
san udhaim sheaghainn shuaithnidh
a sheal dob ogbhras innte
greadh na nalghas neigcinnte

35. Ni léigiodh aoínneach uirre
an tansa ar aoi a hudhaime
acht Righ na cruinne sfa dleacht dí
nír chleacht uirre an tairdRí

[33]. Gléasdar uadh, dá inntleacht féin,
udhaim dhaor don eoch ainnséin
's do-ní a caomhna ar a chomhair
an rí saordha séanamhail.

[34]. Gi-bé tráth do thrialladh sin
san udhaim shéaghainn shuaithnidh
a sheal dob ágbhras innte
greagh na n-álgas n-éigcinnte.

[35]. Ní léigeadh aoinneach uirre
an tansa ar aoi a hudhaime
acht rí an chruinne - 's fa dleacht dí;
níor chleacht uirre [acht] an t-airdrí.

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33. Then an expensive harness is prepared for the horse on the initiative of the noble and successful king and he safeguards it in front of him[self where he can keep an eye on it].

34. Whenever she journeyed in the comely, distinctive harness, the time that horse of the inordinate demands spent in it was [one of] youthful[ness] and forceful[ness on her part].

35. Because of her harness, she used allow nobody on her except the king of the world - and this was her due; she was accustomed to having only the great king on her.

36. Marcshluag gach fuinn toir is tíar
sa mbeith an úairsi ar aoinrián
mar cach dobfhéarr ar fhesguin
an seang failteach fíresguidh

37. Daithle an Riogh do dhol da druim
sa beith fós uadh gan udhaim
mar do bhi an fhionnghlan da éis
ni dob iongn/. re a fhaisnéis

38. Nior dhiult si marcach da muin
no neach da thaíre ar talmhuin
tarla uirre domhan caigh
ar mblodh/. chuinge a conaigh

[36]. Marcshluagh gach fuinn toir is tiar
's a mbeith an uairse ar aoinrian,
marcach dob fhearr ar fhéasgain
an seang faltach fíréasgaidh.

[37]. D'aithle an ríogh do dhol dá druim
's a beith fós uadh gan udhaim
mar do bhí an fhionnghlan dá éis
ní dob iongnadh re a fhaisnéis.

[38]. Níor dhiúlt sí marcach dá muin
nó neach dá tháire ar talmhain
tarla uirre, d'omhan cáigh
ar mbloghadh chuinge a conáigh.

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36. At this time, whenever the cavalry of every land were together the slender, long-haired, truly spirited one was the rider who [on account of the fine horse he rode] was best looking.

37. The way the fair and clear one was, once the king was no longer on her back and she was left, as a result, with no harness, is something remarkable to tell.

38. For fear of all, after the destruction of the harness which had brought her good fortune, she did not refuse to carry any rider or anyone in the world, no matter how lowly, who happened upon her.

39. Oidhigh Alasdair uaibhrigh
tug í an inntinn anshuaimhnigh
sgach ceart dar aisdr/. re ais
nar chleacht dfhaicsin na hegmhais

40. Mac Pilip ar nAodh uladh
tír chonuill ad chualabhair
an teach s breactha nar ch(ear)t cuing
is n(ear)t í earca an udhuim

41. Ua cathbharr nar dhion doibheart
triath budh maith da marcoigheacht
ar aoi a neirt ar neartdhroing gall
ceilt a leathtroim nos lamhann

[39]. Oidhidh Alasdair Uaibhrigh
tug í i n-inntinn anshuaimhnigh
's gach ceart dar aisdrigh re [a] ais
nar chleacht d'fhaisgin 'na héagmhais.

[40]. Mac Pilip ar n-Aodh Uladh,
Tír Chonaill, ad-chualabhar,
an t-each sbreagtha nar cheart cuing
is neart í Earca an udhaim.

[41]. Ua Cathbha[i]rr nar dhíon doibheart
triath budh maith dá marcaigheacht
ar aoi a neirt ar neartdroing gall
ceilt a leathtroim n[í]s lamhann.

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39. Considering every entitlement which she lost along with him [and] which she was not used to seeing in the absence of it [i. e. the harness], the death of Alexander the Great caused her to be in a restless mood.

40. Our *Aodh* of Ulster is [represented in the apologue just given by] Philip's son; *Tír Chonaill*, of which you have been hearing, is [represented by] the rebuked horse whose behaviour / harness was not right and the power of *Earc*'s descendant is [represented by] the harness.

41. On account of the power over the forceful *Gall* host of *Cathbharr*'s grandson, a lord who was good to ride her, who was no protector of evil deeds, she does not (?) venture to conceal the injustice that is being done to her.

42. Do ni gach duine dóigh dhi
ar ndol uaithe dAodh buidhi
each da dol fa nuile í
ar toil gach cuire ad chluintí

43. Mar do bhí each AirdRigh caich
deis amarcaigh fa mhíobhaidh
sgan an udhaim b/. dual di
do fhulaing duagh is doilghe

44. Tír chonaill san chruthsa ar cclódh
fa amarc/.c dil do dhioghbhódh
stre dighbhadh aigh chalma i chuinn
don tsháim amhra dob udhaim

[42]. Do-ní gach duine dóigh di
ar ndol uaithe d'Aodh Buidhe;
each dá dol fan uile í
ar thol gach cuire ad-chluintí.

[43]. Mar do bhí each airdríogh cáigh
d'éis a marcaigh fa mhíobháidh
's gan an udhaim budh dual di
do fhulaing duadh is doilghe.

[44]. Tír Chonaill san chruthsa ar gclódh
fa a marcach dil do dhíoghbhódh
's tre dhíoghbhádh áigh chalma í Chuinn
don tsáimh amhra dob udhaim.

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42. Now that *Aodh Buidhe* has left her, everyone is targetting her; she is a horse for everyone to ride [and is] at the beck and call of every band [as] you are hearing.

43. Just as, after [the death of] her rider, the horse of the high king of all was subject to antipathy and without the harness which [it] was natural for her [to have], she [i. e. *Tír Chonaill*] has suffered hardship and distress.

44. *Tír Chonaill* is after being transformed into this state on account of her beloved rider being destroyed and through the extirpation of the brave vigour of *Conn*'s descendant which was the harness of the renowned peaceful one.

45. An bhuaidh do bhí uirri ag Aodh
glór gach droinge ar ndol déntaobh
nach uirre do árla acht air
ar uille a fh?aghla fiontair

46. Da haimhneart ar aoí a forlainn
leigidh osnaidh égcomhlainn
deing na ttreabh ttaobh acla tte
fear a caomhanta as caointe

47. Tuile raith gan dioghbhodh dhi
re linn feín fa úr neirni
ar Aodh buidhe do bhi sin
os tuile í do imthigh

[45]. An bhuaidh do bhí uirre ag Aodh
- glór gach droinge - ar ndol d'éantaobh
nach uirre do-arla acht air
ar uille a faghla fiontair.

[46]. Dá haimhneart ar aoi a forlainn
leigidh osnaidh éagcomhlainn;
d'eing na dtreabh dtaobhacla dte
fear a caomhanta is caointe.

[47]. Tuile raith gan díoghbhódh di
re [a] linn féin fa úr n-Éirne;
ar Aodh Buidhe do bhí sin
ós tuile í do imthigh.

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45. (?) Now that they have died together, what every band says is that the [fact that the] prosperity she enjoyed during *Aodh*'s time was caused by him and not by [any intrinsic quality of] her[s] is found-out from the great extent to which she has been plundered [since his death] (?).

46. Out of the powerless which arises from her being oppressed, she sighs a sigh of distress; well might the land of the firm(?)-sided, warm homesteads lament [the loss of] her protector.

47. During his own time, [there was] an unebbing wave of prosperity all over the land of *Éirne*; since [this] is a wave [of prosperity] that has departed [from us on his death, we know that] it was [there] because of *Aodh Buidhe*.

48. Don eing shaoir ni reim reabhraidh
imtheacht oighir toirrdhealbhaidh
gnaoí a faghla, a saoileachtain sin
aoin earcail calma a chinidh

49. Beag as neartmhar diobh da dhol
sliocht cogthach conaill ghulban
tuigid gach laoi adheacra dhaibh
ar aoí aneachtra sa nanshaidh

50. Beadhg/. uile ar ngreasacht guil
conall/. on trath torchuir
sclann ndalaigh ge dodhaing dhaibh
gradhfhuil í chonuill chruacháin

[48]. Don eing shaoir ní réim reabhraidh
imtheacht oighir Toirdhealbhaigh,
gnaoi a faghla, a saoileachtain sin,
aoinEarcail calma a chinidh.

[49]. Beag as neartmhar díobh dá dhol,
sliocht cogthach Conaill Ghulban;
tuigid gach laoi a dheacra dóibh
ar aoi a n-eachtra 's a n-anshóidh.

[50]. Beadhgaidh uile ar ngreasacht ghuil
Conallach ón tráth torchair
's clann Dálaigh, gé dodhaing dáibh,
grádhfhuil í Chonaill Chruacháin.

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48. The departure of *Toirdhealbhach*'s heir, her hope [and] the glory of her plunder[-ing party], brave singular Hercules of his people, is no happy advance for the noble land.

49. As a result of his departure, few are those of the warlike progeny of *Conall Gulban* who are powerful; every day, because of their journey (?) and their misery, they realise [more and more] how difficult it is for them.

50. After being stirred to tears since a [*Tír*] *Chonaill* man has fallen, they [i. e. all of *Conall*'s descendants] are all startled and [so too], though it is a affliction for them, [are] *Dálach*'s family, noble kin of th[is] descendant of *Conall* of *Cruachán*.

51. Cia an aoineang deirinn iobhr/.
gan maoith fa mhac toirrdhealbhaigh
mar atharrdha is gairm ghill
dainm a cathfhoghla a ccoitchinn

[51]. Cia an aoineang d'Éirinn iobhraigh
gan mhaoith fa mhac Toirdhealbhaigh
- mar [...] atharrdha is gairm ghill -
d'ainm a chathfhoghla i gcoitchinn.

52. Ge leo do thuit Aodh sgidheadh
goill fein gan ceilt da cháoineadh
tre chosg forlainn gheir reann nglan
sar fhoghluim ceimean curadh

[52]. Gé leó do thuit Aodh 's gidh eadh
goill féin gan cheilt ['g]á chaoineadh
tre chosg forlainn ghéirreann nglan
's ar fhoghlaim céimeann gcuradh.

53. Biodh go ttarla an tansa a mbroid
locthar leis bheith na bhraghoid
gun ealbha aingidhi amhaín
dainmhire meanma an mhacaimh

[53]. Bíodh go dtarla an tansa i mbroid
locthar leis bheith 'na bhrághaid
'gun ealbha ainghidhe a-mháin
d'ainmhire meanma an mhacáimh.

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51. What single district in yew-abounding *Éire* is without sorrow over [the death of] the son of *Toirdhealbhach* - as a patro[nymic], [this] is an excellent appelation - as a result of the widespread fame of his battle-attacking.

52. Though it is by them that *Aodh* fell, even foreigners are openly lamenting him because of his holding back of superior numbers of bright and sharp swords and because of [his] learning regarding warriors' deeds.

53. Although at this stage he has happened to be in captivity, such is the youth's impetuousness of spirit that he rejects being [held] as a prisoner by the wicked flock alone [and by no more worthy adversary].

54. Cuirid Aodh ó Domhnaill diobh
fóir londan a los feillghniomh
damhr/. nar conchlann dú cuinn
da bhfaghbhadh cothram comhluinn

55. Tuitis re gall/. ghuirt Neill
a loch garman gniomh aigmheil
se fa uír ann nir saoileadh
dún na ngall da ghnath cháoineadh

56. Caoínid fós gan coimsi ar cháoi
mac Síle ar eadh gach énlaoi
fairrge a thíre ar aoi a hanfoidh
as caoí fhíre ahegnach ghoimh

[54]. Cuirid Aodh Ó Domhnaill díobh,
fóir Londan, a los feillghníomh,
damhradh nar chonchlann d'ú Cuinn
dá bhfaghbhadh comhthrom comhlainn.

[55]. Tuitis [l]e gallaibh ghuirt Néill
i Loch Garman - gníomh aigmhéil -
's é fa úr ann níor saoileadh
Dún na nGall dá ghnáthchaoineadh.

[56]. Caoinidh fós gan choimse ar chaoi
mac Síle ar fheadh gach éanlaoi
fairrge a thíre ar aoi a hanfaidh;
is caoi fhíre a héagnachghoimh.

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54. By means of treacherous deeds, London's band - a company who would not rival *Conn*'s descendant were he to get fair fighting odds - rid themselves of *Aodh Ó Domhnaill*.

55. He fell - harsh deed! - by the *Gall*s of *Niall*'s field in *Loch Garman* and it was not imagined that *Dún na nGall* would [have to] be constantly lamenting his being under [the] soil there.

56. Moreover, because of her rage [at his death], his country's sea is keening *Síle*'s son all day every day with no moderation of [her] wailing; [this] is true lamentation resulting from grief-filled anguish.

57. Ionann teíd tar bharr/. beann
na sliabh nard sna nard nísioll
fairrge ó cconaill ucht re hucht
doghuing a hairde damharc

58. Sruth Eirne bhós is banna
geall/. den taoibh eatorra
triall da chaoi a ccoinne a cheile
gan mhoille ar aoi naithmhéile

59. Don taobh thuaidh ni gheinid guirt
tre ua na ttri nAodh noirdhuirc
cuma a ttreabthar dúir budheacht
gan súil ttreabhthach re a toidheacht

[57]. Ionann téid tar bharraibh beann
na sliabh n-ard 's na n-ard n-íseall
fairrge ó gConaill, ucht re hucht -
dodhaing a hairde d'amharc.

[58]. Sruth Éirne bhós is Banna
gealladh d'éantaoibh eatorra
triall dá chaoi i gcoinne a chéile
gan mhoille ar aoi n-aithmhéile.

[59]. Don taobh thuaidh ní gheinid guirt
tre ua na dtrí n-Aodh n-ordhairc
cuma a dtreabhthair d'úir budh-eacht
gan súil dtreabhthaigh re a toidheacht.

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57. The sea of *Conall*'s descendants exceeds [in height] the points of the summits of the high mountains and the foothills alike [when it is measured] against them (?) - it is grievous to behold its height.

58. Moreover, the river *Éirne* and the [river] *Banna* have a wager together - an endeavour to out-lament each other [which], because of [their great] grief, [is] devoid of composure.

59. As a result of [the loss of] the descendant of the three celebrated *Aodh*s, in northern parts fields are not producing [crops]; at this stage, regardless of how much soil is ploughed, no ploughman expects its [producing any] growth.

60. Coill chnuais gan cnuas dala soin
lachtbuair san chruth cheadnasoin
traigh gan tor/. úir gan ioth
talamh tuir nocha toirtheach

61. Dursan mar ta anós aniodh
síon ag reódh dar bhés bruithi$_o$n
sgaoth ag buing foithneadh a húir
fa choim foithreadh gach allbhrúigh

62. Tig gach olc ga ttáthar dhó
déis Aodha as adhbhar iarghnó
teid gach maith uainn ar eachtra
ler bhflaith an uáir imtheachta

[60]. Coill chnuais gan chnuas dá los-soin
lachtbhuair san chruth chéadnasoin
tráigh gan taradh, úir gan ioth
talamh túir nocha toirtheach.

[61]. Dursan mar tá a nós a-niodh
síon ag reódh dar bhéas bruithean
's gaoth ag boing f[h]oichneadh a húir
fa choim fhoithreadh gach allbhrúigh.

[62]. Tig gach olc - gá dáthar dó -
d'éis Aodha as adhbhar iarghnó
téid gach maith uainn ar eachtra
ler bhflaith i n-uair imtheachta.

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60. Because of [the lack of] him, a fruitful forest is devoid of fruit, milch cows are in that same state, beaches yield nothing, soil is cropless [and] tillage land is unproductive.

61. Alas the way the [elements] are behaving now, [with the] weather, which used to be warm, freezing and [with] a wind pulling young corn-blades [even] out of soil [which is] shielded by the groves of every rocky margin.

62. In short, every [conceivable] evil comes in the absence of *Aodh* who is a cause of sorrow; every good thing goes into exile with our prince in time of departure.

63. Cia an énmhaith da airde gloír
nach fhúair se dfhoirm is donóir
go dol dúir tar bhaidhbh bearnuis
a ghairm ag túir tighearnuis

64. Caidhe fós en ainm inghill
nach fuair an seimh suilbhir ghrinn
do bhriogh creicht iorghal laoch lonn
lér traoth eichtfiongal eachtronn

65. Guais dinntleacht aonduine amháin
riomh a theast ninghill nanbháil
tiaghaid uain gan chur a cceill
dol da luadh nocha lan réidh

[63]. Cia an éanmhaith dá airde glóir
nach fuair sé d'fhoirm is d'onóir
go dol d'úr tar bhaidhbh Bearnais,
a ghairm ag túr tighearnais?

[64]. Caidhe fós éanainm inghill
nach fuair an séimh suilbhirghrinn
do bhríogh créichtiorghal laoch lonn
ler thraoth éichtfhionghal eachtrann?

[65]. Guais d'inntleacht aonduine a-mháin
ríomh a theasd n-inghill n-anbháil;
tiaghaid uann gan chur i gcéill;
dul dá luadh nocha láinréidh.

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63. Until he went into the ground in spite of the war-goddess of *Bearnas*, his reputation earning lordship [for him], what is the single good thing of form or of honour that he did not receive?

64. Moreover, what is the single excellent name that the cheerful and pleasant mild one did not receive by dint of [the] wound-inflicting battalions of strong warriors by means of which he suppressed the slaughterous murder [being perpetrated] by foreigners?

65. The enumeration of [all] the accounts [given] of him [which show him in a] worthy and great [light] is a daunting task for the skill of any single person [by himself]; they leave me without being expounded upon; it is not very easy to fail to mention them.

66. Cur a chaithreime a ccuimhne
ciodh acht mana mor dhuilge
sbuailte faghla angne shlim ghloin
na ngarrdha um eirinn iobhroidh

67. Ré nach bhfuair da bhfag/. sé
d(ear)bhthar air díul is dfhínne
nar bhéidir dainm an fhir
sa ghairm san chéim a ccluintir

68. Treabh eile nar fagha an fear
go ría se árus aingeal
gach aon adhbha go ndeach de
acht teach naomh amhra nimhe

[66]. Cur a chaithréime i gcuimhne
ciodh acht mana mórdhuilghe
's buailte faghla an ghnéishlim ghloin
'na ngardha um Éirinn iobhraigh?

[67]. Ré nach fuair dá bhfaghadh sé
dearbhthar air d'iúl is d'fhínné
narbh éidir [béin] d'ainm an fhir
's a ghairm san chéim i gcluintir.

[68]. Treabh eile nar agha an fear
go ria sé áras aingeal;
gach aonadhbha go ndeach de
acht teach naomhamhra nimhe.

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66. Considering [the fact] that the booty pens of the smooth-faced clear one were [cattle] pounds all around yew-abounding *Éire*, what is the recalling of his battle-roll but an occasion of great grief?

67. Considering that his name is [held] in the high esteem it is heard [to be held] in, it is proven of him on the basis of knowledge and evidence that, had his lifespan been longer than it [actally] was, the man's reputation could not be [detracted from].

68. Until he reaches the house of angels, may the man find no other home; may he escape from every single [other] abode except the saintly and wondrous house of heaven.

69. Cuig dheich acht bliaghain abháin
se chéd dég daois ananáil 1649
ag saor na cruinne gan chiaigh
go luidhe dAodh fa úir chriaidh

70. Aonlocht Aodha buidhe abháin
girre a ré ar talmhain tonnbhaín
ruire ceirtgniomh do coimhdhe
neirtghriobh mhoighe modhairne

[NEART]

[69]. Cúig dheich acht bliadhain a-bháin,
sé chéad déag d'aois an annáil
ag saor na cruinne gan chiaigh
go luighe d'Aodh fa úirchriaidh.

[70]. Aonlocht Aodha Buidhe a-bháin
girre a ré ar thalmhain tonnbháin
ruire ceirtghníomh do choimhdhe
neirtghríobh Mhuighe Modhairne.

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69. Without inaccuracy, sixteen hundred and, but for one year, fifty [years] of historical time [have been passed] by the creator of the world until the lying of *Aodh* under [the] soily clay.

70. The one single fault of *Aodh Buidhe*, lord who safeguarded [every] just act, powerful griffin of *Magh Modhairne*, [was] the brevity of his period on [the] fair-surfaced world.

POEM 7 (§ 94)

MS. version: (NLI G. 167, p. 327)

Gofraigh óg m/c an bhaird do rinne
an dánsa don Chalbhach Ruadh m/c Mághnasa
m/c cuinn oíg m/c cuinn m/c an
Chalbhaicch

1. Treoin an cheannais clann dál/.
tar anbhuain g/. enghábhaidh
lucht iongoire na ngniomh ngill
ag dión fionnmhoighe féilim

2. Laoich chrodha as deíne i ndeacr/.
sliocht dál/. m/c muircheart/.
caor shloígh na ttrean tachar ttrom
dan coír céchtach/. cualonn

Edited text:
(see also MS. readings)
NB: As pointed out in the notes,
this relies heavily on McKernan's edition

1. Treóin an cheannais clann Dálaigh;
tar anbhuain gach éanghábhaidh
lucht ionghaire na ngníomh ngill
ag díon fionnmhoighe Féilim.

2. Laoich chródha as déine i ndeacraibh
sliocht Dálaigh mheic Muircheartaigh,
caor shlóigh na dtréantachar dtrom
dan cóir céachtachadh Cualann.

---

1. *Dálach*'s family are the leading strong-men; [they are] a protecting band of great deeds, defending *Féilim*'s fair plain despite the distress of every single danger [they have to face].

2. The progeny of *Dálach* son of *Muircheartach*, band of the host of the strong heavy battles, for whom [possession of] *Cuala*'s ploughfield is right, are brave warriors who are most tough in difficulties.

3. Fál dídin leasa lugh/.
balla coígidh conchubhair
an chlann bheó as measardha modh
easumhla leo snach lamhthor

[3]. Fál dídin leasa Lughaidh,
balla chóigidh Conchubhair
an chlann bheó as mheasardha modh
easumhla leó nach lamhthar.

4. Fada iad in g/. aimsir
ag clódh g/. uilc anaidhbhsigh
na bfiadhaighibh aígh le headh
fa choír ghrianoirir ghaoidheal

[4]. Fada iad i ngach aimsir
ag clódh gach uilc anaidhbhsigh
- 'na bhfiadhaighibh áigh [r]e headh
fa cháir grianoirir Ghaoidheal.

5. Mór fuaradar roimhe riamh
sailghe ceannais guirt gailían
duadh fiad/. braoinleasa breagh
diarr/. aoibhneasa an aithreadh

[5]. Mór fuaradar roimhe riamh
sailghe ceannais ghuirt Gailian
d'ua[t]h fiadhaigh braoinleasa Breagh
d'iarraidh aoibhneasa a n-aithreadh.

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3. The living family whose way is most moderate, non-submissiveness towards whom is not dared [by anyone], are the fence which protects *Lugh*'s rampart, the wall around *Conchubhar*'s province.

4. Long, in every time, have they been overcoming every very excessive evil - [they have been] war hunters for a while [, fighting] over the right of the sunny coast of the *Gaoidheal*s.

5. In pursuit of the happiness enjoyed by their [fore]fathers, the[se] willows who lead *Gailian*'s field have always suffered much of the terror of the hunting of *Breagha*'s watered rampart.

6. Go huain greama do ghabhail
dóibh ar priomhghort párthalain
cinn sloígh i ttrodaibh nar thais
dob obair clódh a cceannais

7. Atá gach enbhuaidh aca
buidhean na ccleas ccurata
na dáloigh sin dar dú geall
i lándoirsibh clú is ceimeann

8. Do chuireadar eang ar eing
clann dal/. na nduas ninghill
dén toil aóbhdha go mbaídh mbrais
laímh fa chaomhna g/. ceannais

6. Go huain greama do ghabháil
dóibh ar phríomhghort Phárthaláin
- cinn shlógh i dtrodaibh nar thais -
dob obair clódh a gceannais.

7. A-tá gach éanbhuaidh aca
buidhean na gcleas gcurata
- na Dálaighsin dan dú geall
i lándoirsibh clú is céimeann.

8. Do chuireadar eang ar eing
- clann Dálaigh na nduas n-inghill -
d'éantoil aobhdha go mbáidh mbrais
láimh fa chaomhna gach ceannais.

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6. Until the time they took hold of *Párthalán*'s foremost field, overcoming the leadership of the[se] heads of hosts, who have never been weak in fights, was a [difficult] task.

7. In the full doors (?) of fame and feats, those descendants of *Dálach*, troop of warriorlike deeds to whom an endorsement [of their excellence] is due, possess every talent.

8. Of one mind [and] with great love [for *Banbha*], *Dálach*'s family of the worthy payments [to poets] have undertaken to protect all leadership, [in] one land after another.

9. Congmhail an cheannais féadhna
ag sin feidhm na finnealbha
laoich ardmuaidhe na sról seang
is clódh anbhuaine eíreann

10. Leanaidh da nós a nosa
an calbhach m/c mághnosa
a fh?eidhm deacra i ccás ní chuir
ar ghnás deighshleachta dál/.

11. Ua na rioghr/. o ráth breagh
sa chosnaimh cEirt a shinsear
barr roimheadhra na ghlaic ghloin
spraic as croidheamhla i cclíath/.

9. Congbháil an cheannais fheadhna
ag sin feidhm na finnealbha
- laoich ar[mn]uaidhe na sról seang -
is clódh anbhuaine Éireann.

10. Leanaidh dá nós a-nosa
An Calbhach mac Maghnasa;
a fheidhmdheacra i gcás ní chuir
ar ghnás deighshleachta Dálaigh.

11. Ua na ríoghraidhe ó ráth Breagh,
[sás] cosnaimh cheirt a shinsear
barr roimheadhra 'na ghlaic ghloin,
sbraic as chroidheamhla i gcliathaibh.

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9. Keeping leadership of the host and overcoming *Éire*'s difficulties - that is the function of the fair flock, new-weaponed warriors of the slender banners.

10. These days, *An Calbhach* son of *Maghnas* adheres to their custom[ary ways]; like [his forebears among] *Dálach*'s good progeny, he does not become concerned over his difficulties in battle.

11. Descendant of the dynasty fom the fort of *Breagha*, one worthy to defend his ancestor's right [who holds] the best of great joy (?) in his clear hand, spark most spirited in battle.

12. Comhla dhorais na deacra
meanma neartmhar naoidheanta
fear cianfhaire ceall is cliar
fiadh/.e na neang nimchian

13. Lámh thoirbheart/. na ttreas ttrom
sás ionnarbtha fhian eachtronn
rosg nemhonta nach nair cruth
én sompla aígh na nultach

14. Milidh cródha nach claon breath
én seabhaic na sealg bfuilt/.
rún diamhair ren doil/. deall
ag iarr/. oirir eíreann

[12]. Comhla dhorais na deacra,
meanma neartmhar naoidheanta,
fear cianfhaire ceall is cliar,
fiadhaidhe na n-eang n-imchian.

[13]. Lámh thoirbheartach na dtreas dtrom,
sás ionnarbtha fhian [n-]eachtrann,
rosg néamhanta nach náir cruth,
éanshompla áigh na n-Ultach.

[14]. Mílidh cródha nach claon breath,
éan seabhaic na sealg bhfuilteach,
rún diamhair ren doiligh deall
ag iarraidh oirir Éireann.

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12. [Door-]leaf of the door of difficulty [in battle], [possessor of] powerful youthful spirits, long-term guardian of clergy and poets, one who hunts [in] faraway lands.

13. Skilled hand of the exacting battles, one capable of the banishment of bands of foreigners, flamelike eye whose appearance is not modest, the Ulstermen's one battle-example.

14. Brave soldier whose judgement is not biassed, hawklike bird of the bloody hunts, [possessor of a] mysterious intention which is difficult to match [in his] seeking of the land of *Éire*.

15. Dearna corcra o chaitheamh sleagh
bráighe dhonn o dhath máill/.
mein rachtmhar chródha chaithmheach
ónna athlamh ionnsaight/.

16. Deagh ua an chalb/. na ccolg sean
dúsg/. aínis mac míleadh
clódh feadhma gasr/. gall
meanma as cobhsaidh cumann

17. Fear gan sgáth re ngraín ghább/.
cuing/. cloinne riogh dhálaigh/
draig chathardha da ccrom cleath
dan fonn athardha uisneach

15. Dearna chorcra ó chaitheamh sleagh,
bráighe dhonn ó dhath máill[eadh],
méin rathmhar, chródha, chaithmheach,
ónna, athlamh, ionnsaightheach.

16. Deaghua An Chalbhaigh na gcolg sean,
dúsgadh áinis mhac Míleadh,
clódh feadhma ghasraidhe Gall,
meanma as ch[asmhaile] cumann.

17. Fear gan sgáth re ngráin gábhaidh,
cuingidh chloinne ríoghDhálaigh,
draig chathardha dá gcrom cleath,
dan fonn athardha Uisneach.

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15. [He has a] purple palm from the throwing of spears, a rust-coloured neck from the colour of links [of chainmail and] a fortunate, courageous, generous, impetuous, enthusiastic, pugnacious disposition.

16. [He is] the good descendant of *An Calbhach* of the ancient blades, one who awakens the joy of *Míl*'s sons, one who overcomes the [military] efforts of a host of foreigners [and the possessor of] a personality whose friendship is most proper.

17. The leader of royal *Dálach*'s family is a man devoid of fear of the horror[s] of battle, an urbane (?) dragon for whom a spear stoops whose ancestral land is *Uisneach*.

18. Inis banbha an fhuinn eal/.
dual dó is da shinnsearaibh
crioch gheíg gheal do choth/. conn
dochair a heigean daltrom

19. Maith deirinn as úr tolcha
clú an chalb/. os da comhortha
a lámh sa neartlann go neimh
ag clódh eachtrann da himlibh

20. Os le hiomchur a anshóidh
fríth ceannus puirt pártholoín
leis o ngealchuinn buaidh sa brugh
gruaidh dan cearchuill an cog/.

18. Inis Banbha an fhuinn ealaigh
dual dó [agu]s dá shinsearaibh
- críoch ghéiggeal do choth[aigh] Conn -
dochair a héigean d'altram.

19. Maith d'Éirinn as úr tolcha
clú An Chalbhaigh [']s dá comhartha
a lámh 's a neartlann go neimh
ag cládh eachtrann dá himlibh.

20. Ós le hiomchar a anshóidh
fríoth ceannas puirt Párthalóin
(?) [is le ó g]ealChuinn buaidh sa b[h]rugh
gruaidh dan cearchaill an cogadh.

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18. Taking on [the curing] of the difficulties caused by the crises which face the island of *Banbha* of the swan-filled plain, bright branched territory which *Conn* [*Céadchathach*] nurtured, is [a task that is] native to him and to his ancestors.

19. *An Calbhach*'s fame, his power and his venomous powerful sword, defeating foreigners [and expelling them] from her margins, are good for *Éire* whose hills are fresh and for her appearance (?).

20. Since it by means of bearing her misery [on her behalf] that leadersip of *Párthalón*'s shore has [always] been received, victory in the home[land of Ireland] belongs [by right] to bright *Conn*'s grandson (?), cheek whose pillow is war.

21. In enamm go soiche so
do reír eolais na heagno
ni fríth riamh sochar mar soin
nach biadh dochar na dheadh/.

22. Conn cedchathach na ttreas tte
le neart gliaidh tárr/. treise
gor shnaidhm ceartchuir bruaigh banbha
le buaidh neartmhuir nathardha

23. Feacht da raibhe conn na ccath
i cceannus tolcha teamhrach
gor bhuail imreasain áigh air
fa fhinnleasaibh claír cobhth/.

[21]. In éanam go soiche so,
do réir eólais na heagna,
ní fríoth riamh sochar mar soin
nach biadh dochar 'na dheaghaidh.

[22]. Conn Céadchathach na dtreas dte
le neartgliaidh tárraidh treise
gur shnaidhm ceartchuir bruaigh Banbha
le buaidh neartmhair nathardha.

[23]. Feacht dá raibhe Conn na gcath
i gceannas tholcha Teamhrach
gur bhuail imreasain áigh air
fa fhinnleasaibh chláir Cobhthaigh.

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21. According to the guidance [given by] wisdom, profit like that has n[ever], in any time up to this [present time], been received without being followed by loss.

22. *Conn Céadchathach* of the heated battles achieved strength by power of war - so [it can be seen] that the rightful contracts of *Banbha*'s shore were made (?) by means of a venomous, powerful victory.

23. [It was] a time when *Conn* of the battles was in control of the hill of *Teamhair* until military contention over the fair enclosures of *Cobhthach*'s plain befell him.

24. Mac mogha néid mun am sin
os mumhain bhuig bhuanaidhbhsigh
do chuir sé cog/. ar chonn
dar hobadh é má a fhearonn

[24]. Mac Mogha Néid mun n-aimsin
ós Mumhain bhuig bh[rao]naidhbhsigh;
do chuir sé cogadh ar Chonn
dar hobadh é 'ma fhearann.

25. Ionnarbthar le conn ciall/.
eoghan gon a ardfhianaibh
do?n spáinn mhín ghlenuaidhe ghil
o thír fhéruaine eímhir

[25]. Ionnarbthar le Conn ciallaidh
Eóghan go n-a airdfhianaibh
don Sbáinn mhín ghléanuaidhe ghil
ó thír fhéaruaine Éibhir.

26. Naoi mbl/.na do bhí ag fuir/.
eidir fhianaibh allmhurrach
gan buaín re bláthach/. breagh
da tháthach/. uaidh déig/

[26]. Naoi mbliadhna do bhí ag fuireach
eidir fhianaibh allmhu[i]r[e]ach
gan bhuain re bláthachadh Breagh
dá tháthachadh uaidh d'éigean.

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24. At that time, *Mogh Néid*'s son ruled soft Munster of the huge [rain]drops (?); he waged a war on *Conn* as a result of which he was refused [control] of his [own] lands.

25. *Eóghan* and his noble [warrior-]bands are expelled from *Éibhear*'s green-grassed country to smooth, clear, fresh, bright Spain by reasonable *Conn*.

26. It was for nine years that [*Eóghan*] was waiting among foreigner [warrior-]bands, without meddling with *Breagha*'s field of flowers, to take it from [*Conn*] by force.

27. Tiaghaid iar sin go fonn bfáil
buidhean ádhbhal on easpaínn
go breacbanbha na mbrogh mbog
le mogh neartchalma nuadhod

28. Iarrthur cath no cuid deírinn
ar mhac feargach finnfheilím
o eóg/ mhór mheírsheang mhear
ar shlógh eireann dob eígean

29. Leath banbha na mbrugh náolta
tug conn deagla easaonta
cur beoghal i ccruaidh conf/.
uaidh deóg/ s da allmhurrchaibh

[27]. Tiaghaid iar sin go fonn bhFáil
buidhean adhbhal ón Easbáinn
go breacBhanbha na mbrogh mbog
le Mogh neartchalma Nuadhad.

[28]. Iarrthar cath nó cuid d'Éirinn
ar mhac feargach finnFhéilim
ó Eóghan mhór mhéirsheang mhear;
ar shlógh Éireann dob éigean.

[29]. Leath Banbha na mbrugh n-aolta
tug Conn d'eagla easaonta
- cur beóghal i gcruaidh confaidh -
uaidh d'Eóghan 's dá allmharchaibh.

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27. After that, a huge host comes from Spain to the plain of *Fál*, to speckled *Banbha* of the soft home[stead]s, in the company of powerful and brave *Mogh Nuadhad*.

28. Fair *Féilim*'s angry son is asked for battle or a part of *Éire* by great, slender-fingered, impetuous *Eóghan*; it was a crisis for the host of *Éire*.

29. For fear of disunity, *Conn*, warrior of living flames in the tough of the fight, gave away half of *Banbha* of the lime[washe]d home[stead]s to *Eóghan* and his foreigners.

30. Nir mhó na ré bliadhna ar bail
do bhí an roinnsi ag na rioghaibh
crioch andaghshluaigh armdha fhinn
da ttárla anbhuain déirínn

31. Faomhthar o chonn fa gér ga
roinn tar cheart do chrích fhódla
drong armfhuil/. nar fhoir n/t
i ndoigh allmhurr/. dimtheacht

32. Do bhí ag eog/ re a aghaidh
fiche céd do churadhaibh
fian armghlan ler cuir/. caín
buidhean ádhbhal on easpáinn

30. Níor mhó iná ré bliadhna ar bail
do bhí an roinnse ag na ríoghaibh
críoch an daghshluaigh armdha fhinn
dá dtarla anbhuain d'Éirinn.

31. Faomhthar ó Chunn fa géar ga
roinn tar cheart do chrích Fódla
- drong armfhuileach nar fhóir neart -
i ndóigh allmhu[i]r[e]ach d'imtheacht.

32. Do bhí ag Eóghan re a aghaidh
fiche chéad do churadhaibh
- fian armghlan ler cuireadh cáin,
buidhean adhbhal ón Easbáinn.

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30. It was for no more than the period of a year that the kings prosperously had that division as a result of which torment befell *Éire*, territory of the good, [well-]armed, fair host.

31. An unjust share of the territory of *Fódla* is accepted by *Conn*, whose spear was sharp, in the hope of [the] foreigners, a bloody-weaponed band who did not help [the retention by him of his] power, departing.

32. [Arrayed] against him, *Eóghan* had twenty hundred warriors, a clear-weaponed [soldier-]band by whom tax was imposed, a huge host from Spain.

33. Ni bhiaimne feasda ag fuir/.
dob é aitheasg allmhurrach
i ccrích leasaolta bfinn bfáil
s nach linn easaonta dfagháil

[33]. "Ní bhiaim-ne feasda ag fuireach"
dob é aitheasg allmhu[i]r[e]ach
"i gcrích leasaolta fhinn Fháil
's nach linn easaonta d'fhagháil".

34. Do ráidh eóg/ na ttreas tte
ni gheabhsa o chonn ceart críche
triath o chruaidhfhorloinn nar fhan
g/ comhroinn cuain no cog/.

[34]. Do ráidh Eóghan na dtreas dte,
"ní ghéabhsa ó Chunn ceart críche"
- triath ó chruaidh fhorlainn nar fhan -
"gan chomhroinn cuain nó cogadh".

35. Le briathraibh caoine an chur/.
do anadar allmhuraigh
do mhian cathaighthe le conn
fa fhiadh clachfhoirbhthe cualonn

[35]. Le briathraibh caoine [ó]n churaidh
do anadar allmharaigh
do mhian cathaighthe [r]e Conn
fa fhiadh clachfhoirbhthe Cualann.

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33. What the foreigners said was: "We will wait no longer in *Fál*'s fair territory of the lime[washe]d ramparts since it is not our lot to see disunity".

34. *Eóghan* of the heated battles, a lord who never stayed away from the hardship of fighting, said: "I will not get a just territorial division from *Conn* without equal apportionment of harbour (?) or war".

35. With [these] fair words from the warrior, [the] foreigners stayed - out of a desire to fight with *Conn* over *Cuala*'s land of the perfect stones.

36. Tineoltear leó leath ar leath
go muigh léana alión taoiseach
gor mharbh conn eoghan amhra
sa drong deor/. danardha

37. Mac feilim na mbarc mbeann/.
cairptheoir aigh na neírionn/.
clár bogarsaigh banbha a le
tárla on obarsoin aige

38. Ionann breathnug/. da mbrath
conn cédchathach san calbhach
roinn ara ceart sonn?/. ni chuir
na goill eachtronn/. eoghuin

[36]. Tionóltar leó leath ar leath
go Moigh Léana a líon taoiseach
gur mharbh Conn Eóghan amhra
's a dhrong d[h]eóradh d[h]anardha.

[37]. Mac Féilim na mbarc mbeannach,
cairptheóir áigh na n-Éireannach,
clár bogarsaidh Banbha a-le
tarla ón obarsoin aige.

[38]. Ionann breathnaghadh dá mbrath
Conn céadchathach 's An Calbhach:
roinn a[r] ceartfhonnaibh ní chuir;
na Goill eachtrannaigh Eóghain.

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36. On both sides, their complement of lords is summoned by [each of] them to *Magh Léana*, with the result that *Conn* killed wondrous *Eóghan* and his fierce band of exiles.

37. Henceforth, as a result of that action, the son of *Féilim* of the masted ships, battle charioteer of the *Éireannaigh*, had [possession of] the soft and ancient plain of *Banbha*.

38. The expectations of *Conn Céadchathach* and *An Calbhach* look the same [to me]: [t]he [latter] does not divide his rightful lands; the *Galls* [of present day Ireland] are [represented in the apologue by] *Eóghan*'s foreigners.

39. Gebhaidh um cheart claír fódla
an calbhach an comhfhógra
fuairsiod gaoidhil brúigh banbha
on dluimh dhaoin/. dhanardha

40. Gluais/. sé coimhlion catha
dairsidhibh fhoíd fhionnmhacha
lucht na cceimeann ccruaidh cconf/.
do bhuain eirionn deachtronnch/.

41. Dioghl/. orthaibh g/ fhuir/.
an drong uathmhar allmhurr/.
a shúr gliaidh diomard/. air
fa fhíadh bfionnardghlan bfionntain

[39]. Géabhaidh um cheart chláir Fódla
An Calbhach an comhfhógra
fuairsead Gaoidhil bhrúigh Banbha
ón dlúimh dhaoinigh dhanardha.

[40]. Gluaiseadh sé coimhlíon catha
d'áirsidhibh fhóid fhionnMhacha
- lucht na gcéimeann gcruaidh gconfaidh -
do bhuain Éireann d'eachtrannchaibh.

[41]. Díoghladh orthaibh gan fhuireach
an drong uathmhar allmhu[i]r[e]ach
a shúr gliadh d'iomardadh air
fa fhiadh bhfionnardghlan bhFionntain.

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39. *An Calbhach* will receive the same challenge over the right[s] of *Fódla*'s land that the *Gaoidheal*s of *Banbha*'s shore received from the fierce foreign band.

40. To take *Éire* from foreigners, let him mobilise with an equal battle-complement of the veteran [soldier]s of fair [*Eamhain*] *Mhacha*'s land, company of the tough martial actions.

41. Without delay, let him avenge being reproached for seeking battle on the terrible band of foreigners [and let him do so] throughout *Fionntan*'s fair, noble and pure land.

42. Grios/. leis i cceann cog/.
deírghe athlamh enphobail
roighne slóigh cathardha cuinn
na mbroín nathardha náluinn

43. Mac mághnusa nach mall cuing
brath cabhra críche conuill
go sgrios gall buanleasa breagh
barr suaimhneasa na sireadh

44. Beanadh diól na ndeach/. dhe
do choicédaibh chuain doire
s do chruachain chuinn s do chnóghbha
don druing uathmhair allmórdha

42. Gríos[thar] leis i gceann cogaidh
d'éirghe athlamh éanphobail
roighne shlóigh chathardha Cuinn
'na mbróin athardha álainn.

43. Mac Maghnasa nach mall cuing,
brath cabhra chríche Conaill,
go sgrios Gall bhuainleasa Breagh
barr suaimhneasa ná sireadh.

44. Beanadh díol 'na ndeachaidh de
do [t]hoic[ea]daibh chuain Doire
's do Chruachain Chuinn 's do Chnodhbha
don druing uathmhair allmhardha.

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42. By means of an eager arising of a single people as a beautiful ancestral phalanx, may the flowers of *Conn*'s urbane (?) host be incited by him to [wage] war.

43. Until the destruction of the *Galls* of *Breagha*'s lasting rampart [has been accomplished by him], let *Maghnas*'s son, the hope for help of *Conall*'s territory, [one] whose sway is not insignificant (?), not seek the best of ease [for himself].

44. Let him exact recompense for all he has lost of the riches (?) of the harbour of *Doire* and of *Conn*'s *Cruachain* and of *Chodhbha* from the terrible foreign band.

45. Tabhradh fós as fEirde arath
dfeolbhach cniochtghall claír teamhrach
biadh dfaolchonaibh go moíd mhir
le laochr/.aibh fhoíd oiligh

46. Réidhighthear leis leith ar leith
dealtain brainéon béol neimhneach
raon tre choillidh caoilshleagh ccorr
ar bhroinnibh aoidh/. eachtronn

47. Cosnadhsan críocha na sean
le cuideachadh mac mileadh
clár coirmfhionnghlan cuan dor
ar shluagh longlíonmhar lonndon

[45]. Tabhradh fós - is feirrde a rath -
d'fheólbhach cniochtGhall chláir Teamhrach
biadh d'fhaolchonaibh go móid mhir
le laochradhaibh fhóid Oiligh.

[46]. Réidhighthear leis leath ar leath
d'ealtain bhraineán mbéal neimhneach
raon tre choillidh caoilshleagh gcorr
ar bhroinnibh aoidheadh n-eachtrann.

[47]. Cosnadhsan críocha na sean
le cuideachadh mhac Míleadh
[...]c[h]lár coirmfh[íon]ghlan c[h]uan [n]Dor
ar shluagh lo[i]nglíonmhar London.

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45. Furthermore, in the company of the warriors of the land of *Oileach*, let him give food to wolves by [feeding them] the carrion of the soldier foreigners of *Teamhair*'s plain with a savage oath - his prosperity will be the better for it.

46. Time after time (?), [when he is] fighting against [the] foreign guests, let a path be driven by him through a forest of slender pointed (?) spears for [the benefit] of a flock of bitter-beaked ravens.

47. With the help of *Míl*'s descendants, let him protect the territories of the ancients, [...] plain of *Dor*'s harbours of the goblets of pure wine, against London's host of the many ships.

48. Na biodh do tharbha a ttag/.
acht a rádh go rabhadar
i cclár bfinnlíggheal bfear bfáil
bean imdhídean da nanaír

[48]. Ná bíodh do tharbha a dtagaidh
acht a rádh go rabhada[i]r
i gclár [fh]innlíghgeal [fh]ear bhFáil!
- bean imdhídean dá n-anáir!

49. A spraic ona fann fear foghla
a ghlór mearrdha measordha
a cosg gleó dhocra a ghrádh ban
a lámh bheóghonta biodhb/.

[49]. A sbraic ó[n] fann fear foghla,
a ghlór meardha measardha,
a chosg gleódhocra, a ghrádh ban,
a lámh bheóghonta biodhbhadh.

50. A mhíl/. go méd ratha
a imeachtraigh árdratha
a sgrios daorchuinge chraoi cuinn
a Naoi caomh chluinne conuill

[50]. A mhílidh go méad ratha,
a imeachtraigh ardratha,
a sgrios daorchuinge chraoi Cuinn,
a Naoi caomhchloinne Conaill.

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48. Deprive their honour of [its] protection! Let the only result of their [present] well-being be that it will be said that they were [once] in the fair and bright-coloured plain of the men of *Fál*!

49. O [man of] vigour which makes a plunderer weak, O [possessor of an] energetic [and] moderate voice, O preventer of martial difficulty, O darling of women, O hand which fatally wounds enemies.

50. O highly successful soldier, O outsider of great good-fortune, O [one who brings about the] destruction of the yoke of enslavement of *Conn*'s home, O Noah of *Conall*'s fair family.

51. A sgiath imdhidin tfhine
da labhraid lucht fáisdine
a bhris/. siódha a chosg cean
a phosd dióna na ndraoidh/.

52. A eó aigeín na teannta
a dhraig neartmhar naoidheanta
a shódh daghbhuaidhe os g/. dionn
a chlódh anbhuaine eírionn

53. A rúndochas coluim caídh
a gheall/. brEithre bearchaín
deaghfhál do dhión ar dheacraibh
dar sgriobh seanan saoileachtain

51. A sgiath imdhídin t'fhine
dá labhraid lucht fáisdine,
a bhriseadh síodha, a chosg cean,
a phosd díona na ndraoidheadh.

52. A eó aigéin ('na [d]teannta),
a dhraig neartmhar naoidheanta,
a shódh daghbhuaidhe ós gach dionn,
a chlódh anbhuaine Éireann.

53. A rúndóchas Colaim cháidh,
a ghealladh bréithre Bearcháin
- deaghfhál do dhíon ar dheacraibh
dar sgríobh Seanán saoileachtain.

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51. O protecting shield of your race, [O one] of whom prophets speak, O breaker of [the] peace, O preventer of crimes, O roofing-pillar of the druids.

52. Along with them [i. e. these compliments already given]: O ocean salmon, O powerful youthful dragon, O cause (?) of [the winning of] good victory over every fortress, O [one who brings about the] destruction of *Éire*'s anxiety.

53. O secret hope of beautiful *Colam* [*Cille*], O [subject of] what the word of *Bearchán* promised, [you are a] good fence to protect against difficulties of whom *Seanán* wrote [down his] expectation.

54. Do thairrngir fionn fEirde de
is fuair bearchán na bhuile
fear thanma tar aon eile
dot thaobh tárla an tairngire

55. Suirghe ribh ag ráith eamhna
s ag suilibh na sEin teamhra
a chaithchnis gan cuing ccroidhe
daithris cuinn is conoire

56. Airdeoch/. fós gan taom ttais
meanma gliaidh buidhne bearnáis
le dfeadhmoibh luídh is lámh/.
sléd mheanmuin uír ioldhanaigh

54. Do thairngir Fionn - feirrde de -
[do chuir Ciarán i gcuimhne]
fear th'anma tar aon eile;
dod thaobh tarla an tairngire.

55. Suirghe ribh ag ráith Eamhna
's ag súilibh na seinTeamhra,
a chaithchnis gan chuing gcroidhe,
d'aithris Chuinn is Chonaire.

56. Airdeóchaidh fós gan taom dtais
meanma gliadh bhuidhne Bearnais
le [t]'fheadhmaibh lúidh is lámhaigh
's led mheanmain úir ioldánaigh.

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54. In preference to anyone else, *Fionn* prophesied [the advent of] a man of your name - it is the better for it - and *Ciarán* committed [such a man] to [the] memory [of future generations]; it is to you the prophecy refers.

55. In imitation of [their behaviour towards] *Conn* and *Conaire*, the fort of *Eamhain* and the eyes of ancient *Teamhair* are courting you, O battle-armour devoid of a yoke of the heart [through marriage to a territory (?)].

56. With no [relapsing into a] fit of gentleness [on their part], the martial spirits of *Bearnas*'s troop will rise yet with your feats of dexterity and marksmanship and with your noble, many-gifted mind.

57. Ni lugha uídh oiligh neíd
ag leanmhain ar do leitheíd
i ndoígh cabhra da cneadhaibh
tárla a óidh ar thoileamhain

58. A chalb/. do char tusa
dfurtacht an fhuinn loghusa
go beín a dhocrachta dhe
ceím socrachta nach sirthe
[TREOIN]

59. [Donnch/. m/c neill m/c donnch/.
sás múchta gach confaidh
tosach gach garma dó de
gá tarbha as mó budh maoidhte]

57. Ní lugha úidh Oiligh Néid
ag leanmhain ar do leithéid
i ndóigh chabhra dá c[h]neadhaibh;
tarla a óidh ar th'oileamhain.

58. A Chalbhaigh, do char tusa
d'fhurtacht an fhuinn Loghasa
go béin a dhocrachta de
céim socrachta nach sir**the**.
[TREÓIN]

59. Donnchadh mac Néill m(?)heic Donnchaidh.
sás múchta gach [mór]c[h]onfaidh
tosach gach garma dó de
- gá tarbha as mhó budh maoidh**te**?

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57. In hope that its wounds will be helped, no less is the attention of *Oileach Néid* following [with interest the activities of] the likes of you; it has paid attention to your upbringing.

58. O *Calbhach*, to help this land of *Lugh* until its difficulty is taken from it, you have chosen [the performance of] a beneficial deed that should not be sought after (?)

59. *Donnchadh*, son of *Niall*, son of *Donnchadh* (?) [is] the means by which all great rage is quenched; as a result of this, the best of all praise goes to him; what benefit could be boasted of more?

60. Inghean uatéir nach claon cor
aigneadh mín caidreabh miodhchor
bean ga mbí a tréidhe ar togha
as sí an fhéile a heanrogha

61. Nós na suibhneach gan dol di
tug eibhilin da hairi
ni neamhdhoichte ceím i ccorp
ar mhein dhearlaicthe ar dhaonnocht

62. Le heibhilin berthear breath
duaisle iomlain is deineach
cruth soillseach le dErbhdhiol nduas
geilghriobh as coims/. coguas

[60]. Inghean Uaitéir nach claon c[ui]r
aigneadh [caoin], caidreamh mio[chair]
bean 'ga mbí a tréidhe ar togha
- is sí an fhéile a héanrogha.

[61]. Nós na Suibhneach gan dol di
tug Eibhilín dá haire
ní neamhdhoichte céim a gcorp
ar mhéin dhearlaicthe, ar dhaonnacht.

[62]. Le hEibhilín beirthear breath
d'uaisle iomláin is d'eineach
cruth soillseach le deirbhdhíol nduas
geilghríobh as choimseach coguas.

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60. *Uaitéar*'s daughter [of the] gentle personality [and] kind [ways in] friendship, whose contracts are n[ever] dishonourable, is a woman whose [good] traits are choice.

61. Since it has not left her, *Eibhilín* takes the [traditional] way of the [*Mac*] *Suibhne*s to her heart - not weak the deed[s] of their bodies in the matters of giving and of humanity.

62. Out of [her] complete nobility and honour, it is by *Eibhilín* - bright form, bright griffin whose conscience is seemly - that a [generous] judgement is made by means of the sure payment of rewards.

63. As daing/ b/. coír a chur
geall féile a hucht a hathur
post rinnghrinn ráith is reachta
flaith dob inghill nuaisleachta
[TREOIN]

[63]. Is daingean budh cóir a chur
geall féile a hucht a hathar
posd rinnghrinn raith is reachta
flaith dob inghill n-uaisleach**ta**.

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63. Because of her father - sharp-pointed pillar as regards [the] wellbeing [of those he ruled over] and [his own upholding of the] law, a lord who was worthy in the matter of nobility - it is certain that an endorsement for generosity should be given [to her].

POEM 8

MS. version: (NLI G. 167, p. 332)

An Gofr/. og reimhsgriobhtha do rinne
so don Chalbach cheattna

1. Deireadh flaithis ag feín gall
mith/. dhoíbh tra re tamall
a fiadh fólla na bfér lag
a bfógra da sén sealad

2. Ma fuairseat tar toil treimsi
ceannas an chraoi féilimsi
as tráth le a ttréan do thoidheacht
ni gnáth séan gan sealaigheacht

Edited text:
(no other MSS. consulted)

1. **Deireadh** flaithis ag féin Gall
- mithidh dóibh, trá, re tamall -
i [bh]fiadh Fódla na bhféar lag
a bhfógra dá séan sealad.

2. Má fuairsead tar toil treimhse
ceannas an chraoi Féilimse,
is tráth [r]e a dtréan do thoidheacht
- ní gnáth séan gan sealaidheacht.

---

1. It has been timely, for a while past, for the ending of the *Gall*-host's sovereignty and for their banishment from their monopolisation of power in *Fódla*'s land of the gentle grasses.

2. If, for a while, they gained control over this enclosure of *Féilim* by force, it is [now] time to oppose their hegemony - prosperity is rare without alternation of sovereignty.

3. Nir geall/. dhóibh (dia do rath)
do reír fhírfhis na neolach
ar thír chaithcheann chuain line
acht uain aithghearr aimsire

[3]. Níor gealladh dóibh - dia do rath! -
do réir fhírfhis na n-eólach,
ar thír chaitcheann chuain Line
acht uain aithghearr aimsire.

4. Tricha bliadhain gibe lais
ata siad i seilbh cheannais
an fíoch dadhnadh as dú dhe
nar labhradh riú fan Ríghe

[4]. Tríocha bliadhain gi-bé lais
a-tá siad i seilbh cheannais;
an fíoch d'adhnadh is dú de
nar labhradh rú fan ríghe.

5. Do geall/. dhoibh na dhiaidh sin
go bfiochf/. fiochrún coguidh
eidir fhoír gaoidheal is gall
nar dhóigh le haoinfhear dfulang

[5]. Do gealladh dóibh 'na dhiaidh soin
go bhfiochfadh fíochrún cogaidh
eidir fhóir Gaoidheal is Gall
nar dhóigh le haoinfhear d'fhulang.

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3. According to the sages' true lore, they were only promised a very short time in control of the land owned in common by the family of *Line*. [They have had] enough good fortune!

4. They have been in control for thirty-something years; [the fact] that they have not been spoken to regarding the kingship is enough to enkindle rage.

5. They were promised that a fierce warlike intention, which no man was likely to withstand, would burst forth after that among the host of *Gaoidheal*s and *Gall*s.

6. As amhluidh do eirigh dháibh
deís a ttroda tuar achlaín
cur poír g/. gaoidh/ da ghreim
gan dóigh aoinfhir re heirinn

[6]. Is amhlaidh do éirigh dáibh
d'éis a dtroda - tuar achláin! -
cur póir gach Gaoidhil dá ghreim
gan dóigh aoinfhir re hÉirinn.

7. An cogadh cédna i cceann trill
do gheall g/. fáidh diúl fhoirtill
go mbiadh an tathadhn/. air
fa fhiadh ccatharmghlan ccobhth/.

[7]. An cogadh céadna i gceann trill
do gheall gach fáidh d'iúl fhoirtill
go mbiadh an t-athadhnadh air
fa fhiadh gcatharmghlan gCobhthaigh.

8. Ni hionann san uair roimhe
fuighle naomh fuinn Ughoíne
budh follas fódmhag na bfionn
ar chomas fódmhagh eirionn

[8]. Ní hionann 's an uair roimhe
- fuighle naomh fhuinn Ughaine -
budh follas fódmhagh na bhfionn
ar chomas ógbhadh n-Éireann.

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6. This is what befell them after them fighting [the foreigners]: the dispossession of the seed of every *Gaoidheal* with no man having [any] hope for *Éire* - how heart-rending!

7. On the basis of sound knowledge, every prophet promised that, after a time, there would be a re-kindling of the same war throughout *Cobhthach*'s land of the clear battle-weapons.

8. Unlike the previous time, the plain of the fair ones will be clearly under the control of *Éire*'s warrior-bands - this is what the saints of *Ughaine*'s land say.

9. Na fuilng/. si ad fódla i bfad
fa ansmacht neirt a námhad
dream sa ndoígh i ndlús a sleagh
da m/. tús doíbh as deireadh

9. Ná fuilngeadh siad Fódla i bhfad
fa ansmacht neirt a námhad
dream 's a ndóigh i ndlús a sleagh
dá madh tús dóibh a[r] deireadh.

10. As olc tra nach ttuigid goill
gidh diol ceana clár criomhthuinn
ar a maitheas nach bia bail
flaitheas ní ría da rochtain

10. Is olc, trá, nach tuigid Goill
- gidh díol ceana clár Criomhthainn -
ar a maitheas nach bia bail;
flaitheas ní ria dá rochtain.

11. Dfein banbha ni beite i nglas
doibh fein as cuibhdhe an ceannas
crioch trom na ndosmhagh ndathach
do chosnadh Conn cédchathach

11. D'fhéin Banbha ní beite i nglas;
dóibh féin as chuibhdhe an ceannas
- críoch throm na ndosmhagh ndathach
do chosnadh Conn Céadchathach.

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9. Let the band whose trust is in the closeness of their spears - the factor which will give them leadership in the end - not suffer *Fódla* to be under the tyranny of their enemies' power for long.

10. Indeed, an evil the *Gall*s do not understand is that, though *Criomhthann*'s plain is worthy of love, they will not prosper or obtain sovereignty.

11. The host of *Banbha* - fruitful territory of the beautiful watered plains, which *Conn Céadchathach* used to rule - should not be constrained; it is to them the sovereignty is proper.

12. Dol do theúgh/. a teall/.
mithidh don fhuil eíreannaigh
le cach as cian o do clos
gur gnáth diall ris an dúthchos

[12]. Dol do théaghadh a teallaigh
mithidh don fhuil Éireannaigh;
le cách is cian ó do-clos
gur gnáth diall ris an ndúthchas.

13. D easb/. duine dar dú geall
da ngéillf/. cách go coitcheann
tug éire o én bhaídh do chor
fa ghleire fenshluaigh Saxon

[13]. Easbhaidh duine dar dú geall
dá ngéillfeadh cách go coitcheann,
tug Éire ó éanbhuaidh do chur
fa ghléire séanshluaigh Saxon.

14. Do bhraithfinn fein dinis ír
oircheas doígh a craobh ceiníl
slat dan coír cabhair a cneadh
do dhaghfhuil mhoír Mhac míleadh

[14]. Do bhraithfinn féin d'inis Ír
- oircheas dóigh a craobh ceiníl -
slat dan cóir cabhair a cneadh
do dhaghfhuil mhóir mhac Míleadh.

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12. It is time for *Éire*'s race to go to warm her hearth [thereby symbolising possession of her]; it is long since it was heard by all that persisting in traditional ways is customary.

13. It is the lack of a person to whom a promise was proper, to whom all would submit, that has caused *Éire* to be placed under [the control of] the elite of a fortunate host of Saxons by means of a single victory.

14. I would myself point out to *Íor*'s island a scion of the great blood[line] of *Míl*'s sons to whom tending her wounds is appropriate; her racial branches should be hopeful.

15. Air an tansa tárla ar mbrath
mor Mhac Maghnasa an Calb/.
ua ceidleannaín clair na nart
daígh da heigeandail dfurtacht

16. Dó as cuibhdhe cosg a gáb/.
smior compuir crú Rioghdhál/.
sas dó as eigean agh/ air
do chabhair ceídeadh cobhthaigh

17. Dhe thiocfas o thárla i ndán
cosmhuil mar do chan Bearchán
dol do tháth banbha as a broid
ni gnath tarbha g/ treabhloid

15. Air an tansa tarla ar mbrath
mórmhac Maghnasa, An Calbhach,
ua céidleannáin chláir na n-Art,
dáigh dá héigneadháil d'fhurtacht.

16. Dó as chuibhdhe cosg a gábhaidh,
smior compair chrú ríoghDhálaigh,
's is dó as éigean aghaidh air
do chabhair chéideadh Cobhthaigh.

17. De thiocfas, ó tharla i ndán,
cosmhail mar do chan Bearchán,
dol do tháth Banbha as a broid
- ní gnáth tarbha gan treabhloid.

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15. It is on him that we now depend, *Maghnas*'s great son, *An Calbhach*, descendant of the first lover of the plain of the *Arts*, one [who is] likely to help her [in her] miserable state.

16. It is to the breast-marrow of royal *Dálach*'s line that the staunching of the danger she is in is most proper - and, [in order] to help *Cobhthach*'s land, he must undertake it.

17. Since it happens to be fated, it is he who will prove capable, just as *Bearchán* said, of going about rallying *Banbha* from her bondage - profit is not usual without tribulation.

18. Mar tá fuil Neill a nosa
tuigthe do Mhac Mághnosa
dol a mbáthadh nach dual di
ge tathar go huar uimpi

19. Fuighle ar naomh go soichthe so
da bfreimh fein fear a cabhra
siól fionndhál/. foíd breagh
ioldhan/. na ccoig ccoigeadh

20. Os gar dúin an uair eile
sgor fiór teacht na tairrngeire
coír do gheal chuinn ngliadh sean
o tá i ndán go ndingeantar

18. Mar tá fuil Néill a-nosa
tuigthe do mhac Maghnasa
dol i mbáthadh nach dual di
gé táthar go huar uimpi.

19. Fuighle ar naomh go soiche so:
dá bhfréimh féin fear a cabhra,
[de] shíol fhionnDálaigh fhóid Breagh,
ioldánaigh na gcóig gcóigeadh.

20. Ós gar dúinn an uair eile
's gur fíor teacht na tairngire
cóir d'[ú] ghealChuinn [na] ngliadh sean
[.....]

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18. Although there are those who are indifferent towards it, the son of *Maghnas* must understand the state *Niall*'s blood[line], for which being overwhelmed is not natural, is in at present.

19. What our saints have said hitherto is that her helper is of their own root, of the seed of fair *Dálach* of the plain of *Breagh*, the highly accomplished ones of the five provinces.

20. Since that time is close at hand and since the prophecy will come true, the descendant of bright *Conn* of the ancient battles should ....

21. Díbirt na ngall uainn déntoil
o tá i ndán go ndingéntar
dó as cosmhuile clódh a tteinn
do shlógh frosmhoighe feilim

22. Na gabhadh oireacht eamhna
graín le cor na cinneamhna
mór ní as dochar le duine
do ni sochur siórrdhuidhe

23. Ma fuair gein gur lainn leis
dochar ag dion an fhlaitheis
roimhe atá mar tárla a ceart
lá a tarbha do thoidheacht

[21]. Díbirt na nGall uainn d'éantoil
ó tá i ndán go ndingéantair,
dó as chosmhaile clódh a dteinn
do shlógh frosmhoighe Féilim.

[22]. Ná gabhadh oireacht Eamhna
gráin [r]e [g]cor na cinneamhna
- mór ní as dochar le duine
do-ní sochar síordhaidhe.

[23]. Má fuair, gion g[omadh] lainn leis,
dochar ag díon an fhlaithis
roimhe a-tá, mar tarla, a c[h]eart
lá na tarbha do thoidheacht.

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21. Since it is fated that the *Galls* will be expelled as a result of one man's will, it is he who is [the one] most likely, of [all] the host of *Féilim*'s watered plain, to overcome their strength.

22. Let *Eamhain*'s nobility not be in horror of the vicissitudes of fate - many are the things that seem to a person to be harmful [and yet] yield eternal benefit.

23. If, though he would not wish for it, he has suffered hardship protecting the sovereignty, [let him remember that] his rights await him when the day of profit comes.

24. Meinic fuair fear na sealga
ró sniomha ision dhoineanda
suil theaghmhas poinn fhiad/. air
i ndiamhair gach phoinn fásaigh

25. An tiasgoire ar muir a muigh
meinic é ar easb/. iasguigh
seal da ré i ccuisnighthibh cuir
sni tuirsighthir e amhluidh

26. Don cheann/.e gidh cás trom
da bfágbha ar cuan a chéd long
triall/. sni hédána uaidh
diarr/. edála a nathuair

[24]. Meinic fuair fear na sealga
ró sníomha is síon dhoineanda
suil theaghmhas puinn fhiadhaigh air
i ndiamhair gach fhuinn fhásaigh.

[25]. An t-iasgaire ar mhuir a-muigh
meinic é ar easbhaidh iasgaigh
seal dá ré i gcuisnighthibh cuir
's ní tuirsighthir é amhlaidh.

[26]. Don cheannaighe gidh cás trom,
dá bhfágbha ar chuan a chéadlong,
triallaidh -'s ní héadána uaidh -
d'iarraidh éadála i n-athuair.

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24. The huntsman has often experienced terrible trouble and bad weather in the depths of the wilderness, before the least bit of hunting cropped-up for him.

25. The fisherman out at sea for two nights [running] in [... ...]s often lacks fish and [even so,] he is not disheartened by this.

26. Though it is a serious matter for the merchant if his first ship leaves him in port [departing without him], he sets out again - and it is not cowardly of him - to seek wealth.

27. Do gheibh gach fear ni fáth rúin
do g/. druing a dhíol fortuin
sgach cáil da fheabhas uaidh air
leanas go cruaidh da cheardáibh

28. Cuir/. anois da nós soin
brath cabhra chloinne dáloigh
doígh india go neart nimhe
go ria teacht don tairrngire

29. Biodhsan ni beag an obair
reidh ar cionn an chédchogaidh
fa ghég fódla na sreabh seang
ar cedfógra fear neíreann

[27]. Do-gheibh gach fear - ní fáth rúin -
do gach druing, a dhíol fortúin
's gach cáil dá fheabhas uaidh air,
leanas go cruaidh dá cheardaibh.

[28]. Cuireadh a-nois, dá nós soin,
brath cabhra chloinne Dálaigh
dóigh i nDia go neart nimhe
go ria teacht don tairngire.

[29]. Bíodhsan - ní beag an obair! -
réidh ar cionn an chéadchogaidh
fa ghéagFhódla na sreabh seang
ar gcéadfhógra fhear n-Éireann.

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27. It is no secret that every man, of every [vocational] group, who perseveres diligently in his calling makes the fortune he is worth and [gets] all the fame - however great - which accrues in consequence of this.

28. Like them, let *Dálach*'s family's helping hope place his trust in God and in the power of heaven until the prophecy comes true.

29. Upon the first summoning of the men of *Éire*, let him - no small task! - be prepared for this war for branching *Fódla* of the slender streams.

30. Beanadh marcach mhúir Midhe
ni nach ttaír túr aimsire
a luach deineaclann mhór mhall
do shlógh geimhealtrom gruamghall

31. Caith/. brath an chraoi cuinnsi
feidhm beó neart is neamhthuirsi
fa bhánochtaibh na ccoig neang
do thárrochtain fhóid eiréann

32. Acht ua cuinn le ccoisgthear frais
ni fhaicim ar feadh mheólais
a ndíol baránta g/ béim
ag síol farránta ardNéill

[30]. Beanadh marcach mhúir Midhe
- ní nach táir túr aimsire -
a luach d'eineaclann mhór mhall
do shlógh geimhealtrom gruamGhall.

[31]. Caitheadh brath an chraoi Cuinnse
feidhm beó, neart is neamhthuirse
fa [chádh]uchtaibh na gcóig n-eang
do thárrachtain fhóid Éireann.

[32]. Acht ua Cuinn le gcoisgthear frais
ní fhaicim, ar fheadh mh'eólais,
a ndíol baránta gan bhéim
ag síol fharránta airdNéill.

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30. Let the horseman of the rampart of *Midhe* extract the great and noble compensation worthy of him from a surly and heavily fettered *Gall* host - it seems a propitious time to do so.

31. Let the hope of this enclosure of *Conn* exert lively effort, power and energy all around the [beautiful (?)] hills of the five provinces to save the land of *Éire*.

32. Except for the grandson of *Conn* by whom volleys are stemmed, I do not, to my knowledge, see a like faultless guardian among [all of] great *Niall*'s fierce descendants.

33. Aign/. céill/. mín mearrdha
gar do threighthibh tighearna
ar bharr treine nach tearc smacht
ar cheart, ar fhéile, ar fhearrdhacht

[33]. Aigneadh céillidh mín mearrdha
gar do thréidhibh tighearna
ar mbarr tréin-ne nach tearc smacht,
ar cheart, ar fhéile, ar fheardhacht.

34. Sás leanta luirg a chin/.
ceann córa cosg aindlighidh
croidhe séimhcheart as maith modh
as flaith déiffeacht s deangnomh

[34]. Sás leanta luirg a chinidh,
ceann córa, cosg aindlighidh,
croidhe séimhcheart as mhaith modh
- is flaith d'éifeacht is d'eangnamh.

35. Do thogh treisi et tábhacht
meín diadha dúil dioldánacht
tuar raith as rodhaingne dhó
mas maith comhairle Cató

[35]. Do thogh treise agus tábhacht,
méin diadha, dúil d'ioldánacht
- tuar raith is rodhaingne dó,
más maith comhairle Cató.

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33. Our strong leader, whose power is not scant, is a wise, pleasant, energetic[ally] mind[ed man] [who] approximates the qualities of a lord because of [his] justness, generosity [and] manliness.

34. He is an effective and hospitable prince, one worthy to follow in his forebears' footsteps, a just leader and a bulwark against lawlessness, a just and gentle heart whose behaviour is noble.

35. He has chosen power and pre-eminence, [and to have] a pious disposition [and] an accomplished nature; - [these qualities are] an omen of prosperity and great strength for him, if *Cato*'s advice is correct.

36. I ndóigh cabhra claír earca
ar an uairsi as inleanta
do mheas gall is gaoidheal breagh
saoirfhear nach mall re amhaoidheamh

37. Fiú do cheart ar chlár Cobhth/.
gearan cáigh le Conollchaibh
a iomard/. a ghlac gheal
tre ionnarbadh Mhac Míleadh

38. Da ttí an tairrngire is teagh
fa fhuaslag/. ghuirt gaoidheal
tú as dual déileag/. ann
a s tuaigh chreleabhar chualann

[36]. I ndóigh chabhra chláir Earca,
ar an uairse is inleanta,
do mheas Gall is Gaoidheal Breagh,
saoirfhear nach mall re a mhaoidheamh.

[37]. Fiú do cheart ar chlár Cobhthaigh
- gearán cáigh [r]e Conallchaibh
a iomardadh, a ghlac gheal,
tre ionnarbadh mhac Míleadh.

[38]. [Muna thí] an tairngire is-teagh
fa fhuaslagadh ghuirt Gaoidheal,
t[usa] as dual d'éileaghadh ann,
a sduagh chréileabhar Chualann.

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36. At this time, in the hope that *Earc*'s plain will be helped, [this] noble man of the flower of the *Gall*s and *Gaoidheal*s of *Breagha*, whom nobody is slow to praise, is worthy of being followed.

37. Your claim to *Cobhthach*'s land is [a] worthy [one]; everyone's complaint to the *Conallaigh*, O bright hand, is that it was usurped through the banishment of *Míl*'s sons.

38. If the prophecy concerning the freeing of the land of the *Gaoidheal*s [does not] come to pass, it is you it is natural to blame for this, O smooth-bodied rainbow of *Cuala*.

39. Ar ngearán síor réd ghnuís ghloin
tuig feín tar chách a Chalb/.
roighne síl cconaill fa cheas
sín do dhodhaing re a ndímheas

40. A Mheic Mághnais mhuidheas cath
a uá Cuinn o threibh teamhr/.
sínsi led chuid do chuan breagh
os duid as dual fa dheir/.

41. Ionmhuin céile nar char beím
Eibhilín inghean Uatéir
slat chaomh g/ chumhga re neach
do chúmhra sáor na Suibhneadh

[39]. Ar ngearán síor red ghnúis ghloin
tuig féin tar chách, a Chalbhaigh:
roighne shíl Conaill fa cheas
- sín do dhodhaing re a ndímheas.

[40]. A mheic Maghnais mhuidheas cath,
a ua Cuinn ó threibh Teamhrach,
sínse led chuid do chuan Breagh
ós duid as dual fa **dheireadh**.

[41]. Ionmhuin céile nar char béim
- Eibhilín inghean Uaitéir,
slat chaomh gan chumhnga re neach
do chumhra saor na Suibhneach.

---

39. O *Calbhach*, let you more than anyone understand our incessant complaint to your bright face: the flower of *Conall*'s seed are in distress - compare your difficulties with the contempt they are suffering.

40. O son of *Maghnas*, victorious in battle, O descendant of *Conn* from the dwelling at *Teamhair*, set out with your people to the harbour of *Breagha* since, in the end, this is the natural thing for you [to do].

41. Beloved [the] spouse who has n[ever] loved [giving] offence - *Eibhilín*, daughter of *Uaitéar*, [is] a beautiful branch, stingy to none, of the noble [and] fragrant tree of the *Suibhnigh*.

42. Bean sa clú do chuaidh a bfad
dhúinne ni dual a dearmad
rosg gormlán as maórdha meadh
is comhrádh aobhdha ailghean

43. Fuair na treidhe as tuar annsa
rún gnáth g/ céill cotarsna
geall raith g/. tíre ar thromdhacht
maith , is míne , is measordhacht

44. Ni hiongn/. da héarla slim
bheith ar airrdheanaibh inghill
fiú feabhas na bfremh o a bfuil
gach sén leanas do leanmhuin

[42]. Bean 's a clú do-chuaidh i bhfad
dhúinne ní dual a dearmad,
rosg gormlán as mhaordha meadh
is comhrádh aobhdha áilghean.

[43]. Fuair na tréidhe as tuar annsa
rún gnáth gan chéill chodarsna
geall raith gach tíre ar thromdhacht,
maith is míne is measardhacht.

[44]. Ní hiongnadh dá hearla slim
bheith ar airrdheanaibh inghill
fiú feabhas na bhfréamh ó a bhfuil
gach séan leanas do leanmhain.

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42. It is not likely that I would forget [this] woman whose fame has gone far, a full blue eye who is majestic and whose pleasant, gentle conversation is likewise.

43. This one who surpasses every country for dignity has received loveable characteristics: noble intention[s] without contrariness, goodness, calmness and gentleness.

44. It is no wonder that this smooth haired one has excellent qualities; the excellence of the roots from which she is [sprung] is worthy of all the good fortune that attends [her] attending [her].

45. Siol cconaill is clanna Neill
laoich toghtha nar thuill toibheím
da ttrén fholaibh as diobh dhi
mar shíol sénomhail Suibhni

46. A bhrath coitchionn chliar nuladh
a bhun caígh do chothughadh
maith do bhraichlis féine ar fad
aithris do fhréimhe romhad

[45]. Síol gConaill is clanna Néill
- laoich thoghtha nar thuill toibhéim -
dá dtréanfholaibh is díobh di
mar shíol séanamhail Suibhne.

[46]. A bhrath coitcheann chliar nUladh,
a bhun cáigh do chothughadh,
maith do bhraichlis f[h]éine ar f[h]ad,
aithris do fhréimhe romhad.

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45. Like *Suibhne*'s fortunate seed, *Conall*'s seed and *Niall*'s families - irreproachable, choice heroes - are powerful bloodlines from which she is descended.

46. O one on whom all the poets of Ulster depend, O mainstay of the provision of all, (?) because of its length, the recitation of the [genealogical] root from which you come makes for a good mixture of noble bloodlines (?).

POEM 9

MS. version: (NLI G. 167, p. 336)

Cuchoigcriche o Cleir/. do rinne an
dansa don Chalbhach Ruadh reamhraidhte

1. Ionmhuin an laoidh léaghthar sunn
tig uait a Chalb/. chugum
ni tre rún fallsa ro feas
acht do shúr annsa theícceas

2. Tuigim do rún da reir sin
a fhad leat ód dhreich ndoinnghil
fiadhna caithmhe is clú o ccuinn
sdairthe diamhra cru conuill

Edited text:
(no other MSS. consulted)

1. **Ionmhain** an laoidh léaghthar sunn;
tig uait, a Chalbhaigh, chugam
ní tre rún fallsa, ro-feas,
acht do shúr annsa th'éigeas.

2. Tuigim do rún dá réir sin:
a fhad leat ód dhreich [dh]oinnghil
fiadhna caithmhe is clú ó gCuinn
sdairthe diamhra c[h]rú Conaill.

---

1. Excellent the poem which is read here; I know, O *Calbhach*, that it comes from you to me, not through an[y] ulterior motive but [simply] to seek your learned men's love.

2. For that reason, I understand your intention[s in contacting me]: how far from your bright ruddy face the mysterious stories of *Conall*'s blood[line and] the witnesses of the generosity and fame of *Conn*'s descendants seem to you.

3. Mar taoi da chur i ccéill dhamh
go ndlighfinn daithle ar núghdar
fa neamhthais fuighle na bfear
cuimhne seanchais bhar sinnsear

4. Maith an iarr/. tug tusa
dol dfios iúil an tseanchusa
don? cheidfhios ba toghaois treall
go foraois eigios éireann

5. Seanrádh egn/. aosda soin
eólus eirionn i ccruachoin
da híul tar chách tugais toil
ni g/ fáth rugais roghoin

[3]. Mar taoi 'gá chur i gcéill damh
go ndlighfinn, d'aithle ar n-ughdar,
- fa neamhthais fuighle na bhfear -
cuimhne seanchais bhar sinnsear.

[4]. Maith an iarraidh tug tusa
dol, d'fhios iúil an tseanchasa,
- do[m] chéidfhios b[udh] toghaois treall -
go foraois éigeas Éireann.

[5]. Seanrádh eagnaidh aosda soin:
'eólas Éireann i gCruachain';
dá [n-]iúl tar chách tugais toil
- ní gan fháth rugais roghain.

---

3. As you are explaining to me that, on the model of our authors - The words of th[ose] men were spirited! -, I should remember the *seanchas* of your ancestors.

4. Good is the effort you made to go to *Éire*'s home of learning to seek the lore of *seanchas*; to [have] come to [consult] me first would have been folly for a while.

5. '*Éire*'s knowledge is in *Cruachain*' - that is a wise and ancient proverb; you have chosen their guidance over everyone [else]'s; it is not without reason that you made [this] choice.

6. Ataíd san tír re hath/.
im chruachain chuinn chédchath/.
ui mhaolconaire g/ coir
fa aoibh ttogh/.e ag triathoibh

7. Fuarais fós eolas oile
ag cloinn chaoimh mhaoilconoire
fáth ar ttogharma as leir libh
tre reím mhoghlama om oídibh

8. O shliocht Cuinn laochr/. gan locht
a tá an tainm cuig/. connocht
rádh nach fann i leith leabhar
tre a mbeith ann ag aitreabh/.

[6]. A-táid san tír re hathaidh
im Chruachain Chuinn Chéadchathaigh
Uí Mhaoil Chonaire gan choir
fa aoibh dtoghaidhe ag triathaibh.

[7]. Fuarais fós eólas oile
ag cloinn chaomhMaoil Chonaire;
fáth ar dto[ghra]ma, is léir, libh
tre réim mh'[fh]oghlama óm oidibh.

[8]. Ó shliocht Cuinn - laochradh gan locht -
a-tá an t-ainm 'Cúigeadh Connacht'
- rádh nach fann i leith leabhar -
tre a mbeith ann ag aitreabhadh.

---

6. They, the sinless *Uí Mhaoil Chonaire*, have been [living] near *Conn Céadchathach*'s *Cruachain* in th[at] country for some time, enjoying the choice favour of lords.

7. You have received still more knowledge from the family of fair *Maol Conaire*; the reason for your pursuit of me [as informant] is clearly the extent of what I have learnt from my tutors.

8. The name '*Cúigeadh Connacht*' comes from the residence there of *Conn*'s descendants, a faultless warrior-band; [this is] a well documented statement.

9. Dísle le conn coig/. Sreing
no en chuig/. an eírinn
nir chuibhdheas da chloinn o shon
gan ruidhleas choinn do charthoin

10. A ua ar cconn tuaidh o thor/.
sa chuinn thiar o ttangobhair
ni deor/.eacht a dhearc ghlan
teacht go ceoloireacht cruachan

11. Ni dibeirt dhuit thiar g/. am
tre neart ainbfine eachtrann
a chiabh dhluthmhas na ccor ccas
dol o dhuthchas go dúthchas

[9]. Dísle le Conn cóigeadh Sreing
'ná éanchúigeadh i n-Éirinn
níor chuibhdheas dá chloinn ó shoin
gan ruidhleas Choinn do charthain.

[10]. A ua ar gConn tuaidh ó Thoraigh
's a[n] Chuinn thiar ó dtángabhair
ní deóraidheacht, a dhearc ghlan,
teacht go ceóloireacht Cruachan.

[11]. Ní díbirt duit iar gach am
tre neart ainbhfine eachtrann,
a chiabh dhlúthmhas na gcor gcas,
dol ó dhúthchas go dúthchas.

---

9. *Sreang*'s province was more loyal to *Conn* than any [other] province in *Éire*; since then, it has not been proper for his family to fail to cherish *Conn*'s demesne.

10. O descendant of our northern *Conn*s from *Torach* and of the western *Conn* from who[se root] you are sprung, it is no exile [for you], O clear eye, to come to the musical territory of *Cruachain*.

11. O curling luxuriant lock, it is no sacrifice for you [to be forced], through the power of foreign usurpers, to go, after all [this] time, from one native land to another.

12. Na teasmholta tugs[t] ort
na heiccsi sin fhuinn connocht
maith leam nar laghd/. do cháil
sgur ard/. eirr dom anáil

13. Maos ionmhuine os iad sin
leigid leam ina litribh
bhar tteist do ghnáth on dáimh dil
is ni nár cách da chluinsin

14. A ninnsi sgél sgorfa mé
o taíd agam mar fhínné
ni fhóbraim a ccló sni chél
ni rádh fhorbainn a naibér

[12]. Na teasmholta tugsad ort
na héigseisin fhuinn Connacht!
Maith leam nar laghdaigh do cháil
's gur ardaigh e[a]rr dom anáil.

[13]. M'aos ionmhaine ós iad sin,
léigid leam ina litribh
bhar dteisd do ghnáth - an dámh dhil -
is ní nár cách dá chluinsin.

[14]. A n-innse sgéal sg[a]rfa[idh] mé
ó táid agam mar fhínné
(?) ní fhóbraim a gcl[ádh] 's ní chéal
(?) - ní rádh [fhó]rbainn a n-aibéar.

---

12. [Wait till I tell you] the great praises those learned men of *Connacht*'s land have sung of you! I am glad [to see that] your reputation has not lessened and that [, as a result of me hearing this,] the tail[-end] of my life has improved.

13. Since the beloved band are good friends of mine, they usually give me news of you in their letters - and it is no shame for everybody to hear it.

14. Since I have them as [my] witness, I shall disseminate their anecdotes [about you]; (?) I am not trying to outdo them and I will not conceal [them]; what I will say is no exaggerated statement (?).

15. Da rádh ar tús ag teacht thort
mar chuir goill go crích chonnocht
tre fhalaidh guaismhir nach glan
bhar samhail duaislibh ul/.

16. Da nglór an chrioch do charais
dhuitsi nach fáth faltanais
sgor gar oile o taoi treabhar
car mhoighe aoí ar aitreab/.

17. Machaire connocht na ccath
ger bfada é na fhásach
de nar sguiris a ghné gheal
gur chuiris é fa fhoirgneamh

15. Dá rádh ar tús ag teacht thort
mar chuir g[a]ll (?) go crích Chonnacht
tre fhalaidh guaismhir nach glan
bhar samhail d'uaislibh Uladh.

16. Dá nglór an chríoch do charais
duitse nach fáth faltanais
's gur gar oile, ó taoi treabhar,
car Mhoighe Aoi ar aitreabhadh.

17. Machaire Connacht na gcath
gérbh fhada é 'na fhásach
de nar sguiris, a ghné gheal,
gur chuiris é fa fhoirgneamh.

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15. Firstly, among what they say in reference to you is how, through rash, dangerous and foul enmity, a *Gall* (?) sent your like of Ulster's nobles to the territory of *Connacht*.

16. Among what they say is that the territory you [have come to] love is no cause for resentment to you and that, since you are prudent, the inhabiting of *Magh Aoi* is another boon.

17. That, though the plain of *Connacht* was long a wasteland, O bright aspect, you did not cease from [working on] it until you had built upon it.

18. Comhrádh a eólach uile
daois aitreabha an mhachuire
dóibh nar bhaithne é fa bhail
god ré caithmighe a chalb/.

19. Sgur chuir tú fa throm eall/.
iath oirdheirc an fhinnbheannaigh
is magh aoi on reím i raibhi
gor leír gach laoi a lompaire

20. A rádh ribh ni rádh náireach
do bheith caithmheach congháireach
sgo ccaithe ga saoire seal
sgaite maoine g/ mhaoidheamh

[18]. Comhrádh a eólach uile
d'aois aitreabha an mhachaire
dóibh narbh aith[nidh] é fa bhail
god ré caith[mhigh], a Chalbhaigh.

[19]. 'S gur chuir tú fa throm eallaigh
iath oirdheirc an Fhinnbheannaigh
[']s Magh Aoi ón réim i raibhe
gur léir gach laoi a lompaire.

[20]. A rádh ribh ní rádh náireach
do bheith caithmheach congháireach
's go gcaithe - gá saoire seal ? -
sgait[h]e maoine gan mhaoidheamh.

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18. All the conversation of the sages who live in the plain is [to the effect] that, until your generous period, they did not know it to be [so] prosperous.

19. And that you have put the *Finnbheannach*'s illustrious plain under a weight of livestock and [that you have transformed] *Magh Aoi* from the state it was in [hitherto] so that every day [the surface of] its [previously overgrown] marginal land is [becoming ever more] clear [to the eye and cultivated].

20. It is no shameful utterance to say to you that you are generous and well attended and that you [are wont to] give away the choicest of valuables without boasting. What reign has been nobler?

21. Is gur ghnáth teaghlach it theagh
mar bu reil i ré ar sinnsear
sdo bheith ann fa aoibh gan driuch
in gach am dhaoibh go daoiníuch

22. Red linn im chruachain na ccean
ni fhuil uasal no íseal
nach leír ina theach muirn mhór
ima seach cuirm is comhól

23. Iomdha aca eich sheanga
fión fleadhól is fithchealla
sbuird leathna g/. laoi na ttoigh
g/ seachna ar chaoi no ar conoir

[21]. Is gur gnáth teaghlach id theagh
mar b[udh] réil i ré ar sinnsear
's do bheith ann fa aoibh gan driuch
i ngach am daoibh go daoineach.

[22]. Red linn im Chruachain na gcean,
ní fhuil uasal nó íseal
nach léir ina theach muirn mhór
ima seach, cuirm is comhól.

[23]. Iomdha aca eich sheanga,
fíon, fleadhól is fithchealla
's buird leathna gach laoi 'na dtoigh
gan seachna ar chaoi nó ar chonair.

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21. And that, as was manifest in our ancestors' time, it is usual for there to be a [full] household in your house, for you to be enjoying yourself there, devoid of anger [and] well attended at all times.

22. In your time around *Cruachain* of the feats, there is no well-born or lowly man in whose house great exuberance [and], respectively, entertainment and carousing are not evident.

23. Many are the slender horses and *fithcheall* boards they have, [much is the] wine [and] festive drinking [they enjoy], with wide [feasting] tables every day in their house, without avoidance of path or way.

24. Ionann iomchraid bhar noire
in gach aít thaos ionmhoine
srod riarthar im chruachain chuinn
sa ttuath/. iarthair umhuill

25. Da madh iad thollamhain feín
do chuirfeadh do chlú in imcheín
dóibh ni fecfaoi abheó ar mban
a dérthaoi gor leó an leanamh

26. As teífeacht feín fuair tusa
an ró oirrdheirc anmasa
o tá an ghairm gach dú ni díth
bhar nainm is bhar cclú i ccoiccrich

[24]. Ionann iomchraid bhar n-oire
i ngach áit th'aos ionmhaine
's rod riartha[i]r im Chruachain Chuinn
's i dtuathaibh iarthair Umhaill.

[25]. Dá madh iad th'ollamhain féin
do chuirfeadh do chlú i n-imchéin,
dóibh ní féachfaoi, a bheó ar mban,
a-déarthaoi gur leó an leanabh.

[26]. As t'éifeacht féin fuair tusa
an ró oirdheirc anmasa;
ó tá an ghairm gach dú, ní díth
bhar n-ainm is bhar gclú i gcoigcrích.

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24. [In] the same [way] as you are looked after around *Conn*'s *Cruachain* and in the petty principalities of the west of *Umhall*, your friends carry your burden everywhere [else].

25. If, O life of our women[folk], it was your own *ollamh*s who sent your fame afar, no attention would be paid to them - it would be said the baby was theirs.

26. It is by your own efficacy that you have gained this illustrious greatness of reputation; since you are renowned everywhere, [I suppose] it is no harm for your name and fame to be [resounding] in borderland[s too].

27. Cia dot fhreimh Righ no ruire
da leaghtha a Réim Rioghr/.e
fuair an tarbha dhó do dhleacht
no ró anma g/ oirbheart

28. Da bhithin sin a mheic mhir
madh áil bhar nainm do chluinsin
bean re bunadhas do bheart
lean durrudhas is d eífeacht

29. Na deach fúibh a fhir fhinne
a nainchridhe a nainninne
aosa siorthnúidh bhar ngruadh ngeal
rob tuar siothruin a sill/.

[27]. Cia dod fhréimh, rí nó ruire,
dá léaghtha a réim ríoghraidhe
fuair an tarbha dó do dhleacht
nó ró anma gan oirbheart ?

[28]. Dá bhithin sin, a mheic mhir,
madh áil bhar n-ainm do chluinsin,
bean re bunadhas do bheart,
lean d'urradhas is d'éifeacht.

[29]. Ná deach fúibh, a fhir Fhinne,
a n-ainchridhe, a n-aininne,
aosa síorthnúidh bhar ngruadh ngeal
- rob tuar síothrúin a silleadh.

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27. What king or lord of your [genealogical] stock, if you were to read their succession list, has [ever] received the benefits due to him or greatness of reputation without exertion?

28. For that reason, O spirited youth, if you wish to hear your name [spoken far and wide], concern yourself with the motivations of your actions, persevere in [the qualities of] lordliness and efficacy.

29. O man from the [banks of the River] *Finn*, may the hostility and ill-feeling of those who perpetually envy your bright cheeks not undermine you; may their staring [at you] be an omen of peaceful intent.

30. Mo radh fa dheoidh red dhreich nduinn
na bi cedluitheach comuinn
gan fáth na bris thannsa ar fhior
acht rannsa ris do roichion
[ionm/]

[30]. Mo rádh fa dheóidh red dhreich nduinn:
ná bí céadluitheach comainn;
gan fháth ná bris th'annsa ar fhior
acht rannsa ris do roich**ion**.

31. Ni clú fás le a chur i ccéin
adhbchlos inghine Uaiteír
ar bháidh is ar bharr ceinil
ni nár an t am d aibheilin

[31]. Ní clú fás le a chur i gcéin
adhbhchlos inghine Uaitéir;
ar bhá[dh] is ar bharr ceiníl
ní nár an t-am d'Aibhilín.

32. Biodh go mbeith ar bheagan cruidh
ni cluintear uaithe a heasb/.
gach ar chaith do chuaidh o chás
sa maith g/ uaill g/ allás

[32]. Bíodh go mbeith ar bheagán cruidh
ní cluintear uaithe a heasbhaidh;
gach ar chaith do-chuaidh ó chás
's a maith gan uaill gan allás.

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30. My last statement to your ruddy face: do not be inconstant of affection; without reason, do not end your love for any man; instead, bestow your great love on him.

31. The renown of *Uaitéar*'s daughter is no reputation without substance [for a poet] to spread far [and wide]; because of [her] affection[ate personality] and pre-eminence in kindness, [this] is no shameful time for *Aibhilín*.

32. Even though she might have little wealth, [mention of] her lack [of wealth] is not heard from her; all that she has given away has gone [from her possession] out of concern [for others] and out of goodness, without arrogance or [...].

33. Rádh caígh i ccluais a chéile
go mbí g/ dúil doimheiné
go faoilteach ga dáil as dile
sgo sgaoilt/. sáimh simpl/.e

34. Da hairrdhibh tugsam ar ttoil
is da maith g/ meín uabhair
is da gnaoi na ngoire soin
ni mar mhnaoi oile as ionmhoin
[ionmhoin]

[33]. Rádh cáigh i gcluais a chéile
go mbí gan dúil doimhéine,
go faoilteach - dáil as dile! -
's go sgaoilteach, sáimh, simplidhe.

[34]. Dá hairrdhibh tugsam ar dtoil
is dá maith gan m[h]éin uabhair
is dá gnaoi 'na ngoire soin;
ní mar mhnaoi oile as **ionmhain**.

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33. What everyone is discreetly telling each other is that, without [any] bad-intentioned desire [for personal advantage], she is hospitable - A marvellous dispensation! - open-handed, pleasant and sincere.

34. I have [always] loved her [personal] qualities and her goodness without inclination towards arrogance and, along with them, her charm; it is not [in] the same [way] as an[y] other woman [is worthy of being loved] that she is worthy of being loved.

POEM 10

MS. version: (NLI G. 167, p. 339)

Fearfeasa m/c Lochloinn ui
Mhaoilconoire do righin an dánsa
don Chalbhach .R. reimhscriobhtha

1. Mo chean do chuairt a chalbhaigh
go crích chonnacht chaladhghlain
a ghríbh do chomhramhfhuil chuinn
o thír cormbhlad/. conuill

2. Ar tteacht go crích chonnacht dhuibh
mo chean dot chuairt san ccrécht/.
tar gach aon fhonn don fhiádh ghlan
a chiabh chlaon donn na ccornchl/.

Edited text:
(no other MSS. consulted)

1. **Mo-chean do[d] chuairt, a Chalbhaigh,**
go crích Chonnacht chaladhghlain,
a ghríbh do chomhramhfhuil Chuinn,
ó thír c[h]ormbladhaigh Conaill.

2. Ar dteacht go crích Chonnacht duibh,
mo-chean do[d] chuairt 'san gCréachtaigh
tar gach aonfhonn don fhiadh ghlan
a chiabh chlaondonn na gcornchladh.

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1. Welcome, O *Calbhach*, O griffin of *Conn*'s triumphant blood, is your visit from *Tír Chonaill*, renowned for its ale-feasts, to the clear shored territory of *Connacht*.

2. Now that you have come to the territory of *Connacht*, O wavy brown lock of the curling ridges, welcome is your visit to *An Chréachtach* in preference to any other plain in the clear land.

3. Failte roímh do rún toile
go baile chlann cconoire
dféchain iúil a feadhna fis
ba sdiuír do ealbha an oidis

[3]. Fáilte róimh do rún toile
go baile chlann gConaire
d'fhéachain iúil a fheadhna fis
[do] ba[dh] sdiúir d'ealbha an oidis.

4. Da mairdís maicne an bhaile
sa naithre go niúlmhaire
na bfaithchibh a chalb/. choír
daithghin danmhain nir bhedoígh

[4]. Dá mairdís maicne an bhaile
's a n-aithre go n-iúlmhaire,
'na bhfaithchibh, a Chalbhaigh chóir,
d'aithghin d'anmhain níorbh éadóigh.

5. Do gheabhtha aca iúl g/. fis
mar fuair niall nár or gheinis
o thórna go míncheill maith
tromdha a priomhcheim don phostfhlaith

[5]. [Ghéabhtha] aca iúl gach fis
mar fuair Niall nár ór gheinis
ó Thorna go mínchéill maith
tromdha a phrímhchéim don phosdfhlaith.

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3. A welcome, born of loving affection, to you [upon your visit] to the home-place of *Conaire*'s families to survey the lore of its knowledgeable band, which has [always] been a guide to the student flock.

4. If, O righteous *Calbhach*, the youths of the *Baile* and their knowledgeable fathers were [still] alive, it would not be unlikely for one such as you to stay in their lawns.

5. Along with exquisite and sound wisdom, you would receive knowledge of all lore from them, just as noble *Niall*, from whom you are descended, received [this] from *Torna* [whose] first [poetic] attempt for the pillarlike prince was laden [with wisdom].

6. Fios an chruais nar chleacht tusa
gheabhtha gun ccloinn cceannasa
re beath na aoineas agaibh
a dhreach chaoindeas chruthab/.

7. Dúil in aineas cleire o ccuinn
dual do threibh thriath o cconuill
tar fhianaibh eireann sgach cruth
fialfhuil na cceimeann ccloth/.

8. Grádh ag eolchaibh fhuinn banbha
orra d iúl an ealadhna
s grádh buán na neolach aca
sluagh go ngleorath ngalgata

[6]. Fios an chruais nar chleacht tusa
ghéabhtha 'gun gcloinn gceannasa
re [a] b[h]eath 'na aoineas agaibh,
a dhreach chaoindeas chruthabaidh.

[7]. Dúil i n-áineas cléire ó gCuinn
dual do threibh thriath ó gConaill;
tar fhianaibh Éireann 's gach cruth
fialfhuil na gcéimeann gclothach.

[8]. Grádh ag eólchaibh fhuinn Banbha
orra d'iúl a n-ealadhna
's grádh buan na n-eólach aca
- sluagh go ngleórath ngalgata.

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6. For your [intellectual] entertainment, O kind, nice, maturely shaped face, you would receive from the leading family knowledge of the difficulties [in Irish learning] that you are not practised in.

7. Fondness for the [intellectual] sport of the poets of *Conn*'s progeny is native to the aristocratic race of *Conall*'s descendants; th[at] generous blood[line] of the famous exploits are superior to [all] the [other warrior-]bands of *Éire* in every way.

8. Such is their knowledge of the art of the learned men that the sages of the land of *Banbha* love them and they, a host which enjoys valiant success in combat, have an abiding love for the sages.

9. Geall fírfhéile fuairseat so
sliocht conuill gulban grióbhdho
rioghr/. ba lán dfhéile is diocht
méinne go nágh sgo noirb/t

10. Rug ard ollamh banbha breagh
breath le cuid dhióbh mar dérthear
gor bhiad dob fhearr duaisl/. fáil
dream ros uaisligh an annáil

11. Mac lonain nois, luaitear leam
flann aidhne ollamh éireann
tug an geallsoin uáidh don fhoír
luagh an fheallsoiph da nonoir

[9]. Geall fírfhéile fuairsead so,
sliocht Conaill Gulban g[h]ríobhdha,
ríoghradh ba lán d'fhéile is d'iocht,
méinne go n-ágh 's go n-oirbheart.

[10]. Rug ardollamh Banbha Breagh
breath le cuid díobh, mar deirthear,
gurbh iad dob fhearr d'uaislibh Fáil
- dream ros uaisligh an annáil.

[11]. Mac Lonáin nóis luaitear leam,
Flann Aidhne, ollamh Éireann;
tug an geallsoin uadh don fhóir
luagh an fheallsaibh dá n-onóir.

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9. The descendants of griffin-like *Conall Gulban*, a dynasty that has [always] been full of hospitality and mercy, a company brave and skilled at arms, were endorsed for [their] true generosity.

10. The arch-*ollamh* of *Banbha Breagh* judged in favour of some of them, as it is told, that it was they, a band whom the annal exalted, who were the best of the nobles of *Fál*.

11. I am referring to *Flann* of *Aidhne*, son of famous *Lonán* [and] *ollamh* of *Éire*; that endorsement by him of the company won [for him] from them a degree of respect worthy of a philosopher[-poet].

12. Maoldoraidh , eigneachan úr
aonghus , flaithbheart/. fian dúr
ceathrar as féile fuair flann
is eíre uaidh ga hadhall

13. Do ghní dán da dhearb/. sin
d éigneachan úr mhac dálaigh
don ollamh ba breath go mbuaidh
tre bhronnadh each is iolbhuaír

14. Céd loilgheach leth triocha each
cuíg fháinne óir ba hinmheach
sedleathabh sgach lug alagh
tug eigneachan don ollamh

[12]. Maol Doraidh, Éigneachán úr,
Aonghus, Flaithbheartach fiandúr
ceathrar as f[h]éile fuair Flann
is Éire uaidh 'gá hadhall.

[13]. Do-ghní dán - dá dhearbhadh soin -
d'Éigneachán, úrmhac Dálaigh;
don ollamh ba bhreath go mbuaidh
tre bhronnadh each is iolbhuair.

[14]. Céad loilgheach, leithtríocha each,
cúig fháinne óir ba hinmheach,
- séidleathábh (?) 's gach lug a lagh -
tug Éigneachán don ollamh.

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12. *Maol Doraidh*, noble *Éigneachan*, *Aonghus* and hardy, warriorlike *Flaithbheartach* were the four most generous men *Flann* came across when he was travelling *Éire*.

13. To prove [the truthfulness of] that [assertion]: He composes a poem for *Éigneachán*, the noble son of *Dálach*; through the bestowal of horses and many cows, it was a profitable judgement for the *ollamh*.

14. *Éigneachán* gave a hundred milch-cows, fifteen horses and five luxuriant gold rings to the *ollamh*; [...] their value everywhere.

15. Cúig caomhchuirn d'airgeatt aoingheal
fuair an file on úrghaoidheal
ar dhealbhdhán go sduaim na sdair
sa dhearbhghradh uaidh na fhochair

16. A ui eigneachain g/ oil
fior gor dual duitsi a chalbhoigh
beith reidh fa chrodh na cruinne
meín do thogh bhar ttriathchuire

17. Tearc athair dar fhás romh/.
don triath chrú o ttángobhair
nar sgaith ar fhéile dfeadhnaibh
maith na tréidhe tighearnfhuil

15. Cúig chaomhchuirn d'airgead aoingheal
fuair an file ón úrGhaoidheal
ar dhealbhdhán go sduaim 'na sdair
's a dhearbhghrádh uaidh 'na fhochair.

16. A uí Éigneacháin gan oil,
fíor gur dual duitse, a Chalbhaigh,
beith réidh fa chrodh na cruinne
- méin do thogh bhar dtriathchuire.

17. Tearc athair dar fhás romhaibh,
don triathchrú ó dtángabhair,
nar sgaith ar fhéile d'fheadhnaibh
maith na tréidhe [i d]tighearnfhuil.

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15. In return for a shapely poem with wisdom in its story, the *file* received five beautiful cups [made] of pure silver from the noble *Gaoidheal*; and as a[nother] result of this, [he received the privilege of having] his true love [, *Éigneachán*,] by his side.

16. O *Calbhach*, O faultless descendant of *Éigneachán*, it is true that it is natural for you to be easy-going in regard to worldly wealth - [this is] an outlook your dynasty has [always] chosen [to have].

17. Rare is the ancestor among [the ranks of] the dynasty from which you are sprung who was not a flower [of kindness] (?) as regards generosity to [poetic] companies; the[se] characteristics are good in a lordly blood[line].

18. Na hadhair dinntinn thaithreadh
sa cclú soin nach sároighthear
a los do leathtroim re tan
dleachtoim a nois a nochtadh

19. Teacht tar eirné na neas mbinn
tre neart gall na ngniomh ninghill
doichc gor leathtrom a laoich libh
bráoich bhar searcfhonn nach sillir

20. Na tabhradh do thoil thromdha
maothghradh don iath athordha
re linn bhar leathtroim a nois
a ghrinn dhearcmhoill o dhurrlois

[18]. Ná hadhair d'intinn th'aithreadh
's a gclú soin nach sáraighthear,
a los do leathtroim re tan
dleachtaim a-n[os] a nochtadh.

[19]. Teacht tar Éirne na n-eas mbinn
tre neart Gall na ngníomh n-inghill
dóich gur leathtrom, a laoich, libh
braoich bhar searcfhonn nach sillir.

[20]. Ná tabhradh do thoil thromdha
maothghrádh don iath athardha
re linn bhar leathtroim a-n[os],
a ghrinn dhearcmhoill ó Dhurl[as].

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18. On account of your recent trouble, which I am entitled to reveal now, do not persist in the [generous] disposition of your [fore]fathers, whose fame will never be surpassed.

19. Coming across *Éirne* of the sweet waterfalls through the power of the *Gall*s of the capable deeds, with the result that you may not see the borders of your beloved lands, probably seems an affliction to you.

20. During your present trouble, O slow-glancing strong one from *Durlas*, let your majestic will not give gentle love to the fatherland [you have left behind you].

21. Taírr mar thigthea léd thír feín
dhaoibhsi budh dál go ndeigh chéill
leis an tír a ttánaig sibh
a ghríbh o fhánaid inmhigh

[21]. Tairr mar thigthea led thír féin
- daoibhse budh dál go ndeighchéill -
leis an tír i dtánaig sibh,
a ghríbh ó Fhánaid inmhigh.

22. Tigidh mar bhar ndúthchas féin
tre thoil ndé dál gan toibheím
leis an taóibh a ttiocfa sibh
ni ciontá dhaoibh a dhéinimh

[22]. Tigidh mar bhar ndúthchas féin
- tre thoil nDé, dál gan toibhéim -
leis an taoibh i dtiocfa sibh
- ní cionta daoibh a dhéinimh.

23. Dén leithbhear don chrechtaigh caidh
doire caomh do chill trosdaín
gan clódh os ceannghlas a cruth
is bearnas mór don mhulluch

[23]. Déan Leithbhear don Chréachtaigh cháidh
Doire caomh do Chill Trosdáin
- gan c[h]lódh ós ceannghlas a cruth -
is Bearnas Mór don Mhullach.

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21. In the same way as you would be contented with your own land, so also be contented with the land into which you have come; it will be a wise thing for you [to do so], O griffin from rich *Fánad*.

22. Accept the part[s] into which you will come as your own native land; through the will of God t[his] is an uninsulting dispensation; it is not wrong for you to do so.

23. Make a *Leithbhear* of spotless *An Chréachtach*, a beautiful *Doire* of *Ceall Trosdáin* - unsurpassed because its form is green-topped - and a *Bearnas Mór* of *An Mullach*.

24. Dún na ngall as toírrtheach traígh
deantar libh do lios leamháin
sáth seanaigh go snuádh noíge
do chuan bealaidh buidhoíge

25. Murbhach áloinn na neach seang
don lisín oirdheirc íseall
déna a ghriobh armshloigh fhinne
do dhión amhloidh thinntinne

26. Bi go tláith teimhlighe do chruth
tuigthear nach tusa an calbhuch
seachain breith an bhaíre anú
a leith laímhe no ar lánchlú

[24]. Dún na nGall as toirtheach tráigh
déantar libh do Lios Leamháin
's Áth Seanaigh go snuadh n-óige
do chuan Bealaigh Budhóige.

[25]. Murbhach álainn na n-each seang
don Lisín oirdheirc Íseall
déana, a ghríobh armshl[ua]igh Fhinne,
do dhíon amhl[ua]idh th'intinne.

[26]. Bí go tláith! Teimhli[gh] do chruth!
Tuigthear nach tusa An Calbhach!
Seachain breith an bháire a-nú
i leith láimhe nó ar lánchlú!.

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24. Let a *Dún na nGall*, whose beach is fruitful, be made by you of *Lios Leamháin* and a fresh-complexioned *Áth Seanaigh* of the haven of *Bealach Budhóige*.

25. To protect your spirit[s] from affliction, O griffin of the armed host of the *Finn*, make of illustrious *An Lisín Íseall* a beautiful *Murbhach* of the slender horses.

26. Be feeble! Darken you appearance! Let it be understood that you are not *An Calbhach*! For the present, avoid gaining victory as regards power or in return for great fame!

27. Sibh an tansa o taoi na bfail
iul chlan cconaire o chruachain
oir da meín a m/ m/ chuinn
gom ba réidh dheit gach dodhuing

28. Siol ndálaigh nar sgáth re sgoil
eírigh dhíobh gidh díobh thathoir
is bí a chroinn chneasda chroidhe
feasda do chloinn chonoire

29. Acht amhaín go seachna sibh
meín coda don chrú a deirthir
a maith sa niorghail nágha
go hionbhaidh a admhála

27. Sibh an tansa ó taoi 'na bhfail,
iúlchlann gConaire ó Chruachain,
oir dá méin, a mheic mheic Chuinn,
gom[adh] réidh deit gach dodhaing.

28. Síol nDálaigh nar sgáth [l]e sgoil
éirigh díobh gidh díobh th'athair
is bí, a chroinn chneasda chroidhe,
feasda do chloinn Chonaire.

29. Acht amháin go seachna sibh
méin choda don chrú a deirthir,
a maith sa n-iorghail n-ágha,
go hionbhaidh a [h]admhála.

---

27. Since you are now in their company, [i. e. in that] of *Conaire*'s learned families from *Cruachain*, adapt [yourself] to their outlook, O son of *Conn*'s son, so that every difficulty might be[come] easy for you [to bear].

28. [Even] though your father is [one] of them, leave [the ranks of] *Dálach*'s seed, which has never been a[n object of] fear to a[ny] school of poets (?), and henceforth, O kindly tree of [my] heart, be [a member] of *Conaire*'s family.

29. Except that you avoid the outlook of part of the race being spoken of until their worth in warlike battle is shown.

30. Grádh a niú ar ghniomhaibh goile
óga ag caomhchloinn chonoire
biodh grádh na healadhna it fhail
a ghradh treabhadhbha tuathail

31. Aithn/. dhamh dream don chuire
nach léíg ina leith gortuighe
na meatacht méine gidh eadh
a cheapalt meinne míleadh

32. Mor bfear oile don aicme
nach séanfadh seo?l adhainte
an grúadh tre ghortaighe an grinn
ni tuar lochtoile a luaidhim

30. Grádh a-niú ar ghníomhaibh goile
ó [t]á ag caomhchloinn Chonaire,
bíodh grádh na healadhna it fhail,
a ghrádh treabhadhbha Tuathail.

31. Aithnidh damh dream don chuire
nach léig 'na leith gortaighe
'na meatacht méine gidh eadh,
a cheapalt méinne Míleadh.

32. Mór bhfear oile don aicme
nach séanfadh seal adhainte
[a n]gruadh tre ghortaighe an g[h]rinn;
ní tuar lochtoile a luaidhim.

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30. Since *Conaire*'s fair family loves warlike deeds these days, let there be love of art where[ver] you are, O love of *Tuathal*'s homestead.

31. I know of some of the company who would not (though this may be [caused by] cowardice of spirit [on their part]) allow themselves to be accused of tight-fistedness, O cement of the [genealogical] stock of *Míl*'s warrior-band.

32. There are many other men of the race who would not avoid having their cheeks reddened through mock tight-fistedness for a while; this is no reason to fault [them].

33. Mar chuís molta meastar sin
cruas abhachta i ccrú an chinidh
s gan olc do dheinimh da dhruim
port gach einfhir a nabruim

34. Os greann caomh g/ cruas méine
tug dóibh daitheas iuilchéille
gabhail a nolcruín re a nais
rodhóigh fortúin a neanghrais

35. Da réir sin seasf/. tusa
a mheic miadhaigh mághnusa
cruas abhachta na bfear bfis
romholta an treabh do thuairis

[33]. Mar chúis molta measdar sin,
cruas ábhachta i gcrú an chinidh,
's gan olc do dhéinimh dá dhruim
- port gach éinfhir a n-abraim.

[34]. [I]s greann caomh gan c[h]ruas méine
tug dóibh, d'áitheas iúilchéille,
gabháil a n-olcrúin re a n-ais;
radh[á]igh fhortúin i n-eanghrais.

[35]. Dá réir sin seasfaidh tusa,
a mheic m[h]iadhaigh Maghnasa,
cruas ábhachta na bhfear bhfis;
r[á]mholta an treabh do thuairis.

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33. That mock stinginess - without [, of course,] doing [any] harm thereby - is considered praiseworthy in th[is] family's demesne; what I am saying is every single man's tune.

34. It is gentle humour, devoid of mean-spiritedness, that has made them - out of [the] keenness of [their] knowledge and wisdom - undertake [the risk that it might be thought that] the[y had] evil intention[s]; in a foray, there is great hope of [making a] fortune.

35. For that reason, O lordly son of *Maghnas*, you will tolerate the mock tight-fistedness of the men of knowledge. The home you have earned is most praiseworthy.

36. Ni mor naireacht núr do shuidh
romhaibh a riamh isin ccréchtuigh
acht aois iuil go bfios bfortuil
fios g/. iuil ga noireachtuibh

37. Biodh nach bfuil cruas id chroidhe
gabh leis mar chrú conoire
ar an ccréchtaigh an cceín bheír
ceím nach séntair le a sruítheibh

38. Muna dearna sibhsi soin
do bértha ger beart puthoir
a chaomhchroinn go ccruth toile
guth do chaomhchloinn chonoire

[36]. Ní mór n-aireacht n-úr do shuidh
romhaibh riamh isan gCréachtaigh
acht ao[s] iúil go bhfios bhfortail,
fios gach iúil 'ga n-o[rracht]aibh.

[37]. Bíodh nach bhfuil cruas id' chroidhe,
gabh leis mar chrú Conaire,
ar an gCréachtaigh an gcéin bheir
- céim nach séantair le a sruithibh.

[38]. Muna dearna sibhse soin
do-bhéartha - gér b[h]eart p[h]udhair -
a chaomhchroinn go gcruth toile,
guth do chaomhchloinn Chonaire.

---

36. Except for the the knowledgeable learned class, whose councils know all lore, not many are the noble councils that have ever ruled *An Chréachtach* before you[r time].

37. Since there is none of it in your heart, accept that stinginess is [a characteristic of] *Conaire*'s blood[line] - a fact that is not denied by its sages - as long as you are in *An Chréachtach*.

38. If you did not do that, O beautiful tree with a beloved form, you would - though this would be a mischievous act - give offence to *Conaire*'s fine family.

39. Doigh go meastaoi thiar is thoir
gor do bhuaidh bhaoi ar an ccréchtoigh
gan aon fial dfosd/. innte
a chiall osgar ninnillte

40. Gor bhrisis buaidh an bhaile
do chluinim a chliaraighe
dleacht uainn: a iomaithbhir ort
a sduaigh fhionndaithgheal éttrocht

41. Do bheir maith oirbh a fhirgraídh
fíorthnúth na féile dadmháil
a admháil ni haimhleasg lat
stairmeasg fa a admhail orat

[39]. Dóigh go measdaoi thiar is thoir
gur do bhuaidh bhaoi ar an gCréachtaigh
gan aon fhial d'fhosdadh innte,
a chiall osgar n-innillte.

[40]. Gur bhrisis buaidh an bhaile
d[á g]cluin[ea]m, a chliaraidhe,
dleacht uainn a iomaithbh[ea]r ort,
a sduaigh fhionndaithgheal éadrocht.

[41]. Do-bheir maith oirbh, a fhir ghráidh,
fíorthnúth na féile d'admháil;
a admháil ní haimhleasg lat
's tairmeasg fa a admháil orat.

---

39. It is likely that it would be thought everywhere that it was [considered] a virtue in *An Chréachtach* not to maintain any generosity there, O wis[e leader] of equipped warriors.

40. Were I, O member of a poet-band, to hear that you had violated th[is supposed] virtue of the place [by being bountiful], I would be entitled to reproach you for it, poet, O lustrous, fair, brightly coloured rainbow!

41. (?) It does you good, O beloved man, to admit [that you have] a true aspiration towards generosity; while you are hindered from admitting this, you are not reluctant to do so.

42. Urasa dhaoibh deanamh air
da ttí a am , no a uair chugaibh
dúchus feilé na ríogh róimh
do lión eíre da nonoír

[42]. Urasa daoibh déanamh air,
dá dtí a am nó a uair chugaibh,
dúthchas féile na ríogh róimh
- do líon Éire dá n-onóir.

43. Aithgheárr bhiós gach beó ag adhnadh
cosmhail san mhaith mhiadhádhbhal
as duthchas daoibh gos aniodh
caoin re clú chlos bhar cciniodh

[43]. Aithghearr bhíos gach beó ag adhnadh
cosmhail 's an mhaith mhiadhadhbhal
as dúthchas daoibh gus a-niodh;
caoin re clúchlos bhar gcineadh.

44. Os clú dhál oíreas dféile
da mbeith cion ar chloith mhéinne
ni anóirf/. do dhál di
a ghradh daghfhoithneadh dáoili

[44]. Ós clú dhál oireas d'fhéile
dá mbeith cion ar chloithmhéinne
ní anoirfeadh do dhál di,
a ghrádh daghfhoithneadh Daoile.

---

42. If you get the chance to do so, it is easy for you to strive towards [giving expression to] the native generosity of the kings before you [as a result of which] *Éire* filled with [news] of their respect [for poets].

43. Like the great, lordly wealth which has been your inheritance hitherto, every living thing has but a very short lifespan; [...] your race's fame (?).

44. Since it is out of a reputation for bestowals, of the kind that would be in keeping with [being renowned for] generosity, that love might accrue to a famous [warrior-]band, your [present circumstances would not lend themselves very much to this, O darling of the good coverts of the [River] *Daol*.

45. Go raibh meas ar mheínne an chlú
a ui chuinn as caoin miadhchrú
ibh dig da ndearmaidfe a ndál
fir ba teannghailte teandál

46. Teagasg ardgheag craobh o ccuinn
diór dhúinn tre dhioghrais ccumuinn
go tocht da tréad in inmhe
béd g/ locht a luaidhimne

47. Bun is cionn o tá re treall
uaisleacht ard iúl na heireann
dearbhtha nach nár dhaoibh is dhamh
ar naoibh ga ttám do thurnamh

[45]. Go raibh meas ar mhéinne an chlú,
a uí Chuinn as chaoin miadhchrú,
ibh digh dá ndearmaidfe a ndál
fir ba teannghailte teannál.

[46]. Teagasg airdghéag [g]craobh ó gCuinn
díor dúinn, tre dhíoghrais gcumainn,
go tocht dá [d]tréad i n-inmhe;
béad gan locht a luaidhimne.

[47]. Bun [ó]s cionn ó tá re treall
uaisleacht ard iú[i]l na hÉireann,
dearbhtha nach nár daoibh is damh
ar n-aoibh, gá dtám, do thurnamh.

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45. May the famous [warrior-]band be respected, O grandson of *Conn* whose lordly blood is good; drink a draught by which you will forget the generosity of the[se] men whose blaze was red-hot.

46. It is proper for us [learned men] to educate the high branches of the boughs of *Conn*'s descendants out of loving devotion [rather than for payment] until [such a time as] their flock[s] thrive; what I [have] mention[ed] is a misfortune that does not reflect badly [on them].

47. In short, since *Éire*'s great, guiding nobility has been awry for some time, it is certainly not shameful for you or us for our wealth to [be] lessen[ing].

48. A mheic maghnais m/ m/ cuinn
tuigthe dhaoibh dál an leathtruim
a dhreach niamhdha an chrotha chaoín
a ghriangha srotha samhaoir

49. A chnú don chrobhuing fhiré
a ghég dfiodhbhuidh uírfhiné
a mheín chiúin dan róghar rath
a mhóradh iúil na néolach

50. A aíneas glan a ghlór grinn
a chroidhe fírfhial fairsing
a laoich armshluaigh aicme ar sean
a bhalbhuaidh mhaicne míleadh

[48]. A mheic Maghnais mheic mheic Cuinn,
tuigthe daoibh dál[a] an leathtroim,
a dhreach niamhdha an chrotha caoin,
a ghriangha srotha Samhaoir.

[49]. A chnú don chrobhaing fhíre,
a ghéag d'fhiodhbhaidh úirfhíne,
a mhéin chiúin dan róghar rath,
a mhóradh iúil na n-eólach.

[50]. A áineas glan, a ghlór grinn,
a chroidhe fírfhial fairsing,
a laoich armshluaigh aicme ar sean,
a bhalbhuaidh mhaicne Míleadh.

---

48. O son of *Maghnas* son of *Conn*'s son, O brilliant face of handsome appearance, O sun-ray of the stream of *Samhaor*, you must understand all about trouble.

49. O nut of the righteous cluster, O branch of a forest of noble vine, O [man of] calm disposition to whom success is very close, O exalter of the sages' lore.

50. O pure delight, O comely voice, O spacious, truly generous heart, O hero of the war-host of our ancestors' race, O victorious well-being of *Míl*'s descendants.

51. A threas draige is na deabhth/.
da mbeith ágh ar eireannchaibh
nir leanbdha i ngarbhghoil bhar ngluinn
a chalb/. dhealbhdha í dhomhnuill

[51]. A threas draige isna deabhthaibh,
dá mbeith ágh ar Eireannchaibh,
níor leanb[h]dha i ngarbhghoil bhar ngluin
a Chalbhaigh dhealbhdha Í Dhomhnaill.

52. Go hiath cruachna an chaoinfhuinn dil
dhaoibh ar tteacht on tír thuaidhin
a ghlór suairc le ttreabh ar ttoil
mo chean dot chuairt a chalbhoigh
[mo ch/]

[52]. Go hiath Cruachna an chaonfhuinn dil,
daoibh ar dteacht ón tír thuaidhin,
a ghlór suairc le dtreabh ar dtoil,
mo-chean do[d] chuairt, a Chalbhaigh.

53. Da mair/. fachtna o fearghoil
mac rosa an ruin oireamhnaigh
flaith go nágh meine nar mhion
féile fa lár ni leigfiodh

[53]. Dá maireadh Fachtna Ó Fearghail
mac Rosa an rúin oireamhnaigh
- flaith go n-ágh méine nar mhion -
féile fa lár ní léigfeadh.

---

51. O dragon-like strength in battle, if the men of *Éire* were warred upon, your feats of prowess would not be childlike in harsh battle, O shapely *Calbhach Ó Domhnaill.*

52. Upon your arrival from the country in the north to the land of *Cruachain* of the beautiful and beloved plain, O pleasant voice with whom my love dwells, welcome is your visit, O *Calbhach.*

53. If *Fachtna Ó Fearghail*, a prince of considerable valour, son of *Ros* of the agreeable intention, were alive, he would not neglect generosity.

POEM 11

MS. version: (NLI G. 167, p. 344)

Muiris m/ Briain oíg ui Mhaoilchonuire
do rinne an dánsa don Chalbhach ruadh
reamhráite

1. Luireach chriost fan ccalb/ ruadh
cosg biodhb/. ceannp/t cathshluaigh
an ré lán dar treisi ar ttoil
rob slán dar seisi suthoin

2. Criost da anacal ar olc
dia da dhídean ar ghuasocht
da bhiodhbhaidh ni séd samhail
gég don rioghr/. rioghamhail

Edited text:
(no other MSS. consulted)

1. **Lúireach** Chríosd fan gCalbhach Ruadh,
cosg biodhbhadh, ceannphort cathshluagh,
an ré lán dar treise ar dtoil
rob slán dar seise suthain.

2. Críosd dá anacal ar olc,
Dia dá dhídean ar ghuasacht;
dá bhiodhbhaidh ní séad samhail,
géag don rionnraidh ríoghamhail.

---

1. Christ's breastplate around *An Calbhach Ruadh*, holder-back of enemies, leader of warhosts, the full moon for whom my love is most strong; may my long-term patron be saved.

2. [May] Christ shield him from evil; [may] God shelter him from danger; a branch of the royal spear-host, he is not [the] likeness of his enemy.

3. Tre ghuidhe na hóighe air
Dia do choimhéd an Chalbhaigh
ar ainmhian cáigh uma cheann
an ghlan ghrian o ráith raoireann

[3]. Tre ghuidhe na hóighe air,
Dia do choimhéad an Chalbhaigh
ar ainmhian cáich uma cheann
- an ghlainghrian ó ráith Raoireann.

4. Neart biodhb/. nar imghidh air
an Calb/. ar ccrann toraidh
snach mair do shaorchrú chláir cuinn
acht aon chnú amháin an mhoguill

[4]. Neart biodhbhadh nar im[re] air,
an Calbhach, ar gcrann toraidh,
's nach mair do shaorchrú chláir Cuinn
acht aonchnú a-mháin an mhogaill.

5. Go bráth nar faghthar ar faill
crann toraidh thíre Conaill
dar linn as crann sochair sin
am a dochair do dhéinimh

[5]. Go bráth nar faghthar ar faill
crann toraidh Thíre Conaill
- dar linn, is crann sochair sin -
am a dhochair do dhéinimh.

---

3. As a result of prayer for his perfection, [may] God guard *An Calbhach*, the clear sun from the fort of *Raoireann*, from the ill-will of all [who bear it] against him.

4. May the power of enemies not inflict itself upon *An Calbhach*, our fruitful tree, [especially] since, of the noble blood of *Conn*'s plain, only the one single nut of the cluster lives.

5. At time[s] when he is being done harm, may the fruitful tree of *Tír Conaill* never be caught unawares - in my opinion, he is a beneficient tree.

6. Fuilngeadh fós a bfuighe dolc
na gabhadh grain le guasocht
feínnidh fial nar adhain guth
ni cian cabhair on Chalbhuch

7. Gidheadh da labhart/. lais
Mac na flatha o bhruach Bearnais
fa na ndeantar um ól air
do gebhth/. ór na aghaidh

8. Tug Dia mar dheárlacadh dhó
fírinne ráidh fos flathó
crann cúmhra g/ cheilg g/ chor
umhla g/ fheirg g/ uamhon

6. Fuilngeadh fós a bhfuighe d'ulc,
ná gabhadh gráin [r]e [n]guasacht,
féinnidh fial nar adhain [uch];
ní cian cabhair ón Chalbhach.

7. Gidh eadh, dá labharthar lais,
mac na flatha ó bhruach Bearnais,
- fá[th 'm]a ndéantar um ól air -
do-ghéabhthar ór 'na aghaidh.

8. Tug Dia mar dhearlacadh dó
fírinne ráidh, fos flatha,
- crann cumhra gan cheilg gan choir -
umhla gan fheirg gan uamhain.

---

6. In addition, let this generous hero who has n[ever] incited a sigh hold-out against what evil he encounters; let him not fear danger; help is not far from *An Calbhach*.

7. Moreover, if the youthful prince from the border of *Bearnas* is spoken on behalf of [in poetry], gold is received in return - a reason he is made for at [times of] drinking.

8. As a gift to him, God has given [this] guileless, offenceless, fragrant tree truthfulness of speech, princely steadfastness [and] angerless, fearless humility.

9. Cuís buídhe a chaís ar Dhia dhó
Mac Maghnais móradh anma
bi gean g/. aonduine air
ar feadh caomhmhuighe Cobhth/.

9. Cúis bhuidheachais ar Dhia dó
mac Maghnais, móradh anma:
bí[dh] gean gach aonduine air
ar feadh caomhmoighe Cobhthaigh.

10. Riar na naoidheadh bhíos na bhrugh
do bheir Dia don óg uasul
le mbí searc g/. einfhir air
beart do cheímibh an Chalb/.

10. Riar na n-aoidheadh bhíos 'na bhrugh
do-bheir Dia don óg uasal
le mbí searc gach éinfhir air
- beart do chéimibh an Chalbhaigh.

11. Da madh lais ionnmhus chlann ccuinn
an Calb/. caomh odomhnuill
gearr go scaoilf/. se faseach
sni mhaoidf/. é ar aoinneach

11. Dá madh lais ionnmhas chlann gCuinn,
An Calbhach caomh Ó Domhnaill,
gearr go sgaoilfeadh sé fa seach
is ní mhaoidhfeadh é ar aoinneach.

---

9. The son of *Maghnas*, exalter of [that] name (?) has reason to thank God; all around *Cobhthach*'s beloved plain, everyone loves him.

10. God has given the noble youth the [means of] providing for the guests who frequent his house, [a reason] for which every man loves him - an instance of *An Calbhach*'s deeds.

11. If handsome *An Calbhach Ó Domhnaill* owned all the wealth of *Conn*'s families, he would not be long distributing it in turn and he would remind no-one of it.

12. Luireach Chriost da chumhdach sin
an calb/ rúadh daríribh
maith a ghlór sa gníomh faseach
da dhion as lór an luíreach

[12]. Lúireach Chríosd dá chumhdach sin,
An Calbhach Ruadh, dá-ríribh;
maith a ghlór 's a ghníomh fa seach
dá dhíon is lór an **lúireach**.

---

12. [May] Christ's cuirass protect *An Calbhach Ruadh* - in earnest! His words and his deeds, respectively, are good - for his salvation, the breastplate is sufficient.

POEM 12

MS. version: (NLI G. 167, p. 345)

An Muiris cenda do rinne so
don fhear reamhraite

1. Beannacht chugaibh a chalb/.
os tú as úmhla dollamhnaibh
aghég chúmhra do chrú cuinn
dar dú úmhla et urruim

2. Slán arís do rún croidhe
chugaibh a chleath chúmhroidhe
ráinic clú féile dot fhuil
as tú mo chéile a chalb/.

Edited text:
(no other MSS. consulted)

1. **Beannacht** chugaibh, a Chalbhaigh,
ós tú as umhla d'ollamhnaibh,
a ghéag chumhra do chrú Cuinn
dar dú umhla agus urraim.

2. Slán a-rís do rún croidhe
chugaibh, a chleath chumhraidhe;
ráinig clú fhéile dot fhuil;
is tú mo chéile, a Chalbhaigh.

---

1. A blessing to you, O *Calbhach*, since it is you who are most deferential towards *ollamh*s, O fragrant branch of *Conn*'s blood[line] to whom deference and respect are due.

2. A greeting again to you out of heartfelt love, O fragrant spear; your blood[line] has a reputation for generosity; you are my spouse, O *Calbhach*.

3. A shearc ollamhan fhuinn breagh
a fhlaith dfionfhuil m/ Míleadh
a mhil/. g/ tár o thoil
slán dariribh dot rochtoin

4. A phóir na ríogh o raith breagh
as tú an cur/. nar caineadh
a ré lán as uaisle dfuil
slán uaimsi da bhar nádhbhuibh

5. Ag so an cheird da ttugais toil
sás/. trén biadh do bhochtaibh
sgach aoinfhear ag triall dot thoigh
is riar na naoidheadh oraigh

[3]. A shearc ollamhan fhuinn Breagh,
a fhlaith d'fhíonfhuil mhac Míleadh,
a mhílidh gan tár, ó thoil
slán dá-ríribh dod rochtain.

[4]. A phóir na ríogh ó ráith Breagh,
is tú an curaidh nar cáineadh;
a ré lán as uaisle d'fhuil,
slán uaimse dá bhar n-adhbhaidh.

[5]. Ag so an cheird dá dtugais toil:
sásadh tréan, biadh do bhochtaibh,
's gach aoinfhear ag triall dod thoigh
is riar na n-aoidheadh oraibh.

---

3. In earnest, O darling of the *ollamh*s of the land of *Breagha*, O prince of the wine-blood of *Míl*'s sons, O irreproachable warrior, may a greeting [from me] reach you.

4. O offspring of the kings from the fort of *Breagha*, you are a warrior who has never been criticised; O full moon who is most noble as regards [his] blood[lines], a greeting from me to your home.

5. Here is the vocation to which you have given [your] heart: the feeding of powerful men, food for paupers and every single man journeying to your house with the responsibility on you of maintaining the guests.

6. Atáid ionnaibh druim ar dhruim
a chumhdaightheoir chlann cconuill
gan aisdear uaibhsi do neach
gaisg/. , uaisle $_7$ eineach

[6]. A-táid ionnaibh, druim ar dhruim,
a chumhdaightheóir chlann gConaill,
- gan aisdear uaibhse do ne[o]ch -
gaisgeadh, uaisle agus eineach.

7. Fuarais o Dhia do dhealbh neamh
gnúis fhaoil/. , aigneadh ailgean
cneas shéimh thromdha da bhar ttoil
méin nach dorrdha le deor/.

[7]. Fuarais ó Dhia do dhealbh neamh
gnúis fhaoilidh, aigneadh áilghean,
cneas séimh tromdha dá bhar dtoil,
méin nach dorrdha le deóraidh.

8. A fhlaith amhra do chrú cuinn
a mheic maghnais ui Dhomhnuill
ge tá misi g/ buar go bocht
daoibhsi b/. buan mo bheannocht

[8]. A fhlaith amhra do chrú Cuinn,
a mheic Maghnais Uí Dhomhnaill,
gé [taoimse] gan bhuar go bocht
daoibhse budh buan mo **bheannacht**.

---

6. One after another, O guardian of *Conall*'s families, [the personal qualities of] prowess, nobility and hospitality are in you; nobody leaves you.

7. From God who created heaven, you have received a joyful face, a gentle mind, a smooth [and] dignified aspect [that is] to your liking [and] a temperament that is not off-putting to an exile [poet].

8. O wondrous prince of *Conn*'s blood[line], O son of *Maghnas Ó Domhnaill*, although I am without cows [and] poor, my blessing to you will be lasting.

9. Osí féin an chraobh ciníl
beannacht uaim go hEibhilín
oigbhean chaomh g/ céim cúmhga
ni léir daon a heasúmhla

10. Beannacht uaim tre dhúthracht dhi
fialbhean do shaoirfhreimh suibhni
bean g/ aon olc as ferr foss
do mheall daonnocht on duthchos

9. **Ós** í féin an chraobh chiníl,
beannacht uaim go hEibhilín;
óigbhean chaomh gan chéim cumhnga,
ní léir d'aon a heasumhla.

10. Beannacht uaim tre dhúthracht di,
fiailbhean do shaoirfhréimh Shuibhne,
bean gan aonolc as fearr fos,
do mheall daonnacht ón dúthchos.

---

9. Since she is the branch of a [noble] kindred, a blessing from me to *Eibhilín*; a beautiful young woman with no degree of meanness, her humility is clear to all.

10. A blessing, born of devotion, from me to her, [to this] generous woman of *Suibhne*'s noble root, a woman devoid of a single evil whose perseverance is excellent [and] who has brought forth kindliness from [her] nature.

POEM 13

MS. version: (NLI G. 167, p. 346)

Maolmuire o huiginn do chum so
don chalbhach ruadh chedna

1. Ort mo cheist a chalbhaigh ruaidh
a lámh thrén iomchrus anbhuain
os tú a chathbhile chraoi floinn
an tsaoi as aithnidhe agoinn

2. Os ceist ionrúin aguinn sin
tearc ann dar coir a cloisdin
dfein breagh na tteann aolbhoth ttais
acht sleagh beannfhaobhrach Béarnais

Edited text:
(no other MSS. consulted)

[1]. **Ort** mo cheisd, a Chalbhaigh Ruaidh,
a lámh thréan iomchras anbhuain,
ós tú, a chaithbhile chraoi Floinn,
an tsaoi as aithnidhe againn.

[2]. Ós ceisd ionrúin againn sin,
tearc ann dar chóir a cloisdin
d'fhéin Breagh na dteannaolbhoth dtais
acht sleagh beannfhaobhrach Bearnais.

---

1. My question is for you, O *Calbhach Ruadh*, O strong hand who withstands misfortune, since you are the sage best known to me, O battle tree of *Flann*'s enclosure.

2. Since that is a question I deem worthy of secrecy, few among the host of *Breagha* of the whitewashed strongholds should hear it other than the sharp-tipped spear of *Bearnas*.

3. Créd nach bíthi bádhach linn
fiafr/.im do dhreich dhoinnshlim
a bhrath banbha na ngég nglan
no créd damhna bhar ndiomhdhagh

[3]. Créad nach bíthe bádhach linn?
fiafraighim dod dhreich dhoinnshlim,
a bhrath Banbha na ngéag nglan,
nó créad damhna bhar ndiomhdhadh?

4. Innis dhúinne a fhlaith liné
créd é ádhbhar th oirbhire
a leaca shaor a ghruaidh gheal
no uainn ga taobh ar tuill/.

[4]. Innis dúinne, a fhlaith Line,
créad é adhbhar th'oirbhire?
a leaca shaor, a ghruaidh gheal,
nó uainn gá taobh ar tuilleadh?

5. Bidh gach aon uair muin ar mhuin
fileadha fódla at fhochair
a fhlaith an caoinlis cuinnsi
fa sgaith naoibhnis aguibhsi

[5]. Bíd gach aonuair, muin ar mhuin,
fil[idh na] Fódla it fhochair,
a fhlaith an chaoinlis Cuinnse,
fa sgaith n-aoibhnis agaibhse.

---

3. O hope of *Banbha* of the pure branches, I ask your slender, ruddy face: Why are you not being affectionate towards me or what is the cause of your anger?

4. Tell me, O prince of *Line*, O bright and noble cheek, what is the cause of your neglect [of me] or how it was earned by me?

5. O prince of this beautiful enclosure of *Conn*'s, the *file*s of *Fódla*, one after another, are in your company all the time, enjoying the best of entertainment at your instigation.

6. Bidh nach beínn mar fhil/. ann
ciodh bhós nach beinnsi tadhall
a ghég doire as dóigh fa ghoil
mar thráill oile san ádhbhaidh

7. Iongn/. nach ttógbhann tú linn
an ghnúis dhealbhdha an dreich naoibhinn
no fabhra na ngormshúl nglan
a chaomhrún calma cur/.

8. Do bhearainn buideachas dáoibh
da bfaghainn uaibhsi a mhacaoimh
a chlodh fainn ghég/. go ngart
féghain orainn tre aobhdhacht

[6]. Bíodh nach beinn mar fhilidh ann,
ciodh bhós nach beinnse ag tadhall,
a ghéag Doire as dáigh fa ghoil,
mar thráill oile san adhbhaidh?

[7]. Iongnadh nach tógbhann tú rinn
an ghnúis dhealbhdha, an dreich n-aoibhinn
nó fabhra na ngormshúl nglan,
a chomhrún calma curadh.

[8]. Do-bhéarainn buidheachas daoibh
dá n-aghainn uaibhse, a mhacaoimh
an chlodhfhuinn ghéagaigh go ngart,
féagain orainn tre aobhdhacht.

---

6. Even were I not to be there as a *file*, O branch of *Doire* who is a hope in battle, why should I not frequent the house as another [menial] servant?

7. It is amazing, O brave darling of heroes, that you do not lift up the shapely face, the delightful countenance or the eyelash of clear blue eyes to me.

8. I would be grateful to you, O honourable youth of the branching land of ramparts, if, out of courtesy, I got a glance at me from you.

9. An chaoimhe do chleacht sinne
uaibhsi a dhreagain Duibhlinne
créd an claochlodh rod chuir ruinn
a thuir o chaomhchlar conuill

10. Cuimhneach libhsi a fhlaith o ccuinn
an chuís ruín go roich eadruinn
smé ag comhradh léd dhealbhshúil ndil
ar orlár seanmhúir Sligigh

11. An lá sin ni leigfea ar ais
mo ghrádh dhiot a Mheic Mághnais
iongn/. liom ga damhna duibh
a mhionn as amhra an iorghuil

[9]. An chaoimhe do chleacht sinne
uaibhse, a dhreagain Duibhlinne!
Créad an claochládh rod chuir ruinn,
a thuir ó chaomhchlár Conaill?

[10]. Cuimhneach libhse, a fhlaith ó gCuinn,
an chúis rúin go roich eadrainn
's mé ag comhrádh led dhealbhshúil ndil
ar orlár seanmhúir Sligigh?

[11]. An lásoin, ní leigfea ar ais
mo ghrádh díot, a mheic Maghnais,
iongnadh liom gá damhna duibh,
a mhionn as amhra i n-iorghoil.

---

9. [Such] great kindness I was accustomed to receiving from you, O dragon of *Duibhlinn*! What is the change that has turned you against me, O tower of *Conall*'s beautiful plain?

10. O prince of *Conn*'s descendants, do you remember that the reason for secrecy arose between us while I was speaking on behalf of your sculpted, beloved eye on the floor at old *Sligeach* castle?

11. That day, O son of *Maghnas*, you would not have rejected my love [as you are doing now]; I am bewildered as to your reason [for acting like this towards me] is, O hero extraordinary in battle.

12.Ni teangtha carad do chuir
caint eadrainn a eó Murbhuigh
lucht diomdhadh da dheanamh ruinn
én oil dob iongnamh eadruinn

13.Na creid ma iarr air mh annsa
teangtha an iomlait oramsa
a bhrath cleire ar lios na Lugh
fios na freimhe go bfaghur

14.Na creid an ceidsgél orainn
a chraobh freimhe riogh chonaill
a ghriobh catha a mhaighre os muir
airrghe flatha na fáguibh

[12].Ní teangtha carad do chuir
caint eadrainn, a eó Murbhaigh;
lucht diomdhadh 'gá dhéanaimh ruinn
éanoil dob iongnamh eadrainn.

[13].Ná creid, má iarrthair mh'annsa,
teangtha an iomlait oramsa,
a bhrath cléire ar lios na Lugh,
fios na fréimhe go bhfaghar.

[14].Ná creid an céidsgéal orainn,
a chraobh fhréimhe ríoghChonaill;
a ghríobh chatha, a mhaighre ós mhuir,
airrdhe flatha ná fágaibh.

---

12. It is not the tongues of friends that have made us argumentative with each other, O salmon of *Murbhach*; begrudgers are doing it to us; it would be amazing for there to be any recrimination between us.

13. If, O hope of poets of the rampart of the *Lugh*s depend, my love is sought [by you], do not believe those who complain about me until the origins [of what they are saying] are known.

14. Do not believe the first accusation against me, O branch of royal *Conall*'s root; O battle griffin, O salmon who rules the sea, do not abandon the qualities of a prince.

15. Dha dheanamh dhéag ar gach sgél
suil faghar fios a chedfhrémh
a cur gleoidh le fein bfoghla
do reir an iúil úghdardha

16. Na creidsi a chodhnach doire
sgél orm om fhior diomdhadha
ga bríogh sna briathraibh rod chlos
acht fiafr/. dhióm a ndearnos

17. Na habair go madh eól uainn
o rádh breige ar bhreith dhiombuain
acht go ttí dhióm a dhénomh
gach ní as fiór aideubhar

[15]. Dhá dhéanamh dhéag ar gach sgéal
suil faghar fios a chéidfhréamh,
a chur gleóidh le féin bhfoghla,
do réir an eóil ughdardha.

[16]. Ná creidse, a chodhnach Doire,
sgéal orm óm fhior dhiomdhaidhe;
- gá bríogh sna briathraibh ro-clos? -
acht fiafraigh díom a ndearnas.

[17]. Ná habair go madh eól uainn
ó rádh bréige ar bhreith dhiombuain
- acht go dtí díom a dhéana[i]mh
gach ní [bhus] fhíor aidéa[mh**air**].

---

15. According to the authors' lore, O battle warrior with a marauding band, every accusation goes through twelve forms before its origins are established.

16. What force have the words that have been heard [by you]? O leader of *Doire*, do not believe an[y] accusation made against me by my detractor; instead, ask me what I did.

17. Do not, on the basis of a lying statement made [by my enemy] in return for unlasting payment, say that it was guidance from me (?) [that caused this] (?); on the contrary, until [such a time as] I am capable of doing so, you will admit everything that will be true (?).

18. Rann daquino an abhra mhoill
ag so uaim do chionn cumoinn
le a gruaidh lig ghil nach aomh mhoil
mo chraobh dhidin ar dhiomdh/.

[18]. Rann d'Aquino an abhra mhoill
ag so uaim do chionn cumainn
le a ghruaidh líghgil nach aomh mh'oil,
mo chraobh dhídin ar dhiomdhaidh.

---

18. Here, out of love for his brightly coloured cheek that does not consent to my being blamed, is a quatrain from me for *Aquino* of the slow-moving eyelash, the branch who shelters me from anger.

POEM 14

MS. version: (NLI G. 167, p. 347)

An Maolmuire ceanna don chalb/.

reamhráite

1. Fuasgail mo cheisd a chalb/.
go mbiam le dlaoi ndonnamhlaigh
gan fháth noirbhire fam thuinn
a bhláth collbhile o cconuill

2. Ceasda do chuirios oraibh
um dhán a dhraig shíodhamhail
a ghég chnuasghlan nach measg mionn
fuasgl/. na cceasd ni chluiniom

Edited text:
(no other MSS. consulted)

[1]. **Fuasgail mo cheasda, a Chalbhaigh,**
go mbiam [r]ed dhlaoi ndonnamhlaigh
gan fháth n-oirbhire fam thuinn,
a bhláth coillbhile ó gConaill.

[2]. Ceasda do chuireas oraibh
im dhán, a dhraig shíodhamhail,
a ghéag chnuasghlan nach measg mionn,
fuasgladh na gceasd ní chluineam.

---

1. Answer my questions, O *Calbhach*, O flower of the hazel-tree of *Conall*'s descendants, so that I may harbour no reason for reproaching your curling brown lock.

2. I asked you questions in my poem, O peaceful dragon; I do not hear of them being answered, O branch of pure fruit who does not break his word.

3. As iongn/. liom od dhreich ndil
nach bfuaras freagra eígin
a chiabh na ccuach , a lámh lonn
tre ghrádh no tre fhuath orom

[3]. Is iongnadh liom ód dhreich dhil
nach fuaras freagra éigin,
a chiabh na gcuach, a lámh lonn,
tre ghrádh nó tre fhuath oram.

4. Fiú na freagra da madh áil
do chur uait a chraobh chonáigh
a rún nach cásmhar fa chradh
rob sásmhar dhúin a dhénamh

[4]. Fiú na freagra dámadh áil
do chur uait, a chraobh chonáigh,
a rún nach cásmhar fa chradh,
rob shásmhar dúnn a dhéanamh.

5. No mas neimhchion tug tusa
orm budheín ger urusa
na deantar dimbriogh dom dhán
a rinnghríobh eachtmhar iomdhán

[5]. Nó más neimhchion tug tusa
orm budh-éin, gér urusa,
ná déantar dimbríogh dom dhán
a rinnghríobh éachtmhar Iomdhán.

---

3. It seems strange to me, O strong hand, O curling tress, that, through love or hatred for me, I have not received some answer from your beloved face.

4. It would be worthwhile, if you so wished, to send the answers, O wealthy branch; this would be satisfactory for me, O darling unconcerned about cattle.

5. Or if you have taken to disliking me myself, though it would be easy to do so, let my poem not be disparaged [by you], O feat-performing starlike griffin of *Iomdhán*.

6. Na mas fearg as fachain daóibh
na ceil ormsa é a mhacaoímh
ni fáth coír sírfheirge sin
a dhoigh díbheirge an díginn

[6]. Nó más fhearg as fhachain daoibh,
ná ceil ormsa é, a mhacaoimh;
ní fáth cóir sírfheirge sinn,
a dhóigh dhíbheirge an dí[ch]inn.

7. Dhaoibhsi ni damhna cogaidh
mo mheanma mhaoth anab/.
a niorghoil ni heólach sinn
a bheofhlaith ionmhuin fhoirtill

[7]. Daoibhse ní damhna cogaidh
mo mheanma mhaoth anabaidh;
i n-iorghoil ní heólach sinn,
a bheófhl[ath] ionmhain fhoirtill.

8. Tuar cog/. ar fhear mhanma
no fearg le fear mealadhna
ni dligh neach gan edóigh ann
da mbeith an egcoir agam

[8]. Tuar cogaidh ar fhear mh'anma
nó fearg re fear mh'ealadhna
ní dhligh neach gan éadóigh ann
dá mbeath an éagcóir agam.

---

6. Or if anger is what is motivating you, O youth, do not hide this from me; I am no proper cause for unending anger, O hope for [the resolution of] the outsider's vengeful feelings.

7. My immature and unripe mind is no worthy war adversary for you; I am not knowledgeable in [the art of] battle, O strong, beloved, lively prince.

8. No man is entitled to harbour anger against a man of my art or to seek war against a man of my reputation; even if I was in the wrong, it would be hopeless to do so.

9. Barr air nach eidír a rádh
go ndearnas damhna diombádh
ribhsi a ghég ghlan tairtheach Breagh
nach féd an taithleach dfeithiomh

10. Gabh ailgeana uaim dot thaoibh
gabh aobhdhacht uaim a mhacaoimh
a chnuas gloin cneasda gan oil
fuasgail mo cheisd a Chalb/.

11. Guidhim Tomás naomhtha aniodh
do thocht eadrom is imniodh
cúl na ndual ccladhsholus ccorr
gruadh g/ amhoras orom

[9]. Barr air nach éidir a rádh
go ndearnas damhna diombádh
ribhse, a ghéag ghlantairtheach Breagh
nach féad antaithleach d'fheitheamh.

[10]. Gabh áilgheana uaim dod thaoibh
gabh aobhdhacht uaim, a mhacaoimh,
a chnuasghloin chneasda gan oil,
fuasgail mo cheasda, a Chalbhaigh.

[11]. Guidhim Tomás naomhtha a-niodh
do thocht eadrom is imniodh
- cúl na ndual gcladhsholus gcorr -
gruadh gan amharas oram.

---

9. It tops it all, O clear and fruitful branch of *Breagha*, that I cannot be said to have given you reason for feelings of disappointment that exceeding penitence would not take care of.

10. For your part, O youth, accept courtesy and mildness from me; O blameless, gentle, pure fruit, answer my questions, O *Calbhach*.

11. I pray that saintly *Tomás* of the bright, tapering, curling hair will come between me and anxiety today; I am repentant without reservation.

POEM 15

MS. version: (NLI G. 167, p. 348)

An fear ceanda don chalb/.

reimhsgriobhtha

1. Dénam coír a chalbhaigh ruaidh
a lámh lonn nar ob anbhuain
liomsa a rí caithmheach cearmna
bí go maithmheach muinnteardha

2. Corr-/.-e eadrainn araon
ma tá a ghég na ngealchraobh
a laoich threín o thul/. breagh
nir cheím cubhaidh a chloisdin

Edited text:
(no other MSS. consulted)

[1]. **Déanam** cóir, a Chalbhaigh Ruaidh,
a lámh lonn nar ob anbhuain;
liomsa, a rí caithmheach Cearmna,
bí go maithmheach muinteardha.

[2]. Corraighe eadrainn ar-aon
'ma tarla, a ghéag na ngealchraobh,
a laoich thréin ó thulaigh Breagh,
níor chéim cubhaidh a chloisdean.

---

1. Let us make a just settlement, O *Calbhach Ruadh*, O strong hand who has never shirked distress; be forgiving and friendly towards me, O generous king of *Cearmna*.

2. It would not be proper to hear of unrest between us over what has happened, O bough of bright branches, O strong champion from the hill of *Breagha*.

3. Deanam feín coír le chéile
fan chuís mas cuís shoreídhe
suil bhiam aimhreídh rer oile
a niadh airmreídh eóthaile

4. Bisi id bhreithiomh uaimsi ann
as tú an breithiomh bhias agam
do chonnmháil na córa dhamh
a bhonnbhaín chródha a ccogadh

5. Ag connmháil na córa dhuibhsi
bímsi um bhreith/. aguibhsi
a ghég bharrghlan da ttraígh tonn
fan dáil as adhbhar orom

[3]. Déanam féin cóir le chéile,
fan gcúis más cúis shoiréidhe
suil bhiam aimhréidh rer-oile,
a niadh airmréidh Eóthaile.

[4]. Bíse id bhreitheamh uaimse ann;
is tú an breitheamh bhias agam
do chongbháil na córa damh
a bhonnbháin chródha i gcogadh.

[5]. Ag congbháil chóra duibhse,
bímse im bhreitheamh agaibhse,
a ghéag bharrghlan dá dtráigh tonn,
fan dáil is adhbhar oram.

---

3. If the underlying cause of the dispute is one which can be resolved, let us make a just settlement with each other before we become quarrelsome with one another, O smooth-weaponed hero of *Eóthail.*

4. Let me make you my judge in it; you, O whitefoot valiant in battle, are the judge I will have to see justice done for me.

5. To ensure that you are treated justly, O supremely bright branch for whom [the] wave ebbs, let me be your judge in the matter I am charged with.

6. Breithiomhnus aga mbia barr
na bí a namharas oram
tiocfa dhióm a dheanamh dhuit
dom dhión ar fheinnidh orrdhuirc

[6]. Breitheamhnas aga mbia barr
- ná bí i n-amharas oram! -
tiocfa díom a dhéinimh duit,
dom dhíon ar fhéinnidh orrdhraic.

7. Lá agus ionad ordaigh feín
eadrainne ar aon go haigmhéil
bia g/ easgar a ghruaidh ghlan
freasdal uaim ar an ionadh

[7]. Lá agus ionadh ordaigh féin
eadrainne ar-aon go haigmhéil;
biaidh gan easgar, a ghruaidh ghlan,
freasdal uaim ar an ionadh.

8. Na tabhair neamhshuim anois
oromsa a ghég bheann mbéarnais
ni mór dhamh a dhénamh róm
bhar sgéala do chur chugam

[8]. Ná tabhair neamhshuim a-nois
oramsa, a ghéag bheann mBearnais;
ní mór damh a [ndéana] rum
bhar sgéala do char chugam.

---

6. Do not be suspicious of me! To defend myself against an illustrious warrior, I will prove capable of making an excellent judgement for you.

7. Courageously ordain a day and a place [for a meeting] between us; unless I meet with an accident (?), I will [definitely] attend the place, O clear cheek.

8. Do not show disinterest in me, O branch of the peaks of *Bearnas*; I do not find what you are doing to me by (merely) sending your excuses to me, acceptable.

9. Ag so an treas duain duibhsi
agam da chur chuguibhsi
a chlá séimhshotal sluagh bfáil
sgan énfhocal uaibh dfagháil

10. Mas meisi ag eibhilin oíg
bhus breithiomh beag an urchoíd
sdioma béldearg ciógh ccruinne
na biodh einfhearg eadruinne

11. Teist uaim ar a mein mordha
gur beag on duinn dul ordha
gruaidh fhiochnár g/ crádh fa chrodh
siothchaín na ndámh do dhéanomh

[9]. Ag so an treas duan duibhse
agam dá chur chugaibhse,
a chladh séamhshotal sluaigh Fáil,
's gan éanfhocal uaibh d'fhagháil.

[10]. Más mise, a Eibhilín óig,
bhus breitheamh, beag an urchóid,
sdíoma béildearg cíogh gcruinne,
ná bíodh éinfhearg eadrainne.

[11]. Teisd uaim ar a méin mhórdha
gur beag ón duinn dhualórdha,
- gruaidh fhíochnáir gan chrádh fa chrodh -
síothcháin na ndámh do **dhéanamh**.

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9. This is the third poem for you that I am sending you, O gentle, spirited rampart of the host of *Fál*, without receiving a single word in return.

10. Little the harm, O youthful *Eibhilín*, red-lipped, round-breasted lacework, if it is I who will be judge. Let there be no anger between us.

11. A tribute from me to her noble temperament is that making peace for the poets is little to ask of the golden haired ruler [who is a] fierily blushing cheek unconcerned about livestock.

12.Ag snadhmadh siothchána dhamh
biodh Aquino an naomh iúlmhar
go leacain síth ndonnbhaín ndil
le rígh an domhnaín duiligh

[12].Ag snadhmadh síothchána damh
bíodh Aquino - annaomh iúlmhar
go leacain sídh ndonnbháin ndil -
le rígh an domhnáin duiligh.

12. Let *Aquino*, great, knowledgeable saint of the elfen, brown-white, beloved cheek, be making peace for me with the king of the distressing and transitory world.