

Poems by Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird

Volume ii



POEM VI

Introduction

This poem is one of two in the present collection whose author I believe to be Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird though these poems are not ascribed to him in the manuscripts. The presence in both of a closing complimentary quatrain to St Peter is the principal reason for believing it to be the work of our poet and in the case of Poem X (q.v.) there is nothing in the historical circumstances of the poem to contradict this belief.

This is also true of the present poem. It is addressed to Aodh Mág Aonghusa, Fearghal Óg's main patron whom I have discussed at length in the Introduction to Poem V. The problem here, however, is that while Poem X bears no ascription whatsoever, this is not the case with Poem VI.

The poem occurs in two manuscripts: Franciscan Library MS A 25, pp. 204-6 (A), and the Book of the O Conor Don, ff. 272v - 273v (B). In A it is ascribed to 'An fear céadna' and is preceded (p. 201) by a poem beginning 'Foraois na horchra Íbh Eathach' which is ascribed to 'Ó Ruanadha'. In B our poem is ascribed to 'Ó Ruanadha' and is immediately followed (f. 273v.5) by 'Foraois na horchra Íbh Eathach' which is headed 'In fer céadna. cc.'¹

Very little survives of the work of the Ó Ruanadha poets but it is clear that they were a long established family who practised poetry as a

1 In fact the suprascript er contraction appears (from a photocopy) to be followed by a small suprascript 'g' which would be an unusual way of rendering 'Fergal' but might suggest some doubt, on the scribe's part, as to the authorship of the preceding poem.

profession.² Indeed records of Clann Ruanadha predate those of Clann an Bhaird (see General Introduction) as the annals record the death in 1079 of Ceallach Ua Ruanadha 'ardollamh Éireann ina aimsir'.³ A poem on metrical matters is ascribed to Ceallach in the Book of Leinster.⁴ There is only one other poet of this family mentioned in the annals but this entry is significant: 'Eóin Ua Ruanadha ollamh Mécc Aongusa lé dán ... do écc'.⁵ This implies that Clann Ruanadha were associated with Mág Aonghusa, in a professional capacity, from as early as the late fourteenth century. (No poem of Eoin's survives.) By the late sixteenth century members of the family appear well established in Íbh Eathach.⁶

Apart from the two already mentioned, we know of only three other poets of Clann Ruanadha and these are responsible for a total of seven poems. The difficulty is that not one of these poems is addressed to any member of Clann Mhéig Aonghusa. A poem to the Blessed Virgin is ascribed in the Book of the O Conor Don (ff. 62v - 63v.10) to Aodh mac Con Connacht Í

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- 2 An Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh ranks them among the 'Aos Dána Éireann' in his tract on the writers of Ireland, *Celtica* i (1946-50) 92.131. Fear Flatha Ó Gnímh refers to them as 'fine ramghlan Ruanadha', *Di. D* 115.7b.
- 3 AFM ii, 912; ALC i, 70; AU ii, 32.
- 4 *LL* 5227-82. Like many poetic families, Clann Ruanadha had ecclesiastical connections: Felix Ua Ruanadha was Archbishop of Tuam from 1202 until he ran into difficulties with Mael Ísu Ua Conchobhair, coarb of Roscommon and son of the high-king Toirdhealbhach, in 1217 (AU ii, 262). He resigned his episcopate and died in Dublin in 1238 (AFM iii, 294; AC, 70; ALC i, 348; AU ii, 262; *Misc. Ir. Ann.*, 116). Clann Ruanadha still had representatives in north Connacht in the sixteenth century: cf. ALC ii, 492.
- 5 S. a. 1376; AFM iv, 666; AC, 346; ALC ii, 52; AU ii, 556. An entry s.a. 1586, in ALC ii, 472, reads 'Ó Ruanadha .i. Seán no Aonghus mac Ruaidrí oig do marbad le Sean mac Ui Anluain'. It does not mention, however, whether or not this person was a poet, but it does connect the head of the family with the south Down area.
- 6 Cf. O Rahilly in *PRIA* 36 C 22, 109.

Ruanadha.⁷ Nothing else is known of this poet.⁸ The six other poems are found in the duanaire of the O Byrnes and five of these are ascribed to Niall Ó Ruanadha, four of which are addressed to Fiachaidh mac Aodha Uí Bhroin (r. 1580-97)⁹ and one to his grandson Brian mac Feidhlim Uí Bhroin (r. 1630-48).¹⁰ The remaining poem is addressed to Feidhlim mac Fiachaidh Uí Bhroin (r. 1597-1630) and is ascribed to Seaán Ó Ruanadha.¹¹

It seems clear, from references in his poetry¹², that Niall Ó Ruanadha was, as O Grady puts it, 'a visitor from the North'.¹³ One could also claim that Seaán composes from a northern perspective¹⁴ though this is open to question as he may be one of the Clann Ruanadha who appear to have been settled in Wicklow.¹⁵ Thus, if one were to put a name on the 'Ó Ruanadha' of the ascriptions in A and B, from the paltry evidence that survives it would seem that Niall would be the most likely candidate.

The theme of this short poem is the desire of the poet to return to Mág Aonghusa. Though there are problems with interpreting the text, one reading of q. 11 suggests that the poet had gone on some form of diplomatic mission from his patron and that he had stayed away too long. This theme is articulated

7 Aith. D 82.

8 O Rahilly (loc. cit.) suggests that he may be identified with the Hugh O Rony pardoned in 1602 (Cal. Fiants. Ire. Eliz. (PRI rep. DK 18), 63), but this is a guess.

9 L Branach 19, 20, 21, 22.

10 Ibid. 72. The late date of this poem must raise a question about the accuracy of its ascription. For the wrong ascription of a poem by Fearghal Óg in this collection to Niall Ó Ruanadha see my discussion in the General Introduction, ch. (iv).

11 Ibid. 55.

12 Ibid., lines 2197-200, 2293-316.

13 Br. Mus. Catg. i, 500 n. 1.

14 L Branach lines 5146-53.

15 See O Rahilly, loc. cit., and cf., e.g., Cal. Fiants Eliz. Ire. (PRI rep. DK 13), 155-6, etc.

through the conceit that the poet is his own hostage for Aodh and that his re-unification with his patron depends on the latter ransoming the hostage. This will not prove too difficult as the hostage is already in a position to escape from his captor (q. 7). While this conceit¹⁶ is not sustained beyond the seventh quatrain - except for a possible echo of it in the reference to wounding in q. 9d - it is important for the connotations it contains.

The possession of hostages betokens the supremacy of the one who holds the hostages over those from whom the hostages are taken. In Dr. Simms's words, the holding of hostages 'constituted the reality of power'.¹⁷ This is clear from the many references to the subject in Classical Verse.¹⁸ However, because the poet is his own hostage, this enables him to take the sting out of the inference of his superiority to his patron. As a hostage was frequently a relative or close friend of the one from whom he was taken¹⁹, the implication is that the poet and Mág Aonghusa are in fact quite close though separated. This is further emphasised by the fact that the poet is willing to let his hostage (himself) go quite easily, as the return of hostages signifies a weakening in the power of the captor.²⁰

Of course the main purpose behind the transfer of hostages is to ensure peace between the parties involved.²¹ The emphasis in q. 14 on Aodh's placid and peaceful nature and in particular on the

16 A fine example of a sustained conceit, of the contrived type in evidence in the present poem, is Domhnall mac Dáire's poem beginning 'Ní dual cairde ar creich ngeimhil', IBP 11.

17 Simms, From kings to warlords, 97.

18 E.g., cf. q. 4a infra; Dí. D 85.39ab; DMU X. 8a.

19 Simms, op. cit., 98, 107.

20 This is the significance of the line 'bráighe is comha uainne ar ais' in Poem IV. 43c.

21 Cf. Simms, op. cit., 104.

fact that Aodh has never dealt roughly with the poet may simply be a case of appeasement by anticipation but it could also be a way of negating some past incident by saying, as it were, 'this never happened'.

Viewed in this light the poem takes on the appearance not merely of a poem of re-introduction but a poem of a type classified by Professor Ó Concheanainn as 'dán réitigh'.²²

Having dropped the conceit the poet proceeds to praise Mág Aonghusa while at the same time managing to stress the affection they hold for each other (qq. 8-10, 13-15). This leads naturally into a statement of the privileged position conferred on the poet by Mág Aonghusa (q. 16) and this direct, personal praise is brought to a close in q. 17 with a little joke wherein it is claimed that the real reason for the poet's absenting himself from his patron's company is his fear of excessive carousing.

The final section of the poem (qq. 18-21) consists of eulogy by association: Mág Aonghusa is descended from a long line of heroes of the race of Íor mac Míleadh. (This has already been anticipated by q. 12.) The poem closes with a complimentary quatrain to St. Peter.

From his references to Ulster in his poems (see n. 12) it would seem that Niall Ó Ruanadha spent more time in Wicklow than in Íbh Eathach and indeed it would also appear that he enjoyed a position of some privilege with Fiachaidh mac Aodha.²³ We also know that he met with mixed fortune there, as he himself tells us that on one occasion when he came with his 'duan milis molta' he was refused payment by Ó Broin and faced the prospect of returning 'lámhfholamh' to Ulster.²⁴ It could be argued, then, that the reason

22 *Celtica* xv (1983) 88-95. See my discussion of the Ó hEadhra poems in the General Introduction, ch. (iv).

23 Cf. *L Branach* lines 2213-26. See also Breatnach, 'The Chief's Poet', 73-4.

24 *L Branach* 22.

for Niall's presence in Wicklow, in the first place, was that there was no room for him to practise his art in Íbh Eathach due to Fearghal Óg's incumbency of the position of ollamh there. The present poem might then be seen as an attempt to challenge for that position, Ó Ruanadha having outstayed his welcome in Leinster.

On the other hand the argument for Fearghal Óg's authorship seems equally strong, if not stronger. In the first place the tone of the poem and the content of q. 16, in particular, suggest that the author was ollamh to Mág Aonghusa. We know that this was the case with Fearghal Óg.²⁵ Secondly, there seems to be some evidence that everything was not always rosy between the two (cf. Poem V. 32b n.) especially if it be conceded that 'Níor iomchuir meisi mé féin' was composed by Fearghal Óg (Poem V Introduction). Finally there is the closing quatrain to St. Peter which, because this is unique to Fearghal Óg, must be the strongest factor in favour of his authorship. This question will probably be considered unproven but I personally feel convinced of our poet's authorship.

If this is, in fact, the case, the confusion of authors is probably scribal, though one can only speculate as to how this may have come about. One possible explanation is that, if A represents the correct order of the poems, the scribe of the common exemplar (see below), not knowing who the author of the second poem was, ascribed it simply 'An fear céadna' for want of anything better.²⁶

25 See Poem V Introduction.

26 'Foraois na horchra Íbh Eathach' may certainly have composed Ó Ruanadha. It is an elegy on the death of Éamonn mac Donnhaill mheic Aodha Mhéig Aonghusa. This individual has not been identified though his patronymic makes it possible that he was an uncle to Aodh Mág Aonghusa, the subject of the present poem. However the emphasis on Clann Chonaill in 'Foraois na horchra' suggests that Éamonn may have belonged to that branch of the family; cf. UJA 2nd ser. i (1895) 30-32.

Editorial remarks In the Introduction to Poem V I have alluded briefly to the close relationship between the two manuscripts A and B. In the present context the most obvious token of this is the ascription to Ó Ruanadha, discussed above, and the relationship is further highlighted by an analysis of the text.

That A and B share a common manuscript tradition is clear from readings such as those at qq. 3d, 4d, 6d, 8d, 12d, 13a, 16b, 19d, 22b (see apparatus). Despite preserving texts which are very close to one another, it is also apparent that B (less than twenty years later than A, see Poem V Introduction) cannot be a direct copy of A. This is illustrated by instances where readings of A and B diverge; B's reading is preferable to A's at, e.g., qq. 1b, 2d, 11c, 13b; A's to B's at, e.g., qq. 5a, 9d, 11d, 12a, 13cd, 17d, 18b. This suggests that A and B may have shared a common exemplar, the divergences to be explained as scribal errors.

The best illustration of what was involved is at q. 19b. Here A copies his exemplar - *cl^l* - without expanding the contraction. B, on the other hand, wrongly expands the contraction to read *cláir* and, realising that he may have erred, later²⁷ returns to write *no cléir* overhead.

On the whole A preserves a more accurate copy of the poem than B and the edition presented here is based on A. Readings from B are incorporated at those points where they are to be preferred to those of A.

Metre rannaigheacht mhór, dán díreach.

27 The hand is the same but the pen/ink is different.

- 1 Mé féin m'éanbhráighisi ar Aodh,
an té is ghnéabhláithghile gruadh,
cnū óir a cnuasmhogal chaomh,
daor d'ū Róigh m'fhuaslagadh uam.
- 2 Ar bhlāth na gcnuasdamhan gcorr
(fāth dom fhuasgaladh is fhéarr),
fad a fhabhoirsi is léir liom,
sionn féin gabhoimsi mar gheall.
- 3 Bráighe oramsa a fholt fiar
's a rosg romhallsan a-raon;
ag so ar mionn saormhālla súl,
sionn dúnn is aonbhrāgha ar Aodh.

1 I myself am my [own] only hostage for Aodh, he whose cheeks are most smooth and bright of appearance, golden nut from a fair cluster, my ransoming from myself will be costly for the heir of Róach.

2 I take myself as a pledge for the outstanding, cluster-bearing stalk (the best reason for ransoming me); the extent of his choice is clear to me.

3 Both his wavy hair and his very languid eye are a hostage for us; behold our noble and gentle idol, I am the only hostage to myself for Aodh.

Headings: An fear .c. na cc A; Ó Ruanadha .cc. B.

- 1 a ménbhráidhisi AB; b gnéabhláithghile B; gruadh] B, gruaidh A; c cnuasmhogal caomh B.
- 2 a ccnuasdamhan AB; b fhuaslagadh B; féarr B; c fhabhoirsi B; d gabhoimsi] B, gobhaimsi A.
- 3 a Bráidhe AB; d dúnn AB; aonbhraidhe A, aonbhraighe B.

- 4 Géill eachtrann riamh 'ga rosg corr;
do bheansam giall dā fholt fhionn -
mé ōn bhaisgheal i lāimh leam -
i ndáigh gur gheall airsion ionn.
- 5 Do-bhéar sgéal inreactha uam
dá dhead fhinnnghealsan mar aol,
's dā earla shlim fhadonn fhiar:
sinn mar ghiall agam ō Aodh.
- 6 Mé 'gam ghuin im gheimhil fēin;
mo bhreith eisde, tar fhuil n-Ír,
ar lāimh Méig Aonghusa uaim:
uaidh téid an daorghlasa dhínn.

4 His rounded eye ever held the hostages of
foreigners; [now] I have taken a hostage from his fair
hair - I am imprisoned by myself from the white-headed
one - so that I might be a pledge for him.

5 Tidings which should be told I will convey to his
fair, white, lime-like tooth, and to his smooth hair,
dark and long and wavy: I am my own hostage for Aodh.

6 I am being wounded in my own fetter; my extraction
from it, in despite of the descendants of Íor, through
my agency, is in Mág Aonghusa's power: through his
agency this oppressive shackle will go from me.

- 4 a ccorr A, chorr B; b do bheansam B; fholt fhionn
B; d ndóigh AB; geall B; ionn] B, ind A.
- 5 a inreachta B; b finnghealsan B; c earla] B, earrla
A; sf.f. B.
- 6 a ghoin B; geimheal AB; b fhuil B; ír AB; c mheg B;
d uaid B; dín AB.

- 7 RĪ fhuaslagos d'fhód na Niall,
m'fhuaslagadh dhó ní budh daor,
gnūis ghnéanār 'sa gné mar smual,
mē uam ag éaládh go h-Aodh.
- 8 Slat d'fhiodhradh inghill ōs fhiodh,
ní h-iongnadh go dtiobhruinn tal
do mhac Domhnoill Dhúin na Con
is tol 'ga shúil donnmhaill damh.
- 9 Bas ghéagthais rē dtarrla tnúdh,
m'anmhain 'na éagmhois nī h-ál;
cosmhoil mar tá ar dtoil ar-aon
mā tá Aodh dā ghoin dom ghrádh.

7 King who ransoms the land of the Nialls, my ransoming will not be costly for him [because] I am escaping from myself to Aodh, modest countenance whose aspect is as an ember.

8 It is no wonder that I should give affection to the son of Domhnall of Dún of the Cú, branch of excellent trees extending above a wood, since his dark languid eye has love for me.

9 Soft-fingered hand who has been the object of envy, it is not proper for me to remain separated from him; the love we both have is similar if Aodh is being tortured for love of me.

7 a dfhód B; b mfhuaslagadh B; do B; c gnénár B; ghné B; d éalágh AB.

8 a dfhiodhr AB; ingill B; b ttiubhrainn B; d tol] toil AB; shuil B; ndonn m AB.

9 a tnuth B; b manmuin B; eagmais B; hail B; c cosmoil B; d ma] mur B; dom ghrádh] mur taim B.

- 10 Béal snaisdearg ar snuadh an róis
 dá bhfaiceam, nō an ghruaidh mar ghrís,
 ar n-eó linneadh, ar gcraobh chnuais,
 nī guais d'Aodh mh'fhilleadh ar-ís.
- 11 Slat thēagoir fa chrō na gConn,
 dār dtéagor ōsa lór leam,
 ar ceann teachta do thriall sionn
 ōn fhial fhionn, gā h-eachtra is fherr?
- 12 Nī fuighthe ar fud Bhanbha Briain
 mac samhla do dhuine dībh
 dā sirinn uile fiadh Fāil,
 go triall i ndāil fhuile h-Ír.

10 Were we to see a mouth of red appearance of the colour of the rose, or the blushing cheek, my return again would be no danger to Aodh, our freshwater salmon, our fruit-bearing tree.

11 Protecting tree around the land of the Conns, since I am satiated with my protection I have journeyed, as an emissary, from the fair generous one, what better mission?

12 Until I journeyed towards the stock of Íor no one to compare with any of them would be found throughout Banbha of Brian, though I were to search completely the land of Fál.

- 10 a snaisdearg] B, snaisdhearg A; b bfaiceam B; gruadh B.
- 11 c teachta] B, theasusa A; sinn AB; d finn B; ferr B.
- 12 a fuightere B; banba B; b dhíbh B; d fhola AB.

- 13 Do charos néall a ghruadh ngeal
's a bhéal tana ar snuadh na subh -
nī fhuair aon bhēim ar a bhladh -
mo thal d'Aodh tar chēill dom chur.
- 14 Sduagh fholtchas fhionn is óg dealbh,
nír chorroch riom, tre ghlór ngarbh,
a aghaidh shaor, a shūil ghorm;
a dhorn nī dhúin Aodh fa arm.
- 15 Dol a-rís fa chrīch na gConn,
do-nīm togha ar an tī is fhēarr,
ōn Fhior Dhoirche nī dōigh liom,
i gcionn tslōigh Bhoirche dā mbeam.

13 I have loved the flush of his white cheeks and his thin mouth of the colour of strawberries - no one has found any blemish on his honour - my love for Aodh is driving me crazy.

14 Fair, curly-haired hero, young of appearance, not with rough voice has his noble *face*, his blue eye, been agitated towards me; Aodh does not close his hand around a weapon.

15 I think it unlikely that I should go again from An Fear Doirche to the land of the Conns were I in the company of the host of Boirche; I choose the one who is best.

- 13 a gruaidh AB; b subh] B, snuadh A; c fhuair
āoinbheim B; d chor B.
- 14 a foltchas fiōnn B; b gharbh A, garbh B; c gorm B.
- 15 b fhēarr B; d tsloidh A, tshlóigh B; boirche B.

- 16 Pōga dlūithe dā dhéad tirm,
fa lōr dhūinn a mhéad do mhoirn,
tar dhlūs ō gcaomhRosa um chuirn,
tús cuirn í Aonghasa oirn.
- 17 Gan sgéal riamh, fārbh anta uaidh,
ar thriath Macha acht méad a óil:
seachnoim, d'fhíon fhionnbhuabhoill chlaoin,
shliomghualoinn saoir ríogh ō Róigh.
- 18 Conall Cearnoch fa a chúl maoth
's an Cú ris nār ceangladh síoth;
nī fear ronna clū re cāch,
cnú do bhlāth Cholla da Chríoch.

16 Sufficient to us was the extent of his esteem:
abundant kisses from his dry mouth [and] the first
drink of the cup of the descendant of Aonghas bestowed
on us despite the eagerness of the heirs of fair Ros
in the matter of ale.

17 No story is told of the prince of Macha, whereby
one should remain away from him, except the abundance
of his supply of drink: because of wine from a fair,
curved drinking-horn I shun the slender, noble
shoulder of the king of the descendants of Róach.

18 Conall Cearnach is related to his gentle head and
the Cú with whom peace was not bound; he is not a man
who shares his renown with the commonalty, fruit of
the flower of Colla da Chríoch.

- 16 a déad B; b dhúin AB; mhéad B; mhuirn AB.
17 a far bfa^{nta} B; c seac^{nóin} B; f. f. chl. B; d
sliomgh. B; shao^{ir} AB; roidh A, ó roidh ríogh B.
18 b síodh B; d colla B.

- 19 Fuil Dhurthacht fa a dhreich mar chaoir -
nī bheith gan chumhdach ar chléir -
's an mhéid is fhírfhial d'fhuil Ír,
dībh an t-Írial o bhfuil féin.
- 20 Fuil Chonchabhair fa a chūl bhfiar,
do chomhchosoin clū dā shíol;
fuil chaomhRosa fā chruth nār
fāl d'ū Aonghasa ar ghuth ngníomh.
- 21 Do chloinn tairthigh áirmhigh Ír
rē n-āiriomh, is aithnidh dúinn,
cōig chōigir re h-Éirinn d'uaim
fān ngruaidh ngnéishlim n-óigil n-úir.

19 The stock of Durthacht is kin to his ruddy countenance - he would not have poets unprotected - and [also] those of the race of Íor who are truly generous, of them is the Írial from whom he himself is descended.

20 The stock of Conchobhar is related to his curly hair, they have diligently earned fame for his race; the stock of fair Ros is kin to his noble form, [they are as] a fence for the heir of Aonghas protecting him from censure of his actions.

21 We know that of the abundant, numerous family of Íor are to be enumerated twenty-five who united Éire who are related to the fresh cheek, smooth of appearance, young and bright.

- 19 b b; AB; chleir] cláir no chléir B; c mhéid B; fírfhial d'fuil B; d bhfuil] fuil A, fhuil B.
- 20 a Conchobhair B; fiar AB; b comhchosoin B; c chomhrosa B.
- 21 a chloinn B; áirmhidh AB; b re a B; dhúinn B; d ghruaidh gnéshlim AB; nóigir B.

22 Gruaidh chorcra is gh_laineólcha gnaoi,
 ar m'fholtoibh aineócas mē -
 dā dtí an ghairm budh h-eagal í -
 Peador an tī darb ainm h-é. M. f.

22 Peter, the person who is so named will protect me
 from my sins - were the call to come it were to be
 feared - purple cheek whose fame is that of one who
 can guide most clearly.

22 a glaineólcha B; c heagail AB.

VI Notes

1 a For the use of the preposition here compare 'Mairg as bráighe ar mhacruidh Murbhuigh', DER 5. 1a.

The rime Aodh: chaomh: daor may be an example of 'Rudhrach' (cf. Poems V. 42cd n. and X. 4a n.) but, in any case, such rimes are quite common in Rannaigheacht Mhór; e.g. cf. Di. D 19.3, Aith. D 47.5, 7, Magauran III. 5, XIV. 33, DMU XIII. 4, 29, etc.

b gruadh B's reading is preferable to A's here as gruadh, a permitted variant of gruaidh (IGT ii. 14, 39, 44, 45), is required for rime and consonance.

d d'ú See q. 16c n. infra.

Róigh as in Fearghas mac Róigh the famous Ulster hero (cf. q. 17d infra). The genealogies of Fearghas vary from making him son of Róach Rodhánae daughter/son of Eochaidh mac Cairbre of the Ciarraighe (e.g. Corp. Gen., 281) to claiming him as son of Róach mac Rossa meic Rudhraighe (e.g. Corp. Gen., 254) or of Rossa Róigh mac Rudhraighe (e.g. Corp. Gen., 255). In any case to claim Mág Aonghusa as a descendant of Róach is inexact as he was descended, through Conall Cearnach, from Gionga/Cionga mac Rudhraighe (e.g. cf. Anal. Hib. xviii (1951) 138) and so I translate 'ó' (dat. sg. ú) here as 'heir'.

fuaslagadh Commonly used, as here, in the sense of ransoming a hostage; see DIL F, 457.82 ff., 458.32-4, 459.30-37, and Aith. D 14.2ab, 6d.

2 b fhuasgaladh A's reading is a permitted variant (IGT iii. 50) of B's 'fuaslagadh' (IGT iii.

65) and provides perfect internal rime.

c fhabhoirsi The translation here is tentative. (f)abhairsi, (f)obhairsi (IGT ii. 3, iii. 83), apparently deriving from abras (DIL A, 12.40-59, F, 182.62-4), seems to have a wide, if uncertain, range of meanings. Thus from its primary sense of 'carding' it comes to mean 'choosing, choice' (cf. Aith. D ii, 244.35n., DMU XI. 23a, XIII. 4c).

3 b araon may alliterate either on r- (a-raon) or on a- (ar-aon); cf. BST 212.15.

c mionn ... súl A commonplace term of praise in this type of poetry; cf. Di. D 45.11d, 69.31c; Aith. D 54.3b, 88.25a; DMU XXIII. 27b; POR VII. 12c.

d dúnn (MSS dún) Forms in -nn are the only ones attested in BST 193.19. Here, as in q. 2d supra, I translate in the singular though literally plural.

aonbhrágha -brágha is required here for perfect rime and is a permitted variant of bráighe (IGT ii. 131).

4 d dáigh, a permitted variant of MSS 'dóigh' (IGT ii. 14), is necessary for perfect rime.

5 a Do-bhéar: sgéal would appear to be an example of the metrical fault known as 'salrudhrach' (IGTv. 106).

c fadonn fad takes the place of fada as the

first element in compounds; see DIL F, 387.23-37.

6 The translation of this quatrain is extremely tentative.

a For other references to the torture of hostages see MD 36. line 4 (cf. Irish men of learning, 175-6) and DMU X. 14.

gheimhil As eisde in line b refers to geimhiol, I have emended the latter to read its dat. sg. fem. form (IGT ii. 54; cf. ex. 1376) in preference to its masc. form (IGT ii. 53) which is the reading of the manuscripts.

c ar láimh Cf. DIL L, 40.5-23.

d téid I translate this as having a future sense though literally present indicative.

7 a I have no other example of the use of do/de with fuaslaigidh but a comparable usage occurs with the semantically related verb oslaigidh (see Poem I. 2a n) and this may be what lies behind the usage here.

For fód na Niall see Poem VIII. 14b n.

c 'sa = isa, copula, pres. indic. rel. with poss. pronoun., 3 sg. fem. (referring to gnúis); see Thurn. Gramm., 321 (507c).

8 a fiodhradh may be either masc. (Magauran XXX. 40d) or fem. (Di. D 85. 4d), cf. Magauran, 412 line 1284n and DIL F, 129.66-9. I have expanded the

manuscript contraction to show the dat. sg. masc. as this provides rime with iongnadh.

b dtiobhruinn The permitted variant -dtibhrinn (IGT iii. 14) would give perfect rime with inghill.

c Dhúin na Con either Dún (Downpatrick) or Dún Dealgan, the Cú being Cú Chulainn.

d tol This permitted variant (IGT ii. 95) of MSS toil (IGT ii. 14) is required for 'aicill' with Con. For the connotations of tol, tal etc. in the context of the poet's relationship with his patron see Poem III. 7a n.

donnmhaill The reading here is speculative (see apparatus) but not unlikely.

9 Note the superiority of A's readings to those of B in this quatrain.

d The possible 'caoiche' here in tá:tá is obviated by the presence of 'breacadh', dtoil:ghoin:cosmhoil; see Breacadh 24(c), 26, 57.

This line may be construed as an echo of O Hara XI.12, for which see General Introduction, pp. 41-2 above.

10 b ghruaidh B's reading, gruadh, might possibly be preferred here as it provides perfect rime with snuadh.

c eó linneadh The figurative use of eó, maighre etc. with reference to a patron is well

attested in this type of poetry and what is possibly the best example of it is to be found in a poem by Fearghal Óg to Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir, DMU II. 48. For the common connection between li(o)nn and maighre cf. Aith. D 82.10d; O Hara VIII. 2d; Poem XI. 14c.

d For the mixture of subjunctive and indicative moods here (dá bhfaiceam ... ní) see Poem II. 14b n. and cf. Appendix I. 10. I translate ní as subjunctive though literally present indicative.

ar-ís See q. 3b n. supra.

11 a Slat thēagoir Cf. Poem V. 3a.

na nConn I am uncertain as to the correct reading here and at q. 15a. To take 'conn' as a personal name gives us a construction such as that at q. 7a supra (q.v.). The problem is that apart from Conn Céadchathach not many obvious or noteworthy candidates of that name suggest themselves; perhaps the druid of the Tuatha Dé Danann from whom Keating (Foras Feasa i, 116) says 'Connacht' derives. In q. 15a one senses that 'críoch na gConn' may be more specific than simply a name for Ireland. Perhaps, in that example, it does refer to Connacht where we know, from the O Hara poems (see General Introduction) and from Poem VII, Fearghal Óg spent some time. On the other hand, reading na gconn 'of the leaders' would make sense were it not that wherever 'conn' occurs in Classical Verse it seems invariably to have the meaning 'sense, reason'; cf. Di. D 69.31a, 106.20d, Magauran XV. 8b, Mac C M XIII. 66d, Iomarbhágh I. 13a.

b Interpretation of this and the next two lines is uncertain. The poet seems to be saying that he had had enough of the comfort of Aodh's protection

and decided on something more adventurous.

ósa Conj. ó 'since' and copula, 3 sg., pres. indic; cf. DIL 0, 79.41-5. Modelled, possibly on earlier combinations of conj. an copula, cíasu (etc.), másu (etc.)?

cd At least three different translations are possible here. (i) 'I travelled from the fair generous one to meet an emissary ...' (ii) 'I travelled to meet an emissary from the fair generous one ...' (iii) taking ar ceann for tar ceann, the interpretation as given in the text. The third one would seem to be that most consistent with the ventured interpretation of line b: the poet, grown tired of the comforts of his patron's court, decided to take on an ambassadorial errand. The poet in the role of emissary is well known to us; for example see Breatnach, 'The chief's poet', 55-60.

An entirely different interpretation could be obtained by taking teachta as the verb noun, variant of teacht (IGT ii. 2, iii. 5). In this case one might translate, rather feebly, 'it was in order that we might return that we journeyed from the fair generous one ...'.

teachta A's reading here is most peculiar.

Note the rime ceann:fhearr (:leam). This represents a form of rudhrach known as 'rudhrach cind is urrlainde', IGT v. 107. Perhaps this is obviated by the presence of 'breacadh fire pátrúin', e/ia i/ia i/e, as outlined in Breacadh 36?

12 b For notes on mac(a) samhla see TD ii, 201.22 n. and Aith. D ii, 242.23d n.

d The noun fuil has gen. sg. fuile, fola

and fala, IGT ii. 42, 181. The first of these forms is required here for perfect rime. The rimes duine: uile: fhuile may be an instance of 'rudhrach' (cf. Poem X. 4a n.). Two things may make it possible to disregard it as a fault - if it is a fault - the rime, albeit brísde, of duine: fuighthe (cf. Graiméir, lines 2855-8) and, as in q. 11cd supra, the pattern u/ia á/ia á/u in the second leathrann.

13 a ghruadh Gen. pl. must be the correct reading here as the form of the following adjective, which is gen. pl., is fixed by metre.

15 a chrích na gConn See q. 11a n. supra.

c An Fear Doirche/Dorcha, that is, Aodh Mág Aonghusa; see Poem V, Introduction. (Doirche as a variant of dorcha is well attested; cf. the substantive forms given in IGT ii. 2, iv. 5.)

d tslóigh Perhaps it would be better to read s(h)lóigh here, but see IGT v. 94. 'Sluagh Boirche' refers to the people of Íbh Eathach; cf. Poems IV. 61a, V. 57a etc.

16 b mhoirn This permitted variant of MSS muirn (IGT ii. 14) is required for perfect rime. For the significance of this word in the context of the poet's relationship with his patron see P. Breatnach, 'The chief's poet', 44-5.

c ó As is usual, this word is unstressed here and in the following line and at qq. 17d and 20d

infra; cf. e.g., Poem XI. 11c, 34d, 36d, 43c, 52d and TD ii, 202. It may be, therefore, that the rime ú:cnú in q. 1cd supra is fortuitous as cnú does not strictly need a riming partner there. However, as stressed examples of ó/ua exist - see Ó Máille in Éigse v (1946-7) 181-3 - the question must remain open.

For the poet's claim to enjoy a privileged position at meal-time in his patron's house see Breatnach, op. cit., 45-48.

17 b Macha Wife of Cimbaeth mac Fintain; ruled Ireland for seven years (Corp. Gen., 119). Founded Eamhain Mhacha and died, in a famous incident, when forced to race against Conchubhar's horses while in labour, as a result of which the Ulaid were afflicted with the cess noínden; she was buried in Ard Macha; see Met. Dind. iv, 124-31. Hence 'fód [etc.] Macha' is synonymous with Ulster; e.g., cf. TD 4.28d, DMU II. 36b, POR XXXIV. 6c.

d shliomghualoinn saoir My alterations to the initial mutations here are in accordance with the guidelines on the matter in IGT i. 78-81.

18 a As in Poem V, the poet now concentrates on Mág Aonghusa's genealogical affinities with Síol Rughraidhe. For the use of fa (=im) here and in the remaining quatrains see DIL I, 103.7-24.

b an Cú Cú Chulainn.

d Colla da Chríoch One of three famous brothers, the other two being Colla Uais and Colla Meann, sons of Eochaidh Doimhléin, who were banished

to Scotland for killing the king of Ireland, their uncle, Fiachaidh Sraibhthine. A concise account of their story is to be found in the tract entitled 'craobhsgaoileadh agus geiniolach na gColladh' edited in LCAB, 48-53. They were in direct descent from Conn Céadchathach and, on return from Scotland, avenged his death on the Ulaidh by putting an end to the supremacy of Clann Rudhraighe at the battle of Achadh Leithdhearg. (For discussion, and a full list of references, see EIHM, 225-32.)

It seems likely, therefore, that Aodh Mág Aonghusa's connection with Colla da Chríoch must derive from his mother's side. We know nothing of this lady other than the fact that her name was Eilís (Poem V. 75a). Among the families said to be descended from Colla da Chríoch were the Maguires, MacMahons, O Hanlons, MacCanns and O Kellys; cf. LCAB loc. cit., TD ii, 229, Foras Feasa ii, 100.

As in q. 12 supra, Cú:clú:cnú is probably not to be regarded as 'rudhrach' because of the 'amas' between chúl and Cú, and the pattern o/ú á/ú á/o in the second leathrann.

19 a Dhurthacht Father of Eoghan mac Durtheacht(a) who was 'flaith Fearnmhuighe' (Foras Feasa ii, 196, 210) and Conchubhar's sidekick in 'Loinges mac nUisneach'. The genitive of the name seems equally attested in -ø and in -a; cf. Corp. Gen. 284 and DIL D, 128.1-12.

b Past subjunctive - bheith (:dhreich) seems the most plausible reading of MSS b₇ here.

There may be a double meaning in this line: 'he should not be unprotected from poets'?

d an t-Írial Not the son of Íor's brother Éireamhón, but rather Írial Glúnmhar son of Conall Cearnach from whom Mág Aonghusa claimed direct descent; e.g. cf. Anal. Hib. xviii (1951) 138.

For the type of 'breacadh' exemplified by Fuil: fhuil: bhfuil see Breacadh 24 (b), 25 (v) - (x).

20 b I translate comh- here as an intensive prefix though the sense 'together' could also apply, referring either to all of fuil Chonchabhair or to fuil Chonchabhair and fuil chaomhRosa. Cf. DIL C, 331.77-85.

c Fuil: fuil seems to be an instance where neither 'caoiche' nor 'breacadh' obtains; see Breacadh 64.

d For initial mutations following the preposition ar cf. BST 188.5-11 and notes *ibid.*, pp. 106-7. See General Introduction.

21 b I take re to be $r\bar{e} < re (< fri) + a^n$ (poss. pronoun 3 pl.). Alternatively it might be possible to treat rē as a noun: 'the extent of their numbers is known to us'.

c cóig chóigir The twenty-five descendants of Íor who attained the kingship of Ireland; see Poem V, Introduction n. 69. On the idea of the king uniting the country see Poem II, 12d n.

22 a This reference to St. Peter is simply following the usual conventions of the poetry and has

nothing to do with medieval ideas of what Christ and the Apostles looked like (cf. Irish texts referred to in McNamara, The apocrypha, 84-6).

For a note on the meaning of gnaoi see Éigse iv (1943-4) 107.34d n.

b aineócas This form of the eó- fut. of the verb aingidh, a(i)n(a)ighidh is confirmed by the 'uaithne' deighShiacas ∴ aineócas IGT iii. 52, ex. 444. An eó-fut in -gh-/-ch- is also recorded for this verb: cf. aineóghas: laibheóras Aith. D. 34.22cd.

cd For the 'breacadh ^{dh}taibhse' in dtí:í:tí see Breacadh 39-43.

POEM VII

Introduction

The subject of the following poem is Uilliam mac Seaáin mheic Oilbh Éarus Búrc. He belonged to that branch of the Burkes known as Clann Uilliam Íochtair whose territory in the sixteenth century was practically co-extensive with modern-day county Mayo. Seaán, his father, had been Mac Uilliam from 1571¹ until his death in 1580.² His death occasioned a succession dispute³ between his brother Risdeard and Risdeard an Iarainn mac Dáibhídh, the tánaiste, with the latter winning out.⁴ Uilliam's uncle did not have long to wait, however, as he succeeded Risdeard an Iarainn on the latter's death in 1582/3.⁵

In q. 7a, and line 40 of the prose below, we are given to understand that Uilliam was a 'mac ríogh'. As Dr. Simms has recently explained,⁶ this means that he was a chief's son who was not expecting or expected to succeed to the chieftaincy. At the same time, he was an influential and important personage in terms of social status, land ownership and patronage. As we will see, this is true of Uilliam.

The only occasion on which he became involved in anything resembling a succession dispute was in 1586-7 when, on the death of his uncle, Risdeard mac Oilbh Éarus, the English abolished the title of Mac Uilliam⁷ and many of the Burkes, including Uilliam, went into rebellion in favour of

1 Cal. SP Ire. 1509-1573, 437.

2 AFM v, 1724.

3 Cal. SP Ire. 1574-1585, 270, 272.

4 Ibid., 284, 291, 294.

5 Ibid., 441, 443; AFM v, 1804.

6 Simms, From kings to warlords, 57-8.

7 Cal. SP Ire. 1586-1588, 201.

the tánaiste, Edmund of Castlebar.⁸ As far as we can gather, this was not typical of the man. His father, Seaán,⁹ had been loyal to England at all times during his tenure of the Mac Uilliam Íochtair chieftaincy.¹⁰ In July 1579, the Governor of Connacht, Sir Nicholas Malby sent Seaán's son Uilliam to London to see the Secretary of State Sir Francis Walsingham with a letter requesting 'that the bearer may live with Walsyngham. He is the only legitimate son of M'Uilliam Eighter, an honest gentleman and faithful subject, who will allow him largely for his charges'.¹¹ A year later Seaán informed Walsingham of how his son had written to him telling him 'with what fatherly affection Walsyngham treats him' and requested that at Uilliam's return 'he may be allowed certain pay to serve Her Majesty'.¹²

The fact that the English regarded him as the only legitimate son of Seaán mac Oilbh Éarus¹³ suggests that they were grooming him to succeed his father but they were soon to acknowledge that native customs were too strong and that Uilliam would have no chance.¹⁴ The year following Seaán's death, Malby wrote to Walsingham suggesting that Uilliam might come

8 Knox, The history of the county of Mayo, 205-14.

9 It was for Seaán that the illuminated manuscript (containing a miniature of him) known as 'The Book of the Burkes' (TCD MS 1440) was compiled; see NHI ii, 809-10, 814-5.

10 Cal. SP Ire. 1509-73, 489; ibid., 1574-1585, 92, 99, 211, 227.

11 Cal. SP Ire. 1574-1585, 175.

12 Ibid., 231.

13 Mac Fhir Bhisigh (UCD Add. Ir. MS 14, p. 806; also RIA MS Cvi 2, p. 462) records that Uilliam's mother was Máire daughter of Mac Diarmada, Ruaidhrí mac Taidhg, and this is supported by references in the present poem, qq. 9b, 10a, 24a. This Ruaidhrí died in 1568 (ALC ii, 396-404; his wife Sadhbh was a daughter of Mac Uilliam Uachtair, Ricard Óg, ibid., 332) and was a grand-uncle of Conchubhar Óg Mac Diarmada, the subject of Poem VIII.

14 Cal. SP Ire. 1574-1585, 284.

to Ireland 'to receive the goods left him by his father'.¹⁵ When Uilliam returned he evidently remained and in 1582 was made Sheriff of Sligo.¹⁶ Meeting with opposition from his brothers¹⁷ he nevertheless persevered and when Sir Richard Bingham succeeded Malby as Governor of Connacht in 1584 Uilliam wrote to Walsingham asking him to use his influence with Bingham 'to continue him in the pay of twelve horse in the county of Mayo'.¹⁸

Uilliam Búrc was in possession of the town and castle of Ardnaree, now part of Ballina town, but then an independent settlement on the eastern side of the river Moy.¹⁹ His holdings there are outlined in the Composition of Connacht of 1585.²⁰ It would seem, however, that he had hoped for greater advancement but, despite his professed friendship with Bingham, found the Lord Deputy, Sir John Perrot unforthcoming. For this reason, in January 1586 he again wrote to Walsingham asking that he might have a greater share of the country of Mac Uilliam Íochtair and even mentioning that he had given some thought to quitting Ireland altogether and offering himself for service with the English in Flanders.²¹ Later that year, as we have seen, he was in rebellion.

From then until his death we lose sight of Uilliam Búrc, except for a brief glimpse of him in 1588 when he is said to have captured seventy-two

15 Ibid., 320.

16 Ibid., 414-5.

17 Ibid., 440.

18 Ibid., 516.

19 Cf. O Donovan, The genealogies ... of Hy-Fiachrach, 34 n. There was also an Augustinian monastery here: see R.S.A.I. Jn, xxviii (1898) 286; Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval religious houses Ireland, 295-6.

20 Freeman, The composition booke of Conought, 111-2.

21 Cal. SP Ire. 1586-1588, 13.

Spaniards from an Armada wreck.²² In May 1591 a rumour was reported 'of a combat to be performed between one Uilliam Burke of Terawly and one Alexander M'Hugh Boy McDonnell a gallowglass of that barony'.²³ Under that year the 'Four Masters' record the following:

Uilliam Búrc mac Seaain mic Oiluerais mhic Seaain
do mharbhadh le duine uasal dá lucht leanamhna
fein .i. lé hAlastram mac Aodha Buidhe Mhec
Domhnaill.²⁴

Mr. K.W. Nicholls kindly informs me that two separate inquisitions of 1609 and 1615 give the precise date of Uilliam's death as 24 July 1595.²⁵ This date may be incorrect but Mr. Nicholls suggests that Uilliam may not have been killed outright in 1591 but may have 'lingered on in bed for four years'. Whether or not this is so, our poem is unlikely to have been composed during that period but rather when Uilliam was at the height of his power, sometime during the 1580s.

This poem is a crosántacht, a type of verse which has been the subject of a recent study by Dr. Harrison.²⁶ The theme is stated in the first five quatrains: Fearghal Óg enjoyed a close relationship with Uilliam Burc, but the latter subsequently rejected the poet (cf. q. 3). The form which this rejection took is clear from the rest of the poem. Apart from the general praise of Uilliam (his supremacy in strength

22 Ibid., 1588-1592, 40; cf. Knox, op. cit., 221.

23 Cal. SP Ire. 1588-1592, 561.

24 AFM vi, 1908.

25 Abstracts in PROI, R.C. 9/16.

26 An chrosántacht (Dublin, 1979).

and prowess etc.) occurring throughout (qq. 6-8, 26-9, 30-31, Prose (viii) and (ix)) he is specifically and pointedly extolled for his generosity and for his duties with regard to rewarding poets (qq. 9, 12, 16, 24-5, Prose (x) and (xiii)). In support of this, his excellent treatment of other poets is referred to (q. 11, Prose (xi)). All this is counterpointed with references to Fearghal Óg's dissatisfaction with Uilliam Búrc²⁷ in such a way as to make it obvious, without actually explicitly stating it (cf. 'ní beag nod don eolach' lines 103-4), that what is at issue is Uilliam's non-payment of the poet for services rendered.²⁸ (Professor Breatnach has noted this method of dispensing with an ollamh's services in his 'Chief's poet'.²⁹) Nevertheless, it is clear that Fearghal Óg is still hopeful that a reconciliation may be effected (qq. 10, 17-18) but, just in case, he warns Uilliam that he runs the risk, in the first place, of not being praised by the poet, his generosity thereby being consigned to oblivion (qq. 13-15), and secondly, and more seriously, of being satirized (qq. 19-23).

In the General Introduction (p. 43) I have referred to this poem in the context of other poems by Fearghal Óg of North Connacht origin: those addressed to Cormac Ó hEadhra. I have also mentioned there that the path of our poet and that of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn may have crossed through their association with Ó hEadhra. It is possible that they also encountered

27 The following are the terms employed by the poet to express his dissatisfaction: diomdha qq. 13c, 14a, 20a, 21a (cf. diomghach line 88); fala qq. 8c, 19b, 22c; fearg qq. 8c, 10a, 11a, 18c, 20d, 23a; oirbhire lines 30, 46; easaonta line 46.

28 This type of argument where the ideal is implicitly contrasted with the actual has been noted by Professor Gillies in 'The classical Irish poetic tradition' in Evans et al. (eds), Proceedings (108-20) 115.

29 PRIA 83 C, 72-5.

each other in Ardnaree as Tadhg Dall also seems to have enjoyed the patronage of Uilliam Búrc.³⁰ Two poems of his to Uilliam survive and both are poems of complaint. The first of these can be dated reasonably accurately. It begins 'A theachtairé téid ar sliabh'³¹ and complains that excessive exactions have been taken from the poet who has failed to obtain redress, despite appealing to every level of local authority under English law (qq. 4-6, 8, 9, 14). He has been expecting Uilliam for three years (q. 19), has just heard that he has arrived i-bhus (q. 20) and now sends his teachtairé to find out if the rumour is true and, if so, to ask Uilliam for help (q. 21). Uilliam's absence of three years corresponds exactly to his period spent in England with Walsingham, 1579-81 (see above), and this poem can therefore be dated to late 1581 or early 1582, and the loose metre of the poem suggests that the poet did not take too much time in composing it.

The second poem, beginning 'Cóir Dé eadram is Uilliam'³², concerns some wrong perceived by Tadhg Dall to have been done to him by Uilliam in the matter of depriving him of rewards which he had already given him for his poetry. This is a very interesting composition in that the poet states that he was Uilliam's ollamh (q. 5a) and that Uilliam wronged him, safe in the knowledge that the poet (unlike Fearghal Óg) would not satirize him, such was his affection for

30 A total of eight poems composed by Tadhg Dall to members of Clann Uilliam Íochtair are extant (TD 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 22a, 23), the only branch of the Burkes addressed by him. Among these there is one to Uilliam's father, Seaán, TD 17. A kinsman of his, Ruaidhrí mac Domhnaill, was the author of another poem to Seaán: Galway Arch. and Hist. Soc. Jn. xiv (1928-9) 30-51.

31 TD 22.

32 TD 23.

him (qq. 16-23). Another point of interest is the fact that Tadhg Dall praises Uilliam's great interest in learning - specifically his ability to read books which the poet himself was unable to read (q. 8) - to the extent that their relationship is defined in terms of teacher and pupil (qq. 5-11).

In view of this, I believe that the following short poem is worth reproducing in full, though without some necessary emendations. To my knowledge it survives in only one copy, RIA MS 23 L 17, f. 148r. 6-21.³³ Note in particular 'do cheanglas cumann' (q. 2b), the references to the subject's learning, in particular his ability to read and write (q. 6), and to his having met a violent end (q. 7). I reproduce the text as it is in the manuscript save that the quatrains are arranged in four lines, expansion of contractions is indicated with underlining and a full point is placed at the end of each quatrain.

Beannocht ar anmuin Uilliam
 gnúis tséimhidhe sheanguinfhial
 fear re mbocht dob uaisle dfuil
 beannocht uaim air anmuin.

Ré Uilliam Búrc branán gall
 fá raoir do cheanglas cumann
 briste uaidh mo chroidhe am chliabh
 tre loighe san uaig dUilliam.

33 Scribe: Seán Ua Murchadha na Ráithíneach. There is no ascription. Tadhg Dall's 'Mairg fhéaghas ar Inis Ceithleam' (TD 11) precedes and Gofraidh Mac an Bhaird's 'A fhir shealbhas duit an dán' follows.

Miste sinn ar neólas air
 móide ar ndobrón na dheaghaidh
 rug geall aigne ó gach fíor
 re caidreamh dob fhearr eision.

A chaidreamh do mheall mise
 uch mo thighearna tairise
 ní a ndiaig a tharbha atáim
 ó tharla a cciaidh mo chompáin.

Ba file é budh fear dána
budh fear bréagtha bandála
 do thuill gnaoi dhá ghné roghluin
budh saoi é sna healadhnaibh.

Budh léagthóir leabhar ndorcha
 ag sin cuid dá chomhortha
 rug an fithleóir geall an ghrinn
 sgríbhneóir dob fhearr a nÉirinn.

Aoincheard mhaith budh misde neach
acht amháin gan bheith suirgheach
mairg do chneasghoin a chneas fhial
 níorbh feas deasboidh air Uilliam.

Braon do ghrasaibh an té as triar
 go bhfaghaidh hanam a Uilliam
 Amen ós a cciaidh dhá chorp
 na dhiaig do bhear mo bheannoicht. Beannoicht

Editorial remarks The following poem is found in six manuscripts:

- (i) Franciscan Library MS A 25 (F), pp. 120-22; early seventeenth century: see

Poem V, Introduction.

- (ii) National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland MS MCR 39 ('The Red Book of Clanranald') (R), pp. 282-92; written by Niall Mac Mhuirich (TGSI xlvi (1969-70) 294-5), late seventeenth/early eighteenth century.
- (iii) Maynooth MS B 8 (M), pp. 89-92; written by Heinrí Ó Carraic, 1701-1708.
- (iv) RIA 23 L 32 (L), pp. 48-51; written by Richard Tipper, 1716-17.
- (v) RIA 23 C 21 (C), pp. 107-12; written by Eoghan Caomhánach, 1816-17.
- (vi) RIA 23 O 73 (O), pp. 217-21; written by Tomás Ó hIcheadha, 1814-30.

M is by far the most satisfactory of all the copies. F is incomplete, breaking off at line 64. Q. 4 is omitted by RLCO; q. 22 by L; q. 27 by R. Despite this, and many other less notable discrepancies, it has been impossible to disentangle the six copies in order to construct a stemma. In view of that, and because of the presence of the prose-sections, I have thought it desirable to base the edition on M while providing variant readings from the five other manuscripts. In contrast to the other editions in this collection, only major variants are given, for reasons of space.

In editing the prose sections the following principles have been followed. As in the case of the verse, the text is based on M with variant readings supplied from the five other manuscripts this being indicated with suprascript lettering, in alphabetical order, in each paragraph. Arrangement and numbering of paragraphs and lines, use of capitals, punctuation,

hyphenation (h- and n- before vowel-initial words) are all editorial. The macron is used to indicate length-marks absent in the manuscript. Square brackets are used in lines 13, 49 and 50 to supply letters obscured by staining in the manuscript; in line 90 they are used to contain a word - the copula - not in M but supplied (perhaps unnecessarily?) from the other manuscripts.

Contractions have been silently expanded; '7' has been read as agus throughout. Lenition has been supplied (indicated by underlining) only in the following cases: after Í lines 1, 17; after níor(bh) lines 3, 15; after do (prep.) line 86; níorb > níorbh line 2; bfuilim > bhfuilim line 88; -g- > -gh- lines 16, 88, 113. Minor orthographical irregularities have been adjusted in the following instances: lines 27 (MS re le), 30 (MS búirc), 78 (MS éais), 82 (MS landainge), 105 (MS maig gniallusaigh). 'Tall' e has been written ea, as has e, é (> éa) before a non-palatal consonant.

In all other cases the manuscript reading (in the prose sections) has not been interfered with. It is therefore to be understood that, for example, inconsistencies such as tt- (e.g. lines 52, 64, 80, 86, 106) as opposed to dt- (lines 62, 107) are scribal.

A text of this poem, based on MSS L and C, accompanied by one and a half pages of notes and no translation, was included in his doctoral thesis by Dr A. Harrison.³⁴ The other manuscript copies were ignored, as were rules governing composition in dán díreach, with the result that Dr Harrison's text is seriously flawed and worthless.

Metre snéadhbhairdne, dán díreach.

³⁴ A. Harrison, 'An chrosántacht', University of Dublin Ph. D. Thesis, 1971, pp. 230-44.

- 1 Mairg im dheaghaidh cheanglas comann:
is cúis tnūidhe;
orm fa choill do-chóidh mo chéile,
gēr dhóigh dhūinne.
- 2 An fear comuinn do chaill orum,
d'iúil na bhfáidheadh,
dob é ar ngrádh é tar gach n-éinfhear,
cré nár cáineadh.
- 3 Comann tar ais d'éis a dhéanta
do nīorbh ionchuir,
mo bhile cnuais, mo thrágh thorchuir,
tar chlár gCriomhthuin.

1 Woe to him who, after my experience, forms a bond of friendship: it is a cause of resentment; my spouse has avoided me to my disadvantage, though we had hope of him.

2 The lover who failed me, according to the information of the poets, he was our love above every individual, one who [never] was faulted.

3 It was not proper for him to reject a friendship after it had been formed, my fruit-tree, my beach[rich in] produce above [everyone in the] plain of Criomhthan.

Headings: Fearg(h)al Óg Mac an Bhaird cc(t) MLRCO; no ascription F.

- 1 a dhiaigh LR; do cheanglas R; cumann FO, cumuinn L, cuman C; c orm] RCO orum MFL; do chóidh] R do chūaidh MLC doch̄ F̄O.
- 2 a cummuinn F, cumainn LO, cumain D; do coill F; orm F̄O, oruinn R; b d'iúil] iul R; c dob] budh L; ar ngrádh] F; mo ghrádh MLCO, mo chen R; second é om. C; aoinfher R.
- 3 a Cumann FCO Cumainn L; ais] om. F; d'éis] eis F; b bfioncoir R; c mbhīle R; tráigh̄h MSS; d criomhthain(n) LR.

4 Muna bheith ar éirigh eadruinn -
 ní h-iúl céillidh -
 ní thréigfinn choidhche an fial faoilidh
 ar fhiadh n-Éibhir.

5 Mo chomann do chur ar gcūla
 do chleith Mhuaidhe
 is clōdh meanman, nō claon céille,
 nō is taom truaighe.

(i) Et is truagh^a don mharcach do mhuintir Í Dhomhnuill
 do leag a each do chur^b craoithe uirre^c, dōir níorbh
 fhēidir craoithe^e do chor ina seasamh uirre^{fd} le a
 doirbhe^g agus^h re a dofhulang^h. Etⁱ tar ēis cheithre^j gcrú^k

4 Were it not for what arose between us - a
 ridiculous tale - I would never leave the cheerful,
 generous one [not even] for the land of Éibhear.

5 The rejection of my friendship by the tree of the
 Muadh is a weakening of spirit, or a perversion of
 reason, or a pitiful fit.

(i) And it is pitiful about the horseman of Ó
 Domhnaill's people who felled his mare to put shoes on
 her, as it was impossible to shoe her when she was
 standing because of her contrariness and her
 impatience. And after four shoes

4 om. LRCO; a beith F; b céilligh M, ceill:F; d iath
 F; neimhir MF.

5 a c(h)umann FLCO; chuir L; c clo FLC; nō] is F, no
 is LC; as clōdh ceille no as maoth meanma R.

(i) a tarla add F; b cheithre add R; c uirthe FCO urrtha
 R fuithe L; d-d om. R; e a ccur LCO; f uirthe FCO
 fuithe L; g doilbhe L; h-h uile do fhulang F; i is
 add L; j na ceithredh R; k ccraoithe R gcraoithe
 LCO;

^ldo chor^l 'na^m luidhe uirreⁿ, a^o raibhe^p a n-Ulltaibh 5
uile^q do theacht 'na timcheall. ^rNírbh ēidir leō^s
a cur 'na seasamh^r nō gor beanadh na ceithre craoithe^t
cēadhna^u uaithe^v arís.

(ii) Agus giodh ait sin, ní h-aite leam féin é 10
^ainā mar deireadh^b óglach Í Fhialáin^c, agus é aga
bhāthadh: 'Neamhchaint! Neamhchaint!'^a

(iii) Et giodh ait ^agach ní dhíobh^a sin, ní h-aite
liom féin^b é iná mar do tachtadh in b[hean] roimhe^c
^dlé méad a greama^d ar tórramh^e a fir.

had been put on her when she was lying down, all that were in the whole of Ulster gathered round her. They were unable to stand her up until the same four shoes had been removed from her again.

(ii) And though that is amusing, I myself do not think it more amusing than how Ó Fialáin's servant was saying, when he was drowning: 'I can't speak! I can't speak!'

(iii) And though each one of those [stories] is amusing, I myself do not think it more amusing than how, before [this], the woman was choked by the size of the piece of food [she was eating] at her husband's wake.

l-l om. F; m as a R; n urthe F uirthe LCO urrtha R; o an^r R; p roimh F rabh R raibh LCO; q om. F; r-r ni chuirfedh na sesamh í R; s uile add L; t cru F; u cēna FLRC; v dhī R.

(ii) a-a na mar a deireadh o óglách ris O Bhl^o-olain ⁷ e ag dol le fanuidh caisil abhann deirgthuile ⁷ do iar ar a oglách a chabhair no éimhghe ar dhaoínibh oíle da chabhair neamhchaint neamhchaint Í Fhaghláin a déredh seisean R; b adeiredh F deirghe L adeire C adeir o; c Í Fhaoláin L.

(iii) a-a om. F; b om. LRCO; c om. F roimheso L roimhesi CO; d-d om. R; e torrughadh R.

- 6 Fir Chonnacht uile dhá n-áirmhinn,
is ē thoghuim;
annamh fear a chlú do-chluinim,
cnú dhár gcrobhuing.
- 7 Tearc mac ríogh eile mar Uilliam,
urra ar gcabhra,
fear 'ga bhfuil cridhe gan chumhnga,
bile Banbha.
- 8 Gē a-tám buidhíoch do bhaidhbh Thaillean,
is tuar pudhair:
do thuill uaim fheirg agus fholuidh,
nír cheird chubhaidh.

6 [Though] I consider the men of all Connacht, it is he I choose; seldom do I hear of a man of his reputation, [choice] fruit of our cluster.

7 Few other princes are like Uilliam, one who is sure to help us, a man who has an expansive heart, tree of Banbha.

8 Though I am grateful to the warrior of Taillean, it is an omen of sorrow: he has earned anger and resentment from me, it was not proper behaviour.

6 a da FLRCO; d dhár] dar FR (os overhead R) os LCO; cr(o)bh(u)ing LRCO.

7 a eile] oile FR a bhfogluim mar CO; c cridhe] FR croidhe MLCO; chumhnga] chumhnga MFCO chumhdha L chuinge R.

8 a Gidh L; tám FLRCO; Thaillean] FRO thailtin M tailtinn LC; c om L; uaim] orm R; fholuidh] fhaluigh R foghla(idh) CO; d cear(r)d CO.

(iv) Agus n̄ior chubhaidh don ollamh^a re dān, 15
 dān Mēg Amhalghuidh^b Bhaile^c Locha Luatha^d do
 bhreith d'ionnsoidhe^e Í Dhubhda.

(v) Et n̄ior chubhaidh don ollamh^a re leigheas^b
 an mhagarll^c do bhuaín amach a riocht na cloiche 20
 fuail.

(vi) Agus n̄ior chubhaidh don ollamh^a re seanchas
^ba rádh gorbh ē Goll mhac Morna athair Conchobhair^c
 mheic Neasa^b.

(vii) ^aAgus n̄ior chubhaidh^b don ollamh^a re breithiomhnas
 breath^c do bhreith^d gor ghoire Mac ^eCon Shnáma^e Chorra 25
 Boiginnsi^f do r̄ioghacht^g Éireann inā Ó Néill.

(iv) And it was not proper for the professor of
 poetry to bring the poem composed for Mág Amhalghuidh
 of Baile Locha Luatha to Ó Dubhda.

(v) And it was not proper for the professor of
 medicine to extract the testicle instead of the
 bladder-stone.

(vi) And it was not proper for the professor of
 history to proclaim that Goll mac Morna was the father
 of Conchubhar mac Neasa.

(vii) And it was not proper for the professor of
 law to deliver a judgement that Mac Con Shnáma of
 Corra Boiginnsi was nearer to the kingship of Éire
 than Ó Néill.

(iv) a ollaimh R; b amalgaibh C; c om. F; d lua FLO
 luain R Luadh C; e dionnsoidhe LR dionnsoidhidh
 C.

(v) a ollaim R; b liaighios O; c magairle R.

(vi) a ollaimh R; b-b om. LCO; c chonnchuir R.

(vii) a-a no LCO; b chosmuil F; c breith LR; d do
 thabhairt O; e-e mac anamha F mac con (n)ámha
 RCO; f beiginnsi CO; g om. C, rioghacht FLR
 righecht O.

- 9 Ó Néill ar oineach 's ar eangnamh
oighre Máire;
fear ré leantar do ghníomh Ghuaire
ar dhíol dáimhe.
- 10 Tar ceann m'fheirge re h-ua Ruaidhrí,
ré gan teimheal,
do-bhēar geall, tar chró na gcuradh,
dhó fa dheireadh.
- 11 Tuilleamh m'fheirge is iongnadh liomsa
dom lán sūla,
's nach téid file uadh fa éara;
is tuar tnūdha.

9 In the matter of honour and valour Máire's heir is as Ó Néill; [he is] a man who follows Guaire's practice in the payment of poets.

10 Despite my anger towards Ruaidhrí's grandson, a moon not darkened, I will, after all, give [my] pledge to him above [all in] the land of the warriors.

11 That he who is the focus of my affection should incur my wrath amazes me, seeing as how no poet leaves him having been refused; it is an omen of jealousy.

9 a Ua LCO; eangnamh R eangnamh CO; ar eangnamh sar éinech F; c ré] le FLR le a CO; d ar] tar F ag R a n- Ó.

10 a chionn L; c do bheir LCO dobferr R; tar clo chró with clo expuncted M.

11 a bfeirge CO; liumsa F; c om. C; téid] LR tteid MFO; uadh] FR uaidh MLO.

(viii) Agus mās^a tnūthach le^b h-uaislibh agus
 lé h-ardmhaithibh Éireann ar chuireas féin
 d'allamh^c agus d'ardoirrdhearcas^d ar Uilliam
 Būrc^e, muna bheith^f beagán oirbhire agum air, 30
 adéaruinn ^ggo madh^g tuarguin darach do dhornuibh,
 nō snámh a n-aighidh an^h easa, nó lámh a nead
 nathrach, ⁱnō ríomh réaltanⁱ, coimeas nó comórtas
 do dhéanamh ris^j do chloinn^k ríogh nó roithighearnadh
 ar oiread inmhe agus acfuinne ris féin. 35

(ix) Agus^a mar thēid an ré ós na réalltannuibh,
 agus an mhuir mhór ós na mionshreabhuibh^b, agus Sliabh
 Sión ós na slēibhtibh, as mar sin do-chuaidh mac

(viii) And if the nobility and elite of Éire are
 jealous of the fame and pre-eminence which I have
 bestowed on Uilliam Būrc, I would say [in reply] -
 were it not for the little grievance I have against
 him - that for the sons of kings or great lords to
 contend with or oppose him would be like chopping an
 oak with [bare] hands, or swimming against the
 waterfall, or putting one's hand in a snake's nest, or
 counting stars, such is the prosperity and power he
 possesses.

(ix) And as the moon surpasses the stars, and the
 great ocean the little streams, and Mount Sion [all
 other] mountains, so has the son

(viii) a is CO; b re le M; c dalla FLR dallan CO; d
 dordhearcas FLR; e Buirc M; f mbiadh L mbeith
 RO mbeid C; g-g gurab L; h om. FLRCO; i-i om.
 CO no gad um gainiomh L; j re/le hUilliam
 Bu(i)rc LRCO; k chlannaibh LCO.

(ix) a oir R; b mion(th)rothaibh LR;

Seaáin mheic Oiluéarus^c tar a bhfoil^d a gcoimhré
 agus a gcomhaimsir ris^e do mhacuibh rTogh^f gan 40
 fhreasabhra^f.

(x) Agus^a do thuig Uilliam Būrc gor buaine
 bladhd inā císde agus gorbh ē coigill an chonāich
 a chaitheamh; agus, ō tá a theisd mar a
 thuarasgbhāil, do mholuinn^b féin don tsheabhad 45
 uasal, éachtach gan oirbhíre nō easaonta do
 thuilleamh ó dheighfhear dhána, ná uaim
 féin d'áiridhe^c.

(xi) Agus gē [a]deirim sin, fós as urusa^a d'Uilliam
 Būrc éirghe^b ó dhíomdha^c [éa]nduine amháin^d re 50
 h-ealadhuin ōir nī slugh neach 'na aonar ōir^e,

of Seaán son of Oilbh Éarus surpassed those of his
 contemporaries who are sons of unopposed kings.

(x) And Uilliam Būrc has understood that fame is
 more lasting than treasure and that to distribute
 wealth is to amass it; and, since his reputation is as
 is reported, I myself would advise the noble, valorous
 hawk not to earn reproach or dissent from a goodly
 poet, nor especially from myself.

(xi) And though I say that, yet it is easy for
 Uilliam Būrc to escape the dissatisfaction of a single
 poet since no solitary person is an army [and] because

c Oiliberas F; d bfuil FLRC; e fein add. LO; f-f
 7 rofhlath R.

(x) a mar sin R; b do mholfuinn FLRCO; c dairighthe L
 go hairighthe R.

(xi) a urusda R; b techt R; c oirbire F; d agus LCO;

dā ttairginn^e féin^f cor a n-aghaidh Uilliam Búrc,
do rachdaois éigsi agus ollamhuin^g Éireann am
aghaidhsi a n-aoineacht; agus^h ní h-iongnadh
dhōibhⁱ cur re h-Uilliam Būrc ar na
h-adhbharaibhsin^j: oír as ē as lāidre lāmh
agus is crōdha^k croidhe agus^l is mire inntinn^m
agus is mó eineachⁿ.

55

12 Oineach cáich do chor do mheabhair,
mór dā mhaoidheamh,
oighre Séaáin, nār éar einfhear;
sgéal do sgaoileadh.

if I myself attempted to oppose Uilliam Búrc, the poets and professors of Éire would unite against me; and it is no wonder that they should support Uilliam Búrc for those reasons: since it is he whose hand is strongest, whose heart is bravest, whose mind is most active and whose honour is greatest.

12 Many proclaim that the heir of Seaán, who refused no man, remembers the honour due to everyone; it is a report which has been circulated.

e ttairgfinn L ttairgfinnsi R; f om. FR; g ollamhna R; h oír LCO; i sin add. F; j hadhbursi R; k cruaidhe R; l-l om. R; m menma F; n om. F
conach^{7c} L oineach RCO.

12 a einec cáigh F; do chur RCO do chuir FL; do] a CO; c-seain FR shein L sheaghain CO; einfhear] F aoinfhear MR oinech L aoineach CO.

- 13 Níor sgaoileadh fós d'eineach Uilliam
fa iath n-Éireann:
tiocfa dom dhiomdha ar chleith Chualann
cleith a chéimeann.
- 14 D'éis mo dhiomdha ar mhac Mheic Uilliam
is é a-déaruinn:
'fear a aoisi is fharr i n-aoineing,
an seang sēaghuinn'.
- 15 Ní mholfa meisi barr Baoille
go mbiam roiréidh,
plannda toruidh do choill cheiníl
nár thoill toibhēim.

13 [News of] Uilliam's honour has not yet been disseminated throughout Éire: from my displeasure with the hero of Cuala will come the concealing of his exploits.

14 After [the assuagement of] my dissatisfaction with Mac Uilliam's son I would say: 'he is the best man of his age in any territory, the slender, distinguished one'.

15 I will not praise the chief of the Baoill until I am quite ready, fruitful plant from his race's wood who has not [previously] earned reproach.

- 13 a Ni F; oinech LO aoineach C; b eirionn L; d chleith R ceilt MFLCO; chéimeann] choimheud^O.
14 b déaruinn FL; c aoineing M aoneing F eineing R einnigh L eining CO;
15 a bār buille F; b mbem F mbim R; c chiníl MLRCO cineoil F.

16 Nír dhiūlt mac mheic Oilibh Éarois
 fhear dhā bhfacaidh;
 tearc i n-Éirinn aon do eitigh,
 is taom tapaidh.

(xii) Et ^aní tapuidh^a don cheithearnach^b do ghoid
 a mhart ó shagart Fiodhnach: agus mar fríth^c fios 60
 agus faisnéis air^d, seacht mionna Fiodhnach do thabhairt
 innte go dtáinig do mhíorbhuilibh^e Dé agus Caillín
 naoimh, an tan do bhí sé ag marbhadh in mhairt^f
 ina^g ttug sé na^h mionna ēithigh, ⁱin tráth do chuir
 sē in tuaghⁱ thairis a mhac^j do bhí aga^k 65

16 The son of Oilibh Éarus's son has not refused any
 man whom he has seen; there is hardly anyone in Éire
 whom he has refused, it is a fortunate urge.

(xii) And it was not fortunate for the soldier who
 stole his cow from the priest of Fiodhnach: and when
 he was discovered, he swore the seven oaths of Fiodhnach
 regarding her so that it came about through the miracles
 of God and St Caillín, when he was about to kill the
 cow regarding which he had sworn the false oaths,
 that, when he raised the axe above his son who was

16 a oiluérois M oileberuis F oilberus L
 oillbheruis R oilbheuras C oilbheurais O; b fear
 FLRCO.

(xii) a-a is mithapaidh LCO; b do mhuintir (hU)í
 Maoilghuthairne add LCO; c do fríthedh L; d an
 mhairt R; e mhíorbhuile L miorbhuiltedhuibh CO;
 f sin add F; g F breaks off here; h secht add R;
 i-i an tan thuig sé ionnsoigh ag cuir na tuaidhe
 L ag cor na tuaighe R; j an tí add CO; k ag R;

connmháil dó^l, gor bhuail sé a gceartlár^m
 a aighthe agus a éadain é gor leig a
 inchinn ina caobuibh cró treⁿ shinisdribh
 a chinn agus a cheannmhullaigh agus
 do léig in mart amach^o. 70

(xiii) Et ^aní h-amhlaidh so^a theagmhas don
 airsigh iorghaile agus don bheithir bheodha
 bhithaighmhēil, .i. Uilliam Būrc, an uair
 théid fa thír a^b fhoghladh agus a^b
 easccarad: acht a gcruidh agus a 75
 gceathra, a mbuar^c agus a mbótháinte
 do thabhairt leis dá thír agus dá thalamh^d.

holding her for him, he struck him in the centre of
 his face and forehead so that he released his brain in
 bloody lumps through his ears and he let the cow go.

(xiii) And not so does it befall the battle veteran
 and the agile, ever-terrible bear, i.e. Uilliam Búrc,
 when he goes through the land of his enemies and those
 hostile to him: rather he takes their herds and their
 cattle, their stock and their droves of cows to his
 [own] land and territory.

l an mhairt ris R; m cceart clár R; n tar R; o
 as R iar sin add L.

(xiii) a-a ní mar sin/so LRCO; b om. LRCO; c mbá L; d
 féin add LRCO;

Agus tar éis^e na n-airgtheadh^f agus na n-éadáladhso^g
do thabhairt don bhaile, as amhluidh so
sgaoileas iad ó chéile^h. i. a ttabhairtⁱ ar eachaibh 80
seanga, siobhlacha, agus ar lúireachaibh leabhra,
lándaingne^j, agus^k ar fhíontaibh^l daora,
doicheannaigh, agus ar dhántuibh diamhra
doidhéanta^k.

(xiv) Et is iongnadh dhamh féin a 85
ttabhairim^a do theisd agus do thuarasgbhāil
ar Uilliam Būrc, agus dar liom féin^b go
bhfuilim diomghach^c dhe; agus is baoghlach
do go madh^d é súgradh in chait^e ris in
lochaidh^f ar ndála^g fa dheireadh. 90

And having taken these plunderings and spoils home, he disperses them in this way: i.e. he exchanges them for slender, swift horses, and for smooth, extremely secure breastplates, and for expensive wines, impossible to buy, and for esoteric poems, difficult to make.

(xiv) And it surprises myself all the praise and [good] repute I give to Uilliam Būrc when I myself consider that I am dissatisfied with him; and he should beware lest our relationship be as the toying of the cat with the mouse.

e éais M; f nairg(th)e LCO an airgned R; g nédala(cha) sin/so LRCO; h uile add L; i an tabhair R; j lándainge M; k-k in reverse order LCO; l fionaibh R.

(xiv) a thugam L; b om. R; c diombuidhech O; d gurab O; e chaitín LCC; f na lochuibh LRC; g ndáil R.

- 17 Budh í sin ar ndáil fa dheireadh:
dol i rēidhe;
déanta dhúinn, do thol gach taoibhe,
cor re chéile.
- 18 Fiodh catha do chosg a bhiodhbhadh:
gi bé thīosadh
tuilleamh m'fheirge nīor dhual dósan,
gruadh nār gríosadh.
- 19 Uaim, a dhreagain dhúin na Teamhrach,
nā tuill fhalaidh:
guais duit sgol Éirne agus Oiligh
d'éirghe it aghaidh.

17 That will be our position in the end: approaching reconciliation; with the good will of each party, we should co-operate.

18 Battle-wood for spurning his enemies: whatever might happen he did not deserve to earn my anger, [he of the] cheek which was never caused to redden.

19 O dragon of the fort of Teamhair, do not earn resentment from me: you are in danger of provoking the poets of Éirne and Oileach against you.

17 a í] LRCO, om. M; ndáil] R, ndáia MLCO; b repeated LCO; dul LRCO; c thoil MLRCO; d repeated CO; cur LCO.

18 a Fiodh] L Fhedh M Fedh R Fiogh CO; do choisg LCO; a] ar C air O; bhiodhbha L biodhbhuidh CO; b giodh bé LCO ge be R; c dosa L; d gruadh] CO gruaidh MLR.

19 a dún R; b nā] nír L; c scoil L; d déairge M.

- 20 Mē féin ort i ndiaidh mo dhiomdha
daor an t-urradh;
nā tuill do ghruaidh dhearg do dhonnadh
m'fhearg go h-ullamh
- 21 Muna fhaghar íoc mo dhiomdha
ōd dreich shaidhbhir,
grīosfaidh meisi an súil nglais, ngormghlain,
's an mbais mbairrghil.
- 22 Íocfaidh béal na mbriathar gcumhra,
nó an cneas fallán,
dá raibh m'fhala úr re h-Uilliam,
cúl na gcamán.

20 In the wake of my dissatisfaction it would be costly for you to obtain me as a guarantor; do not readily earn my anger [or] the reddening of your rosy cheek.

21 If I do not obtain recompense for my displeasure from your wealthy face, I will redden the bright, blue-grey eye and the white-topped hand.

22 If my new-found resentment be directed at Uilliam - hair of the curls - the sweet-worded mouth, or the healthy skin will pay [for it].

- 20 b daor] dion R; an toradh MLCO an torrath R; c dhonna LCO; d go hollamh MLRCO.
- 21 a A muna R; bhfaghar MLCO abhfagham R; diomghuidh R; b d(h)eirc LCO; c an tsúil LCO; ghlas ghormghlan L; d sa bhais bhairrghil L.
- 22 a om. L; íocfa RCO; ccubhra MCO ccumhra R; b om. L; chneas MO; falláin M fallan R f(h)ulláin CO; c rabh R; d cúil L; gcumann L ccomán CO.

23 Gríofuidh meisi, do mhúin fheirge -
 ní h-iúl mearbhuil -
 an dtroighidh réidh, snasda, suirghigh,
 ngasda, ngreannmhuir.

(xv) Et [is] greannmhuir do fhiarfaigh an
 sagart \bar{o} Ghleann Chon Chaidhin do fpríomhfháidh
^ana h-Éireann^a an ^bdon dá asbal déag^b Fionn mhac
 Cumhaill. Et is sultmhar do fhiarfaigh^c an
 sagart céadna, agus é^d ar gceannach leabhuir
 aifrinne^e ó cheannuighe^f sa Srádbhaile^e,

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23 I will redden, out of anger - no false claim - the
 smooth, shining, pleasant, agile, gentle foot.

(xv) And amusingly did the priest from Gleann Chon
 Chaidhin enquire of the primate of Éire if Fionn mhac
 Cumhaill was one of the twelve apostles. And it is
 funny [how], having purchased a mass-book from a
 dealer in An Srádbhaile, the same priest asked,

23 a g(h)ríofas LCO; fheairghe M; b mearbhuill LR;
c troigh LRCO; roiréidh R; s(h)uīrghe LCO; d an
 gnás dá L; ngrean(n)mhar LCO.

(xv) a-a árda macha R airdmhacha agus na heirionn uile
 LCO; b-b dona absdail L; c adubhairt R; d om. R;
 e-e a sráidbhaile dhún(a) dealgaín do/ó
 cheannaigh(th)e dairighthe LCO; e-f om. R;

'Fa do mhionnuibh anois, ^ha cheannuighe, an é
 in leabhar aifrinne féin do cheannchas uaid?'^g
 Et ní ar na neithibh saobhaⁱ sin do^j ba cóir
 damh féin aire do bheith acht

100

24 ar mhac Máire, ó mhúr Chruachan,
 charas féile;
 do-ghéan moladh do bharr Bhaoille
 nach cam céille.

25 Ar Uilliam ní iarrann deōradh
 duais dá ndāileann;
 mo líog lóghmhar, mo dhéar dhíleann,
 tréan nach tráigheann.

'On your oaths now, trader, is it really the mass-book
 that I have bought from you?' And it is not on those
 foolish things that my attention should be but

24 on Máire's son, from the fort of Cruacha, who
 loves generosity; I will fashion praise for the chief
 of the Baoill which will not be perverse in meaning.

25 Uilliam bestows unsolicited gifts on a visiting
 poet; my precious stone, my flood-tear, warrior who
 does not fade.

g-g dén air an leabhar a cheannuidhe ar an sagart
 gurab é an leabhar aifrinne an leabharsa do
 chennchuis uait R; h-g ó do cheannaigh me an
 leabharso uaid an leabhar aifrinne é dariribh LCO;
 i no sechránachsa add R; j om. RCO.
 24 a mhúir L; chrua(i)chna LRCO; c buille R.
 25 a deóruigh LCO; b dá] ná L nach R; c mo líog
 lóghmhar] om. LCO mo bhile cnuais R; d dtráigheann
 M.

- 26 Mo ghéag chumhra, mo chloch bhuidhe,
 gan bhéim mbloidhe;
 sgaoiltear leis a chlú fán gcruinne,
 mo chnú chroidhe.
- 27 Ar n-éasga lán, ar lá samhraidh,
 ar síon thuraidh,
 ar gcoill fa bhláth, ar dtrágh thoraidh,
 lámh mar Lughaidh.
- 28 Mh'Eóghan Mór mac Oilill Óluim,
 m'Fhionn mac Cumhuill,
 mh'ubhall óir, mo chnú ós chrobhuing,
 mo Chú Chuluinn.

26 My fragrant branch, my precious stone, with no reproach in the matter of renown; he spreads his fame around the world, the kernel of my heart.

27 Our full moon, our Summer's day, our dry weather, our blossoming wood, our productive shore, hand like Lughaidh.

28 My Eoghan Mór son of Oilill Óluim, my Fionn son of Cumhall, my golden apple, my topmost nut, my Cú Chuluinn.

- 26 a Mo ghéag chumhra] om. LCO mo chnú chumhduigh R; buaidh L bhua^hda R bh^uadhaig CO; c bhan ccuir^{ne} R; d repeated LCO.
- 27 om. R. b tuirigh L; c bhlaith CO; ttráigh MLCO.
- 28 a Mh'Eóghan] Eóghain R meogain L; mac] mhac M om. C; oilioll LC; b cuibhaill L; c criobhing L; d chuluinn] RC chōluin(n) ML chu^luin O.

29 Ar gclár óir tar éis a thilte,
 tí tar títhibh;
 ar n-eagna lán ar gach láthair,
 ar ndán díchil.

(xvi) Et is díthchiollach^a do mholfuinnsi^b
 Uilliam Búrc muna bheith mar tá: agus ní beag
 nod don eólach.

(xvii) Agus ní ó^a eolas adubhairt comharba^b
 do chomharbuibh^b Cholúim Chille, .i. ^cMág Niallasaigh^c, 105
 agus é ^dar tteagmháil^d ar cuairt agus ar cēilidhe
 a dtigh Í Chonchobhuir Shligigh^e. An uair do iarr
 Ó Conchobhair airsiomh^f an t-altughadh do rádha,

29 Our golden gaming-board after being occupied, the
 most superlative position; our unfailing guidance in
 every situation, our most exacting form of poetic
 composition.

(xvi) And I would diligently praise Uilliam Búrc were
 he not as he is: and a hint is sufficient for one in
 the know.

(xvi) And it was not knowledgeably that one of the
 coarbs of Colum Cille, i.e. Mág Niallasaigh, spoke
 after coming on a visit to the house of Ó Conchubhair
 of Sligeach. When Ó Conchobhair asked him to say the
 thanksgiving,

29 a orda R; deis LRCO; b tí] tigh LCO; tar] dar
 MLRCO; dtíghibh MC ttíghthibh LO tithibh R c ar
 gach] R ar om. MLCO; d dithchil M dithchill LCO
 dichill R.

(xvi) a dicheallach R; b do mholfuinn féin LRCO.

(xvii) a hé LCO ní heolach R; b-b om. L; c-c maig
 gniallusaigh M mac niallgasa L mág niallasa R
 maig(h) niallusa CO; d-d om. L; e om. L; f om.
 C ar LO airsiomh R;

adubhairt seision, mar nach raibhe^g oiread
 an altuighthe^h do lēigheann nō do Laidin, 110
 aige, 'Bheirimⁱ a bhuidhe^j re Dia nár^k
 fhágaibh^l Colum Cille an oiread sin
 d'anghnāthughadh oruinn!'

30 Oruinn féin is fiacha dlighid
 dol dā mholadh:
 mo chrann seóil, mo bhārc nár blaghadh
 trácht fa thoradh.

31 Déad mar gheilghéis, gruaidh mar dhoighir,
 dearc mar bhugha;
 sé do gach draoidh róm is rogha,
 m'ór gan umha.

he said, because he did not have even enough learning or Latin to say the thanksgiving, 'I thank God that Colum Cille did not bequeath that much bad custom to us!'

30 It is incumbent on us to proceed to praise him: my sailing-mast, my unsinkable ship, produce-laden shore.

31 Tooth like a white swan, cheek like a flame, eye like a bluebell; he is the choice of every poet before me, my pure gold.

g raibh LR; h ailltaigh L altaighe féin R; i beiriam L do bheirim R; j bhuigechas R; k nachar L; l fhág R.

30 a Oram LRCO; is] om. L; dlighidh MR dlighe LCO; b dul LRCO; c blaghadh MLRCO; d mo thrácht toraidh R; túragh L truaidh C thuraigh O.

31 a gruadh LCO; b bhugha] bhudhair L; c draoi MSS; róm] riamh L ríom CO; d umha Máirg R.

- 32 Peadar, doirseóir dhúin na n-aingeal,
 urra ar gcabhra,
 an bile réidh, craobhlán, cumhra,
 aonghrádh mh'anma.
- 33 Truagh gan Chonn do bheith 'na bheathaidh
 bile Teamhra
 fear ó bhfuighinn ól is umhla
 fa mór meanma.

MAIRG

32 Peter, door-keeper of the angels' fortress, the one who is sure to help us, the smooth, fully-branched, fragrant tree, the only love of my soul.

33 Alas that Conn is not alive, tree of Teamhair, a man from whom I used to obtain hospitality and respect, who was large of spirit.

32 a doirseir R; dun CO; b ccabhradh O; c an] om.
 LCO; d manma mair R.

33 a bheatha CO; c bhfaghainn LR bhfagha(i)m CO; ól]
 eol L ór with I written above R.

VII Notes

1 a comann, used here and in qq. 2, 3 and 5, is one of the words used by poets to signify the special relationship they enjoy with their patron; cf. Breatnach, 'The Chief's Poet', 51. For the general motif of the marriage between poet and patron (cf. mo chéile in c) see Poem III.7a n.

c orm, a permitted variant of MS orum (BST 193.26), is necessary here as the line is hypermetric in the manuscript. For this use of the preposition ar see DIL F, 301.26-55, and for the phrase fa choill, and its usages, see *ibid.* C, 27.72-28.8.

do-chóidh is a permitted variant of MS do chuaidh (IGT iii.8) and is necessary for perfect rime.

2 a do chaill orm Cf. Poem IX. 27b and Greene, 'Modern Irish cailleann and coilleann' in ZCP xxxvii (1979) 5-9.

c This line is hypermetric in M and I have used F's reading instead.

d For this extended use of cré 'earth, clay' see Dán na mB. M ii, ³⁶⁵s.v. and DIL C, 512.59-63.

Rimes such as é:é:cré are dealt with in Breacadh Ch. VI.

3 a I have noted usages involving (t)ar ais in contexts of rejection in Poem III.12b n.

c trágh thorchuir Cf. qq. 27c and 30d *infra*.

For the idea behind this image see q. 25c n. infra and Poem V. 67c n. The form trágh (IGT ii. 38, 39) is a permitted variant of MSS tráigh (IGT ii. 41, 42) and is required here for perfect rime.

5 a Cf. BST 219.16: 'Rachad ar ccúl agus ar ccúla agus ar ccúluibh .c. uile.'

Prose: three anecdotes depicting amusing and ironic situations. Though each has the appearance of an international motif, I have found no parallels in Thompson's Motif-index.

(i) The felling of a horse is one of a number of methods used for shoeing a cross horse. I have seen it done myself. The joke lies in the fact that, having shod her, it proved impossible to raise her until the shoes were removed. The fact that Ó Domhnaill and the Ulster people in general are implicated in the folly may be a deliberate attempt to emphasise Uilliam Búrc's wisdom by contrast.

2. each Examples of this word where it signifies 'mare' are cited in DIL E, 27.57-64 and Desid., 252.

craoithe Nom./acc. pl. of cró (IGT ii. 87). This is the form used here (cf. lines 3 and 7) but the variant crú (IGT ii. 108) is used in line 4 (g. pl. crú as opposed to cró/craoitheadh which would be gen. pl. of cró).

(ii) If my interpretation of this be correct - a more literal translation of neamhchaint would be 'silence' - the point of the joke is firstly that the óglach (for the quantity of the second vowel see DIL

0, 93.27 ff) should be more concerned with the impediment to his speech than with his imminent death and secondly that he was clearly able to speak despite his protestations to the contrary. (R seems to contain a different version, see v.1.)

10. The Clann Fhialáin were one of the families of professional poets associated with the Maguires of Fermanagh during the late medieval period; see Breatnach, 'The Chief's Poet', 74-6.

(iii) A woman's lack of grief for her dead husband is apparently punished when she chokes while gorging herself at his wake.

6 a Note nom. pl. for acc. pl. here; cf. Éigse iii (1941-2) 60-61.

7 a For the significance of the expression mac ríogh see the Introduction.

c cridhe, a permitted variant of MS croidhe (IGT ii. 2) is necessary for perfect rime.

chumnga As MS chumnga (cf. chumnga:bhurba DMU XVIII. 21bd) does not make perfect 'uaitne' with the finals of b and d I have emended it to a permitted variant (IGT iv. 9); cf. ngardha ∴ cumnga IGT ex. 1004 and gcumnga:umhla Di. D 54.23cd.

Prose: four anecdotes relating cases of malpractice among the four principal learned orders. In F the order of the anecdotes is (vi), (v), (iv), (vii). In the apparatus I have given the readings from F as though they were in the same order as in the

other manuscripts.

16. Baile Locha Luatha The parish of Ballyloughloe, bar. of Clonlonan, county Westmeath, patrimony of Clann Mhéig Amhalghaidh. See Walsh, The placenames of Westmeath, 5-7.

17. Í Dhubhda Ó Dubhda, lord of Tír Fhiachrach in county Sligo. See O Donovan, The genealogies ... of Hy-Fiachrach, passim.

19-20. O Grady (Br. Mus. Catg. i, 113) notes an apparently idiomatic usage of 'an mhagrall i riocht na cloiche fuail' in a scribal comment in Eg. 88, f. 16v.y; cf. also 'gerrfa duine éigin in bod a richt na potóigi' from the same manuscript page, noted *ibid.*

an mhagarll This form, which occurs in all manuscripts with the exception of R, is interesting as the 'normal' nominative form - deducible from the handful of extant examples (DIL M, 14.80-84) - is magrall. O Grady's maghragall (*loc. cit.*) looks doubtful, to say the least.

(vi) Incompetence displayed by a professor of native learning who, on a very basic level, confuses his Fianaigheacht with his Ulster cycle. Conchobhar's father was Fachtna Fáthach.

25-6. Corra Boiginnsi unidentified but presumably somewhere in Muintear Chionaoith (bar. Drumahaire, co. Leitrim), the territory of Clann Mheic

Con Shnámha under the overlordship of Ó Ruairc of Bréifne (e.g., cf. Top. poems line 646). In 1530 Ó Domhnaill (Aodh Dubh) is said to have burned Mac Con Shnámha's house - the best wooden house in Ireland - which was located on Loch Allen (AFM v, 1396-1400; AC, 672; ALC ii, 272). Could it be that Corry Island (par. Inishmagrath, bar. Drumahaire), near the western shore of Loch Allen is our Corra Boiginnsi? In the census of c. 1659 a placename Corr Boghelaigh is noted in 'Inish McRaw', co. Leitrim; a possible corruption of our placename?

The idea that a minor figure such as Mac Con Shnámha, whose family was an offshoot of Clann Raghallaigh (cf. Anal. Hib. xviii (1951) 110), would have greater claim to the kingship (lit. 'kingdom') of Ireland than Ó Neill was preposterous.

9 b Máire see Introduction, n. 13.

c Guaire noted for his hospitality and generosity; see Poem V. 19d n.

10 a Ruaidhrí see Introduction, n. 13.

11 b lán súla cf. Poem IV. 2c.

c téid For editorial removal of eclipsis here (cf. v.l.) see Poem IV. 5a n.

uadh, a permitted variant of uaidh (BST 193.29), is required here for perfect rime.

Prose: The theme of the poem - Fearghal Óg's

displeasure with his patron - and the eulogy of Uilliam Búrc are continued here. Such use of the prose passage in a crosántacht for thematic purposes, rather than for the narration of humorous anecdotes, is regarded by Harrison as exceptional; *op. cit.*, 37. The general fast-flowing style is maintained by the use of lists of futilities and superlatives, (viii) and (ix) respectively, and by the use of proverbial phrases in lines 42-4 and 51.

29. allamh for alladh with common -mh for -dh; cf. DIL A, 290.77.

30. M's Búirc seems to be simply a scribal slip and I have therefore restored the usual form; cf. 42, 51, 55.

31-33. The catalogue of futilities enjoyed a long tradition in Irish literature, the most renowned instance being that in Aislinge Meic Conglinne (ed. Meyer, 71.20-73.32). In his forthcoming edition of this text, Professor K.H. Jackson notes further examples from native and non-native sources. Examples not noted by him include those in 'Tochmarc Étaíne' (ITi (1880) 124.10-22) and in 'Eachtra cloinne Rígh na h-Ioruaidhe' (ed. D. Hyde, 86); cf. also Todd Lecture Series iv (1892) 90-92.

36-7. 'an mhuir mhór ...' precedes 'an ré ...' in F.

37-8. Sliabh Sión According to Classical usage one would expect Sióin here (disyllabic in verse); see Dán na mB. M ii, 428. However one does find gen. Sión = 'Zion' in a paraphrase of Psalm 137 in Smaointe beatha Críost, line 5528; and in Fearghal Óg's poem beginning 'Dlighe a dhuine déanamh lóin' (Di. D 20): alongside lóin:Sióin (qq. 1ab, 2cd) and róibh:Sióin (q. 7cd) we find 'Beir fós soillse leat mar lón/ eadrod agus Sliabh Sióin' (q. 5ab = Book of the O Conor Don f. 81r. 24). In this case gen. Sión is metrically necessary and suggests that gen. Sión/Sióin were permitted variants. Cf. also sliabh Sión cit. DIL S, 241.75.

39. Oiluéarus For this name and its gen. form see q. 16a n. infra.

12 a On the face of it the reading of F and L, do chuir, may be the correct one. Yet a verb noun construction of the type 'oighre Seaáin ... do chur oinigh cháich do mheabhair' (cf. Desid., 264), with nominative for genitive in the present instance due to the syntactic inversion, seems perfectly acceptable. For the phrase cuiridh do mheabhair cf. Di. D 60.3a and DIL M, 74.71.

b The alliteration here and in q. 13b belongs to a second, multi-line variety of snéadhbhairdne according to Dr. Harrison (op. cit., 17; Éigse xvii (1977-8) 187) but such distinctions need not be absolute. It is clear, for whatever reason, that qq. 12 and 13 contain this additional ornamentation together with the linking conchlann (cf. ZCP xxix (1962-4) 96).

c F's éinfhear is necessary to avoid rime with b and c.

13 d cleith, a permitted variant of MSS ceilt (IGT ii.14, iii.34) is required for perfect rime. The rime chleith:cleith is not an example of the metrical fault caoiche as chleith in c is the dat. sg. of cleath, lit. 'a tree', while cleith in d is a verb. noun, nom. sg.; see Poem X. 18cd n.

The meaning of this quatrain is that, while Uilliam may be mindful of the honour due to everyone else (q. 12), his own honour has yet to be bruited abroad and, if the poet's grievance remains unresolved, this will remain the case as the poet will not sing his praises.

15 c coill cheiní see Poem III. 15c.

16 a The name Oilibhéarus / Oilbhéarus (the former is metrically necessary here) derives from French Olivier the ultimate origin of which is unclear.¹ The earliest recorded form of the name in English is Oliverus.² In Irish the commonest form is Oilibhéar which is found in many Anglo-Norman families such as the Fitzgeralds³ and the Nugents.⁴ The name Oilbhéarus occurs in the Hussey family⁵ and in the

1 Withycombe, The Oxford dictionary of English personal names, 232-3.

2 Domesday Book s.a. 1086, cited *ibid.*

3 Anal. Hib. xviii (1951) 180, 185.

4 Ibid., 187.

5 See Poem X.

family of Mac Suibhne Connachtach.⁶ The occurrence of the name in the genealogy of Clann Uilliam Íochtair may, perhaps, be connected with their alleged descent from Charlemagne⁷ as one of the legendary twelve paladins was called Oliver.⁸

Being a borrowed name, its genitive form varied between -uis and non-inflection.⁹ Thus we have mhac Oiluéarus: choiséanus (TD 17.5ab) and anois: mhac Oilbhéarois (TD 20.6ab). Another feature shared with borrowed names is its division into separately stressed components.¹⁰ The above examples from TD show that a division of the word is metrically necessary but Miss Knott's treatment of this is confusing.¹¹ While admitting that the 'first syllable probably has an independant stress' she treats the above examples as Oil Mhéarus alliterating with mhac. I see no reason why one should not read Oilbh Éarus with the two components alliterating with each other.

This does not preclude a possible division Oil(i) Bhéarus, though I have no unequivocal example of this (cf. Poem X. 1a). In the present case it might be argued that such a division would allow the alliteration in b to be preserved (cf. q. 12b n. supra) on the principle that alliteration between bh- and f- sometimes occurs.¹² As alliteration in b is unnecessary, however, it is easier to show lenition of the direct object¹³ so as to alliterate with Éarus in a.

6 LCS, 84-5.

7 Cf. Anal. Hib. xviii (1951) 193; TD ii, 254.

8 E.g. cf. Hyde, Gabháltais Shearluis Mhoir, 30; Misc. Celt. Soc., 372; RC xix (1898) 14-57, 118-67, 252-91, 364-93, passim.

9 Cf. gen. Sión/ Sióin: lines 37-8 n. supra.

10 See B. Ó Cuív in Nomina iii (1979) 44.

11 TD i, pp. cvi-cvii.

12 See Eigse xxi (1986) 65.21a n.

13 Cf. IGT i. 81: do-chiú fear, do chiú fhear.

d tapaidh Adj. use of gen. sg. of tapadh which has two basic meanings: quickness and (good) fortune and so presents a direct semantic parallel to English speed. The first sense is preserved in Modern Irish while the second meaning is best known to us from Scottish Gaelic. Cf. Dán na mB. M ii, 413 and DF iii, 328.

Prose The poet contrasts the misfortune which attended the kern who stole a cow from a priest - thus violating the supposed immunity of clerics from such offences (cf. Poem VIII. 11b n.) - with the prosperity which follows Uilliam's creacha as his prey is not slaughtered but exchanged for the finer things in life, including poetry. The image of the cat playing with the mouse in (xiv) epitomises the alternation, throughout the poem, between praise and censure.

59. cheithearnach A foot-soldier; see Simms, From kings to warlords, 125-7. Manuscripts LC and O add that the kern was 'do mhuintir Í Mhaoil Ghuthairne'. This may be the surname O Mulgohery recorded in the barony of Rosclogher, co. Leitrim in the mid-seventeenth century; Pendar, A census of Ireland c. 1659, 569.

60. Fiodhnach Fenagh bar. of Leitrim, co. Leitrim, in Ó Ruairc's territory of Bréifne. For the form of the name see Onom., 418. Location of an early monastic site where remnants of fifteenth century churches still survive. Its patron saint was St Caillín (cf. line 62); see Kenney, Sources, 400-401.

62. innte Note the feminine pronoun here and in line 64 referring to a masc. noun with a fem. sense. Cf. line 2 n. supra.

63. naoimh Genitive of apposition; cf. Desid., 246.

65. in tuagh Nom. for acc.; possibly an instance of cosg réime before a prepositional phrase, see Éigse iii (1941-2) 60-63.

thairis Prep. with suffixed pron., 3rd sg. masc, functioning as simple prep.; cf. DIL T, 72.61-4.

68. shinisdribh In poetry the correct form would be sheinisdreachaibh (IGT ii. 185). The phrase literally reads 'through the windows of his head and head-top'; examples of this metaphorical use of seinisdir are cited in DIL S, 149.69-71.

82-3. In dán díreach we would expect the forms fíonaibh and dánaibh (IGT ii. 95) though we are told that fíon has a canamhain form.

88. Lit. 'and it is dangerous for him that it be ...'.

17 a I accept the reading of R in this instance as a pronoun is to be expected before sin and inserting a pronoun means that a syllable has to be lost elsewhere in the line.

b The apparent rudhrach in dol: thol: cor (cf. Poems VI. 11cd n., 12d n., 18d n. and X. 4a n.) could be resolved by reading dul (a permitted variant, IGT ii. 2, iii. 8) with the other manuscripts.

c The form tol (IGT ii. 95) is necessary for rime here and is a permitted variant of MSS toil (IGT ii. 14).

18 a Retaining F(h)edh of M and R we could translate 'throughout/ for the duration of a battle', which would mean reading, with LCO, the finite do choisg - 'he has warded off' - and nom. pl. for acc. pl. a bhiodhbhaidh 'his enemies'. However, fedh may be interpreted as a late spelling for fiodh, possibly influenced by inflected forms (IGT ii. 71) g. sg./ n. pl. feadha, d. pl. feadhaibh, g. pl. fiodh/ feadh; cf. Feadh ós feadhuibh, Butlers line 1865.

b This line could also be taken as referring to the enemies mentioned in a, in which case a translation would be 'whoever might approach'. For the given translation see DIL D, 300.21-31 and for the uses of gi(dh) bé see TD i, p. lxxvii and BST 67a. 28-42 (and notes).

d gruadh (IGT ii. 37, 44) is a permitted variant of MS gruaidh and is metrically necessary here.

19 c sgol Éirne agus Oiligh The poets of Ulster?

20 This quatrain and q. 21 are in reverse order in R.

b Were the reading of the manuscript to be retained we would have an instance of rudhrach uaitne (see IGT v. 100-105) that is, the final of c riming with those of b and d rather than forming uaitne with them (cf. q. 30c n. infra). As donnadh does not seem to have any variants, permitted or otherwise, and as the variants of ullamh (ollamh and eallamh, IGT ii. 118) would not rime with taradh, the permitted variant of MS toradh (IGT ii. 53), it seems that we have to do with the word orradh 'surety', which has variants urradh and earradh (IGT ii. 11), the former being required for perfect rime.

The poet seems to be saying that if the present situation is allowed to continue unresolved, any service which he might provide in the future would cost Uilliam Búrc dearly.

d For the given interpretation we must assume cosg réime on m'fhearg. An alternative interpretation might read: 'my anger [is] already poised'.

21 cd This leathrann has been printed (from L) by Harrison, op. cit., 53 (1979), as an illustration of the element of 'cúlra draíochta na haoire' in crosántachtaí. In doing so he ignores the absence of uaitne (in that manuscript) between the final c and those of b and c.

22 d I do not know another example of this use of camán. However, the meaning is clear and cf.

the use of camóg in 'sdíomh na ccamóg ccochluichthe' O Hara XXV. 58b.

23 d ngreannmhuir Translate, perhaps, 'bold'; cf. DIL G, 154.46-58.

Prose Two anecdotes depicting the ridiculous ignorance of a priest. The point of the second seems to be that even after buying a mass-book, the priest was unable to tell whether or not it actually was a mass-book.

92. Gleann Chon Chaidhin In south co. Derry; for its location see AFM v, 1384 n. n, 1820 n. g and AU iii, 562.

príomhfháidh na h-Éireann Traditionally the archbishop of Armagh, though in post-Norman times the primacy was disputed by the archbishops of Dublin; e.g. see Watt, The Church and the two nations, 108-19.

96. Srádbhaile Dundalk; cf. Poem IV. 54b and Éigse iv (1943-4) 13.

100. acht This could be construed as being the first word of q. 24 with báthadh of the preposition ó. But as such báthadh is not mandatory (see cf. q. 28c infra and Poem IX. 58c n.), I have decided to leave acht as the final word of the prose.

24 c In view of the subsequent quatrains I have translated moladh here as 'praise'. It is

possible that a pun is intended and that, in view of the overall theme of the poem, moladh may also be rendered as 'advice'.

25 ab A patron is often praised for his/her generosity towards visiting poets and this is the general sense here; cf. Poem XII. 55d; DMU I. 44d, 45b, XXIV. 30d; POR VII. 10a, 26a; Magauran IV. 17cd. On the face of it the reading of L and R in b might seem to be correct but that of MCO may be interpreted as meaning that Uilliam bestows gifts which, because of their great value, would not be asked for by poets; cf. Poem III. 13cd.

c déar dhíleann A complimentary term of uncertain meaning; see TD ii, 204 (q. 55 n.) and 253 (q. 49 n.). Examples of its use are TD 2.55c, DMU II. 46d, VII. 34c and XXII. 16c. These suggest that the general connotation of the expression is one of extreme opulence. Perhaps it is in some way connected with the productivity of the sea, cf. 'a thráigh thoraidh' Poem V. 67c n. and qq. 3c supra and 27c, 30d infra.

27 a lán: dtrágh: lámh may be an example of rudhrach but see Poem X. 4a n.

c For trágh/ tráigh see q. 3c n. supra.

d A reference to Lugh Lámhfhada; see Poem VIII. 1d n.

28 a See EIHM 184-5.

29 ab The imagery here derives from some board-game such as fídhcheall or brandubh, for discussion of which see TD ii, 198-9; E. MacWhite, 'Early Irish board games' in Éigse v (1945-7) 25-35; Murray, A history of board-games other than chess, 34-5, 56, 63. For the use of the verb tilidh in this context see DIL T, 168.47-53; TD ii, 236; Aith. D ii, 231.

Evidence for a central position occupied by a 'king' surrounded by his men has been adduced by the authorities cited above and would seem to be supported by references from poetry: e.g. 'tú, a rígh Bhredh, ar an t-tí thall/ as fer ar gach tí ad thiomchall' (TD ii, 198); 'Téid síos go grinniol san ghliaidh/ léim ré ttiltior an tí láir' (L Branach lines 2165-6). This notion of a central position is what leads me to make the emendation in b.

c I do not know of another example of eagna lán and am uncertain of its meaning. The preposition ar is supplied from R as the line lacks a syllable in the other manuscripts.

dán díchill is found in a poem by Fearghal Óg (Di. D 38.16a) and duan díchill in one by Eochaidh Ó hEodhusa (DMU XXIII. 13c). In the first case it seems to mean simply 'sincere poem' but in the second it appears to be synonymous with dán díreach.

díthcheal(1) is often found as a spelling for dícheal(1) (IGT ii. 53), e.g. cf. line 101 *infra*, and Dán na mB. M 14.7a, 20b.

Prose The poet again leaves his grievance unstated and then tells the story of the coarb who instead of saying the thanksgiving as requested, gave

thanks that he was unable to say it.

102. Or, perhaps, 'if affairs were not as they are'.

102-3. A well-known proverb, e.g. An Seabhac, Seanfhocail na Mumhan no. 1619.

105. Mac Niallasa(igh) was coarb of Glencolumbkille, see AC, 674.17, ALC ii, 274 and RSAI Jn. lxxi (1941) 80-81.

107. An uair etc. could also be taken as the final clause of the preceding sentence.

111. Bheirim Lenition is probably due to confusion with do-bheirim.

30 a I have emended dlighidh of M and R to read 3rd pl. in agreement with n. pl. fiacha.

c It is necessary to read blaghadh here to avoid rudhrach uaitne (cf. q. 20b n. supra); see DIL B, 122.69 and cf. blogh, blagh, IGT ii. 39.

31 b For other examples of the comparison of eyes to bugha see TD ii, 280 and DIL B, 232.16-29.

d literally 'my copperless gold'. This

quatrain and the following two all show 'dúnadh'.

32 a Lenition on dúin is an instance of 'sléagar'.

b Cf. q. 7b supra.

c craobhlán Perhaps 'full and curving'; cf. O Hara, 410 line 4457 n.

POEM VIII

Introduction

The theme of the following poem is the repossession of his patrimony of Magh Luirg by Conchobhar Óg Mac Diarmada following his expulsion of the English.

The poem begins with the assurance that the expulsion of the Goill from all of Ireland is now a fait accompli (qq. 1-3) and for this Mac Diarmada is to be thanked as it was he who kept the fight going when all seemed lost (qq. 4-6). Fearghal Óg then elaborates on Mac Diarmada's struggle against the Goill by providing, as it were, a mini-caithréim of his victories (qq. 7-9). The hardships he endured while on this campaign are treated of in qq. 10-12 and it is then stated that the endurance of such hardships ensured his victory (qq. 13-16) and that now that the campaign is over, and the Goill expelled, he will experience such comforts as will compensate him for the discomforts endured previously (qq. 17-21).

It is clear, however, that he has suffered much and that his victory has been dearly bought (qq. 22-3). This recalls the struggles of Conn Céadchathach against Eoghan Taidhleach culminating in the battle of Magh Léana (qq. 24-34). The conclusion to be drawn is that those who perpetrate injustice are always defeated (q. 35). Like Conn, Conchobhar Óg has repayed all those who wronged him (qq. 36-8): he has expelled the Goill (qq. 39-40). The poem ends with praise of Conchobhar Óg (qq. 41-4) and of his wife Mairghréag (qq. 45-7) and with memorial quatrains to Aodh Mág Aonghusa (q. 48) and Conn Ó Ruairc (q. 49) ending with the customary quatrain dedicated to St Peter (q. 50).

In November 1592 Mac Diarmada, Brian mac Ruaidhrí meic Taidhg, died. This man is mainly remembered as the patron (and one of the lesser scribes) of TCD MS 1293 (H.1.19) which manuscript contains the main portion of the Annals of Loch Cé.¹ Recording his death the Four Masters comment: '7 ro ba móide dadhbhar éccaoine écc an fhirsin gan a chosmaileas do beith do Chloinn Maol Ruanaidh do ghébhadh cendus dia éisi'.² This seems to have been written with the benefit of hindsight for, as will appear below, the chieftainship of Clann Diarmada lay vacant for the following three years.

The seat of Mac Diarmada was on the island of Carrag Mheic Dhiarmada in Loch Cé.³ The incumbent previous to Brian mac Ruaidhrí was Conchobhar Óg's father, Tadhg mac Eoghain (cf. qq. 36a, 39b). Although the annals make no mention of the matter, Tadhg seems to have died in 1585: when Brian went to Perrot's parliament of April-May 1585 he did so as 'fer ionait Mec Diarmatta Mhaighe Luircc ... oir baí Mac Diarmatta fein .i. Tadhcc mac Eocchain ina shenóir chianaosda'⁴; in October of the same year in a document concerning the Composition of Connacht, Brian is termed 'chief of his name' and Conchubhar Óg is mentioned as tánaiste.⁵

At this time, and for many years afterwards, Conchobhar Óg, and his wife 'Margaret ny Knowgher' (cf. q. 45 n.) lived at Aghacarra (variously spelt Aghehare, Aghahare, Incheaghechare) in the parish and barony of Boyle, close to the southern shore of Loch

1 See Walsh, Irish men of learning, 15-22.

2 AFM vi, 1908.

3 Cf. ALC i, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

4 AFM v, 1830-32. There is no indication as to the identity of Tadhg's wife Aibhilín (q. 23a).

5 A.M. Freeman, The compasscion booke of Conought, 155.

Cé.⁶ Apart from the garrisons billeted in Tulsk, Roscommon town, and Boyle (cf. q. 6c n.), it appears that further pressure was being exerted on the Mac Diarmada lordship through the leasing of lands in and around Loch Cé to Dublin merchants.⁷ The days when Mac Diarmada could claim control over all of Roscommon, and further afield,⁸ were gone.

As tánaiste, Conchobhar Óg would have been expected to succeed Brian mac Ruaidhrí on the latter's death in 1592.⁹ However, tanistry had been outlawed by the English authorities and under the terms of the Composition of Connacht it was ordained that the Clann Diarmada were to set aside such customs and 'that their lands shall lineally descend from the father to the sonn according to the c(o)urse and order of the lawes of England'.¹⁰ But on the death of Brian mac Ruaidhrí, his son and, by English law, heir, Brian Óg, was still only ten years old.¹¹ The situation therefore appears to have been that Brian Óg was unable to rule because of his age and that Conchobhar Óg was too weak to assume the leadership which was his by native law. This remained the case until Christmas-time 1595 when Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill visited Connacht and installed chieftains of the Í Cheallaigh, Í Dhubhda, Clann Donnchaidh: 'do ratsomh dana Ó Ruairc 7 Mac Diarmada ina nathardha iarna niondarbadh la Gallaibh'.¹²

From English sources for the intervening

6 Ibid., 163; Cal. Fiants Ire. Eliz. (PRI rep. DK 15), 104-5, ibid. (16), 143.

7 Ibid. (15) 40, 169, ibid. (16), 48, 255.

8 Cf. N. Ní Shéaghdha, 'The rights of Mac Diarmada' in Celtica vi (1963) 156-72.

9 For an account of the role of the tánaiste see Simms, From kings to warlords, 54-7.

10 Freeman, op. cit., 161.

11 Inquisitions (RIA transcripts): Roscommon, Vol. I, 154 (Inq. 47).

12 BAR i, 118; AFM vi, 1990.

period, 1593-5, we know only that in 1593 Aodh Mág Uidhir wrote to Fitzwilliam, the Lord Deputy, seeking protection for himself, Ó Ruairc and 'Connor Oge M'Dyermada and the rest of his kinsmen and followers' against the Governor of Connacht, Sir Richard Bingham.¹³ It would appear that Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird's account of this period, where Conchobhar Óg is depicted as locked in a mortal struggle with the English, is at variance with our reading of other sources which depict him as essentially weak and unable to enforce his authority in his own territory until eventually aided by Ó Domhnaill.

Support for Fearghal Óg's account comes, however, from a series of four poems addressed by his contemporary, Eochaidh Ó hEodhusa, to Conchobhar Óg.¹⁴ The earliest of these may be that beginning 'Fód codarsna críoch Bhanbha'.¹⁵ In this poem Conchobhar Óg - not yet chief of his nation - is said to be at war with the English:

Tnúthach bhfoghla re fada
Goill is mac Meic Diarmada
-mór d'éintír ionnramh a n-olc-
fa fhionnmhagh gcéichtmhín gConnocht. (q. 10)

Such is the fury with which Conchobhar Óg prosecutes this war that Ó hEodhusa feels bound to caution him that the destruction he is causing will be to his own detriment when he will eventually be in a position to claim his patrimony:

13 Cal. SP Ire. 1592-1596, 128.

14 Professor Carney says that Ó hEodhusa composed three poems for 'Conor McDermot of Sligo' (sic), The Irish bardic poet, 29.

15 Di. D 92.

Gidh eadh is easbhaidh air féin
 gach cion gnáth, gach dreas aigmhéil,
 gach díbhearg dá ndéanann sain,
 fa réadhfhonn mhíndearg MaonMhaigh.

Budh aithreach leis uair éigin
 iath Cruachna an chláir mhíngheigil
 muighe slaitgheala síon dte
 gan aitreabha ríogh roimhe. (qq. 14-15)

In another poem¹⁶ of uncertain date, but at least prior to 1595,¹⁷ Ó hEodhusa apologises for some unspecified remark made by him against Conchobhar Óg. It would be tempting to see in the (presumably unwelcome) advice given in 'Fód codarsna' the source of the trouble, but this may be reading too much into the poem.

We next hear from Ó hEodhusa on the subject when he addressed the residence of Mac Diarmada in a poem beginning 'An tú ar gcéadaithne, a Charrag'.¹⁸ Carrag Mheic Dhiarmada has changed beyond recognition from the glorious days of the past. The reason for its delapidation is the oppression of the English:

I n-aimhriocht dot fhoirinn féin
 a-taoi re treimhse n-imchéin
 a chúirt ródghlan choillbhleacht chorr
 ó fhoirneart ógbhadh n-eachtrann. (q. 17)

But now its true spouse (céile cubhaidh q. 26a) has

16 Aith. D 34.

17 Conchubhar Óg is addressed as 'a mheic Mheic Diarmoda' (q. 20b). In suggesting a date of 'About March 1600', based on a misreading of the final quatrain to Aodh Mág Uidhir, Carney (op. cit., 28) is surely mistaken.

18 Di. D 68.

been found (i.e. Mac Diarmada) all will be well again. At first sight this description of the ruined Carrag might be construed as a vindication of Ó hEodhusa's earlier warning in 'Fód codarsna' but in fact we know, from the inquisition cited above (n. 11) that the chief Mac Diarmada castle was already delapidated when Brian Mac Ruaidhrí was seized of fee 'de ruinoso Castro de Diermott'.

This poem must be dated to circa 1596 when Mac Diarmada had just reclaimed his patrimony with Ó Domhnaill's help. So too must the final poem in the series, which begins 'Ní gnáth liaigh gan luach saothair'.¹⁹ As the first line suggests, Mac Diarmada is here likened to a leech who has had to take severe measures (blood-letting, cauterization) to cure a sick patient. The patient is, of course, Magh Luirg and the sickness the oppression of the English:

Críoch mBúille na mbruach mbáinte
tréan Gall dob í a h-easláinte. (q. 7ab)

This poem comes closest to Fearghal Óg's composition in that it depicts Mac Diarmada as regaining his territory at the cost of great personal suffering to himself. The catalogue of hardships endured on campaign listed in qq. 23-8 of 'Ní gnáth liaigh' parallels that in qq. 10-21 of Fearghal Óg's poem.

This, then, is the context of 'Mithidh sin a mhaca Mileadh' and, taken together with Ó hEodhusa's compositions, we can see that it presents quite a different picture to that deducible from other historical evidence. It seems more than likely, therefore, that Conchobhar Óg took an active part in

19 Unpublished. Copies consulted: RIA MSS 23 M 23, pp. 77-80; 23 B 24, pp. 414-20; 23 C 21, pp. 10-14; NLI MS G 18, pp. 150 A-B.

attempting to regain his lordship and if in the end he needed the assistance of Ó Domhnaill to assert his claim, the poets could hardly have been expected to transgress the natural decorum of their compositions by alluding to such a detail.

The present poem must therefore be dated to circa 1596, a date supported by the memorial quatrain to Mág Aonghusa. However, a brief survey of Mac Diarmada's subsequent career will, I believe, be of value in placing the poem in its wider historical context.

A reading of the early years of Conchobhar Óg's period as Mac Diarmada leads one to conclude that, after the fashion of the time, he was determined to maintain his new position and was willing to ally himself with whichever side was strongest. Not long after his inauguration was made known to the English²⁰ efforts were made to make him submit, the failure of which were attributed in turn to Sir Richard Bingham²¹ and to Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill.²² Mac Diarmada was, at the time, with Ó Domhnaill who was successfully confronting Sir John Norris in Connacht.²³

Ó Conchobhair Chairbre had long been Ó Domhnaill's enemy and thus provided an important ally for the English on the southern border of Tír Chonaill. Conchobhar Óg was married to a daughter of the late Sir Domhnall Ó Conchobhair and his predecessor as Mac Diarmada, Brian mac Ruaidhrí, was also married to a daughter of Sir Domhnall's (see q. 45 n.). On the death of his brother-in-law, An Calbhach Ó Conchobhair, in 1581, Brian mac Ruaidhrí inscribed a note lamenting his passing in TCD MS

20 Cal. SP Ire. 1592-1596, 447, 501.

21 Ibid., 533.

22 Cal. SP Ire. 1596-1597, 91.

23 BAR i, 124; AFM vi, 2002.

1293.²⁴ The significance of these close ties between the two families was apparent in the Autumn of 1596 when his wife's first cousin, Donnchadh Ó Conchobhair, persuaded Mac Diarmada to submit to the English.²⁵ This submission was made on September 8.²⁶ Native sources attribute this submission to the arrival of the popular Sir Conyers Clifford in Connacht.²⁷

English sources were suspicious of Mac Diarmada's good intentions²⁸ and these suspicions were confirmed when, in early 1597, it was reported that he had rejoined Ó Domhnaill.²⁹ In fact, under Ó Domhnaill's instructions, Niall Garbh Ó Domhnaill (son of Conn, cf. Poem IV) rounded up those of the Irish of north Connacht who had submitted to the English³⁰ and Conchobhar Óg Mac Diarmada and Aodh Ó Conchobhair Donn were held captive.³¹ Having been kept 'in great misery' they were released in November 1597³² and immediately the English set about capitalising on their disaffection with their captor.³³ In this they were successful as, in January of the following year, Mac Diarmada and Ó Conchobhair Donn were advising Clifford on the best time to invade Tír Chonaill.³⁴ In response to this Ó Domhnaill handed their pledges, including a son of Mac Diarmada.³⁵

This retaliation seems to have persuaded Mac Diarmada to return to Ó Domhnaill for in October of 1598 Clifford reported that Conchobhar Óg had

24 ALC ii, 434.

25 Cal. SP Ire. 1596-1597, 197.

26 Ibid., 104-5.

27 BAR i, 132; AFM vi, 2002.

28 Cal. SP Ire. 1596-1597, 167.

29 Ibid., 215, 228.

30 BAR i, 140; AFM vi, 2010.

31 Cal. SP Ire. 1596-1597, 452.

32 Ibid., 453.

33 Ibid., 482.

34 Cal. SP Ire. 1598-1599. 25.

35 Ibid., 65, 129.

switched camps 'rather than lose his wealth'.³⁶ This appears to have finally ended Mac Diarmada's association with the Goill though his respect for Sir Conyers remained. Following the death of Clifford at the battle of the Curlews, in Mac Diarmada's county, in August 1599, Conchobhar Óg took his headless body to Loch Cé and offered to exchange it for prisoners or else to bury it himself.³⁷

The months following Clifford's death saw an increase in Mac Diarmada's activities against the English³⁸ and this continued into 1600 when he twice joined Ó Domhnaill on raids into Thomond.³⁹ In August 1601 he assembled in Elphin, co. Roscommon, with Ó Domhnaill and other Connacht chiefs⁴⁰ and, according to Bagwell, two months later he accompanied Ó Domhnaill on the march to Kinsale.⁴¹ It is at this point that we lose sight of him.

In an obituary notice for Brian mac Ruaidhrí's son, Brian Óg, in TCD MS 1293⁴² it is stated that he was chief of his country for 'trí bliadna dég ocus fiche ocus raithe' at the time of his death in January 1636. If this dating is according to New Time it means that Conchobhar Óg probably died circa October 1602; if the dating is Old Time his death occurred probably in October 1603.⁴³ An inquisition taken in July 1606 shows that he was survived by his wife, Mairghréag, and a son, Eoghan.⁴⁴

36 Ibid., 315.

37 Bagwell, Ireland under the Tudors iii, 337-8.

38 Cal. SP Ire. 1599-1600, 207, 333.

39 BAR i, 198, 250.

40 Cal. SP Ire. 1601-1603, 38.

41 Op. cit., 403.

42 ALC ii, 516-8.

43 This is the date favoured by Walsh, op. cit., 20.

44 Inquisitions (RIA transcripts): Roscommon, Vol. I, 204 (Inq. 10).

Editorial remarks Only one copy of this poem survives. It occurs in RIA MS A iv 3, pp. 759-63. There is no scribal signature but the cataloguer suggested a date sometime in the seventeenth century. The text is very accurately copied.

Metre séadna mór, dán díreach.

VIII

- 1 Mithidh sin, a mhaca Míleadh,
 mithidh dhaoibh a ndearna sibh
 fa iath gcnóigheal na gcíoch dtana,
 dár fóireadh críoch Lagha libh.
- 2 Is fada an treimhsi a-tá Banbha
 fa bhreith danar, díochra an brōn,
 go dtug sibh congnamh dá chéile,
 dār cobhradh libh Éire ógh.
- 3 Ní bhiad Goill i ngar do Luimneach,
 nā fa Lifi na learg dtais,
 ná fān mBúill, tre bháidh bhar gcomhghaoil,
 ná um Mháigh n-ūir, ná um ghormDhaoil nglais.

1 That was timely, o sons of Míl, it was time for you [to do] what you did concerning the land of bright nuts [and] of slender peaks, because of which Lugh's country was aided by you.

2 Banbha was a long time under the rule of foreigners, intense is the grief, until you helped each other, because of which pure Éire was aided by you.

3 The English will not be near Luimneach, nor around the Life of the moist banks, nor around the Búill, because of the cohesion of your mutual bond, nor around the fair Máigh nor the dark-blue Daol.

Heading: Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird.

- 1 d logha.
 2 b̄ ndanar.
 3 a bheidh; d mháidh between lines.

- 4 A Ghaidhiola na ngréagh seangbhras,
saoradh Banbha na mbrugh gcorr,
cia dhíbh lé mbeirthior a bhuidhe,
tír chleithgheal na nduille ndonn?
- 5 Beireadh uile, a aicme Chormaic,
cuid dā bhuidhe le baidhbh gcró,
fairche thaoibhsheang na dtrágh lígeal,
clār Raoilinn do dhídion dó.
- 6 Cóir a bhuidhe do bhreith rision,
rí Mhoighi Luirg na learg dte,
go dol agaibh ar iath n-Éibhir
cliath chagaidh do dhéinimh dhe.

4 O Gaidhil of the slender, spirited horses, which of you is accorded gratitude for the delivery of Banbha of the prominent castles, land of white trees and brown leaves?

5 O race of Cormac, let every man give some thanks for it to a badhbh of battle-enclosures for protecting the plain of Raoilinn, slender-sloped territory of the bright-coloured strands, for him.

6 For making a battle-phalanx of the land of Éibhear until you prevailed over it [all], thanks should be given to him, the king of Magh Luirg of the warm slopes.

5 b chró; c líggeal.

6 c̄ néimhir; d chogaidh.

- 7 Mac Diarmada, dreagan Búille,
do bhuaidhreadh iad taobh re taoibh -
le a dheirc moill is beirthi a bhuidhe -
Goill Eithne, Goill Mhuighi Maoin.
- 8 Tug fuath eachtrann fa iath Meidhbhe
a mheince um Bhúill na mbárc ndonn,
's a ró dĭbhearg fán Muaidh maighrigh,
gruaidh mhínearg do thairngir tonn.
- 9 Do chaitheadh lá láimh re Suca,
ag seilg dhanar dá dheirc chuirr;
do chaitheadh bláth thoighi Tuathail
tráth oile fa Chruachain gCuinn.

7 Mac Diarmada, the dragon of the Búill, used to harrass them side by side - thanks should be given to his languid eye - the English of Eithne [and] the English of Magh Maon.

8 His frequent presence around the Búill of the dark ships, and his great number of raids around the salmon-abounding Muadh have occasioned the hatred of foreigners [for him] around the territory of Meadhbh, smooth, red cheek whom a wave foretold.

9 He was wont to spend a day beside Suca, his penetrating eye hunting foreigners; the flower of Tuathal's house would spend another while around Cruacha of Conn.

- 7 c mhoill.
8 c muaigh; d mhínderg.
9 d chuinn.

- 10 Do cheól ghnáth ar ghothaibh fuairshreabh
fada do bhíoth barr na ngéag;
cian do bhíodh i mbothaibh caoilshleagh
ag díon shochair Ghaoidheal nGréag.
- 11 Do fhuilngeadh, gér anba an mheisnioch,
Mac Diarmada, dídion ceall,
fa fhairche mín, dtoinnghil, dTuathail,
shín oighridh i mbruachaibh beann.
- 12 Do ghnáthaigh, re gluasacht gcogaidh,
Conchobhar Óg, innlius cheilg,
sreabh reóidh agus teach gan tuighi,
is feóil chreach, is luighi ar leirg.

10 He of the wavy hair used, for a long time, to partake of the continual music which came from the sounds of cold streams; long was he wont to be defending the right of the Grecian Gaoidhil in huts of slender spears.

11 Mac Diarmada, protector of churches, used endure, though great was the courage, icy weather on sides of mountains surrounding the smooth, bright-surfaced territory of Tuathal.

12 During the course of war, Conchobhar Óg, who devises subterfuge, experienced a frosty stream and a roofless house, and meat obtained from raids, and lying on a hillside.

11 c mhín.

12 a cogaidh.

- 13 Mar sin, re Gallaibh ghuirt Lonndan,
lámh fhuiltioch, dá n-órthar cuilg -
fairche ghlan na bhfiodhbhadh bhfillte-
do sgar fionnMhagh linnte Luirg.
- 14 Gur ghabh Magh Luirg na learg dtorthach
tamhan cumhra chnuic na Niall,
do sgáth an anshóidh ní adhair,
gnáth radhóigh i raghain riamh.
- 15 Mac Diarmada na nduas líonmhar,
do luach an anshóidh uair sé,
do thil clár na bhfionnshroth bhfoirfi
lámh re bionnLoch gcoirmthe gCé.

13 And so a bloody hand, for which swords are gilded,
has separated fair Magh Luirg of the warm pools - pure
land of the trees weighed-down [with produce] - from
the English of the territory of London.

14 Until the fragrant shoot of the hill of the Nialls
conquered Magh Luirg of the fertile slopes, he did not
believe in the fear of hardship, a practice which was
ever likely [to be of consequence] in [the] selection
[of a leader].

15 As a reward for the hardship which he received,
Mac Diarmada of the plentiful rewards gained control
of the plain of the fair, mature rivers around sweet
Loch Cé of the warm ale.

- 14 d rodhóigh; roghain.
15 b fuair; d c. C.

- 16 Tug beódhacht is beagán tathaimh,
's tug a bheith i mbeannuibh sliabh
do fhleisg luain, is teagh a toradh,
buaidh ar fhear na roghan riamh.
- 17 Mac Diarmada, díoghbhódh eachtrann,
íobhaidh feasda fíon a h-ór:
fa Bhúill sgathaigh na síon soirbhgheal
rachaidh díol san oighreadh dh'ól.
- 18 Beid ag uaislibh innsi Luighdhioch
leabtha donnshróill má dheirc gcuirr,
do shíor isna leapthaibh luachra
bhus díol d'Eachtair Chruachna Cuinn.

16 Vigour and little rest, and a heroic (?) scion's being on the peaks of mountains, and a dwelling [made] from foliage, always ensured victory for the elected man.

17 Mac Diarmada, destroyer of foreigners, will, from now on, drink wine from gold [goblets] : the drinking of ice will be requited around the blossom-strewn Búill of the bright and pleasant seasons.

18 The nobles of the island of Lughaidh will have beds of dark silk in readiness for his penetrating eye which will be lasting compensation to the Hector of Conn's Cruachain for the beds of rushes.

17 b íobha.

18 c thsíor; d coinn.

- 19 Seanchas diamhair dán le ceólchroit
mar cheól gcodail cleachtaidh sé;
d'ua na ríogh \bar{o} iathmhuigh Earca
díol i mbriathraibh ealta é.
- 20 Seóid dhanar ag dol 'na éaraic
d'éigsibh cáigh ó chúl na ngéag;
i mbothaibh diamhra ar dhíothh maoinéadh
do bhíoth griangha Ghaoidheal nGréag.
- 21 I n-aghaidh uaignis an fhásaigh,
iomad curadh do-chí sé
lén gnáth rinn chatha do chongmháil
fa linn Lacha chollbháin Ché.

19 For a lullaby he is accustomed to [the] esoteric knowledge of poems accompanied by a musical harp; to the descendant of the kings from the territory and plain of Earc it is recompense for the sounds of a bird-flock.

20 The sunbeam of the Grecian Gaoidhil used to be destitute in remote huts; as compensation for that foreigners' valuables are given by him of the wavy hair to the poets of everybody else.

21 Instead of the solitude of the wilderness, he beholds an abundance of warriors by whom the point of battle is continually maintained around the lake of Loch Cé of the white hazels.

19 a ceólchrot; b chodail.
20 c mbotha.

- 22 Go deimhin is daor do cheannaigh
críoch Bhúille fā mblaghaid cuill:
tug a dhonnchrū uile uirrthi
onchú mhuighi cuirmthe Cuinn.
- 23 Mac Aibhilín na n-éacht minic,
fa Mhagh Luirg na linnteadh dte,
fuair, go fóill, a chneas do chréachtghuin,
dōigh i dtreas nī déantair de.
- 24 Conn Céadchathach, coiléan Teamhra,
tugadh amhlaidh iolar cneadh
ar a chorp fa fhiadhmhagh n-Éirionn,
gort niamhghlan na ngēireann ngeal.

22 He certainly payed dearly for the territory of Búill about which hazels break: the wolf of the plain of Conn of the warm ale gave all his dark-red blood for it.

23 Aibhilín's son of the frequent exploits, his body has, to date, received such extreme wounding, around Magh Luirg of the warm lakes, it is thought unlikely that he will [ever] be defeated in battle.

24 Conn Céadchathach, cub of Teamhair, his body likewise received an abundance of wounds around the wild plain of Éire, pure-bright territory of the sharp, shining spears.

24 d gérreann.

- 25 Téid an Connsoin, tar ceann Éirionn -
iúl fíre dá bhfuil an sdair -
go Magh Léana i n-aghaidh n-Eóghain;
gabhair sgéala eólaigh air.
- 26 Téid i n-aghaidh n-Eóghain Taidhligh
triath Éirionn le h-uathadh sluaigh
go slios mbrúigh leachtMhuighi Léana,
neartruire mhúir Éanna d'uaim.
- 27 Cóigeadh Uladh na n-eas lígeal
is Leath Mogha na múr réidh
do thairg uaidh, i gcomhaidh chatha,
do roghain shluaigh Lacha Léin.

25 On behalf of Éire that same Conn - true history
from which the story derives - goes to Magh Léana
against Eoghan; let the tidings of a learned one
regarding it be accepted.

26 With a small host the prince of Éire goes against
Eoghan Taidhleach to the edge of the border of
grave-abounding Magh Léana, the strong king who united
the rampart of Éanna.

27 As a battle-ransom he offered to give the province
of the Ulaidh of the bright-hued waterfalls and Leath
Mogha of the even ramparts to the chosen one of the
host of Loch Léin.

- 25 b eóghain.
26 a eóghain; c brúigh.
27 a líggeal; d locha.

- 28 'Ní ghéabh uaidh', ar Eóghan Caisil,
'comha acht Teamhair na dtrí bhfear,
tulach fhíonūr na n-eang n-álainn,
budh leam ríomhúr bánfhuinn Bhreagh.'
- 29 Conn Céadchathach na gcuach ngreanta
do ghabh fírfhearg - fíor an sdair -
longphort eangbhláith an fhuinn ghhrianaigh,
fān seanrāith gcuirr d'iarraidh air.
- 30 'Eóghan Mór, giodh mór a aigneadh,
nī fhuighi feasda,' ar flaith luain,
d'Éirinn shriobhghloin do thaoibh thoile
iomdhaidh laoigh na h-oighi uaim'.

28 'I will not accept from him', said Eoghan of Caiseal, 'any ransom except Teamhair of the three men, hill of fresh wine and beautiful banners, mine will be the royal fort of the bright territory of Breagh'.

29 Extreme anger gripped Conn Céadchathach of the engraved goblets - a true story - because the ancient, eminent fortress, the castle of the beautiful banners of the sunny territory, was asked of him.

30 'Eoghan Mór, though great is his courage, he will never get', said [the] heroic (?) prince, 'that part of clear-watered Ireland willingly from me which is the bed of the cow's calf'.

- 28 d rioghmúr.
29 d chuirr.
30 a ge.

- 31 'Do-bhéar cath dá chrobhaing mhíleadh
ar Mhagh Léana i los a uilc,
ó's é is áil le h-Eóghan n-éachtach',
do ráidh leómhan crēachtach Cuilt.
- 32 Ar Mhagh Léana, an lá ar na bhárach,
brisdear cath ar a chúl bhfann;
ua na ríogh nār lag a luaghal
do-rad díol san uabhar ann.
- 33 Beantar san gcathsoin, céim suaithnidh-
seanchas fíre fuaras róm -
leómhan fa teann ar gach teaghlach,
a cheann d'Eóghan mheadhreach Mhór.

31 'I will give battle to his band of soldiers on
Magh Léana because of his evil, since it is what
valorous Eoghan desires', said the wounding lion of
Colt.

32 The following day, his smooth head was defeated in
battle on Magh Léana; the descendant of the kings,
whose vigour was not weak, repayed him there for his
arrogance.

33 During that battle, an outstanding feat - true
history which I have inherited - lively Eoghan Mór is
beheaded, a lion who was severe on every retinue.

- 31 c éachtach.
32 b fann.
33 b rórm [sic].

- 34 An éagóir re h-airdrígh mBanbha
do bhí ag Eóghan - anba an ró -
dā bhfuair a ghoin fa Bhóinn mbionnfhuair,
do-chóidh soin ar diomuaidh dhó.
- 35 Gach drong ré ndéantar an éagcóir,
ar an eachtsoin, d'iuíl na suadh,
ní bhí orra dhíobh re deabhaidh,
orra do shíor bearair buadh.
- 36 Rug mac Taidhg trēan ar a nāmhdaihb,
do nós Chuinn na gcupadh sean,
re h-athaidh, a h-ucht na cóire,
nathair ó phurt Bhóinni Breagh.

34 The injustice which Eoghan did to the high-king of Banbha - great was the excess - that brought about his misfortune because of which he received his [death-] wound by the sweet, cool Bóinn.

35 Therefore, according to the wisdom of the learned, every faction by whom injustice is perpetrated, they have no protection against battle, they are always defeated.

36 Tadhg's son, serpent from the bank of the Bóinn of Breagha, overcame his enemies, just like Conn of the ancient goblets, over a period, for the sake of justice.

34 a hairdrí banbha; d diombuaidh.

35 d buaidh.

36 a naimhdibh; b choinn.

- 37 Do dīoghladh leis - lór do mheisnigh -
mar mhac n-Úna dhár fhill dair,
éigni Bearbha bláth na ndaighrīogh,
a ndearna cách d'ainbhfíor air.
- 38 Magh Luirg, ní léamhadh í d'fhéachain:
ēagóir Ghall ar a ghruaidh nduinn,
dóigh ghnáth dá ríoghaibh do roinni,
do dhíoghail blāth chloinni Cuinn.
- 39 A h-ucht uaisle, a h-ucht na córa,
do chuir mac Taidhg na dtreas ndian
fian Ghall ó choimhead a chríche,
barr na bhfoighéag bhfíthi bhfiar.

37 Like Úna's son to whom oak inclined, all the wrong that everyone had done to him was avenged by him - what valour - salmon of Bearbha, flower of the good kings.

38 Magh Luirg, he would not permit it to be threatened: the flower of the race of Conn avenged the injustice of the English perpetrated on his red cheek, he was ever confident of defeating their leaders.

39 Through nobleness and justice the son of Tadhg of the hard battles, head of the plaited curling tresses, banished the band of English from the watching of his territory.

37 b úna.

38 d coinn.

- 40 Mac Diarmada, dúsgadh faladh,
fuath a chríche fa chath nGall
do chuir caomhthach rúin na ríge,
aonchloch chúil na tíre thall.
- 41 Taobh seada dā slēachtuid biodhbhaidh,
bas fhuiltioch dá n-ísligh sreabh,
croidhe is eagal eidir armaibh,
dreagan mhoighi bharrghloin Bhreagh.
- 42 Seabhadh Cruachna na gcraobh lúbtha,
leannán Uisnigh an fheóir chuirr,
bláth an chaomuighi um Bóinn mbiligh,
aodhuiri slóigh chinidh Chuinn.

40 Mac Diarmada, the awakening of discontent, the only supporting stone of yonder territory, the beloved friend of the sovereignty established his country's hatred for the English batallion.

41 Slender side to whom enemies bow, bloody hand before whom a river subsides, heart to be feared in the midst of weapons, dragon of the bright-surfaced plain of Breagha.

42 Hawk of Cruacha of the inclining branches, lover of Uisneach of the sloping grass, flower of the fair plain around the tree-lined Bóinn, shepherd of the host of the race of Conn.

42 c chaomhmuighi.

- 43 Beithir lúthmhar lingios deabhaidh,
dreagan éachtach fhuilngios goin,
ursa ghliadh míonmhoighi Mheadhbha,
grian ríoghraidhe Teamhra thoir.
- 44 Conchobhar Óg, aigneadh faoilidh,
féithlionn cheangail Chnuic na nGiall,
báthadh coibhdhean bruaigh na Búille,
gruaidh toingheal is núidhe niamh.
- 45 Abhall chumhra do choill uasail,
inghean Domhnaill dhíolas duain,
cleachtaidh fodhail a séad sídhe,
géag thoraidh an tíre thuaidh.

43 Swift bear who achieves victory in battle, lethal dragon who endures wounding, battle-pillar of Meadhbh's smooth plain, sun of the kings of Teamhair in the east.

44 Conchobhar Óg, cheerful disposition, binding vine of the Hill of the Hostages, eclipsing of raiders of the shore of the Búill, white-skinned cheek, bright of aspect.

45 Fragrant apple tree from a noble wood, Domhnall's daughter who rewards a poem, she practises the distribution of her marvellous treasures, fruitful branch of the northern land.

43 b fhuilngios.

44 d núidhe] nuaidhe with † núidhe above.

- 46 Téid ó éigsibh innsi Cobhthaigh,
i gcrích Connacht na gcolg ndéad,
do thoill Mairghréag, ó's dá mhaidheamh,
pailmghéag do choill Ghaoidheal nGréag.
- 47 Leaca thaoibhdhearg nár théigh ollamh,
inghean Mhóire ó mhúr Dhá Thí,
a teisd ag dol fán trian thallan:
ag riar sgol nī h-annamh í.

Mithidh

- 48 A bheith fa chriaidh do chráidh meisi,
Mág Aonghusa nār éar dháimh;
nach truagh mo leannán 'na luighi,
beangán ó chuan mhuighi Máil?

46 Since [we are] proclaiming it, Mairghréag, palm-branch of the wood of the Grecian Gaidhil, in the land of Connacht of the ivory-hilted swords has earned [the praise] which has been accorded her by the poets of the island of Cobhthach.

47 Rosy-skinned cheek which no poet has caused to grow warm, daughter of Mór from the rampart of Dá Thí, her reputation travels around yonder territory, not seldom does she minister to schools of poetry.

48 His being under clay has tormented me, Mág Aonghusa who did not refuse poets; is it not sad that my lover is prostrate, branch from the shore of the plain of Máil?

46 c thuill.

47 a théidh.

49 Mo dhara céile i gcrích Chobhthaigh,
 Conn mac Briain lé mbronntaoi fail,
 teasda slat bhosghlan na Búille,
 nach dorsan brat úire air?

50 Ceileadh doirseoir dhúin na n-aingiol
 gach olc dhamh dá ndearna sí:
 mé dá toil congmaidh an cholann,
 foghlaidh, mar soin, oram í.

Mithidh

49 My other spouse in the land of Cobhthach, Conn son
 of Brian by whom a ring was wont to be bestowed, the
 pure-palmed scion of the Búill died, is it not woeful
 that a mantle of earth covers him?

50 Let the door-keeper of the citadel of the angels
 conceal every evil which she has done on my behalf:
 the body keeps me subjected to her will, she is, thus,
 a predator on me.

VIII Notes

1 ab For mithidh : mithidh in this position see Breacadh 64; For sin/sibh/libh : mithidh see ibid. 28-9.

d críoch Lagha a name for Ireland. Many traditions regarding Lugh Lámfhada - probably the most famous member of the Tuatha Dé Danann - survive in the literature, for a comprehensive review of which see MacNeill, The festival of Lughnasa, 3-10 and Gray, CMT, 126-7. While MS Logha is the more common gen. form of Lugh (e.g. TD 21.19c, DMU XXIII. 29d), Lagha is necessary here for rime, and is a permitted variant (IGT ii. 29).

2 a treimhsi On the quantity of the first syllable see TD ii, 192.

c This line introduces the concept of the country united under the rightful ruler; see Poem II. 12d n.

3 This quatrain predicts that, because of the unity (comhghaol; cf. q. 2c n.) signified by Mac Diarmada's election, the Goill will be forced to cease their occupation of Ireland. Five locations are specified: the two urban centres of Limerick and Dublin (Lifi), and garrison towns on the rivers Boyle, Maigue and Deel (for notes on these see below). Fearghal Óg's concentration on the Munster locations, apart from indicating the extent to which Mac Diarmada's rule will prevail, may be the result of his

having spent some time in the region; see General Introduction chs (iii) and (iv). He returns to Mac Diarmada's personal harrying of the English in qq. 7-9.

a It would seem that either future indicative or consuetudinal present is intended here. The verb has to be plural (IGT v. 20) and, opting for the future tense, I emend MS bheidh to the 3rd pl. conjunct -^hbiad as given in IGT iii. 7. However -beid (absolute for conjunct) occurs occasionally in poetry (e.g. Di. D 59.28b) and is also found in the prose of the period; cf. TBg., xix; Foirm na nurrnuidheadh, line 1234.

b Lifi Referring to Dublin and also, perhaps, the Pale in general; cf. DMU XII.16.

c Búill in Mac Diarmada's own territory (cf. q. 7a). The reference is probably to the Abbey of Boyle which was occupied in 1586 by Sir Richard Bingham's men; cf. Misc. Celt. Soc. 204, 222.

gcomhghaoil lit. 'mutual relationship'; cf. 'lucht comhghaoil agus caruid' Poem XII. 5b.

d In the late sixteenth century the English had a number of garrisons located at strategic positions along the river Maigue (co. Limerick) for the purpose of, among other things, protecting the route between Cork and Limerick. These were at Kilmallock, Bruff and Adare; e.g., cf. Cal. SP Ire. 1574-1585, 242, 344 and Pacata Hibernia, passim.

Further west, Askeaton, on the river Deel, was also an important garrison town; e.g., cf. Cal. SP Ire., 318, 343 and Pacata Hibernia 62-3 (with drawing of Askeaton Castle).

5 b The badhbh was a war-goddess in the guise of a scald-crow (e.g., cf. Mac Cana, Celtic mythology, 86). In Classical Verse she is most frequently represented as a 'beast of battle', waiting by the warrior's side to feed off his victims; e.g. DMU X.28, XX.6; Aith. D 5.17; POR 1.26.

The word is also used in a figurative sense in reference to a chief (e.g. Poems V.48c and VII.8a) and the derivative badhbhdha also occurs - as does the gen. sg. badhbha - meaning 'warlike'; e.g. O Hara XXXII. 45a; Mac C M, 334, 6c n.

In the present instance Fearghal Óg is referring to the general turmoil which preceded Conchubhar's chieftaincy (see Introduction), claiming that the Irish should be grateful to a 'badhbh chró' (also possibly 'bloody badhbh'), i.e. Mac Diarmada, for sustaining this unrest.

c As in the case of rí, lí can have two forms when forming the first element of a compound: lí- (cf. lígheal MD 26. line 43) and lígh- (cf. líggeal Di. D 48.19b, 75.29d).

d I take dó here to refer to uile in line a.

6 b Mac Diarmada's territory of Magh Luirg in co. Roscommon. For the extent of this territory see Onom., 525.

c For the construction here see Poem IV. 49a.

agaibh The poet is still addressing 'meic Mhíleadh' (q. 1a), 'Gaoidhil' (q. 4a) or 'aicme Chormaic' (q. 5a).

d For cliath in the sense given here see TD ii, 236 and DIL C, 240.76-241.8. The image signifies the martial unity achieved by Mac Diarmada.

chagaidh is necessary for rime. Cogadh and cagadh are permitted variants, IGT ii.17.

7 The group of three quatrains beginning here describes the situation when Conchobhar was not yet Mac Diarmada and was harrying the English to the east, south and west of his territory and indeed in Magh Luirg itself (Búill and Cruacha infra). These are the wars, referred to in qq. 5 and 6, which anticipated the total elimination of the English foretold in q. 3.

b taobh re taoibh A form of 'réim chanamhna' dealt with in Breacadh ch. VII. In cd goill:goill:moill is an example of 'breacadh taidhbhse'; see ibid. 40-42.

d Eithne The river Inny which runs through Westmeath and Longford from Loch Sheelin to Loch Ree via Loch Derravaragh.

Mhuighi Maoin Magh Maon or Maonmhangh is a plain in south co. Galway centred on Loughrea; see O Donovan, Hy-Many, 70 n. z.

8 a iath Meidhbhe Meadhbh was the legendary Queen of Connacht who features in the Ulster cycle. The most common form of the genitive of her name is Meadhbha (cf. IGTii. 168, 169; q. 43c infra) but Meidhbhe also occurs (IGTii. 192; TBC I line 1932; Di. D 75.46d). 'Clár, fód (etc.) Meadhbha' is a name for Connacht; cf. O Hara IX. 38c, Aith. D 31.1b, DMU

1.18d, TD 2.42b, etc.

The notion of the hatred of the English for an Irish chief is used as an element of panegyric in IBP 2.5-6 and TD 16.47.

c Muaidh nom. Muadh, the river Moy; see Poem IV. 47b.

d With this line compare 'craobh tharaidh do thairrngir tonn' IBP 43.11d, translated (ibid., 288) 'fruitful branch foretold by the wave'. Bergin does not explain this but it is a reference to the part played by the three great waves of Ireland, in conjunction with the Lia Fáil, in foretelling the king of Ireland:

Ocus in tan ticedh rí Eirenn fuirre do
ghéised in lecc fáí co freacraitís
prímthonna Eirenn hí .i. tonn Clídhna 7 tonn
Tuaidhe 7 tonn Rudhraigi. (IT iv/1, 224)

9 a Suca Rises some five miles west of Clonalis and flows south, to join the Shannon, forming the south-western border of co. Roscommon.

For do chaitheadh ... do chaitheadh see Breacadh 64.

c thoighi Tuathail Tuathal Teachtmhar, legendary king of Ireland; cf. Corp. Gen., 121, EIHM ch. VIII. 'Teagh Tuathail' is, therefore, usually a kenning for Teamhair; e.g. DMU XVII. 13b, TD 10.19b and cf. q. 11c infra. We should note, however, that just north of Loch Key lay the territory of Tír Tuathail (Onom., 638) and that a pun may therefore be intended here. That such a pun is possible is confirmed by a similar one in L Branach line 5041.

10 This quatrain and the next two contain the motif, common in Classical Verse, which details in a graphic, if stereotyped fashion, the hardships endured by a warrior on campaign. There is a detailed note on it in Poem XII.10 n. One of its functions is to emphasize that the tranquility which exists, now that the rightful ruler is reigning, has been hard-earned and whatever comforts he now enjoys are well-deserved. In the present context it slips neatly into place with Mac Diarmada's alleged ridding Magh Luirg (and, by extension, all of Ireland) of the English prior to coming to power.

b do bhíoth If one were to emend this to its permitted variant do bhíodh (IGT iii. 7) we would have an instance of 'breacadh fíre' (bhíodh:bhíodh:díon; Breacadh 24) which would eliminate the 'rudhrach' in ghothaibh:mbothaibh:shochair (cf. *ibid.* 67). Perhaps this is already catered for by the pattern í/o/aoi//í/o/aoi in cd (*ibid.* 30, 33, 66).

barr na ngéag A pun is probably intended here with the two meanings, 'head of wavy hair' (cf. q. 20b *infra*) and 'summit of the trees' (again in reference to Mac Diarmada) being implied.

d nGréag see TD i, p. lix.

11 b dídion ceall References in panegyrics to the protection or non-violation of church sanctuary are quite common; e.g. Stud. Hib. iv (1964) 73.71d; Mac C M XIII. 23bd; SVBDL XI.4c; Duanaireacht, 109.9d; Poem XII.25d. That this respect for Church personnel and property had a basis in historical fact is borne out by annalistic references (see Irish Sword xii

(1975-6) 100 n. 2) and by the observations of native and non-native historians (e.g., Kelly (ed.) Cambrensus Eversus ii, 603; Ware, Ancient Irish Histories ii, 26). On the other hand, it is equally true that such respect could never be taken for granted; see Rynne, North Munster studies, 172-229 and Cal. SP Ire. 1509-1573, 354.

d oighridh The final -n of the preceding word means that eclipsis is understood here.

12 c teach gan tuighi A reference to the temporary dwellings or botha (cf. q. 10c supra and Poem XII. 10 n.) constructed by the warriors while on campaign; cf. DMU XIII. 19ab. Fearghal Óg uses this phrase in contrasting ways in praising Aodh Mág Aonghusa (Poem V. 60c) and in lamenting the destruction of Donegal Abbey (Di. D 81.34c).

13 b Or, perhaps 'by which swords are embellished [with blood]'?

Note the 'breacadh' in ghlan/sgar: Lonndan/orthar/ bhfiodhbhadh/ fionnMhagh; see Breacadh 28.

14 a For ghabh/Magh: tamhan see Breacadh 24(c).

b chnuic na Niall A kenning for Teamhair, the Nialls referred to probably being Niall Frasach, Niall Caille, Niall Glúndubh and Niall Naoighiallach; similarly tealach na Niall POR XXIV.34c and, possibly, treabh na Niall MD 51. line 13, though this latter might also signify Ireland in general as do fód na Niall Poem VI.7a and cró na n-Art Poem XI.35c. A more

localised example of this formation is Críoch na gCéadach, a territory in Midhe; see Top. Poems, 126.

This construction, article + gen. pl. of a personal name, can also be used to indicate descent from more than one ancestor bearing the same name. In its most general form - as in síol ... na n-Art, fuil na n-Art (Poem IX. 54c, 55c) - it signifies the people of Ireland. But it may also be used in a more specific context to refer to one person in particular in whose ancestry are personages sharing the one fore-name; e.g. ua na mBrian (POR XXXIII. 3c), ua na gConn (Laoide, Alasdair mac Colla, 47.2a). Examples of the construction in personal names are Murchadh na Murchadh (LCS, 30.24) and Domhnall na nDomhnall AFM iii, 632.

c ní adhair historic present.

d ra- is a permitted variant of ro- (IGT i. 100) as is ragha of rogha (IGT ii. 2, 5).

15 b For the variants fuair and uair (necessary for alliteration here) see Poem IV. 79a n.

c do thil Cf. Poem VII. 29ab n.

d Loch Cé seat of Mac Diarmada, see Introduction.

16 For the notion that action is the determining factor in the election of the rightful ruler cf. 'an gníomh do-ní rogha riamh' POR XIV. 1d. This idea has already been expressed in q. 14 and is also present here, though the buaidh also refers to

victory over the English.

c fhleisg luain Cf. q. 30b infra and Poem IV. 24c n.

teagh a toradh A reference to the botha or temporary dwellings noted above, q. 12c.

d buaidh See Poem V. 20d n.

17 b MS íobha is fut. indic. 2 sg. abs./conj. and 3 sg. conj. of ibhidh. I have emended to 3 sg. abs.

For this idea of drinking from golden vessels cf. Di. D 100.18cd and Aith. D 5.18b.

18 c leapthaibh Perhaps this should be emended to leabthaibh as the -p- is proscribed by one version of IGT ii. 4 (q. v. and vll.).

d Eachtair Son of Priam and Hecuba, most illustrious of the Trojan warriors in the Iliad. Hence, in Classical Verse, a name synonymous with deeds of valour; e.g. DMU XXIV. 5d, Poems V. 69b and IX. 8b.

On Cuinn for MS coinn see Poem II. 16c n.

19 a Harp-playing is frequently mentioned as an integral part of the entertainments in a chief's house; e.g. DMU XX. 5ab, POR I. 48ab. The recitation of poetry to the accompaniment of the harp is best known to us from the woodcut and accompanying text in Derricke's Image of Irelande and from the description in Memoirs of the Right Honourable The Marquis of Clanricarde, p. clxx; cf. McCaughey, 'The performing

of dán' in Ériu xxxv (1984) 39-57.

Accusative sg. ceolchroit has to be read here (IGT ii. 14, 39).

c Earca It is uncertain what Earc is intended here; possibly the daughter of Lodharn for whom see SGS vi (1947-9) 50-57. 'Iathmhagh Earca' is a name for Ireland, cf. L Branach line 5932, Poem XI. 54a.

20 ab With the booty plundered from the English, Mac Diarmada maintains not only his own poets but those of every other chieftain as well.

21 c rinn chatha Probably a kenning for the taoiseach (Mac Diarmada) here; cf. Di.D 93.40d, Aith. D 18.17d. It may also mean the point in battle where the greatest valour is performed: cf. rinn éigin Di. D 92.27b and see Magauran, 423 line 2662 n.

22 b críoch An instance of 'cosg réime' caused by an adjacent 'sealbhadh'; cf. IGT i. 82.

fá mblaghaid cuill An extension of the motif wherein trees, over-laden with fruit due to the accession of the rightful king, bend to the ground because of their load. So great is the load that it causes them to break. Cf. 'Mac Brighde fa mblaghthar dair' Di. D 93.51a.

23 a Aibhilín unidentified.

b The non-inflection of Magh here, and at

qq. 31b, 32a *infra*, is in keeping with the teaching of IGT ii. 176.

d For the expression 'do-ní dóigh de' see DIL D, 304.78-84 and cf. q. 38c *infra*.

24 The uirsgéal, which begins here and finishes at q. 34, is straightforward and adheres fairly closely to the second half of CML wherein Conn Céadchathach finally overcomes Mogh Nuadh (Eoghan Taidhleach) at Magh Léana, after an enmity of many years, thus establishing his supremacy over all of Ireland.

a coiléan The only form of this word cited by the grammarians is cuilén (IGT ii.35) but cf. choiléin: fhoiléim DMU XVIII. 11cd.

b For Conn's wounds see CML 1245-71, 1915-21.

c corp Note the 'ciall shiobhuil' here; corp has dat. sg. curp (IGT ii.67).

25 c Magh Léana In co. Offaly; see Onom., 523 and CML 211 n. Q. 34c seems to imply that it was situated near the Boyne.

Eóghain Eponymous ancestor of the Eoghanachta (cf. Byrne, Irish kings and high-kings, 199-201); see EIHM, ch. X. For eclipsis cf. BST 187.1-11.

For sdair/ air: Connsoin/ aghaidh/ Eoghain/ gabhair/ eolaigh see qq. 1ab n. and 13b n. *supra*.

d Or, 'the tidings of a learned one regarding it are extant'.

26 a Taidhleach The first syllable was originally long and examples of 'Taoidhleach' are found in Early Modern Irish, e.g. Aith. D 24.16a, Foras Feasa ii, 266. But a short vowel is also attested at this stage in the language; cf. the 'comhardadh brisde' with daidhbhris in MD 26. lines 85-6 and see Ériu xiii (1942) 131.

b In CML the reason Conn tries to sue for peace with Eoghan before the battle (see below) is that his numbers are so few and he fears he may be defeated; CML 1381-6.

d This refers to Conn. For the uniting of the country see Poem II. 12d n. For the verb noun construction cf. Gagnepain, La syntaxe du nom verbal, 246-7.

Éanna possibly the son of Niall Naoighiallach; 'múr Éanna' may be a kenning for either Tara or Ireland, cf. TD ii, 217.11 n., POR IV.20c, DMU I.40d, L Branach lines 415, 863, etc.

27 b Leath Mogha The half of Ireland ruled over by Mogh Nuadhad (Eoghan Taidhleach) - roughly that portion south of a line between Dublin and Galway - as distinct from Leath Cuinn. Thus Conn was offering Eoghan the two Munsters and Leinster, which he possessed already, as well as Ulster which had previously been Conn's, while retaining Tara and Connacht for himself. See CML 1387-93.

d It is necessary to read Lacha here, for perfect rime, though this form is condemned by IGT ii. 29; cf. lachaibh: dathaigh Aith. D 1.25ab and locha [sic]: catha Di. D 86.37cd. Lach Léin is the well-known lake near Killarney.

28 b Teamhair na dtrí bhfear See Poem V .5c n.

d I have emended MS ríoghmhúr to ríomhúr on the authority of IGT v. 4.

For Eoghan's refusal of Conn's offer see CML 1407-14.

29 According to CML 1433-45, the reason that Conn was disturbed and that he decided to proceed with the battle was not that Eoghan rejected his terms but that he killed the envoys who brought those terms to him.

30 a Eóghan Mór Cf. Poem VII. 28a. For confusion between Eoghan Taidhleach and his grandson Eoghan Mór see EIHM, 184 n. 4.

b flaith luain see q. 16c n. supra.

d From IBP 43.33c we may conclude that 'laogh na hoighi' (Bergin translates 'fawn of the doe') is a complimentary term. Iomdhaidh laoigh na hoighi must therefore mean something like 'the choicest position/ residence', referring to Tara. It is just possible that a pun is intended, with 'laogh' also referring to the spring or well on Tara, see Metr. Dind. i, III.129-32 and for iomdhaidh in the

sense of 'source of a spring' cf. DIL I, 82.81-3.

31 d créachtach may refer either to Conn's prowess in battle (the interpretation given in the translation) or to the wounds he himself received, already referred to in q. 24b.

Colt, 'betw. the Boyne and the Liffey' Onom., 285. Common in poetry, probably as a synonym for Tara; e.g. Magauran XVI.36c, XIX.16c, 60a. Di. D 84.6c, Mac C M XVII. 1c, and Poem IX.20a.

32 b This line refers to Eoghan.

33 CML 1921-7 does not specify the beheading of Eoghan; cf. TD 18.28ab.

34 cd The rimes bhfuair: mbionnfhuair/diomuaidh and Bhóinn/chóidh: eagóir represent varieties of 'breacadh' detailed in Breacadh 24(c) and (d).

35 a The prep. re is here confused with le. éagcóir cf. éagoir q. 34a; forms in -g- and -gc- are permitted by IGT ii. 42.

Sentiments similar to those expressed in this quatrain are found in TD 18.15 (as given in Celtica xviii (1986) 70).

c Literally 'no protector against conflict [comes from] among them' or 'there is no protector against battle among them'.

d orra: orra is not an example of 'caoiche';
cf. Poem X.18cd n.

buadh This permitted variant of MS buaidh
(IGT ii. 38, 39, 42) is necessary for rime.

36 a mac Taidhg i.e. Conchobhar Óg.

For naimhdibh > námhdaibh see Poem XII.40b n.

37 b mac Úna i.e. Conn Céadchathach; see
Éigse xxi (1986) 63.13b n.

c Bearbha The river Barrow which rises in
the Slieve Bloom mountains in co. Laois and flows
south to join the sea at Waterford having joined the
Nore above New Ross.

38 a My interpretation of this line is
tentative. léamhadh is 3 sg. secondary future of
lamhaidh; for the long vowel see Aith. D 39.8c, POR
VII.24b, DMU X.33c and cf. TD i, p. lxxxiv. I take
the subject of the verb to be bláth chloinni Cuinn
(i.e. Mac Diarmada), interpreting it as another
reference to the freeing of Magh Luirg from the
control of the English (cf. q. 13). The feminine
pronoun referring to masc. 'Magh' can be explained in
terms of the commonplace depiction of the land as a
woman.

Other possible interpretations might be to
take Magh Luirg as the subject of the verb ('Magh
Luirg would not dream of entertaining it') with the
pronoun referring to éagóir Ghall, or to take 'Goill'
as the subject ('they would not dare to approach her,

Magh Luirg') but in that case the sg. verb would have to be emended to léamhdaois or to 3 pl. present indicative lamhaid.

c For this expression cf. q. 23d supra.

d Mac Diarmada was descended from Eochaidh Muighmheadhóin (Anal. Hib. xviii (1951) 83) who was a direct descendant of Conn Céadchathach (Corp. Gen., 147). This lineage is of added significance in the context of the uirsgéal.

39 a The 'breacadh' here (ucht: ucht) may resolve the apparent 'rudhrach' in ndian: fian: bhfiar; see Breacadh 14, 65-8.

40 c caomhthach rúin translate perhaps 'confidant'?

d aonchloch chúil cf. Poem II. 11b n.

43 a The use of the verb lingidh here is noted in Poem V. 67a n.

b fhuilngios (MS fhuilgios) Loss of the -n- in syncopated forms of the verb fo-loing goes back to the Old Irish period (see DIL F, 274.70 ff.) and is occasionally found in Early Modern Irish (e.g. Aith.D 41.21d). It is restored here on the authority of IGT iii. 52.

44 b 'Cnoc na nGiall' is a kenning for

Teamhair, possibly deriving from the passage-grave on Tara referred to in Metr. Dind. i, 16.33-6 as 'Duma na nGiall' (cf. CMCS iii (Summer 1982) 11). Thus the Lia Fáil is referred to as 'Leac na nGiall' (Aith. D 10.27a) and Teamhair as 'Teagh na nGiall' (ibid. 5.12a).

c For absence of eclipsis after gen. pl. see Poem II. 10b n.

d niamh The -mh is probably an attempt at indicating 'dúnadh'.

45 This is the first of three complimentary quatrains to Mac Diarmada's wife Mairghréag (q. 46c; cf. Di. D 68.41b), 'inghean Domhnaill' (line b here; cf. Di. D 92.47b, 48b, Aith. D 34.22b) and 'inghean Mhóire' (q. 47b infra). Her parents were Sir Domhnall Ó Conchubhair Chairbre and his wife Mór, the latter being the subject of Tadhg Dall's well-known poem 'A Mhór, cuimhnigh an comann' (TD 15); cf. TD ii, 249. This Mór was daughter of Brian Ballach Ó Ruairc and therefore a sister of Conn Ó Ruairc remembered in q. 49 infra. Interestingly Conchubhar Óg's predecessor, Brian mac Ruaidhrí, was also married to a daughter of Sir Domhnall Ó Conchubhair named Meadhbh: ALC ii, 446-8.

c séad sídhe cf. Poem IV. 57c.

d The 'tír thuaidh' is presumably Sligo.

46 This quatrain is problematic and the translation is speculative. While 'pailm' does occur

in the sense of accolade (DIL P, 172.42-4) it seems clear that 'pailmghéag' here is a reference to Mairghréag (cf. Poems II. 26d, III. 15c and IV. 76c) and is therefore not the subject of téid nor the object of do thoill.

The general sense one would expect is that Mairghréag has earned the praise of the poets of Ireland. Yet I know of no other example of the usage of téid ó as given here. (The manuscript reads t with the ed contraction and a length-mark above. This is the scribe's way of indicating the verb téid as is proven by instances at qq. 25a and 26a.)

Could it therefore be that the scribe, in an uncharacteristic slip - as he is usually very accurate - misread 'téid' for 'teisd' (cf. q. 47c) and then added the length-mark?

c do thoill is necessary for perfect rime and is a permitted variant of MS do thuill (IGT iii.72).

For the 'breacadh' in ndéad/nGréag:
Mairghréag/pailmghéag see q. 25c n.

ó's dá mhaoidheamh Cf. Poem V. 29b n.

47 For the 'breacadh' in dol/sgol:
ollamh/thallan/annamh see q. 25c n.

48 a chráidh:dháimh:Máil appears to be an instance of 'rudhrach'.

d For magh Máil see Poem IV. 78c n.

POEM IX

Introduction

The following is an elegy composed on the death of Ó Dochartaigh of Inis Eoghain, Seaán Óg mac Seaáin mheic Fhéilim, who died on January 27 1601. The 'Four Masters' record that he was the strongest, most generous and wisest chief of a tríocha céad¹ and Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh was more fulsome yet in his obituary. Having told how he had routed an attack on him by the Derry garrison under Sir John Chamberlain he continues:

Monúar ámh ba heisidhe a chosgar 7 a áithius
deighenach for Ghallaibh acc cosnamh a
athardha 7 a dhomhnais friú ar ba garúair
gurro ghabh teidhm difhulaing 7 saéth
dermháir coro ascna a noibhne dfhios an
alltair an 27 Ianuair sainredh. Ropad liach
7 robadh doiligh oidedh an tí testa annsin
dóigh as ing má ro bhaoi toíseach
aointriocha ched ind inis Eremhóin isna
deídhenchaihbh roba crodha comhramach i
ngníomaibh goile 7 gaisccidh indas roba
deach gart 7 gníomh eineach 7 airbert alladh
7 airrdercas. Ba crúaidh comhnart fri
cothucchadh ba haghmar aigméil fri
hionsoighidh an tí tathamhair an tan sin.²

As a reasonable account of the life and times of Seaán Óg - who had been leader of his people since his father's death in 1582³ - has already been published,⁴ a repetition of those details is unnecessary here.

The theme of the poem, in essence, is that the Irish are incapacitated, dispossessed and doomed because of Seaán Óg's death - which is seen as the direct result of their envy of his superior ability - unless they manage to follow the example he set during

1 AFM vi, 2236.

2 BAR i, 287-8.

3 AFM v, 1788-90.

4 Bonner, That audacious traitor, 53-110. A less than satisfactory account of the Clann Dochartaigh, including some references to Seaán Óg, will be found in Familia ii/1 (1985) 3-8.

his life. The basic idea behind this theme is Ó Dochartaigh's supremacy in leadership, specifically in the area of warfare. Hence the variety of references to weapons, gaisgeadh 'Weaponry/ valour', which occurs throughout the poem: the ord gaisgidh are leaderless just as they were, in earlier times, after the deaths of Cú Chulainn, Cú Rí and Murchadh mac Briain (qq. 1-6); Ó Dochartaigh's weapons were no defence against Death (qq. 26-8); and this failure of Seaán Óg's weapons is reflected in the consequent superiority of the weapons of the elements (qq. 29-31) as they lay bare the land and deprive it of its fertility (qq. 12-13, 32-4).

Given this emphasis on martial prowess, it may seem surprising that a caithréim is not provided for Ó Dochartaigh in the same way that Conn Ó Domhnaill's battle-victories were enumerated in Poem IV. The fact is, however, that a very full caithréim was composed for Seaán Óg while he was still alive, therefore rendering any such effort on Fearghal Óg's part unnecessary. It begins 'Mór re cuma caithréim ríogh'⁵ and bears witness to the extent of Ó Dochartaigh's engagements, particularly in Connacht. Thus we learn in q. 36b that he was at the battle of the Curlews in 1599 which detail provides a link between Seaán Óg, Conchobhar Óg Mac Diarmada of Poem VIII and Tadhg Ó Ruairc of Poem XI, though the latter was not at the actual battle itself. On the other hand one must be wary of the historical accuracy of this battle-list as is illustrated in q. 42b where the death of Sir Richard Bingham's nephew, Captain Martin, in 1595, is attributed to Ó Dochartaigh. It was in fact his kinsman Féilim Riabhach Mac Daibheid who was

5 Br. Lib. MS Add. 40766, ff. 74r-79r; TCD MS 1381 pp. 55-47 (machined pagination, reversed); TCD 1291, ff. 111r-115r is a copy of the latter.

responsible for this.⁶

Nevertheless, we know enough of Seaán Óg's career to conclude that the picture of him depicted in 'Mór re cuma caithréim ríogh', though it may be exaggerated in places, is a reasonably accurate reflection of the perpetual turmoil through which he lived. Living on the border between Tír Eoghain and Tír Chonaill, he not only had to contend with the English, particularly with the arrival of Docwra in Derry in 1600, but also, at various times, with Ó Néill and Ó Domhnaill: we know, for instance, that both chiefs exacted tribute from him.⁷

Inis Eoghain was therefore the scene of much contention and this is the burden of Eochaidh Ó hEodhusa's poem in praise of Seaán Óg which begins 'Díol tnuíthe Inis Eóghuin'.⁸ In it, he claims that, despite constant pressure from without, Ó Dochartaigh has succeeded in defending his territory, and, indeed, in attacking the territories of others:

Gíodh mór a ghuais ní guais air,
lorg creach gach aonlá innte,
eang bhraoinchleithe na mbord dte,
gan lorg aoinchreiche eisde.⁹ (q. 26)

Such is the background to Fearghal Óg's references to Seaán Óg's martial prowess. However, he could not withstand the pressure forever and by the

6 BAR i, 106; AFM vi, 1978.

7 Misc. Celt. Soc., 250.

8 N L Scot. MS Adv. 72.1.44, ff. 48v-51v; TCD MS 1356, pp. 102-6; Maynooth Lib. MS B8, pp. 93-6 (I have not had an opportunity to examine this copy).

9 This must have been the second of the two poems mentioned by Professor Carney in *The Irish bardic poet*, 28 (I refer to the other one below) though Professor Breatnach appears to dispute its existence in 'The chief's poet', 42.

time of his death he had forsaken and partially demolished his castle at Elaghmore (cf. q. 59a n. infra) in the face of pressure from Docwra (cf. the reference to 'an fhian eachtrann' in q. 48b). Fearghal Óg alludes to this dispossession by placing it in the larger context of the dispossession of the Irish as a whole, which he likens to the effect which the deaths of Hector, Pompey, Alexander and Eoghan Mór had on Troy, Rome, the world and Munster respectively (qq. 7-11). This larger context also seems to be referred to in qq. 14-15, where I would interpret the 'éagcóir oile' as an allusion to the general national disaster which was inexorably reaching its climax at this time, and which the poet saw reflected in microcosm in Tír Chonaill.

But if the 'fian eachtrann' are the immediate cause of this great upheaval, ultimately the blame is to be laid on the Irish themselves. By time-honoured tradition, when the true king is ruling, the country is united (cf. Poem II. 12d n.), but through his death it becomes fragmented and consumed with internecine dissention: 'Banbha do bheith 'na codchaibh/ tug deimhin Í Dhochartaigh' (q. 16ab); it becomes a 'fuighiol formoid' (q. 16d). In Ó hEodhusa's poem, referred to already, we have seen how Seaán Óg is depicted as valiantly resisting this 'formad'. 'Formad' or 'tnúth' works in two ways. If a ruler successfully conquers the envy of his rivals, then he has, by implication, united the country and is the perfect king. Such is the case with Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir in DMU IV. 11. But if he is the superlative king, and no-one can overcome him in battle, then the only thing which can kill him is the envy which that supremacy arouses. Such is the case with Seaán Óg Ó Dhochartaigh in this poem. Thus in qq. 17-22 the poet provides precedents for this from

native tradition and, in qq. 23-5, goes on to explain how Seaán's supremacy ensured his downfall through arousing '(iom)thnúdh'.

As we know from Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh (see above) that Seaán Óg died from natural causes, the references to disunity and jealousy must have some other significance. At the time the poem was composed Niall Garbh, supported by the English, was actively engaged in pursuing his claims¹⁰ for the chieftaincy against Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill, while, on a more local level, Seaán Óg's son Cathaoir was in dispute with Seaán Óg's brother, Féilim Óg, over the succession to the title of Ó Dochartaigh.¹¹ These contemporary events may have prompted Fearghal Óg's references to mutual strife and disunity in the poem, and, as we will see below, this theme is significant in his poetry of these early years of the seventeenth century.

To our poet, then, Ó Dochartaigh's death signals the disarray and the decline of the Irish (qq. 35, 38) because of the loss of his powers of leadership. But although the emphasis is placed firmly on the martial aspect of those powers, the absence of his good, peaceful counsel is also lamented (qq. 36-7). This, combined with the reference to the disbanding of the poets in the closing quatrain, provides us with another view of Seaán Óg, one which is supported by Eochaidh Ó hEodhusa's second poem to him. This begins 'Mairg fhágbhas aighthe carad'¹² and, in it, Ó hEodhusa, who has returned to Fermanagh (cf. 'i n-iath m'oileamhna' q. 30d) after visiting Ó

10 Inherited from his father Conn Ó Domhnaill: see Poem IV, Introduction.

11 E.g. BAR ii, 288.

12 RIA MS 24 P 12, pp. 135-40.

Dochartaigh,¹³ gives thanks for the hospitality he received in Inis Eoghuin.¹⁴ Among the many pastimes listed is that of sailing in marvellous sailing ships¹⁵ and Fearghal Óg too mentions boats in his poem (q. 59a n.).

The poem is not entirely pessimistic, however and from q. 39 on, takes on a more hopeful note as Fearghal Óg insists that all is not yet lost and if the Irish can metaphorically exhume his remains, after the precedent set by Charlemagne's followers, in other words continue to follow the example shown by him when he was alive, then victory may yet be achieved.

*

In the General Introduction I have discussed the poems of Fearghal Óg which belong to the traumatic years of the early seventeenth century. I have noted there (ch. (vi)) that the present poem, 'Sgol gan oide', marks a turning point in his work with its introduction of a genuine note of despondancy and disappointment. It may therefore be of interest to outline some elements which feature in this poem and which are shared by those that follow it.

I have referred above to the way the idea of elemental confusion is interwoven with the other themes of the elegy in such a way as to contribute to

13 In q. 37 Eochaidh claims a special relationship with Seaán Óg: 'Ní hé as adhbhar dom annsa/ dot bharr fhíthe órchamsa/ mé am leathollamh dot ghruaidh ghloin/ a chreachorradh bhruaigh Bheannchoir'. This may be due to the fact that Ó Dochartaigh had Mág Uidhir blood in him, cf. q. 59b n. of our poem ('Sgol gan oide').

14 For a lengthy paraphrase of the poem see Carney, op. cit., 28-30.

15 'ag iomramh seóllong síthe' q. 14d.

the general sense of disorder which is felt at the passing of Ó Dochartaigh. This is achieved by connecting this idea with the conceit of weapons and warfare which recurs with variations throughout the poem. This association of the powers of nature with weapons is not unique to Fearghal Óg, of course,¹⁶ but it is interesting that the poet repeats it in his elegies for Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill¹⁷ (e.g. q. 23a) and for Tadhg Ó Ruairc (Poem XI. 8b).

In 'Sgol gan oide' there is a general implication that Seaán Óg's work was prematurely terminated by his death. Hence the necessity to figuratively resurrect the dead leader in order that the struggle against the 'fian eachtrann' (q. 48b) may be brought to a successful conclusion. This idea of uncompleted work, unfulfilled promise due to a premature death is more explicitly expressed in the other two elegies just mentioned. I have noted this in Poem XI. 25cd n.

Seaán Óg died in January 1601, and in the autumn of that year the Franciscan monastery of Dún na nGall was burned while occupied by Niall Garbh and besieged by Aodh Ruadh (see General Introduction, ch. (vi)). In his poem lamenting that event¹⁸ Fearghal Óg (q. 34) refers to the Irish as a leaderless race using metaphors such as 'each gan idh n-urchumhail'. This lack of leadership is referred to in 'Sgol gan oide' (q. 10cd) and similar imagery is employed (q. 38ab). This is also the case with 'Teasda Éire' ('Arthrach gan sdiúir Banbha Breagh' q. 14a), 'Truagh liom Máire

16 The outstanding example is Eochaidh Ó hEodhusa's 'Fuar liom an adhaighsi dh'Aodh' (IBP 29) composed about a year before our poem.

17 'Teasda Éire san Easbáinn', *Éigse* xv (1973-4) 31-50.

18 'Do bháidh teine Tír Conuill', *Dí. D* 81, *Dán na mB. M* 22.

agus Mairghréag,¹⁹ ('Tréd bhocht gan aodhaire inn' q. 4a) and with 'Turnamh dóchais díoth muirne',²⁰ ('cnú folamh nó each gan srian' q. 6c). (Incidentally, this last mentioned poem together with 'Teasda Éire' and 'Sgol gan oide' all contain references to the Cath cathardha; see q. 9b n. below.)

The element of formad or tnúth, which I have discussed above, plays an equally significant part in 'Earradh cumhadh um Chruachain' (Poem XI) where Tadhg Ó Ruairc's death, like that of Seaán Óg, is depicted as being the direct result of jealousy (qq. 14-16) which, in turn, was brought about by Ó Ruairc's superlative achievements (qq. 49-53). Similarly, in his elegy for Aodh Óg mac Aodha Í Dhomhnaill²¹ Fearghal Óg states that it was 'tnúith na ndaoine' (q. 31d) which prevented Aodh from being elected chief, and in the General Introduction, ch. (vii), I have shown how, in his poem of commiseration to two daughters of Aodh mac Maghnasa, our poet pays tribute to their four dead brothers by suggesting that, such was their supremacy, they had nothing to fear but 'iomthnúdh' ('Truagh liom' q. 9d).

It appears to me that the thematic interconnection of these early-seventeenth century poems of Fearghal Óg, of which 'Sgol gan oide' is the first, marks a new departure in the work of our poet. The references to disunity, jealousy and internecine strife suggest a unity of perspective absent in his earlier work. It is true to say that he and his fellow poets were being overtaken by history and by the turbulent events of the time and, as if conscious that the death of Ó Dochartaigh signalled the end of

19 IBP 8 (see General Introduction, ch. (vii)).

20 Di. D 121.

21 'Ní tráth aithreachais d'fhuil Chonaill', Di. D 110.

Another element common to these three poems is the mourning of the death of gaisgeadh; see Poem XI.34n.

an era for Inis Eoghain and Tír Chonaill, Fearghal Óg gives the date of his composition in q. 58. Without wishing to read too much into this, it is worth observing that of the nine elegies of which he was the author, our poet only marked the date of his poem in one other composition, 'Teasda Éire san Easbáinn' (q. 65), which mourned the death of Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill whose departure betokened the end of an era for Ireland as a whole.

Editorial remarks Only one copy of this poem exists: TCD MS 1381, pp. 46-38 (machined pagination, reversed). The manuscript was written in the late seventeenth century by a number of scribes. That part of it containing our poem was the work of Seaán Ó Raghallaigh.

Metre deibhidhe, dán díreach.

IX

- 1 Sgol gan oide an t-ord gaisgidh,
an rīoghraidh ō rīoMhaisdin,
fear a n-ollmhaighthi ní fhuil
um theagh gcornghairthi gCriomhthain.
- 2 Mar táid an [sluaghsa um] chrīch gCuinn
do bhádar, d'éis Chon Culainn,
ursain [troide] Beann mBoirche
treall gan oide a n-ullmhaighthe.
- 3 Cú Rí na ruathar mbaoghlach,
do bhí an gaisgeadh géarfhaobhrach,
ar n-éag flatha beann mBearbha,
treall i dtacha a thighearna.

1 The warrior class is like a school of poetry without a teacher, the royal company from royal Maisde, the man who perfected them [in their art] is no more around the house of Criomhthan of the warm goblets.

2 As this host is [now] about the land of Conn, so were the battle-props of Beanna Boirche without their perfecting teacher for some time after the death of Cú Chulainn.

3 After the death of the prince of the hills of Bearbha, Cú Rí of the perilous forays, the sharp-edged valour was in need of its lord for some time.

Heading: Fearghal Óg Mac a Bhaird cc.

- 1 c nullmaighthi; d criomhthain.
- 2 a chuinn; b do om.; cc

- 4 Murchadh mac Briain, bruinne seang,
gaisgeadh Gaoidheal i ngēibheann
do fhágaibh badhbh bionnchuain Bhreagh:
i bhfionnChluain Tarbh do thuitsean.
- 5 Biaidh, do bhreith cháich leith ar leath,
an gaisgeadh céadna i gcuibhreach,
i gcrích fhoirfe an fheóir bhratghloin,
choidhche i ndeóigh Í Dhochartaigh.
- 6 Gaisgeadh Gaoidheal ghuint na bhFionn
coll gan chnaoi, cairt gan sgríbhionn,
nō is tréad gan bhuachail 'na bhun,
éag í Thuathail dā thurnamh.

4 Murchadh son of Brian, slender breast, the warrior of the sweet shore of Breagha left the valour of the Gaoidhil in bondage: that one fell in fair Cluain Tarbh.

5 In the opinion of everyone unanimously, that same valour will be in bondage, in the mature land of the bright-mantled grass, for ever after Ó Dochartaigh.

6 The valour of the Gaoidhil of the field of the Finn is [like] a hazel-tree without fruit, [or] an unwritten charter, or it is a herd without a herdsman tending it, the death of Tuathal's heir decreasing it.

4 a sheng.

6 a ffionn; b chairt; sgríbhinn; c bhuachail; d thurniomh.

- 7 Airleagadh nach íocfa féin:
 rugadh dhínn, dia do thoibhéim,
 gach éineang th_íre dār thil
 le rīghe a ghēireann ngaisgidh.
- 8 Do nós na dTroighēanach thoir -
 do bhí an Traoi, iar n-éag Eachtoir,
 mar do bhí i ndán fa dheireadh -
 clár Dhá Thí do toirbheireadh.
- 9 Conuill Bhreagh mar do bhí an Róimh
 d'éis Phoimp, fa pheannaid dobróin;
 gan chomairche 'gan trian thall
 do mhian donnaighthi a ndearnann.

7 A borrowing which he himself will not redeem: every single piece of land which he governed by the rule of his sharp, martial spears has been taken from us, what an injury.

8 Just as in the case of the Trojans in the east - after the death of Hector, Troy met its fated end - the plain of Dá Thí has been surrendered.

9 The descendants of Conall of Breagha are as was Rome after Pompey, under suffering of grief; yonder territory is without protection because of the red palm of their hands.

- 7 d gherrenn gaisccidh.
 8 d do thoirbheireadh.
 9 b ndobróin.

- 10 Ar an gcorsoin do bhí an bioth
ar ndul d'Alasdair uaibhreach:
lucht ar n-eóil ní h-iontaoibh linn,
i ndeóigh iompaidh ar Éirinn.
- 11 Mar do bhí d'éis Eóghain Mhóir
Mumha a-niar fa nēall dobróin,
Leath Cuinn fa néalltuirsí a-noir
'mun réaltuirsí fhuinn Fhiachaidh.
- 12 Abhla croma críche Fáil,
is dhí tanaig a dtogbhail,
tanaig dhí an cuisne do chur,
ní tuirsí í gan adhbhur.

10 Thus was the world after the death of proud Alexander: having turned against Éire, those who guide us are not to be trusted by us.

11 As Mumha was in a haze of sadness from west to east after the death of Eoghan Mór, Leath Cuinn is in gloomy grief from east to west because of this glorious chief of the land of Fiachaidh.

12 It is not grief without foundation: it has caused the straightening of the bending apple-trees of the land of Fál [and] it has caused the frost to settle.

- 10 a ccorsin; b dalasdair; c neoill; haontaobh; d iompoidh; air.
- 11 a tar éis; b an mhumha; c leith.
- 12 b togbhail; d adphur.

- 13 Do-bheir don fhuacht a earnach,
oighidh fleisgi fíonTeamhrach:
an ghoil i ngiallghlas do gheabh,
fiabhras ar nach foil faoiseamh.
- 14 Mar do sgaoil ēagcóir oile
sgotha bruaich na Bōroimhe,
is tōronna thoighe Cuinn,
's doire chnōdhonna ó gConuill,
- 15 a bhfaighthi, a bhfearoinn chairti,
a gcūirti 's a gclainnmhaicne,
agus sealbh gach aoin d'Ultaibh
do sgaoil dearbh Í Dhochartaigh.

13 The death of the scion of wine-abounding Teamhair bestows on the cold its fetters: it has gripped the heat [of valour] in hostage-fetters, a fever from which there is no respite.

14 and 15 Just as another injustice has dispersed the flowers of the banks of the Bóroimhe and the boundaries of the house of Conn and the nut-dark oak-woods of the descendants of Conall, the fate (?) of Ó Dochartaigh has dispersed their meadows, their chartered lands, their courts and their families and the property of every Ulster person.

- 13 c goill; d bfoil.
14 d 's] is.
15 b ccuirthi; 's a] san.

- 16 Banbha do bheith 'na codchaibh
tug deimhin Í Dhochartaigh,
críoch linnte ar nach luighiodh troid;
gan innte acht fuighiol formoid.
- 17 Do dhruim fhormaid, amhlaidh so,
do sgaradh clár na Cruachno -
fonn síothmhālla na slat gcuir -
le mac bhfíochdhāna bhFiodhaigh.
- 18 Fraoch mīleata mac Fiodhaigh,
méad a ghnaoi idir Ghaoidhealaibh -
téid fān réaltain san mBúill mbuig -
a chrēachtghuin don tnúidh tānaig.

16 Ó Dhochartaigh's fate has cause Banbha -
warm-watered land which strife was not wont to oppress
- to be fragmented; she is [now] but a source of
jealousy.

17 In this way, because of jealousy, the plain of
Cruachain - peaceful and splendid land of the planted
trees - was divided by the brave and angry son of
Fiodhach.

18 Warlike Fraoch son of Fiodhach, such was his fame
among the Gaoidhil - he enters the gentle Búill on
account of the jewel - that his death-wound was caused
by jealousy.

- 16 a cotchaiph; b uí; c luidhiodh; d fuighioll.
17 d f. f.
18 c fon; san] an.

- 19 Ar aonach Caisil, cian uadh,
mac ríogh Uladh, iúl fionnfhuar -
nír éacht é nārbh eagal dúnn -
do leagadh é tre iomthnúdh.
- 20 Cormac Conloingios, laoch Cuilt,
Meadhbh Chruachan na gcreach n-orrdhairc,
mairg fā ráinig rún a fill,
ar thnúdh tāinig a thuitim.
- 21 Bás Conlaoich na gcleas ngoile
tug tnúth sgoile Sgāthuighe;
an ghein shochair ó Bhōinn Bhreagh
do rochair tar dhōigh ndraoidheadh.

19 At the assembly of Caiseal, a great distance from him, a son of the king of Ulster, a sobering story - it was not a deed of which we should not be in dread - he was slain through great jealousy.

20 Meadhbh of Cruacha of the renowned raids, woe to him who was the object of her treacherous design: Cormac Conloingios, warrior of Colt, his fall came about because of jealousy.

21 The jealousy of Sgáthach's school caused the death of Conlaoch of the heroic feats; the benefactor from the Bóinn of Breagha fell despite the confidence of the poets [in him].

19 a Air; b rí; c eagail; dún.

20 a conloingis; b chruachain; noirdh-cc; d thnúth.

21 b sgathuidhe; c tshochair; d dō róchar; dhraoidheadh.

- 22 Ó thús dhomhain, gā dtām dho,
ar leag an tnúth - tuar iargnó -
riamh san chruinne ghéagthruim ghil
ní fhéadfuinn uile a n-āirimh.
- 23 Ní saoghlach riamh gach ré lán;
do beanadh mar so Sēaán
d'Ēirinn choillghil an chlūimh laig:
a thoirnimh don tnūidh tānaig.
- 24 Do bháith a ghaisgeadh gnīomh cāigh
mar bháitheas troimchioth teannáil;
nīr ghuais dā ré acht silleadh súl:
do lingeadh é tre iomthnúdh.

22 In summary, I could not enumerate completely all that jealousy - an omen of grief - has, since the world began, layed low in the bright, heavy-branched world.

23 No full moon ever lives long; thus Seaán was taken from bright-wooded Éire of the soft vegetation: his fall was brought about through jealousy.

24 His valour extinguished the achievement of everyone as a heavy shower extinguishes a fire; the only threat to his reign was jealous eyes: great envy defeated him.

22 d fhéadfuin; airemh.

23 a ariamh; g; b do baineadh; c deiṛ; d ttoirnimh.

- 25 Faoi do bhídís ag cur chath,
mar thamhna re taobh ndarach;
do dhÍoghail síorthnūd^h slua^{gh} mBreagh,
tre fhíochrún fhuar, a aithbhear.
- 26 Ar fhormad Ghaoidheal mbruaigh Bhreagh
nÍor shaor a cholg nā a chaoilshleagh
Ó Dochartaigh do dhún Fhloinn,
nā a rocharcair úr iaroinn.
- 27 Ó Dochartaigh, dÍoghbhadh sluaigh,
nÍor chaillsead air acht éanuair;
níor shaor badhbh airmghéar Uisnigh
saighnéan na n-arm n-ēachtaighsin.

25 They used to prosecute warfare under him, like
shoots beside an oak-tree; the perpetual envy of the
hosts of Breagha, through cold, hostile intent,
avenged his reproach [of them].

26 His sword or his slender spear or his cold, iron
prison did not save Ó Dochartaigh of Flann's fort from
the jealousy of the Gaoidhil of the shore of Breagha.

27 Ó Dochartaigh, destroyer of a host, they only
failed him once; the flash of those deadly weapons did
not save the sharp-weaponed hero of Uisneach.

25 c síorthnuth shluagh.

26 a mbruaigh] slua(i)gh; b bhfloinn; bd na] no.

27 a dioghbha; d nechtachsín.

- 28 Níor bheag, muna bheith an t-éag,
a shleagh chorcra 's a chaoilsdéad,
's a bheirt ghliadh d'imdhíidion air,
ar fhiadh bhfinnlígeal bhFiachaidh.
- 29 Do dheimhnigh airde an fheadha,
do dhearbh muir gan mhaighreadha,
mon-uar do fhaillsigh an t-úr
buadh na n-airmsin ar n-iompúdh.
- 30 I n-ionadh na n-arm n-oile,
a-táid, feadh fhóid Iúghoine,
airm theinntighe ag tuar gach uilc,
deirgtheine uadh ar adhaint.

28 Were it not for Death, his purple spear and his slender steed and his battle armour would not have been insignificant as protection for him throughout the fair, bright-coloured land of Fiachaidh.

29 The height of the wood has confirmed, a salmonless sea has asserted, alas the earth has revealed that the power of those weapons has been reversed.

30 Instead of the other weapons, throughout the land of Iúghoine, weapons of lightning are presaging every evil, red-hot fire being kindled because of it.

28 b shledh; d bhfinnliggeal.

29 b g; c do fhoillsídh; a úir; d narmsin;
niompúdh.

30 a oíle; b atá ā fedh; c thinntighe; g; d
deirgthine; adhaint.

- 31 Airm fhūigfeas an úir gan ioth;
 lear soillsiodh saighnéan neimhneach;
 bheas do nochtadair na neóill
 cneas ochtabaidh an aieōir.
- 32 Na géillsin, mar ghialla cáigh,
 ag caoi Shëaáin Óig d'éanláimh:
 a-táid fraisneōill san tír thall
 ag sīn an ghlaisreōidh ghobhang.
- 33 Na h-ēigneadha is na h-ealta
 ag caoi flatha finnBhearta:
 nēallchuisne ar gach cuan do chuir
 nuall gēarthuirsi ag na gaothaibh.

31 Weapons which will leave the soil without grain,
 the multitude of lights from deadly lightning; the
 clouds have manifestly laid bare the mature-bosomed
 skin of the sky.

32 Those hostages, like everyone's hostages, are
 mourning Seaán Óg in unison: the fettering,
 imprisoning, frosty weather keeps rain-clouds in
 yonder territory.

33 The salmon and the bird-flocks mourn the prince of
 fair Bearta: the winds' cry of extreme grief has
 driven a misty frost on every harbour.

- 31 b nimhneach; c do nochtadar.
 32 a ghiall²; c frasneōill; d ngobhang.
 33 d gherthuirsi.

- 34 Nír shaoil a chonāch catha,
nīr smuain a reacht rīofhlatha
teacht do re caoileabaidh gclár;
do chaoineaduir so Sëaán.
- 35 NÍ h-iongnadh cach dá chaoineadh,
feart seabhuic fhóid fhionnGhaoidheal:
nī lucht aoinfhearta fhuil ann,
an fhuil Ghaoidhealta i ngobhang.
- 36 Teagasg síodh, comhuirle chean,
cruas is buga mac Míleadh -
mōr le clár naoighreanta Nēill -
mar lán aoinleabtha iaidséin.

34 His success in battle never imagined, his royal and princely rule never thought that he would depart in a slender wooden bed; these mourned Seaán.

35 It is no wonder that everyone laments it, the grave of the hawk of the land of the fair Gaoidhil: it is not the contents of a single grave that is there, the Gaelic race imprisoned.

36 The advising of peaceful conditions, the counselling of depredations, the toughness and gentleness of the sons of Míl - the shining, beautiful plain of Niall deems it a calamity - these fill one bed.

34 c caoilleabaidh ccláir.

36 a Teghascc; chomhuirle; c naoinghreanta; d aonleabtha; iadséin.

- 37 Nī h-ē fēin dóibh is doilghe,
do-chuaidh críoch a chomhairle
le láimh ndeirg mbraoininnsi mBreagh,
na Gaoidhilsí ó leirg Lighean.
- 38 Each uaibhreach i n-easbhuidh shréin,
nō is táin gan ionramh iaidséin;
dā dhamhna i ndeōir gach Ultaigh
tarla i ndeōigh Í Dhochartaigh.
- 39 Fa bhрут chumhadh, cian ó shoin,
do bhī, treall, mar táid Ulltaigh,
tre Shēarlas na dtachar dte,
achadh fēarghlas na Fraingce.

37 It is not he himself who is most greivous to them, these Gaoidhil from the slope of Lighe, [but that] the fulfilling of his counsel has ended through the bloody agency of the damp isle of Breagha.

38 They are like a highly-strung horse without a bridle, or a herd wandering without direction; after Ó Dochartaigh there are two motives in the tear of every Ulsterman.

39 A long time ago, the grass-green field of France was, for a while, as are the Ulstermen [now], under a mantle of grief because of Charlemagne of the heated battles.

37 c ndeirg] om.
38 b ionramh; iadséin; d uí.
39 a bhrat.

- 40 Sēarlas Mōr, flaith na bhFrangcach,
airsidh doiligh dīoghaltach,
tug ris ghairm gach fine faoi;
righe re a ainm nī ēadfaoi.
- 41 Cing Sēarlas, fa saidhbhre ngart,
fa dheóigh, tar cheann a chumhacht,
do bhearn an t-éag a anáir,
dearbh nār fhéad a iongabháil.
- 42 Na h-Easbāinnigh, anba an rath,
cinnid ar an gcath bhFrangcach,
déad tirmcheart fār ghēarlas goil,
Sēarlas ar n-imtheacht uathaibh.

40 Charlemagne, prince of the French, a harsh avenging veteran, every tribe beneath him summoned his help; to oppose his fame would be impossible.

41 King Charlemagne, most abundant of generosity, in spite of his powers, Death at last diminished his honour, he could certainly not avoid it.

42 The Spaniards, great was [their] good fortune, defeat the French army after Charlemagne has departed from them, dry, perfect tooth around which the battle-heat intensely blazed.

40 a fhlaith; c righairm; d fhedfaoi.

41 ā Cinn; ingāirt; c do bheru [sic]; d ionghabháil.

42 ā hesbāinnidh; b āir; fhfrangcach.

- 43 A séan catha ar gcúl do-chóidh:
do líonadh re doigh ndobróin
an Fhraingc fhleasgfháinneach, dhonn, te
tre throm n-Easbáinneach uirrthe.
- 44 'Ó's ar Shéarlas do bhí ar mbuadh
cuiream', ar drong dā dheaghshluagh,
'roinn a ghealchnámha i gceann gcath
an seang creachmhalla créachtach'.
- 45 Cinnid Frangcaigh, fíor an dáil,
taisi a dtriatha do thógbháil
is cath do char as a n-ucht:
nīor rath nār ghabh an gríosacht.

43 Her success in battle vanished: dark, warm,
curly-haired France was filled with pain of grief
because of the Spanish oppression of her.

44 'Since in Charlemagne lay our supremacy, the
slender, deadly one of the noble raids', said some of
his goodly host, 'let us put his white bones in front
of us at the head of batallions'.

45 The French decide, a factual event, to exhume the
remains of their prince and to do battle relying on
them: it was not fuel which did not take fire.

43 b dhoidh; c tte; d espainneach.

44 a thserlas; mbuaidh; c chātha; d an seang.

45 c chur.

- 46 Do chuirsead i gcomhruidh n-óir
 taisi an airdríogh tre onóir;
 brisdior leō ar a lucht gcogaidh,
 gleó as a n-ucht do fhōgradair.
- 47 Na h-Easbāinnigh tar a n-ais,
 gā dū, acht fillid sluagh Séarlais;
 cuirid i ngnáth orrtha ar-ís
 na comhtha ar chách do chuirdís.
- 48 Taisi Shéaáin tarla thall,
 Easbāinnigh an fhian eachtrann,
 gēaga caoimillsi ó chuan Rois,
 na Gaoidhilsí sluagh Sēarlais.

46 In reverence they placed the remains of the supreme king in a golden coffin; they declared war on the strength of them, their warring opponents are defeated by them.

47 In short, Charlemagne's host turn back the Spanish; they impose on them again the conditions they were wont to impose on all.

48 Seaán's remains lie yonder, [the] Spaniards are the foreign soldiery, Charlemagne's host are these Gaoidhil, sweet and pleasant scions from the sea of Ros.

46 a do chuirset; óir; b airdri; c air; cogaidh.

47 a heaspainnidh; tair.

48 b easpainnidh; c coimhillsi [sic]; d shluagh.

- 49 Re taisi Sëaáin, mar soin,
is gluaisde don fhōir Ulltaigh
do bhuaín fhoghloidheadh tar ais
ó ghormoirear bhruaigh Bhearnois.
- 50 Do cuireadh sin re séan ngníomh,
deich gcatha um chorp an airdríogh,
mac Fiachrach lēr foibhreadh sleagh,
fār toirneadh giallchath Gaoidheal.
- 51 Tug a mhuintear, meabhair leann,
corp Dhá Thí go h-iath n-Éireann
o Shléibh chíochdhonn úr Ealpa
na múr síothchorr suaitheanta.

49 The Ulster troop, therefore, should hurry with Seaán's remains to repel raiders from the green border of the edge of Bearnas.

50 That was prosecuted successfully, ten battles around the corpse of the supreme king, the son of Fiachra by whom a spear was tempered, because of whom the hostage-host of the Gaoidheal had been weakened.

51 His people, we recall, carried Dá Thí's body to the land of Ireland from the fair, dark-peaked Alps of the notable, gently-protruding ramparts.

49 c fhoghloighedh; d bruaich.

50 a sin] om.; b airdríogh; c sledh; d fa ttoirñ.

51 a meaphair linn; b eireann; c shliaph.

- 52 Corp Sëaáin Óig, do bhreith bhuaídh,
 dob iníomchuir é an athuair;
 fān tí do iomchradar ann
 do bhí fionnphobal Fréamhann.
- 53 Néall Sëaáin Óig re h-ucht gcath
 dā bhfaicdís an fhian Ulltach,
 do budh leó an tsealbh dh'uaim ar-ís:
 dearbh nach gan bhuaídh do bheidís.
- 54 Féachain annālaídh an fhir,
 nō smuaineadh air tre fhísibh,
 feirrde síol airmghēar na n-Art,
 nō a mairbhneall, far-īor, d'amharc.

52 In order to achieve victory, Seaán Óg's corpse should be borne once more; the fair people of Fréamhann were beneath the one they carried there.

53 Were the Ulster warriors to behold the vision of Seaán Óg before battle the property would be theirs to unite again: certainly they would not be without victory.

54 The weapon-sharp descendants of the Arts would be the better of examining the man's record, or of meditating on him in dreams, or, alas, of beholding his deathly apparition.

- 52 a seáin; b ioníomchuir.
 53 b fhfaicdís.
 54 a andař ; d faraor.

- 55 Ar easgcairdibh, re h-ucht ngleóidh,
beith ag maoidheamh a mhairbhneóill,
tuar aithchēime d'fhuil na n-Art,
tuir dār chaithchēile an chrōdhacht.
- 56 Ursa chothaidh chrīche Breagh,
deireadh cogaidh mhac Míleadh,
tús loighe finnshleachta Floinn,
tingheallta Chloinne Conaill;
- 57 Bile cogaidh mhac Míleadh,
barr cumhra cóig rīghthíreadh,
tréanursa gach ghleóidh trēr gheabh,
géarosna 'na dheōigh dáiltear.

55 It is an omen of renewed exaltation for the stock of the Arts to be threatening enemies, before battle, with his deathly apparition, pillar to whom courage was a battle-companion.

56 Supporting pillar of the land of Breagha, rearguard of the sons of Míl, cynosure of the fair line of Flann, prophesied one of Clann Chonaill.

57 Tree of battle of the sons of Míl, fragrant blossom of five royal territories, strong pillar of every conflict through which he went, a sharp sigh is released after him.

- 55 b maoidheamhairbhneóill [sic].
56 c luidhe; d tinghealta.
57 b chóig.

58 Sé céad déag bliadhain beacht linn,
 bliadhain oile d'iúil sgríbhinn,
 ó ghein Dé go dola í Chuinn;
 gan rogha mar é aguinn.

59 RĪ Oiligh na n-eathar nocht,
 mac Sëaáin, ua Con Connacht;
 ar camháir do sgaoileadh sgor:
 radhāigh dhraoidheadh is dhāmhsol.

Sgol

58 On written evidence, we consider that it is precisely sixteen hundred years plus one since the birth of God to the death of the heir of Conn; we can elect no-one comparable to him.

59 King of Oileach of the open boats, son of Seaán, grandson of Cú Chonnacht; at dawn a company was dispersed: great hope of poets and poetic schools.

58 a bliadhain x; liom; c go] om.; uí.
 59 a Righ; d draoitheadh.

IX Notes

1 b ríomhaisdin The second element is the dat. sg. of Maisde (gen. Maisdean) which survives in the name Mullaghmast in co. Kildare (Onom., 535). Commonly used as a name for Ireland; cf. Di. D 80.24d, 118.29a. L Branach line 3760.

c ollmhaighthi This emendation from MS ullmaighthi is sanctioned by IGT iii. 106 and is required for perfect rime. The use of ollmhaighidh in the context of bardic education is well attested (e.g. Poem X. 23d, DMU XX. 19cd and cf. Breatnach, 'The chief's poet', 71) and can also be used of bardic composition; Di. D 118.17ab. Cf. q. 2d.

2 a The manuscript is badly rubbed at this point and the restoration of the text is tentative. It is clear, however, from the plural verb and singular article that some collective noun is needed (cf. IGT v. 133). It is also clear from the dative/accusative sg. form of críoch that a preposition is wanting.

c The manuscript is damaged here also but the metre permits a more confident restoration. Cf. ursa ghliadh Poem VIII. 43c and ursa troda Di. D 73.37a.

3 a For references to the death of Cu R(u)í see Poem V. 25c n.

b gaisgeadh This may stand for an t-ord

gaisgidh (cf. q. 1a), or we might also translate it as 'weaponry', but its use in the following quatrains suggests it means 'valour, heroism' here.

c Bearbha See Poem VIII. 37c n.

4 a For the death of Murchadh at Clontarf see Todd (ed.) Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh, 192-6.

As bruinne is a masc. noun (IGT ii. 2) I have removed the MS lenition on seang.

b Cf. 'gaisgidh Ghaoidheal i ngéibhionn' Éigse vii (1953-4) 176.37d.

c badhbh probably refers to Murchadh (cf. Poems V. 48c and VII. 8a) but it could also be interpreted as a reference to the wargoddess who, through ordaining Murchadh's death in battle, caused the valour of the Gaoidhil to be overpowered; cf. Poem VIII. 5b n.

d Cluain Tarbh Clontarf.

5 a leith ar leath The emendation is necessary here for perfect rime. The phrase belongs to a feature known as 'réim chanamhna': see Breacadh chap. VII. It would seem that leith does not rime with breith here as the former is under the influence of its partner in the 'breacadh'-phrase: see ibid. 14.

6 a ghuint For lenition instead of eclipsis here see Poem II. 10b n. For ghuint na bhFionn see Poem V. 6a n.

b cairt gan sgríbhíonn This could also be interpreted as 'a (manuscript) page without writing' but its classification as a worthless thing would not be very obvious in that case. That the rights of a ruler to a given territory were enshrined in writing is implicit in the idiom sgríbhíonn ar used by Fearghal Óg in reference to Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir: 'fuair sgríbhíonn ar Clár cCrimhthain' DMU II. 26c and the same phrase is attested elsewhere, cf. DIL S, 110.84-111.2. A cairt gan sgríbhíonn would therefore be a contradiction in terms and a worthless thing.

c buachail (IGT ii. 111, 112) and buachaill (IGT ii. 111) are permitted variants and the former is required here for perfect rime.

d í Thuathail Ó Dochartaigh was descended from Conall Gulban mac Néill Naoighiallaigh who was descended, through ten generations, from Tuathal Teachtmhar (for whom see Poem VIII. 9c n.); cf. Anal. Hib. xviii (1951) 14.

7 bc At the time of his death, Seaán Óg was no longer in possession of his territory: see Introduction.

8 Here begins a sequence of four quatrains describing the effect which the deaths of four famous heroes had on the people of the territories over which they ruled. To this is compared the state of Éire/Tír Chonaill after the death of Ó Dochartaigh.

The death of Hector is recounted in Togail Troí (ed. Stokes in IT ii/1, 1-141; idem, Togail Troí

(Calcutta, 1881))¹. Troy, after Hector is slain by Achilles, is described as 'a city without a fence' (IT lines 1209-10).

b For bhí: bhí: Thí see Breacadh 24 (a), 25 (i)-(iv).

9 a Other examples from Fearghal Óg's poetry of this use of n. pl. Conuill to signify the descendants of Conall Gulban, the Conallaigh, are 'Na Conaill fhíre as fhéarr buaidh' Di. D 93.5a and 'Na Conaill badh díonbhun damh' Di. D 46.24c; cf. Poem XI.12b. Conall is used as a synonym for Tír Chonaill by Fearghal Óg in 'Ionnmhas ollaimh onóir ríogh' Studies xli (1952) 102.29a and cf. Mac C M I. 8a, 9a.

b For the wars between Caesar and Pompey see Stokes (ed.) In cath catharda in IT iv/2, passim. It is interesting that Fearghal Óg compares himself to Pompey in 'Turnamh dóchais díoth muirne' Di. D 121.18 while he uses the story in a different way in his lament for Aodh Ruadh when he compares Ó Domhnaill to Caesar, Éigse xv (1973-4) 44.51-2.

c comairche is a permitted variant of MS comairce (IGT ii. 3, iii. 83) and is necessary here for perfect rime.

d The meaning seems to be that the people are disabled through the extent of their mourning: their hands reddened through wringing them in grief. For aghadh 'palm of hand' cf. DIL A, 84.33-5.

1 For discussion see R.T. Meyer, 'The Middle-Irish version of the story of Troy' in Ét. Celt. xvii (1980) 205-18.

10 b For Alasdair cf. Poem IV. 27-35 and Appendix IV.

d iompaidh This unusual g. sg. form of the o-stem verb noun iompódh, iompádh, iompúdh (IGT iii. 64) is found in Di. D 88.10d and BST 206.20 and in both cases rimes with iontaoibh. For iompódh ar see DIL I, 165. 3-10.

11 a It has been necessary to emend the first two lines of this quatrain as they are both hypermetric in the manuscript.

The allusion here is to cath Maighe Léana: see Poem VIII. 24-34.

c Leath Cuinn The northern half of Ireland corresponding to Leath Mogha (cf. Poem VIII. 27b) the southern half; see EIHM, 191, Byrne, Irish kings and high-kings, 168.

d réaltuirsi I take this to be a compound of réil plus tuir and the suffix -si.

Fiachaidh Possibly Fiachaidh Fionnfhóladh a legendary king of Ireland and father of Tuathal Teachtmhar; Corp. Gen., 121. Thus fonn, magh (etc.) Fiachaidh is used as a name for Ireland: cf. q. 28d infra, Di. D 63.11d, Aith. D 29.24c, DMU IX. 17d, Butlers IX. 24d.

12 This quatrain introduces the well-known motif wherein the absence of the rightful ruler is reflected in the infertility of the earth and in the harsh climatic conditions which accompany it. Thus, in the present instance, the trees, which once were

laden with apples causing them to bend over, are now upright again as they have lost their fruit, and frost covers the land. See Poem V. 55d n. and Poem XI.

The 'breacadh' in dhí: dhí: í (cf. q. 8b n.) apparently negates the 'caoiche' in tánaig: tánaig (cf. *ibid.* 57).

13 This quatrain contains a nice play on the ideas of heat and cold while at the same time recalling an earlier theme. The valour and heroic standards which will no longer be in vogue due to the death of Ó Dochartaigh (qq. 1-6) are seen here to be captured and fettered by the cold which his death has caused. This, in turn, is seen as an incurable fever.

b Lenition after oighidh would be expected here. But non-lenition is metrically necessary and an example of 'sléagar'.

d For editorial removal of the MS eclipsis after nach see Poem IV. 5a n.

14 and 15 These two quatrains present problems which I have been unable to resolve to my satisfaction. They appear to form a syntactical unit in a way which is unusual but not unprecedented: cf. Poem V. 67-8, 70-73, O Hara XXIII. 9-13 and Marcher lords II. 26-7. The reference to the éagcóir oile in q. 14a is obscure to me; it may refer to some traditional story but in the Introduction (q.v.) I speculate that it may be an allusion to contemporary events and my translation is based on this interpretation.

In q. 15 the problem lies in the final line.

The general sense is clear: the death of Ó Dochartaigh has caused chaos in Ulster which parallels the general chaos occasioned all around Ireland by the éagcóir oile. If do sgaoil here is the same finite form as in 14a, then dearbh must be its subject. But dearbh Í Dhochartaigh is obscure. To take dearbh - the form is fixed by rime and alliteration - as a substantive use of the adjective meaning 'certain' does not give any obvious sense in the context. One would expect it to contain some connotation of injury or death.

It would be possible to read dearbha, a verb noun of do-rorban 'hinders, prevents', though I know of no instance of this form in any Classical text (cf. DIL D, 30.84-31.2) and Hull has cast doubt on its authenticity (ZCP xxv (1956) 252-4). Note also the form terba (though with unlenited -b-, but cf. DIL T, 150.30) 'severing, cutting off' DIL T, 150.10-30. (15c could be emended to is sealbha, acc. pl. of sealbh (IGT ii. 39); cf. the two other plural accusatives in the quatrain.)

In q. 16b we find deimhin, a synonym of dearbh, used in precisely the same context as dearbh is here. This suggests that we are in fact dealing here with words meaning 'certain' but that they are being used in some otherwise unattested extended meaning. One thinks of béarla na bhfileadh but no edited text of that type of verse contains either of the words in question (cf. POR XVIII, Éigse i (1939) 85-9, ZCP v (1905) 482-94). One is therefore left with the conclusion that the poet is perhaps inventing a new term to deal with a concept for which, he may have felt, the language had no equivalent adequate to his immediate needs. Noting that dearbh and deimhin contain connotations of inevitability, I suggest that these words mean 'fate' here. (The native words for this - apart from the phrase atá i ndán do - are

cinnemhain and cinneadh.) This might be supported by q 41d, dearbh nár fhéad a iongabháil, which could mean 'a fate which he could not avoid', though I have given a more conventional translation in view of the unambiguous use in q. 53d.

14 b Bóroimhe Béal Bóroimhe near Killaloe, co. Clare (see Onom., 119) near Ceann Coradh (cf. Poem II. 20a n.) seat of Brian Bóroimhe; see Ériu iv (1908-10) 71-3.

c thoighe Cuinn A kenning for Teamhair; cf. cathair Chuinn Poem XI. 24c, ráth Cuinn TD 9.1c, tealach Cuinn DMU II. 18a, etc.

d doire Though clearly in the plural here (for the following lenition see IGT i. 84) it is possible that a pun on the placename is also intended.

15 a bhfaighthi For this form of faithche, faidhche cf. Di. D 66.5d, DMU I. 22d, VII. 20d.

d For dearbh see above.

16 a codchaibh Dat. pl. of cuidigh (IGT ii. 187).

b deimhin see above.

d fuighiol is a permitted variant of MS fuighioll (IGT ii. 53) and is required here for perfect rime. For fuighiol formoid see TD ii, 220. The meaning is that, through the death of Ó

Dochartaigh, Ireland is no longer unified and peaceful but rather the object of internecine jealousy between the various factions inhabiting her. Later in the poem the poet suggests that only Ó Dochartaigh could unify the country (q. 53c). For the concept of unity see Poem II. 12d n.

17 b clár na Cruachno Connacht.

c síothmhálla cf. creachmhálla q. 44d infra. In Dán na mB. M ii, 392, málla is explained as a compound of mál 'prince, chief' and the adjective suffix -dha.

d le indicates the agent here, though it would be possible to take it as indicating the object of the jealousy (cf. DIL F, 348.63-71). Just as Ulster and Ireland were divided into jealous factions by the death of Seaán Óg Ó Dochartaigh, so Connacht was divided by (the death of) the son of Fiodhach (for whom see the next quatrain), his death being caused by jealousy.

18 This quatrain refers to the death of Fraoch mac Fiodhaigh (earlier Fróech mac Idaith). Though, as usual, the reference is allusive we can gather from it that the motive for his death was jealousy (line d) and that his death involved going into the river Búill (co. Roscommon) in pursuit of a bright object (réalta, here translated as 'jewel', line c).

The texts dealing with the death of Fraoch have been discussed by Professor Carney¹ and by Donald

1 Studies in Irish literature and history, 1-76.

E. Meek.² Of these, the texts which concern us here are the Old Irish tale, Táin Bó Fraích³ (TBF), and two Early Modern Irish poems, 'Carn Fraoich, soitheach na saorchlann'⁴ (CFSS) and 'Osnadh carad i gCluain Fraoich'⁵ referred to as Laoidh Fraoich (LF).

TBF has no mention of Fraoch's death. CFSS (qq. 56-7) refers to Fraoch's death in combat with Fuithne mac Conaill Chearnaigh. LF is concerned exclusively with recounting how Fraoch died in an encounter with a water-monster having been deliberately tricked by Meadhbh into entering the lake where the monster dwelt. TBF also has this incident (lines 177-220) as does CFSS (qq. 38-51) but in both Fraoch survives the encounter.

In TBF the motive for getting Fraoch to enter the lake is ostensibly to prevent him from taking Fiondabhair, daughter of Ailill and Meadhbh, by force, having refused to pay the excessive bride-price demanded by Ailill (lines 160-76) and Ailill is the main agent of evil in the affair. But the element of jealousy is present potentially in the relationship between Fraoch and Meadhbh in the early part of the story (lines 79-130). Fiondabhair is also present in CFSS and LF. In the latter Fraoch is obliged by Meadhbh to enter the lake to procure berries from a rowan tree which will cure her 'easláinte throm throm' (q. 12a). However the juxtaposition of the love of Fiondabhair for Fraoch and of Meadhbh for Fraoch in qq. 5-6 makes it clear that some ulterior motive is involved.

The same juxtaposition occurs in CFSS (qq. 33-4) and here the motive for the attempt on Fraoch's

2 CMCS vii (Summer 1984) 1-37, viii (Winter 1984) 65-85.

3 Ed. W. Meid, (Dublin, 1974).

4 Ed. Carney in *Celtica* ii (1952-4) 154-94.

5 Ross, Heroic poetry from the Book of the Dean of Lismore Poem XXIX; translated by Meek, loc. cit., 32-7.

life is said to be Ailill's outrage at discovering that Fiondabhair had given to Fraoch a treasure (taisgidh q. 36b) which Ailill had given to Fiondabhair. This brings us to the réalta of which Fearghal Óg says Fraoch went in pursuit.

This does not feature in LF but in TBF it occurs in the manner of a sub-plot. Fionndabhair gives Fraoch as a love-token a thumb-ring (ordnasc) which her father had given her for safe keeping. Subsequently, when Fraoch is in the water Ailill finds the ring in his purse and throws it into the lake. A salmon swallows it but Fraoch catches the salmon and hides it. The salmon and the ring are later produced, to Ailill's amazement, and this is also to be understood from CFSS qq. 53-4. Thus the ring-episode is not fundamental to TBF though one might infer that it occupies a more central position in the story behind CFSS, and this seems also to be the case in Fearghal Óg's allusion.

As regards location, none of the texts mention the river Búill but they do agree in locating the action in co. Roscommon. For discussion of this see Meek, 10-15.

Finally, it is interesting to note that Fearghal Óg elsewhere⁶ made use of the tradition which recorded that Fraoch was killed by Cú Chulainn⁷ though in this instance he was borrowing from an earlier poem⁸.

19 The reference in this quatrain remains obscure to me. I have corresponded with Professor F.J. Byrne on the subject and he is also baffled by it.

6 Celtica xvi (1984) 78.19.

7 O'Rahilly, TBC I, 26-7; RC xvi (1895) 136-9.

8 See Poem V, Introduction n. 66.

cd é: é An instance of 'caoiche'? Cf. Poem V. 74cd n.

20 The death of Cormac Conloingeas is related in the tale Bruiden Dá Chocae (ed. Stokes, RC xxi (1900) 149-65, 312-27, 388-402). In it the host of Connacht avenge a defeat inflicted on them by the Ulaidh at Magh Deirg by attacking them while they rest at Bruidhean Dá Choga. Cormac, who is returning to Ulster to assume the kingship following the death of his father Conchubhar, is killed and the Ulaidh annihilated.

The feall which Fearghal Óg attributes to Meadhbh consists simply in ensuring that Fearghus mac Róigh does not reach the Bruidhean in time to avert the conflict. She does this by momentarily turning him against his foster-brother Cormac (loc. cit., 316.38-9). But in fact Cormac was doomed in any case as he had managed to transgress all his geasa on the journey.

a Cuilt see Poem VIII. 31d n.

b Cruachan (MS cruachain) Cruacha has gen. Cruachna and Cruachan, IGT ii. 151.

n-orrdhairc For the forms of this adjective see IGT ii. 170.

21 The story of how Cú Chulainn killed his own son Conlaoch is told in the tale 'Aided Énfhir Aífe' (Ériu i (1904) 113-21; Van Hamel, Compert, 11-15; cf. Foras Feasa ii, 216-8). While Cú Chulainn was learning martial art in Scotland with Sgáthach, her daughter Aoife became pregnant by him. He left

her with the instruction that his son was to visit him in Ireland 'in tan bas cuimse dó' but that he should never give way to anyone, never refuse combat and never reveal his name.

These restrictions ensured that when he did make his way to Ireland he could not identify himself to his father and their combat was inevitable. However father and son were evenly matched until Cú Chulainn attacked him with the gae bulga. Because this was a feat which Sgáthach had taught to no-one except to Cú Chulainn, the latter was victorious. It must be this aspect of his death which Fearghal Óg interprets as tnúth sgoile Sgáthuighe. The reference in line d to the hopes which the poets had for Conlaoch is probably the poet's own assessment of the promise shown by the hero in the combat with his father.

b I have no metrical authority for the quantity of the first vowel in Sgáthuighe - editors seem to differ on this point cf. Aith. D 16.48d, DMU XVII. 35d - but in Old Irish texts the practice seems to be to invariably mark it long.

For ngoile: sgoile: Sgathuighe see Breacadh 24 (c), 26.

c an ghein shochair A common term in Classical Verse. In her note on this, in TD ii, 227, Eleanor Knott suggests translating shochair as 'favoured, privileged'. However I believe that, in some instances at least, it means 'one from whom benefits/ privileges are to be obtained'. For example cf. 'gein shochair don uile fhior' (of Jesus Christ) Di. D 17.21cd or 'Tú gein shochair shíol nDálaigh .../ tú dá dtuathaibh is teagh séad' TD 27.16. This is why I translate as 'benefactor' here. (gein shocair

'peaceful descendant' in DMU II. 41b should surely be by gein shochair.)

22 d áirimh is required here for perfect rime and is a permitted variant (IGT ii. 150) of áireamh (IGT ii. 101, iii. 68).

23 a The scribe uses ḡ to signify both gan (cf. q. 29b) and gach (q. 30c). It would therefore be possible to read gan or 'gan here.

On ré lán see Poem III. 1c n. This line is hypermetrical in the manuscript.

b MS do baineadh is a non-Classical form; cf. IGT iii. 81.

d As I take it that it is Seaán's demise which is being referred to here, I have emended the manuscript reading accordingly.

24 ab báith- is an alternative stem of the verb báidhidh, see IGT iii. 71.

cd The meaning here, as emphasized in subsequent quatrains, is that Ó Dochartaigh excelled in warfare, the only thing he had to fear was the envy of those he surpassed, an envy which proved fatal.

silleadh súl literally 'gazing of eyes'. This half-quatrain has an almost identical parallel in Poem XI. 16cd.

25 c I have removed the lenition on MS

shluagh on the authority of IGT i. 39.

d The reasoning seems to be that Ó Dochartaigh's supremacy was an implicit reproach to the rest of the Irish, hence their jealousy of him and the consequent avenging - as the poet sees it - of this aithbhear.

The manuscript reading, however, may not be correct and an alternative would be to emend to sluaigh Bhreach in c and to fhuair (= uair) in d and to translate: 'the perpetual envy of the host of Breagha avenged [that] : through hostile intent he received his reproach'.

26 a In the manuscript this line lacks alliteration. My emendation is conjectural: one could also emend to nguir.

b For the phrase níor shaor ar cf. O Hara XXIV. 24c and the comparable níor fhóir ar Poem IV. 28d.

c Floinn For Flann see Poem V. 7c n.

27 a For díoghbhadh see IGT ii. 102, iii. 63; we might also read díoghbhádh (IGT iii. 64), cf. Poems VIII. 17a, XI. 10d.

b níor chaillsead air cf. Poem VII. 2a n.

c One would expect bhaidhbh n-airmghéir here but the form is fixed by metre. It might be possible to take badhbh as the subject of the verb (cf. q. 4c n. supra) but it would be difficult to reconcile this

with the meaning of the quatrain as a whole. I therefore take it to be the object and an instance of 'cosg réime' of a word governed by a 'sealbhadh'; cf. IGT i. 82 and Éigse iii (1941-2) 60-61.

d While soighnéan (cf. Poem XI. 30b) is the only form given by IGT ii. 35, the older form saighnéan is also attested in Classical Verse; e.g. saighnéin: daighfhréimh Di. D 95.11cd, cf. q. 31b infra.

28 a This calls to mind the personification of death in Poem IV. 48-9.

c air The preposition indicates the person protected, not that from which he is being protected; cf. DIL D, 150.12-13 ff.

29 a The theme of the infertility of the earth and other natural disturbances caused by the death of the rightful ruler, first introduced at qq. 12-13, is resumed here. The meaning of this line, as in q. 12ab, is that the trees are growing tall, unburdened by the fruit they would be bearing were Ó Dochartaigh alive.

c do fhaillsigh The stems faillsigh - and foillsigh - (see apparatus) are permitted variants (IGT iii. 106) and the former is required here for perfect rime.

MS úir: iompúidh is metrically correct but the latter is gen. sg. where nom./ acc. sg. is required. I have therefore emended it to iompúdh and consequently úir (IGT ii. 14) has to be altered to its

masc. variant an t-úr (IGT ii. 96).

This line could refer either to Ó Dochartaigh's grave or - more likely, given the context - to the barren soil (cf. q. 31a infra).

30 b The manuscript reading atá would suggest that deirgtheine is to be understood as the subject of the verb. However, it appears to me that airm in c is the more likely subject, given the contrast being created between the martial and elemental weapons (see Introduction). I have therefore, in accordance with IGT v. 20, ventured to emend to a-táid.

Feadh occurs both on its own and with a preceding preposition ar in adverbial usage (cf. DIL E, 60.61-61.9); examples from Fearghal Óg's poetry of its use without the preposition are POR XIX.2b, DMU II.2c and Di. D 20.25b. The manuscript reading an feadh means 'during'.

d MS adhairt yields little sense here unless it be construed as a figurative usage of adhart referring to the practice of keeping one's sword at the ready near one's bed (cf. Poem III. 8d n.). Reading fhaghairt (< fobhairt) 'tempering, testing' might also be possible but the line makes excellent sense if we take the manuscript reading to be an error for adhaint, late vb. noun of ad-annai 'kindles'. It is this solution which I adopt in the text.

31 a With this line contrast Poem V. 56d.

b I take soillsiodh to ^{be} gen. pl. of solus (IGT ii. 53) though it might also be gen. sg. of

soillse, cf. DIL S, 328.67.

c bheas Cf. Féilsgríbhinn Eoin Mhic Néill, 169.2c and DIL B, 88.40-42. For bheas: cneas: fhúigfeas see q. 21b n.

32 This quatrain continues the use of martial language to describe the elemental disturbances. Here the rain-clouds over Tír Chonaill are likened to weeping hostages imprisoned by the bad weather.

33 b finnBhearta Burt Castle (bar. Inishowen West) an Ó Dochartaigh castle on the eastern shore of Loch Swilly, some four miles west of Letterkenny. The best description of it is by Davies and Swan in UJA 3rd ser. ii (1939) 188-93; see also Arch. Surv., 370-71.

34 c Or perhaps 'that he would submit to ...'?

35 cd The meaning here is that there is not just one body in the grave, but all of the Gaelic race lies imprisoned there.

37 b chomhairle refers back to q. 36a.

c I have had to emend this line as the manuscript reading lacks a syllable. As the interpretation of the quatrain depends on this

emendation it must be taken as very tentative.

mBreagh This 'dynamic eclipsis' is in evidence in a quatrain cited in IGT i. 81.

d Lighean Commonly taken to refer to Druim Lighean or Cruachán Lighean (cf. POR XXV. 5b) and used to signify Tír Chonaille (cf. O Hara XVIII. 10b, Di. D 81.8d) or Ulster in general (cf. Poem XI. 19b); see notes to TD 4 and cf. Onom., 366.

38 c dá dhamhna i.e. the death of Ó Dochartaigh himself and the disappearance, thereby, of his good counsel, as explained in the two preceding quatrains. Thus, as lines a and b here indicate, they lack someone to control and direct them.

39 Charlemagne appears to have been a reasonably popular subject of medieval exempla.¹ To date, however, I have been unable to locate the source of the particular apologue which begins here. It does not occur in the related material in Irish,² English³ or, as far as I can ascertain, in French.⁴ Traditions do exist regarding the exhumation of Charlemagne's relics and also his resurrection in order that he might take part in the crusades⁵ and it may be that the present uirsgéal represents a fusion of these traditions with those concerning his wars in Spain.

1 Cf. Tubach, Index exemplorum, 76-7.

2 Hyde (ed.), Gabháltas Shearluis Mhóir; Stokes, 'The Irish version of Fierabras in RC xix (1898) 14-57, 118-67, 252-91, 364-93.

3 Ed. S.J.H. Herrtage, EETS ex. ser., xxxiv-xxxvii (1879-81).

4 E.g., cf. H.L.D. Ward, Catalogue of romances i, 546-689 (passim).

5 G. Paris, Histoire poetique de Charlemagne, 60-63, 427-8.

b bhrut On the emendation here see Poem IV.
21b n.

40 c MS righairm cannot be correct as the rime with ainm indicates. If fine is gen. sg. here one might expect the f- to be lenited after gach (see Poem IV. 22b n.) and this would destroy the alliteration in the line. Taking gach fine as the subject of the verb, and emending ri to 3rd sg. m. ris, gives a meaning which is consonant with the parallel being made with Ó Dochartaigh, who, as qq. 36-8 imply, was the saviour of all tribes beneath him.

d As lenition of the impersonal form after ní would be irregular, I emend to the permitted variant stem éad- (IGT iii. 10); cf. Poem XII. 47d.

41 a ngart This word appears to have gen. sg. garta (DIL G, 47.70; Iomarbhágh II. 8c) otherwise cumhacht could have been emended to gen. sg. cumhaicht (IGT ii. 25).

c do bhearn The manuscript reading could be construed as a spelling for do bhearbh 'melted' which would not be out of place in the context.

d dearbh See notes to qq. 14 and 15 supra.

43 a séan catha cf. conách catha q. 34a.

b For doigh 'a pain' see Di. D 77.10ab and POR XXV. 8b.

c France is here described as a woman, hence fleasgfháinneach.

44 a buadh This permitted variant (IGT ii. 38, 39) of MS buaidh is required for rime. For its use with prep. ar see Poem V. 20d n.

c This line is hypermetrical in the manuscript and MS chatha does not give perfect rime. For the eclipsis after i gceann cf. BST 187.24, 28.

45 c car is a permitted variant of MS cur (IGT iii. 58) and is necessary for perfect rime.

d rath For ra(i)th 'a fern, bracken' see DIL R, 6.16-27. As most of the examples there occur in the context of lighting fires, I feel justified in my interpretation of this line. On the other hand, I am unable to cite another occurrence of this word from Classical Verse. Perhaps there is a conscious pun here on rath 'prosperity, good fortune'.

47 a Note nom. pl. for acc. pl. here before the prepositional phrase or 'sealbhadh'; cf. IGT i. 82.

48 a Note the lenition after nom. pl. taisi here and its absence (metrically necessary) after acc. pl. in q. 49a n. Though taisi is regarded as an 'iollradh gan uathadh' (IGT ii. 180), theoretically one might regard it as a 'focal bhíos d'uathadh agus d'iollradh' in which case lenition after nom./ acc.

pl. is correct (IGT i. 84). One would usually expect dat. pl. after re/ le though they take the acc. case in the singular and perhaps, therefore, taisibh should be read in q. 49a.

b See Introduction.

c Ruis, nom. Ros, commonly used to signify Ireland (e.g. Magauran XXXII. 9d, 15d, Aith. D 19.7c, Di. D 91.34b) but a name which has never been satisfactorily identified (cf. Dán na mB. M ii, 428, Aith. D ii, 19.7c n.). Possibly to be equated with Ros na Ríogh?

49 a taisi Seaáin see q. 48a n. supra.

d bruaigh is a permitted variant of gen. sg. bruaich (IGT ii. 75) and is required here for perfect rime.

50 Fearghal Óg here provides an example from native tradition of the relics of a king being used to ensure victory in battle. The story in question concerns the death of Dá Thí who was killed in the Alps (cf. q. 52c) by a bolt of lightning, having plundered the tower of Formen(i)us the hermit-king of Thrace. Dá Thí's son Amhalghaidh took his body, and led his men home to Ireland.¹ The earliest accounts say that on the way they won nine battles but the list of them in the YBL version amounts to ten.² An Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh, in

1 For discussion see EIHM, 213-4.

2 ZCP viii (1930) 168, 178-80, 184.

his book of genealogies, says that nine battles were won on sea and ten on land.³ Fearghal Óg alludes briefly to the death of Dá Thí in his elegy on Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill which was composed not long after the present poem.⁴

a This line lacks a syllable in the manuscripts and my emendation is conjectural.

c -foibhreadh The usual form in such contexts seems to be foighreadh/ faighreadh from fo-geir 'heats'; cf. O Hara XXVI. 3b, Aith. D 41.8a, 58.21b, MD 62.4b. It may be, therefore, that we should emend to -gh- here but I have retained the form as it may possibly be construed as a form of fo-beir 'submerges, tempers'; cf. 'Ro foibred na fiarlanna isna lennaib fichecha' Ériu viii (1915-16) 44.17 (The first battle of Moytura) and the participle foibhrighthe in, e.g., BAR i, 226.6, 228x.

51 a leann is a permitted variant of linn (BST 194.16) and is required for rime here. It would also be possible to read liom or leam.

52 cd Note the pun here: those who carried him were literally under him and metaphorically in the sense that they were subject to him.

Fréamhann (nom. Fréamhainn) A hill in co. Westmeath (Onom., 431-2), synonymous, in Classical Verse, with Ireland; cf. TD i, p. lix and Butlers, 102.10n.

3 O Donovan, The genealogies ... of Hy-Fiachrach, 22.

4 Éigse xv (1973-4) 36.9.

53 d dearbh See note to 14 and 15.

54 a annálaídh This interpretation of the manuscript reading is uncertain.

c síol ... na n-Art (cf. q. 55c) i.e. the Irish; see Poem VIII. 14b n. The Arts in question are probably Art Aenfhear mac Cuinn Chéadchathaigh and Art mac Lughaidh Laoidhigh who was king of Ireland for seven years (Corp. Gen., 118).

56 bc The antithesis between deireadh and tús is lost in the translation here.

deireadh cogaidh The most honourable position for an Irish chief in a battle was at the back of his troop, protecting them from attack or capture; see Simms in The Irish Sword xii (1975-6) 104.

tús loighe (loighe and luighe are permitted variants, IGT ii. 2, iii. 74) probably refers to the privilege of sleeping next to the lord, the most coveted sleeping position in a house; cf. Breatnach, 'The chief's poet', 40-41.

57 b cóig ríghthíreadh The five provinces.

58 Quatrains such as this, detailing the year of the subject's death appear in the latter years of the Classical period. One cannot always be sure that they were not the composition of someone other than the poet, though in the present case, as the quatrain occurs in the body of the poem and is not

additional, we can be reasonably sure of Fearghal Óg's authorship. For a comparison with the occurrence of this feature in 'Teasda Éire san Easbáinn' see Introduction. For other instances of such quatrains cf. TD 17.70 and POR XI. 51, XII. 50, XXIII. 11.

a Alliteration is absent in this line in the manuscript; cf. 'dá chéad déag ollamh uaibhreach' Poem V. 42d n. I have emended MS liom to pl. linn for perfect rime; alternatively we could emend sgríbhinn to sgríbhionn, cf. Poem II.9b.

c The preposition go is to be expected here and I have inserted it on that account. The following í is then subject to 'báthadh' which is usual though not mandatory in this situation; cf. Poem VII.24a, BST 208.16-19, Graiméir 3452-60, Éigse xiv (1971-2) 210-14.

59 a Oiligh nom. Oileach. This is not the royal site of Aileach (cf. Poem IV. 46b n.) but rather Elaghmore, a few miles to the north-west and now in co. Derry. Here Seaán Óg had his principal seat until he deserted and partially dismantled it in 1600; see UJA 3rd ser. ii (1939) 202-4.

For the reference to boats here compare Eochaidh Ó hEodhusa's composition mentioned in the Introduction.

b Seaáin Seaán Óg's father, Seaán Mór who died in 1582 and for whom Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn composed 'Innis ród, a Ráith Oiligh' (TD 28). He was twice married: to Róis, daughter of Maghnas Ó Domhnaill, and to Aibhilín daughter of Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir (see Arch. Hib. xviii (1951) 17) possibly

Cú Chonnacht Comharba who died in 1538. If so, she was a sister of the Cú Chonnacht for whom Fearghal Óg composed the five poems in DMU (I-V). Hence Seaán Óg is here referred to as ua Con Connacht.

c For sgor meaning 'a company' see DIL C, 103.24-32; to the examples cited there add POR I. 47b, XXII. 15a and Magauran II. 36b.

d draoidheadh is a permitted variant form of gen. pl. (MS) draoitheadh (IGT ii. 85) and is required here for perfect rime.

POEM X

Introduction

This poem bears no ascription in the manuscripts. However, it contains a final complimentary quatrain to St. Peter and because of this I feel reasonably confident in suggesting Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird as its author.¹

This poem was composed on the death of Oilbh Éarus mac Seaáin Hosé. As we shall see, this makes it very interesting indeed as its subject has received very little notice to date, though he was clearly a very important man in his time. From the poem we learn that, as a young man, he left Ireland to study abroad at a 'sgol ríogh' (q. 30c) where he achieved great distinction, subsequently occupying a chair of learning (q. 31). He eventually returned to Ireland where, though he might have opted for an easy life by accepting his inheritance, he elected rather to become an itinerant teacher, achieving renown as an educator in all the provinces.

Attention has been previously drawn to this poem by Cuthbert Mac Craith² but this article is uncharacteristic of Dr. McGrath's usual standard of scholarship as it is uninformative and contains a number of errors. For instance, he remarks 'Ba de mhuintir Hosé na Midhe Oilbhearús'³. This is incorrect as Oliver Hussey belonged to the Kerry branch of that family. The family, of Norman descent (cf. q. 51a), had settled in Meath in the thirteenth century where they were styled Barons of Galtrim⁴ and

1 See General Introduction (ch. (x)) and Poem VI.

2 'Oilbhearús Hose' in O'Donnell (ed.) Franciscan Donegal, 109-12.

3 Ibid., 110.

4 MacLysaght, Irish families, 184.

had their principal seat at Mulhussey, near Maynooth.⁵ In Kerry, their presence is traceable back to the early fourteenth century⁶ and they were well established there by the mid-sixteenth century.⁷ They were located on the Dingle peninsula, having castles at Castlegregory, Minard and Dingle,⁸ and it is near Dingle⁹ - where, in 1613 the two members of parliament for that borough were Thomas Trant and Michael Hussey¹⁰ - and Minard that we find traces of Oliver Hussey's immediate family.

In q. 14b of this poem we learn that the name of Oliver's father was Seaán. John Hussey appears to have been a prosperous landowner in the Dingle area who met his downfall in the second Desmond rebellion. In an inquisition taken at Dingle in 1584 it was reported that

John Hussey late of Ballenecourtye in the said County, gentleman, on the second of November in the twenty-first year of our said Lady, the Queen, entered into the treasons and rebellion of the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond; and being so associated in the rebellion of the said Gerald on the 14th day of January in the twenty-second of our said Lady, the Queen, was killed near Killenye in the said county¹¹

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- 5 Walsh, *Irish men of learning*, 237. As with other Anglo-Norman families in the Pale, the Husseys played their part in the patronage of Irish learning: cf. Falconer, *Lorgaireacht*, 178.
- 6 *RSAI Jn.* xxiii (1893) 265-6; xlii (1912) 321.
- 7 Hickson, *Selections from Old Kerry records* i, 166-72. The connection with the Meath family was still recognised in 1602: see *Cal. Carew MSS 1601-1603*, 342, 349-50.
- 8 Hogan, *The description of Ireland*, 282; *Cal. SP Ire. 1588-1592*, 19; *Cal. SP Ire. 1600*, 374.
- 9 For traditions that the second element in 'Daingean Uí Chúis' derives from 'de la Huse' see *RSAI Jn.* ii (1852-3) 134-5 and Hickson, *op. cit.*, 165-7.
- 10 Hickson, *op. cit.*, 162.
- 11 *Kerry Archaeological Magazine* i (1908-12) 272.

Killenye (= Killiney), where John was killed in January 1579/80, is near the Hussey stronghold of Castlegregory to the north of his lands at Ballenecourtye (= Ballynacourty), in the parish adjacent to Minard, near Anascaul, nine miles east of Dingle. These lands were confiscated following the rebellion.¹²

He also had property in Dingle. On 14 December 1585 a charter of incorporation was granted to John Walsh and William Trant, on behalf of the people of Dingle, 'for the restoration of their ruinous and decayed estate through the late rebellion there'. Included in this was 'a house in the town sometimes belonging to John Hussey, lately attainted, to make of the same a gaol and a common courthouse'.¹³ This is the building of which Charles Smith speaks: 'Hussey built a castle here [sc. Dingle], which is said to have been the first that was erected in this place, the vaults of which are now used as a town gaol.'¹⁴

Two sons of John Hussey were also involved in the rebellion. James Hussey Fitz John was slain at Ardfert, 14 November 1580, and his house with four acres of land in Dingle confiscated.¹⁵ Maurice Fitz John Hussey, of Gortacurraun in Ballynacourty, was slain, 11 September 1581, and his extensive lands in the area were confiscated.¹⁶ These lands in

12 Ibid.

13 Cal. Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland from the 18th to the 45th of Queen Elizabeth ii, 105; Cal. Fiants Ire. Eliz. (PRI rep. DK 15), 144:4816.

14 Smith, The antient and present state of the county of Kerry, 176. A portion of this building seems to have survived down to the nineteenth century: see Hickson, *op. cit.*, 164.

15 Kerry Archaeological Magazine i (1908-12) 273-4.

16 *Ibid.*, 272. It may have been Maurice who, in November 1580, was described as the Earl of Desmond's messenger: Cal. SP Ire. 1574-1585, 271

Ballynacourty, 'late of Morish m'Shane Hussee', and 'a house with land there [sc. Dingle] , late of John Hussie, slain in rebellion' were granted to two undertakers, Stone and Champion, in February 1588/9, who held them from Sir Valentine Browne.¹⁷ These lands in the vicinity of Dingle and Ballynacourty constituted the 'eighrecht' (q. 36a) which Oliver Hussey, son of John and brother of James and Maurice, forsook for the sake of learning.

Oliver had rebellion in his blood and was to become a classic example of the scholar revolutionary. However, it is the scholarly side of his career which is emphasised in the present poem. As stated above, Fearghal Óg tells us that Oliver studied at a 'sgol ríogh' and achieved great distinction there. McGrath suggested that this might be a reference to King's College Cambridge¹⁸ but no reference to him appears in the records of either that college or of King's College Aberdeen.¹⁹ However, in his chapter on 'The names and surnames of the learned men and authors of Ireland' in 'The description of Irelande' in Holinshed's Chronicles, first published 1577, Richard Stanyhurst has the following entry: 'Oliuer Husey, a professour of the Artes in Doway'.²⁰ A university in Douai, in Spanish Flanders, was authorised by Philip II of Spain in January 1561 by letters patent. It was to contain five faculties: theology, canon law, civil law, medicine and arts and

17 Cal. Carew MSS 1575-1588, 447; Cal. Fiants Ire. Eliz. (PRI rep. DK 16), 94:5308.

18 Loc. cit., 110.

19 It must be said, however, that these records are incomplete for the sixteenth century.

20 Miller and Power, Holinshed's Irish chronicle, 102; Lennon, Richard Stanihurst, 87.

was installed in October of the following year.²¹

In 1568 William Allen founded his English College near the theological school of the university,²² and while this college provided the education of many Irish students in the 1570s²³ Oliver Hussey does not appear in the records of that College and so it seems most likely that he taught in the arts faculty of the university proper.²⁴ This would explain 'sgol ríogh', the 'rí' being Philip II.

Helga Hammerstein identifies three categories of Irish student studying abroad in the second half of the sixteenth century:

- 1 Individual, unattached students at most European Catholic universities who followed the old tradition of scholarly migration.
- 2 Students who entered newly established Jesuit colleges or the secular English college at Douai.
- 3 Students who followed courses at Irish colleges proper.²⁵

To the first category belonged Oliver Hussey. 'Maighisdir' (q. 28a) can simply mean an M.A. graduate²⁶ but in the present context it obviously

21 The first and second diaries of the English College Douay, xxvii.

22 Ibid. Scottish and Irish Colleges were founded there in 1580 and 1594 respectively; see J. Brady, 'Father Christopher Cusack' in Measgra, 98-107.

23 J. Brady, 'Some Irish scholars of the sixteenth century' in Studies xxxvii (1948) 229.

24 To date I have not discovered any further reference to Hussey's sojourn at Douai. I am indebted to Aoibheann Nic Dhonnchadha for checking sources for me in the British Library which were unavailable in either Edinburgh or Dublin.

25 'Aspects of the continental education of Irish students in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I' in Historical Studies viii (1971) 143.

26 Cf. Bannerman, The Beatons, 2, 61.

also means 'teacher'.²⁷ Feargal Óg places great emphasis on the sacrifice involved in Oliver's pursuit of his vocation, particularly on the fact that he could have inherited his 'eighrecht' and led a prosperous life. This recalls Stanyhurst's remarks regarding another scholar abroad:

Maurice Eustace, a student of Diuinite, one that notwithstanding he were borne to a faire liuing, yet did wholly sequester himself from the worlde.²⁸

Yet despite such sacrifices and difficulties, academic excellence, of the type attained by Oliver Hussey, was not exceptional. Witness the Jesuit Henry FitzSimon's testimony of 1611:

Yet such as travelled abroad, notwithstanding all difficulties ... often attained singular perfection and reputation of learning in sundrie sciences, to principal titles in universities, to high prelacies, of whom²⁹ some are yet living, some departed in peace.

Oliver's 'reputation of learning' was to be further enhanced on returning to Ireland.

In qq. 36-8 Fearghal Óg claims that, when he returned to Ireland, Oliver could have inherited 'eighrecht a athar' but chose instead to be a teacher. There is a strong element of poetic licence

27 '... it may be well to point out that the three titles, master, doctor, professor, were in the Middle Ages absolutely synonymous', Rashdall, The universities of Europe in the Middle Ages i, 19-20. See DIL M, 32.72 ff. For the type of course likely to have been taught by Hussey at Douai see Paetow, The Arts course at Medieval universities.

28 Miller and Power, *op. cit.*, 99.

29 Quoted by Brady, *art. cit.* (n. 23), 226.

in this. As we have seen, Oliver's patrimony had been confiscated following the death of his father and of his two brothers. There was thus no 'eighrecht' for him to return to when he came back to Kerry, sometime, perhaps, in the early 1580s and so we find him settled at some distance from his patrimony. In June 1585 a pardon was issued to 'Oliver m'Shane Hussie of Kyltegan' in Kerry.³⁰ I have been unable to locate such a place in Kerry but it is not unlikely that it represents a mis-reading of Kylteyan, that is, Kilteean, parish of Galey, barony of Iraghticonnor in north Kerry, five miles west of Listowel.

Scholars appear agreed on the connection between the dissolution of the monasteries, due to the Reformation, and the emergence of secular grammar schools in urban centres in Munster, Leinster and Connacht in the second half of the sixteenth century.³¹ Schools such as Peter White's in Kilkenny, Richard Creagh's in Limerick or the Lynchs' school in Galway, became increasingly important as the century progressed and the thirst for knowledge was renewed with the growth of new centres of learning on the continent.³² Initially the type of student travelling to the new colleges in Europe was primarily of Old English stock,³³ but, by the end of the century, Irish

30 Cal. Fiants Ire. Eliz. (PRI rep. DK 15), 96:4677.

31 Hammerstein, art. cit., 139-40; Stanford, Ireland and the Classical tradition, 19; Stopford Green, The making of Ireland and its undoing, 364-72.

32 Witness this poignant colophon from TCD MS 1336, col. 831v: Misi Uilliam mac Domnoill Óig hÍ Duinnín do sgríobh an beagán so 7 is trua liom nach maireann mo athair an la si 7 da maireadh ní mar so do bheinsi acht do bheimn ansa Spain no ansa Fbrainc [sic] a toghail [or oc agbhail] leighin 7 as e uair 7 a[imse]r scriobh me so an aois mo (?) naoi mbliaghna deg san mbliaginsi daos mo thiaigerna 1570 amen.

33 Corcoran, State policy in Irish education AD 1536 to 1816, 48-9.

names become prominent in the records also. The native schools served an important function in preparing prospective students for entry to the foreign colleges where a basic training in grammar was the minimum academic requirement for entry.³⁴ Thus the curriculum of the grammar schools was almost entirely Classical in content.³⁵

Fearghal Óg informs us that Oliver Hussey taught at schools in every province except Ulster but that he attracted pupils from that province also (qq. 45-8).³⁶ We have no way of knowing the precise location of these schools but valuable, if incomplete, corroboration of the poet's testimony is to be found in the juramentos or oaths sworn by students on entering the Irish seminary of St Patrick at Salamanca.³⁷ In these oaths, students gave their place of origin, the names of their mother and father, their age at the time of swearing the oath, and, frequently, the names of the teachers who had provided them with the qualifications necessary for entry to the College.³⁸ Five of these students name Oliver Hussey as having been their teacher.

The oldest of these was Ricardo Carron who was born in 1579 and who took his oaths in 1600/1601.

34 Cf. the case of the college of Salamanca: Hammerstein, art. cit., 149.

35 Stanford, op. cit., 20-21. For the general background to both Latin learning at home and scholarship abroad see chapters by Millett and Silke in NHI iii, 561-633.

36 Cf. J. J. Silke, 'Irish scholarship and the Renaissance, 1580-1673' in Studies in the Renaissance XX (1973) 180 n. 57.

37 D. J. O'Doherty, 'Students of the Irish College Salamanca (1595-1619)' in Arch. Hib. ii (1913) 1-36. (Three oaths were in fact sworn.)

38 See n. 34 above.

He studied in Kilkenny under four teachers. The last named of these is Oliver Hussey: 'Rhetoricae ~~at~~tem et aliis humanioribus rudimentis duobus annis sub magistro Husseo catholicis'.³⁹ Moylerus Clery was born in 1588, in Tír Chonaill, and studied for a year 'sub praeceptoribus M[agistro] Usseo et Jacobo Waltri'.⁴⁰ He omits however to tell us where he received this education. Bernardus O Brien, born 1589, 'operam dedi humanioribus literis 4 (?) annis sub praeceptore Olivaro Husseo' apparently somewhere in the diocese of Killaloe.⁴¹ Gulielmus Hickaeus, born 1593, studied 'Thuomoniae et Conaciae, sub doctissimis liberalium disciplinarium praeceptoribus Olyvero Husaeo et Jacobo Gualtero'.⁴² Fearghal Óg's kinsman, the famous Hugh Ward, also born in 1593, 'in provincia Connaciae operam dedi humanioribus literis sub diversis magistris quorum doctissimus erat Magister Oliverus Hussey sub quo duos annos circiter studui'.⁴³

These documents bear out our poet's statement regarding Hussey's teaching activities in Munster, Leinster and Connacht with students from Ulster frequenting his school also. They furthermore support Fearghal Óg's claims as to Hussey's great learning, particularly the evidence of Hugh Ward. References such as this make it clear that Oliver Hussey must have been a very renowned scholar indeed. In treating of 'Ibarni professores', Philip O Sullivan had this to say:

39 O'Doherty, art. cit., 11.9.

40 Ibid., 28.75; cf. Walsh, The Ó Cléirigh family, 9-10.

41 Art. cit., 9.4.

42 Ibid., 30-31.83.

43 Ibid., 29.76.

si saecularium mentio fuisset habenda, eos, qui Anglorum ardentissima haerosis facula, tartareoque furore minime obstante, in Ibernia iuventutem christiana simul institutione, et Latine loquendi, dialecticeque disputandi regulis imbuerunt, silentio non praeterirem. Quare Oliverus Hussaeus, Bernardus Oconchur, Dermysius Olleinus, aliique praestiterunt.⁴⁴

In August 1601 Sir George Carew, president of Munster, wrote to Robert Cecil: 'As to the leaders and objects of the rebellion in Munster, I send you the opinions of one Oliver Hussie, a very learned and wise man and during the rebellion a great adviser of their actions'.⁴⁵ The rebellion to which Carew was referring was that of the Súgán Earl, James Fitz Thomas of Desmond, sponsored by Aodh Ó Néill, Earl of Tyrone. When Desmond was captured in May 1601, this phase of the rebellion came to an end. Before being tried he was interrogated at Carew's residence in Shandon Castle. Carew's secretary, Thomas Stafford, reports that information as to the causes of the rebellion was also taken from a second person as both he and Desmond were 'both deeply ingaged in the action'. This was Oliver Hussey:

and because these his [sc. Desmond] pretences, doe not much vary from the allegations (surmised) by Oliver Hussie, a Schoole-master, a most pernicious member of this traiterous combination, I have thought fit to interpose the same in this place. This Hussie therefore examined upon the same Interrogatories, answered as followeth.⁴⁶

44 O'Donnell, Selections from the Zoilomastix, 27.

45 Cal. SP Ire. 1601-1603, 28-9.

46 Stafford, Pacata Hibernia, 146.

This was the information which Carew sent to Cecil in August. James Fitz Thomas was sent to the Tower, where he died in 1607, but Oliver Hussey was pardoned on 22 June.⁴⁷ In September the Spanish landed at Kinsale.

We hear nothing of Hussey until almost a year later. By this time the cause was lost and Carew, Thomond et al. were engaged in the final stage of quietening Munster. A few pockets of resistance remained. In particular, attention was directed at the Beare Peninsula where Dunboy Castle was being held for O Sullivan Beare against the English. About 16 June, 1602, a ship arrived from Spain with arms and money to support the 'rebels'. It moored in Kilmakilloge Harbour on the other side of the peninsula. O Sullivan unloaded the ship and deposited its contents in Ardea Castle nearby. Thomas Stafford, who recounts this episode,⁴⁸ received his information from Moylmurry mac Edmond Boy Mac Swyny who further states that having unloaded the ship, O Sullivan 'came back again to [Captain] Terrell and the rest at Oliver Hussey's bwoly'.⁴⁹

Oliver Hussey had clearly resumed his role as 'a great adviser'. This time, however, there was to be no pardon. On 12 March of the following year a general pardon was issued 'to all the poor inhabitants of the province of Munster, and country of Thomond ... who, seduced by the persuasion of rebels, had fallen into danger of the laws'. Specifically excluded from this pardon were, inter alios, 'Donel O Swyllyvane alias O Swllyvane Beara ... Donnell O Swillevant More

47 Cal. Fiants Ire. Eliz. (PRI rep. DK 17), 265:6555.

48 Stafford, op. cit., 306-7.

49 Cal. SP Ire. 1601-1603, 425.

... and Oliver Hussey'.⁵⁰ By this time O Sullivan Beare had made his arduous trek to Bréifne but Oliver Hussey remained in Munster.

Eight days after the above pardon was issued, on 20 March 1602/3, Captain Thomas Bois wrote to Sir Charles Wilmot, Chief Commissioner for Munster, then in Limerick, informing him that he had laid seige to the castle of Ballingarry in Clanmorris. Inside the castle, which is situated on the coast just north of Kerry Head,⁵¹ were, inter alios, Donal O Sullivan More and 'Old Husse'. Bois reported that when the siege should end 'not one creature that comes shall live, unless for intelligence'.⁵² Wilmot, writing to Carew on the 26th, said that in Ballingarry were 'Donnell O Swillivan More, Hussey the Scholar and other principal rebels' and that when these should be 'taken to mercy, then was this province never so clear of malicious traitors'.⁵³

Wilmot went by sea from Limerick to Ballingarry and the siege soon came to an end: 'the principals presently executed, and the rest were pardoned by the Lord Lieutenant at his coming to Corke'.⁵⁴ Though we have no definite date for Oliver Hussey's death the evidence would suggest that, as he was numbered among the 'principals' at Ballingarry, and as these were reported executed, that he died circa March 1603. What is certainly not true is McGrath's statement: 'Do réir chosúlachta is 'bás re hardhart' [sic] a fuair Oilbhearus'.⁵⁵ 'Créachtghoin' (q. 6a) and 'créacht' (q. 9c) indicate clearly that

50 Cal. Fiants Ire. Eliz. (PRI rep. DK 18), 138-9:6773.

51 Cf. Hickson, op. cit., 3.

52 Cal. SP Ire. 1603-1606, 6.

53 Ibid., 5.

54 Stafford, op. cit., 383.

55 Art. cit., 112.

this was not the case.

In a genealogy of the Clann Síthigh (Sliocht Eoghain) of co. Kerry, in Lambeth Palace Library MS 635, f. 128v, it is said that one Muroughe McShee married a daughter of Muriertagh McMurragh McShee of Browne's Court, Askeaton, co. Limerick. These had a daughter (un-named) who was married to 'Oliver Hussie a scholmaster in Kerry'.⁵⁶ In the aftermath of Kinsale it was reported (19 November 1602) that the Count of Carazena 'has at his house the sons of O'Sullivan Beare, the Knight of the Valley, Oliver Hussey of Kerry (two sons, but these are at school at St. Jago de Compostella) ...'.⁵⁷ Philip O Sullivan mentions one of these who was a colleague of his at Compostella:

Edmundus Hussaeus Oliveri doctissimi viri
filius contubernalis meus Compostellae iuri
incubit: sed Theologiam, Philosophiamque
libentius coluit.⁵⁸

This was the 'Edmundus Hussea, magister artium et professor legum' who flourished in the diocese of Ardfert in 1631.⁵⁹ The identity of the second son is not so certain. A 'John m'Oliverus of Garran' was

56 The same genealogy shows that Owen McShee, a brother of Oliver's wife, was married to a daughter of Erivon mc Moyle Murrye McSwyne. This Éireamhón was a brother of Éamonn Mac Suibhne: see Poem II, fig. 3. (This is confirmed by the Mac Suibhne genealogy in MS 635, f. 189v.)

57 Cal. SP Ire. 1601-1603, 529. R. Hayes took this to mean that Oliver Hussey went to Spain in 1602 but it is clear that the reference is only to the sons of the people mentioned: 'Ireland's links with Compostella' in *Studies* xxxvi (1948) 330.

58 O'Donnell, *Selections from the Zoilomastix*, 85.

59 Jennings, *Wadding papers*, 517. Edmund's son 'Galterus Hussea, filius magistri Hussea' is mentioned in the same source.

pardoned in April, 1601.⁶⁰ Could this be the Dr. John Hussey who was vicar-general of Ardfert in the 1640s?⁶¹

Among the other interesting features of this poem is the uirsgéal (qq. 13-26) the origins of which, unfortunately, I have been unable to locate. Dating the poem to 1603 provides us with an important detail in Fearghal Óg's biography. The closing sequence (qq. 49-54) suggests that the poem was intended for presentation to some of Oliver Hussey's relations and so it is more than likely that our poet was in Munster in the year of Oliver's death or shortly afterwards. The previous September, Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill had died in Spain and there is nothing in Fearghal Óg's lament for him to indicate that that poem was composed in Munster.⁶² In September 1603, Aodh Ruadh's brother Rudhraighe was made Earl of Tyrconnell in preference to Niall Garbh. The rule of Rudhraighe caused much dissatisfaction amongst the poets,⁶³ Fearghal Óg included. Sometime between 1603 and 1607 - when Rudhraighe left Ireland for good - our poet found himself in exile in Munster as a direct result of a disagreement between him and Ó Domhnaill:

Náir dóisein agus damhsa
 a bhfuil d'anaoibh oramsa
 ar dheoradhacht - dáil nár dhligh -
 i n-Eoghanacht Cláir Chaisil.⁶⁴

60 Cal. Fiants Ire. Eliz. (PRI rep. DK 17), 185:6498. (There are four places called Garran(e) in co. Kerry.)

61 Commentarius Rinuccinianus iii, 443; iv, 323, 325, 334.

62 Its editor was mistaken in taking 'cath Dor' (q. 13a) to mean 'Munstermen', Éigse xv (1973-4) 37.13, 49.13a n; cf. DMU, l. 2209 n.

63 See General Introduction, ch. (vi).

64 Di. D 121.23.

It seems quite possible to me that this exile may have taken place before or shortly after Rudhraighe was proclaimed Earl ⁶⁵ and that during this period Fearghal Óg presented his elegy for Oliver Hussey to his family.

Editorial remarks The poem occurs in three manuscripts:

- (i) RIA MS 23 F 16 (=F), pp. 204-6.
- (ii) RIA MS 23 L 17 (=L), ff. 37r-39r.
- (iii) UCD O Curry MSS, Vol. 18, pp. 62-5; a copy of L.

As the UCD manuscript can be discarded for editorial purposes, the manuscript situation here is identical to that of Poem II (q.v.). As before, we can cite instances where F's reading is better than that of L (e.g. q. 16a) or where L's is preferable to F's (e.g. qq. 14ac, 22c) or instances which point to a common exemplar (e.g., qq. 24a, 50d). On the whole, I again feel that L - though later than F by almost a hundred years - is the better manuscript on which to base an edition. Even the two cases where L's reading is hypometric, as opposed to the correct reading of F, can be explained as haplographical errors (qq. 24c, 25a); whereas no such excuse can be found for F in q. 27ab, where L retains the proper reading.

Metre deibhidhe, dán díreach.

65 He is referred to as 'Iarla' three times in 'Turnamh dóchais díoth muirne' (Di. D 121.18b, 25b, 26a) but of course Fearghal Óg might have been banished prior to Rudhraighe being proclaimed Earl, and the poem composed afterwards; see General Introduction, loc. cit.

X

- 1 D'Oilbh Éarus is beatha a bhás:
 dá éagso do-niad neamhchás,
 gé tá i gcriaidh 's cách ar a mhuin,
 biaidh go bráth iona bheathuidh.
- 2 Nach fuair bás, ó's a bháidh linn,
 creideadh gach aoinfhear d'Éirinn;
 an ghéag shoirche, shēaghuin, shlán,
 mēaruidh choidhche gan ch̄laochládh.
- 3 Mairfidh sé ar an saoghal féin
 míle bliadhuin, beart shoiléir;
 gé do bheith thall biaidh a-bhus
 'na dhiaidh ó's ann do fhéachus.

1 For Oilbh Éarus his death is life: though he be in the clay and everyone on his back - they care little for this one's death - he will always be living.

2 Let every man of Éire believe that, because of our love for him, he did not die; the illustrious, skilled, perfect branch will remain immutable forever.

3 He will live in the world itself for a thousand years, an illustrious achievement; though he be in the other-world he will be here since I have taken care of it.

1 c attá F; d brách LF; bheathuigh LF.

2 a bhfuair F; b aoinfhear] aoinneach F; c fhoirche F; shéag(h)uinn LF; d chlaochládh F.

3 b bliaghuin LF; sholéir F; c abus F; d dhiaigh LF.

- 4 Ní fhuair bás acht beatha shíor:
do athchuir Oighre an Airdríogh;
le a ghrás ní doiligh a dhul,
a oighidh ní cás cumhadh.
- 5 Ní dó féin is céasda an crádh:
gé fuair bás is beó a iomrádh;
do chlár Néill tarla a thuirse,
céim budh damhna doghuilse.
- 6 Do chréachtghoin beolaoich Bhanbha,
oide an aosa foghlamda,
cosg ainmhire flatha ar bhfuinn:
tairngire an ratha romhuinn.

4 He received not death but eternal life: the Heir of the Supreme King has restored him; because of His favour his departure is not greivous, his death is not a cause of sorrow.

5 Not for himself is the torment most torturous: though he has died his fame survives; [rather] the sadness of his death has befallen the plain of Niall, a development which will be a cause of grief.

6 From the terrible slaying of the living hero of Banbha, instructor of the learned class, [will come] the prevention of [any] evil recklessness on the part of the prince of our land: a prophecy of future good fortune.

4 a bfhuair F; b achuir LF; airdríogh] F, airdrígh L.
5 a is] s F; d budh] bu F.
6 a chreachtghoin F; banbha F; c ainmhir F; bhfoinn F.

- 7 Snáithghearraidh a saoghal sonn:
ní mó leó ciorrbhadh comhlonn;
rug dáibh ar ghlanóige geall,
daghoide cáigh go coitcheann.
- 8 Dírightheóir riaghla bhfear bhFáil,
file foirfe an iúil iomshláin,
'na dheóigh is déanta doilghe,
réalta eóil dár n-ógoibhne.
- 9 Ughdar tuigse dréacht ndoirche,
cise óircheasd n-ordoighthe,
créidhim a chréacht gan chabhair,
éacht d'Éirinn a ionnshamhail.

7 It severs their thread of life here: not greater to them is death in battle; to them he brought pre-eminence in pure poetry, goodly teacher of everyone in general.

8 One who influenced the rule of the men of Fál, a perfect poet of complete knowledge, it is proper to grieve after his departure, guiding star for our young people.

9 An authority in the understanding of dark poems, a treasure-chest of well-arranged golden questions, his defenceless wounding is a calamity, such a thing is death for Éire.

7 c ghlanóighe F; d cháigh LF.

8 a riaghladh F; bfer F; bhfáil] F, fáil L.

9 a dhreacht F.

- 10 Créad nach gonfadh croidhe cáigh
Oilbh Éarus saormhac Sëaáin? -
coige rúin ríleasa Cuinn,
súil an fhírfheasa d'fhoghlaim.
- 11 Tug Críós dō - Dia dhá dhaghbhrath -
dā bheatha is bhuan comhallrath:
do-rad dó an saoghal re seal,
a shaoradh dhó fa dheireadh.
- 12 Aoibhinn fuair a bheatha a-bhus,
mithidh dó druid re a dhúthchus;
fuair thall an t-aoinlios dob fhearr
do bharr le h-aoibhneas n-Éireann.

10 Why would it not pierce the heart of all, [the death of] Oilbh Éarus noble son of Seaán? - eye which gleaned the true knowledge, the hidden secrets of the royal enclosure of Conn.

11 Christ gave to him - may God watch over him kindly - two existences which is the eternal fulfillment of good fortune: he gave him [this] life for a while [and] finally he gave him his release.

12 Happy is he who spent his life here, it was time for him to go to his inheritance; he has received yonder the best possible home in addition to having received [here] the happiness of Éire.

10 a cháigh LF.

11 a dhia LF; daghbhrath F; b buan F; d shaoradh F.

12 b mithid F; druid F; c fhearr F; d éireann LF.

- 13 Ionann tarla, toisg neamhnáir,
d'Álon, eighir Cailearbháin,
an coigfhile go ngruaidh ghil,
's dār n-oidine, uair éigin.
- 14 Eang d'Athens an achuidh ghloin
oighreacht ghnáth athar h-Áloin,
críoch ghéigeal an tsaoirfhir sheing,
nār éidior d'aoighidh d'inghream.
- 15 I n-aois óigmheasda macaoimh,
tarla don ghéig ghealghlacshaoir -
triath an achuidh dá madh áil -
a iath, a athuir d'fhágbháil.

13 It was an identical circumstance, no shameful thing, which befell [both] Álon, heir of Cailearbháin, and our teacher one time, the recondite poet of the bright complexion.

14 A territory of Athens of the bright plain was ever the inheritance of Alon's father, land of bright branches of the slender, noble man, which no alien could attack.

15 At the age when a boy's youth is assessed, the branch of the white, noble hand - prince of the land if he so wished - left his country and his father.

13 a neamhnár F; b eighear F; chailearbháin LF; c ngil LF; d is dār noidne F.

14 a Eang] Eighir F; athens F; b athair LF; c gheigil F; d eidir LF.

15 a mhācaoimh F; b gealghlacshaoir F; d dfagbáil F.

- 16 Mar thug Dia dho do dhaighmhéin,
gabhuis an t-óg umhailréidh,
sgath leanbhda dh'uaislibh an fhuinn,
meanma ar an uairsin d'fhoghlaim.
- 17 Fāgbhuis a iath go h-umhal:
téid go Thebes d'átaghadh,
gus an adhbhoidh dtarthuigh dtroim,
don chathruigh armghloin d'fhoghlaim.
- 18 Do bhí dhá fhoghlaim innte
go raibhe an t-óg innillte
i n-oige aird ós fhearuibh,
'na oide ós aird d'fhileadhuibh.

16 As God endowed him with such a good disposition, the humble, easy-going youth, childlike flower of the nobles of the territory, conceived a desire for learning at that time.

17 He humbly left his country: he goes to dwell in Thebes, to the rich, abundant abode, to the city of the resplendant defences, for the purpose of learning.

18 The young man was studying there until he was accomplished in lofty poetry above [all] men, as a renowned teacher to poets.

- 16 a dho] F, om. L; dhaighmhéin] F, dhaighmhéinn L; b gabhuis L, gabhus F; c leanbhda F.
- 17 a Fagbhuis L, Fagbhus F; b dáitiodhadh L, dáitioghadh F; c adhbhoigh LF; ttroim F.
- 18 b raibh LF; c fearuibh F; d dfhileadhuibh F.

- 19 Tig ar ais d'fhéachuin an fhuinn,
ar mbeith do abuidh d'fhoghluim;
cur cáigh fá dheighreacht do dhligh,
níorbh áil a eighreacht d'aithin.
- 20 Ag siobhal ó thír go tír,
do shearc Dhē 's ní d'fhonn eisídh,
tug fēinnidh an ghormfhuinn ghloin
d'fhoghluim gach éinfhir āghoigh.
- 21 Do theagaisg, gēr dheacair dho,
gach óg gach arsoidh aco,
sgath an fhuinn ghēagabhluigh ghloin,
don druing éadarbhaigh athloimh.

19 Fully accomplished in his learning, he returns to view [his] land; it was his right to subject everyone to his good rule [but] he did not wish to accept his inheritance.

20 Travelling from land to land, for the love of God and not from a desire to cause unrest, brought the champion of the bright, green land to teach every warlike man.

21 Though it was difficult for him, the flower of the bright, apple-branched territory instructed the eager class of dependants, every person young and old among them.

19 a fhoinn F; b dho abuigh dfoghluim F; c cháigh LF; d eigreächt F.

20 b dé F; dfhonn F; ddfhoghloim F; aghoidh LF.

21 a ge ar F; b arsoigh LF; c fhoinn géagabhloigh F; d droing LF; étarb L, eadtarbhoigh F.

- 22 Dā fhoghlum le a oideas nglic,
nír fháguibh d'Athens oirdhric
tréad nár chuartuigh go cridhe;
níor fhéag d'fhuachtghoimh aimsire.
- 23 Mór maighisdir theaguisg the,
iomdha dochtúir drēacht bhfoirfe,
dār chomhshnoigh oige rē ais,
do ollmhoigh oide an iomais.
- 24 Álon, tar éis a thimchil,
teacht don chrích ór chéidimthigh,
iath dána 'na bhfríoth gach fleadh,
críoch a dhála fa dheireadh.

22 For the purpose of instructing them with his learned teaching, he left no community of renowned Athens whom he did not seek out with enthusiasm; he paid no heed to the painful cold of [the] weather.

23 Many a master of intense instruction, many a professor of flawless poems, whom the teacher of learning educated to perfection, because of which, with him, they composed poetry together.

24 After his circuit, it was Álon's ultimate destiny to finally return to the land from which he had initially departed, a spirited territory in which every [type of] feast was to be had.

22 a glic LF; c chuartoig F; croidhe F; d
dfhuachtghoimh F.

23 a tte LF; c aige F; d iomais] F, iomhais L.

24 a Nálon LF; tar ar F; thimchill LF; c na] F, om.
L.

- 25 Suidhighis an binn bádhach
i measg choigle is chompánach -
an tréad fā dtrághadh tonna -
go h-éag d'Álon eatorra.
- 26 Do-rónsad uile a aos gráidh,
a chomhthuigh chridhe, a chompáin,
sgath iongantach ronáir réidh,
onáir iomarcach airséin.
- 27 Tús is deireadh a ndála
ionann don droing dhiongmhála:
fáidh soirche ar ghealoige ngloin,
deaghoide fhoirfe ar n-altroim.

25 Álon, the pleasant, amiable one, settled among friends and companions - the people by whom waves were caused to ebb - until he died in their midst.

26 All those who loved him, his beloved friends, his companions, paid him tremendous respect, [that] marvellous, easy-going, extremely modest flower.

27 In every circumstance the worthy pair were identical: [the] radiant seer in the matter of bright, clear poetry [and] the accomplished, goodly teacher who nurtured us.

25 a Shuidheas L, Suighidheas F; c tréad] F, ttread L; dtrághadh] F, ttráigheadh L.

26 a a] om. F; b chumhtuigh cridhe F; d onóir L, anáir F.

27 a ndál F; b deangmal F; c foirce F; d foirfe F.

- 28 Maighisdir do mhúin gach fear,
Oilbh Éarus is fhearr d'áireamh,
mar do-ríne an t-óg eile:
ród fíre na fáisdeine.
- 29 Tárthuigh, i dtós a aoise,
gur ghlac sé rún roghaoise:
d'álguis a lēighinn tar lear,
fāgbhuis Éirinn a aithreadh.
- 30 Cathaoir chothaighthe a anma,
d'aimhdheóin aosa foghlamdha -
sgol ríogh ó nār gheabh goradh -
do bhean dīobh gér dhocamhal.

28 Oilbh Éarus is the most notable teacher who instructed every man just as the other youth did: the true line of prefiguration.

29 It happened, in his early years, that he adopted a resolution of great wisdom: through desire for his education overseas he left Éire of his ancestors.

30 A chair which nurtured his reputation, in spite of his fellow students - royal school from which he received no shame - he took ~~from~~ them though it was difficult.

28 b fearr F.

29 ā Tarruigh F; oisi F; b rógaoisi F; c dālghus F; d fāgbhus F; a] agus F.

30 c gheabh] F ghabh L; d ghéar F.

- 31 G^érbh oigheadh eatorra soin
Oilbh Éarus an iūil adhbhoil
táinig gan tathaoir ón droing
ráinig a gcathaoir gcomhthroid.
- 32 Gurbh abuidh d'fhoghluim fhoirfe,
'na sheansháith cheasd gcruadoirche,
an bhas ghléishlim go ngnaoi ghil,
do bhaoi gan Éirinn d'fhaicsin.
- 33 Ar mbeith do ollamh dh'eagna,
tig sé abuidh d'fhoirmfhreagra
go h-iath gcladhsholas chraoi Chuinn,
saoi gan amharus d'fhoghluim.

31 Though that could have signalled his death among them, Oilbh Éarus of the expansive knowledge, he left the group without reproach [and] attained their important chair.

32 Until he was accomplished in learning, a mature wealth of difficult and esoteric questions, the very slender hand of dazzling beauty did not see Éire.

33 Being perfected in wisdom, he comes accomplished in articulate answering to the bright-ridged territory of the land of Conn, a scholar who did not teach disbelief.

- 31 a oideadh LF; d chothroim LF.
32 a dfhoghluim F; b sheannsháith L sheanath F;
chceasd F; ccruadhoirche L ccruadhdhoirche F; c
ghléishlim LF; ngil LF; d dfhaigsin F.
33 a dho F; b abuigh F; c ccoinn F.

- 34 Do theagaisg - dia do dhocra -
fuair ó Chríosa na cumhochta,
ríoghruidh daighlis lasmhair Fhloinn,
gasraidh an ainbhis d'fhoghlaim.
- 35 Go dtug Críosa, dár chóir deagthoil,
oide an fheasa d'Éireannchoibh,
nírbh fheas le h-ainbheas an fhuinn
leas no aimhleas dá n-abruim.
- 36 Do thréig eighreacht a athar -
níor an re a iath d'átachadh -
tug í ar an aoibhneas dob fhearr:
do bhí re h-aoinleas n-Éireann.

34 He instructed - such hardship - the royal ones of the bright, goodly fort of Flann; he received from Christ the powers to teach the ignorant youths.

35 Until Christ, to whom goodwill is due, gave the teacher of knowledge to Irishmen, they were not able to tell, because of the ignorance of the country, whether I spoke true or false.

36 He forsook his father's inheritance - he did not wait to reside in his country - he exchanged it for the best happiness: he was devoted to the single good of Éire.

- 34 a do] om. F; b cumhochta] F comhochta L; d gasruidh F gasraigh L; ainbhfis LF.
- 35 b hainbhfeas LF; fhoinn F.
- 36 a Do threige oighreach] F; b níor] ní F; d áitachadh F; d éireann LF.

- 37 Ní díoth ionnmhais, dá madh áil,
ní díoth oighreachta d'fhagháil;
fiú a dheighreacht ar fhud gach fhuinn,
tug a eighreacht ar fhoghluim.
- 38 Gé go dtug saorfhód na sean
ar ghēaraltuibh ghuint Ghaidheal,
acht searc don deighshliocht dār dhligh
teacht ón eighreacht dob éidir.
- 39 Ar son Dé d'fhoghluim gach fhir,
tug a eighreacht an uairsin
fa chrích ngairbh, bhfleadhshochla bhFáil
ar ghairm n-ealathna d'fhagháil.

37 It was not for lack of wealth, had he so wished, it was not for want of obtaining an inheritance; he exchanged his inheritance for teaching, his good rule throughout every territory was worth [that].

38 Though he exchanged the noble, ancestral soil for the sharp hills of the land of the Gaoidhil, it would have been easier to forsake the inheritance were it not for loving that which he had deserved from the good family.

39 To instruct every man for God's sake, at that time he exchanged his inheritance in return for attaining artistic distinction around the rough, feast-famous land of Fáil.

37 ab díth LF; dfhagháil F; c foinn F; d a] om. F;
oighreacht F.

38 b gearaltchuibh L gearaltuibh F.

39 a dfhoghluim F; fir F; c bhfleadhshochluidh L
bfleadhsocluigh F; d nealothuin LF; dfhagháil F.

- 40 Dob fheas don aoinDia a annsacht,
i dtráth chuirthe chumhangsmacht
ar iath nglan gceódhairche gCuinn,
ar mhagh gceólfhoirfe gCriomhthuinn.
- 41 Níor léig ríoghruidh bhruaich Bhanbha
d'iarruidh oidis fhoghlamda
ó chlár nuaidhfhleidhmhear ó Néill
tar sál n-uairshreibhgheal n-aigéin.
- 42 Ní fhuil aoineach aca soin,
uaisle Fhódla an fhuinn armghloin,
nár bh é is díonoide don droing
re ré a fhíoroige d'fhoghloim.

40 The one God knew his love for the perfectly
melodious plain of Criomhthann when he imposed his
effective disciplines on the pure, mist-dark land of
Conn.

41 He did not allow the royal ones of Banbha's shore
to seek learned instruction away from the plain of the
wild, resplendent feasts of the descendants of Niall,
across the ocean brine of cold, white currents.

42 There is not one of those, the nobles of Fódla of
the land of resplendent defences, to whom he was not a
protecting teacher for the group during the time he
was imparting his true poetic-learning.

- 40 c nglan] F ghlan L; ccoinn F; d gc. gc.] F ch. c. L.
41 a bhruaig banbha F; b diarruigh LF; c
nuaidhfleadhmhear F; ó] om. LF.; d fhuairshreibhgheal
L fuairshreabhgheal F; aigéin LF.
42 a aoineach LF; b fodhla F; fhoinn F; d dfhoghloim
F.

- 43 Iomdha ar chlár an iúil oirdhric
 lucht tuigse cheasd gcruadhfhóirmghlic,
 fear glanoige go ngné ghil,
 dār dhaghoide é an uairsin.
- 44 Do choisg uile ceann i gceann
 i gcóig cóigeadhuibh Éireann:
 lucht aimhlis airmfhiadha Breagh,
 ainmhiana ghlainlis Ghaoidheal.
- 45 I gcóigeadhuibh Éibhir Fhinn
 nír fháguibh éintir inghill
 do chrích fhinnte bhfear bhfaladh
 gan teagh innte d'átaghadh.

43 Many on the roll of noble learning are those who understand difficult and cleverly-worded questions to whom he was a good teacher at that time, a man of pure poetry of bright aspect.

44 He suppressed everything in succession in the five provinces of Éire: those who harmed the martial land of Breagh, the evil passions of the pure fort of the Gaoidhil.

45 In the provinces of Éibhear Fionn he did not leave a single worthy territory of the fair, warm land of feuding men without inhabiting a house there.

- 43 b ccruaidhfhoirmghlic F; c ngil LF.
 44 c airmiatha L airmiata F.
 45 a éimhir LF; d dáitioghadh F.

- 46 I Laighnibh do thógaibh teagh,
i gcrích Mhidhe is mhó ríghfleadh,
iath crōdha soighionghrod seang,
tóra oirearbhog Éireann.
- 47 I gConnachtaibh an tráicht thais
do áitigh oide an iomais
brugh fionnfholtach, slaitgheal, slim,
aitreabh iongantach, aoibhin.
- 48 Gé nár áitigh don taoibh thuaidh
i gcrích Néill altghloin armruaidh,
mór n-oide uaidh i n-Ulltuibh
fuair 'na oige a fhionnochtuin.

46 In Leinster he built a house [and] in the territory of Meath greatest in respect of royal feasts, a graceful, valiant territory, alert in attack, the extremity of soft-bordered Éire.

47 In Connacht of the moist shore the teacher of learning lived in a fair-thatched, white-wattled, smooth-surfaced house, a wonderful, lovely dwelling.

48 Though of the northern region he did not dwell in the weapon-red land of Niall of the clear, high ground, there is many a teacher because of him in Ulster who, in his poetry, found knowledge.

46 a laoighnibh F; b mó ríghfleadh F.

47 a tráicht LF; b iómhais LF; c brugh] F brodh L; d iongantach F ionganntach L.

48 a thuaigh F; c ultuibh F.

- 49 Fiú uaisle an chinidh ór chin
go raibhe ag sgath fhuinn Éibhir
d'fhéin ghuasoirbheart ó lios Fhloinn
fios a n-uasoilbheart d'fhoghloim.
- 50 Mo chean fine dá bhfuil sin,
Oilbh Éarus an iúil áirmhigh;
giodh mór ainm na fine féin
lór gairm an fhine airséin.
- 51 D'fhuil na seanGhall n-oirdhric é,
géag uasal d'fhuil na Hosé -
mairg ó ndeachuidh an fial fionn -
a leathfhuil ó fhiadh Éirionn.

49 It was worthy of the nobility of the race from which he was descended that the flower of the land of Eimhear was able to teach the knowledge of their noble deeds to a warrior-band of dangerous, heroic feats from the fort of Flann.

50 I salute the race from which that one hails, Oilbh Éarus of the renowned knowledge; though great is the fame of the race itself it is sufficient that the race's reputation should depend on him.

51 He is of the stock of the distinguished Old English, a noble scion of the blood of the Husseys - alas for those from whom the fair generous one departed - [and] the other part of his blood is native.

49 b fhoinn F; éimhir LF; c d'fhéin] F dfhéinn L;
ghuaisoirbheart LF.

50 c ge; d lór] om. LF.

51 c ndeachuigh F; d fhiadh iath LF.

- 52 Fuil Hosaoch an aignidh aird,
laoich toghtha nár thuill iomairg,
gruaidhe chorcra is fearr foladh,
dream rēn docra dealoghadh.
- 53 Cisce coimhéada an ghaisgidh,
lucht seilge an fhuinn āraisdigh,
na beódhoimh mhóra mhearrdha,
leóghoin chródha choimhfhearrdha.
- 54 Lucht sgaoilte a dtoice ar thromdháimh,
dream rēn docra iomarbháidh,
croinn bhuadha is bhláithe i bhfeadhuibh,
snáithe uama ar fhileadhuibh.

52 The Hussey stock of the high spirits, chosen heroes who did not earn contention, purple cheeks best for strife, people with whom it is most difficult to part.

53 A treasure-chest preserving valour, hunters of the land dense with dwellings, the great, active living stags, brave lions equally manly.

54 Bestowers of their wealth on an oppressive band of poets, people with whom it would be most difficult to contend, pre-eminent trees most beautiful in woods, binding threads on behalf of poets.

52 b thoghtha F; thoill F; c corcra F.

53 a coimhéada F; b seilg F; fhoinn F; d chaoimhfhearrdha F.

54 b réana F; iombharbáidh F; c bláithe F.

55 A Pheadair, labhairse leam,
 mínigh fearg Dé fád dhícheall;
 fáth diomdha fán gcoluinn gcuil:
 iomdha oruinn a urduil.

D Oilbhéarus

55 O Peter, speak on my behalf, do your best to
 assuage the anger of God; a cause of displeasure
 regarding the sinful body: many such [causes are to be
 found] on us.

55 a peadhair F; b mínigh F; dhé F; dhíthcheall LF; c
 chuil LF.

X Notes

1 a Oilbh Éarus For the editorial division of this personal name see Poem VII. 16a n.

c ar a mhuin Cf. Poem IV. 33d, 39d.

d I have emended MSS brách to the Classical form bráth IGT ii.38.

2 a Meaning uncertain; recte as a bháidh linn 'because of the affection in which we hold him', or isa/asa bháidh linn lit. 'whose affection [is] with us' ?

c For soirche see q. 27c n. infra. Emendation to shéaghuin is required for perfect rime, though forms in -nn are commoner (see IGT ii. 13); for -n cf. DIL S, 140.57, 142.25.

3 c thall For the meaning here cf. DIL T, 63.20-25.

For a note on a-bhus see ISP, 91. This thall/ a-bhus opposition is to be seen also in q. 12 infra.

4 a I am not sure if bás: ghrás: cás is an example of 'rudhrach' as the treatment of this fault in the commentaries seems confined to instances within the leathrann. See Poem V. 42cd n.

5 c Literally 'his sadness'.

6 The interpretation of this quatrain is tentative as the optimism it seems to express runs against the pessimism of the preceding ('damhna doghuilse') and following ('snáithghearradh') quatrains. Even if the interpretation is correct, it is still unclear what Fearghal Óg perceives to be the 'rath' which is in store or how the 'ainmhire' is going to be prevented by Hussey's death. 'Flaith ar bhfuinn' may be construed as a reference to James VI and I, who succeeded Elizabeth in March 1603 (a date compatible with the suggested date for the composition of the poem, see Introduction) and whose general acceptance by the learned classes has been noted by Professor Ó Buachalla (PRIA 83.C.4, 81-134). The poet may be digressing briefly to allude to what was generally seen as the beginning of a new era.

On the other hand, because the quatrain, as interpreted, runs contrary to the tone of its immediate context, one is tempted to suggest an emendation. If 'Go' were read for 'Do' in line a, and line c were taken as referring to Hussey himself, the following interpretation might be offered: 'Until the terrible slaying of the living hero of Banbha, instructor of the learned class [and] prevention of extremism in the rule of our land, good fortune had been prophesied for the future'. For 'flaith' in this sense see DIL F, 160. 15-41.

a chréachtghoin The significance of this, and of créacht in q. 9c has been noted in the Introduction.

Absence of lenition on beólaoich is an instance of 'sléagar'.

7 a Snáithghearraidh The idea of the spinning and cutting of the thread of life may be connected to Eddic (cf. the Norns) or Greek (cf. the Moirai) mythologies; cf. SVBDL XI. 8cd and ibid., 279.8cd n. Other examples listed DIL S, 299.55-8.

b ciorbhadh The forms of this word given in the tracts are cirrpheadh (IGT ii.11), cirrbheadh (IGT iii.82) and cearbhadh (IGT iii.67). The form cior(r)bhadh is well attested however; cf. O Hara I. 7ab (:ionnramh), 10cd (:iorghal), XXVIII. 29cd (:iongnadh), and DIL C, 138.9-26.

8 This quatrain refers to Hussey's role as both revolutionary (line a) and man of learning/educator (cd).

a For the eclipsis here cf. Poem IV. 18a and Poem IX. 37c; riaghla is gen. sg. (IGT ii. 10, 37) but it could also be a Munster spelling for F's riaghladh which is a vb. noun (IGT iii. 45).

9 a For dréacht: chréacht: éacht see q. 4a n.

c Or, perhaps, 'his wounding is a calamity for which there is no relief'.

10 a As in q. 7d, I have removed the ungrammatical lenition on cáigh caused by the influence of the final vowel of the preceding word.

b coige If the reading of the manuscripts be

correct, it would appear that here, and in coigfhile q. 13c, we have to do with the word coig (pl. coige) 'a secret'. I have no other example of this word from published Classical Verse and according to DIL C, 291.84-292.7, it seems to be normally confined to glossaries and to 'Béarla na bhFileadh'.

11 a Apart from the fact that 'Tug C. do D.' would make little sense, it is necessary to read dó here in order to prevent 'caoiche' between dó: dhó in cd; for dó: dó: dhó see Breacadh, 24(b), 25.v-viii.

For -brath in the sense given here cf. DIL B, 161.25-7. It would also be possible to read dia 'enough' and emend to dia do dhaghbhrath 'what goodly revelation' (DIL B, 161.35-43); cf. q. 34 n. infra.

b comhallrath It is possible that rath is being used here in its earlier sense of 'grace' (DIL R, 15.12-31) and that we are dealing with a dvandva compound, 'fulfillment and grace'.

12 This quatrain continues the 'dá bheatha' theme of q. 11. For 'thall/ a-bhus' see q. 3c n.

b dhúthchas i.e. Heaven.

c Recte t-aoinleas ? 'the only prosperity/ good', cf. q. 36d.

13 b Álon The quantity of the first syllable is fixed by rime in q. 25d infra.

My search for the source of this 'uirsgéal' has to date proved fruitless.

c This line could apply either to Álon or to Hussey.

14 a Athens The form of this name varies in Irish tradition; e.g. 'Athain'/ 'Aithin': Calder, Togail na Tebe, lines 4850, 4899; 'Atenus': Quin, Stair Ercuil, line 27; 'Atens' Ní Chléirigh, Eolas ar an domhan, 101.

b h-Áloin As there is no clear reason for the h-, perhaps 'Háloin' should be read here (cf. q. 24a n. infra). Such a reading would not interfere with the alliteration, cf. 'Is é Hanraoi t'athair féin' Aith. D 44.12a.

c Note the alliteration here between the normal 'séimhiughadh' of s and its 'séimhiughadh sunnarthach' (IGT i. 34³⁹). It is not altogether clear what the grammarians thought of such alliteration, the strongest statement being in a rather confused passage in Graiméir, lines 3510-17.

15 a Perhaps meaning the age at which a youth is examined before passing from adolescence to manhood? óig- could also be taken in the sense of 'warrior'.

16 a L's reading lacks a syllable here.

b In view of the difficulty in q. 29cd, infra, I take the unusual step here, and throughout, of recording, in the apparatus, the manuscript readings in the case of all instances of the

s-preterite, 3rd sg.

17 This quatrain, in L, is written transversely in the right-hand margin with a mark in the text to indicate its correct location.

b Thebes I reproduce this name exactly as it is given in the manuscripts. Other forms are 'in Teibh' (g. 'na Teibhe'), Calder, op. cit., lines 72, 74; g. 'Téibe' (∴ 'Gréagach'), Ó Bruadair ii, 86; 'Tebes', Ní Chléirigh, op. cit., 101.

d'átaghadh This form, a permitted variant of MSS 'áitioghadh (-dh-)', IGT iii. 106, is necessary for rime.

d Or, perhaps, 'from the city', referring to Athens.

18 a innte I take this to refer to Thebes.

cd The rime aird: aird is not an instance of the fault known as 'caoiche' as the first is dat. sg. fem. of the adj. meaning 'high', the second is the noun meaning 'point, peak, direction' etc. Similarly the adj. saor 'free, noble' may rime with the noun saor 'a craftsman', or dubhach '(?) dye' may rime with the adj. dubhach 'sad'; see IGT v. 110.

19 a fhuinn For F's form 'fhoinn' (cf. q. 6c v.1.) see q. 21d n. infra.

d d'aithin We have here an early instance of this vb noun form of the verb aithnidh. The

recognised form in Early Modern Irish is 'aithne' (IGT iii. 54) and the present form may represent a back formation from this (cf. g. sg. 'fer m'aithinta' Smaointe, line 4782, though this may be the adj. 'aithnidh'; see DIL A, 269.84-5 etc.) influenced by the perfect/ preterite form 'do aithin'.

20 a ó thír go tír For this type of 'breacadh' see Breacadh, 16, 17.

b ní d'fhonn eisídh A possible allusion here to Hussey's activities; see Introduction.

d Some instances of foghlaim (cf. q. 22a) in the sense of 'teaching' (still surviving in Modern Irish and Scottish Gaelic) are recorded at DIL F, 233.35-9. We might compare the English verb to learn (OED s.v.) where its secondary sense 'to teach' is still found in Hiberno-English; cf. Joyce English as we speak it in Ireland, 283.

ághoigh (MSS 'aghoidh') I take this to be g. sg. masc. of ághach, two other examples of which are cited DIL A, 83.84-6.

21 b arsoidh The only form of this word cited by the grammarians is áirsídh (IGT ii. 52). The form arsaidh is well attested - as far back as the Milan glosses (DIL A, 413.11) - e.g. Di. D 51.8a, 102.11a etc. For the quantity of the initial vowel cf. casmhail: arsaidh (DI. D 92. 6cd), dhealbársaidh: mearghasraidh (Aith. D 27.7cd) and ccaolarsaidh ∴ aoinessbhoigh (POR XI. 29).

c ghéagabhlugh The second element could

also be 'gabhlach' with cadad in accordance with IGT i. 46. For sgath (an) fhuinn referring to Oliver cf. q. 49b infra.

d F's reading fhoinn: droing makes perfect rime here. However, the correct gen. sg. of fonn is fuinn (IGT ii. 67) as in L. Drong, not listed in IGT has dat. sg droing (:roinn Di. D 70. 7ab) and druing (:ccuing POR XXVI. 12cd); cf. IGT ii. 158: sgolb, don sguilb, don sgoilb.

I take this line to refer to the young and the aged mentioned in line b (aco referring to drong which can be treated as either singular or plural in sense, cf. IGT v. 133, BST 192. 13-14). éadarbhach means 'unprofitable; useless' and, in the present context, implies that those referred to were no use to society: the young not yet able to take on the duties of manhood, the aged having fulfilled those duties. Hence my translation of drong éadarbhach as 'dependants'.

22 a Dá fhoghlum I translate this as plural though literally singular; see preceding note.

c The precise meaning of go cridhe is unclear here. It might also mean 'thoroughly' or, in view of the last line, 'courageously'.

23 a For nom. sg. after mór n- see BST 206. 9-16 and *ibid.*, pp. 137-8. (Nom. sg. after iomdha in line b is regular, cf. DIL I, 81.78-86.) The lenition of theaguisg is an example of 'sléagar' but the eclipsis of te in both manuscripts is incorrect - unless one were to emend to gen. pl. teagasg - and I

have shown lenition instead.

c I take 're' of the manuscripts to be rē = re + a (poss. adj. 3 sg. m.). For re ais in this sense see Aith. D 92. 17a and Dán na mB. M 12.14. I translate chomhshnoigh as plural, though literally singular.

d The sense of the verb ollmhaighidh is dealt with at Poem IX. 1c n.

For the 'breacadh' involved in the: oige/ oide see Breacadh 24(d).

24 a Both manuscripts read Nálon here which cannot be correct as Álon is necessary for alliteration. Perhaps the common exemplar (see Introduction: Editorial remarks) misread 'N' for 'H'; cf. q. 14b n. supra.

thimchil (MSS thimchill) A form in -l is necessary for perfect rime and is permitted by the grammarians, IGT ii. 11, iii. 65.

25 a L's reading confuses the verbs suidhidh and suidhighidh.

c dtrághadh F's reading (cf. IGT iii. 71) is required for perfect rime.

tonna I have translated this as nom. pl. of tonn, interpreting the line as referring to the commonly used image of the water of the river and sea being evaporated by the sun's heat due to the rule of a rightful king etc.; e.g. cf. Poem V. 57b. There may, however, be a play on words here as another possible interpretation is to consider tonna as nom.

pl. of tonna (tunna IGT ii. 2, cf. Poem II. 4c n.) 'a cask (of wine)'. This reading would be consistent with the atmosphere of conviviality, referred to in q. 24c supra, which is continued in the present quatrain.

26 a aos gráidh Perhaps one should translate 'followers' or 'disciples' here; see Simms, From kings to warlords, 84-5.

d onáir, a permitted variant of MSS onóir and anáir, is required here for perfect rime; see IGT ii. 42.

For gráidh: ronáir/ onáir cf. q. 23d n. supra.

27 b Though drong usually signifies a group of people, as at q. 21d supra, it would appear that it means just two people here.

Note that F wants a syllable in this line and in the previous one.

c soirche (cf. q. 2c supra) The sources for this word cited in DIL S, 347.1-14 are all earlier than the Early Modern Irish period. I do not have another example of it from the Classical period. F's reading, foirce, could be foirche (cf. 2c v.l.) for foircthe 'learned, erudite' (cf. DIL F, 255.47) but the sources for that form seem equally early and more rare.

I take this line as referring to Álon and the next to Oliver.

d Lenition of foirfe is a metrical necessity and would appear to be an example of 'sléagar'; see BST Appendix IV.

28 a maighisdir see Introduction, notes 26 and 27.

The verb múinidh is followed by the preposition do to indicate the person instructed especially when that which is the subject of the instruction is also mentioned. The subject of instruction is not specified here (see note to line d) and the verb may therefore take a direct accusative. DIL M, 190.36-9 is mistaken in suggesting that such a construction is rare; e.g., cf. Di. D 11.23d, 98ab, Aith. D 54.13d.

c an t-óg eile i.e. Álon.

d This line cannot be in apposition to the verb in a. It is possible to take it as referring either to Álon or to Olibh Éarus (cf. fáidh q. 27c) - 'the true road of prophecy/ poetic knowledge'. However as qq. 27 and 28 form the linking quatrains between the uirsgéal and the subject of the poem, I interpret this line as referring to the prefiguring of Olibh Éarus by Álon which is the point of the uirsgéal as the following quatrains demonstrate.

29 The general sense of this quatrain seems clear enough. However, there are two textual problems which call for comment. The first concerns the object and meaning of Tárthuigh (F's tarruigh/ tárruigh is a permitted variant, IGT iii. 16). This is generally construed as the preterite/ perfect of do-airret, the basic range of meanings of which is 'comes, reaches, attains'. In the present context one might translate 'He reached maturity and (gur) adopted a resolution ...'. The objection to this is that this use of tárthuigh with the prep. i is unattested and that (i

d)tús a aoise seems an established idiom; cf. Poem XI. 25a and Dán na mB. M 2.12b. The given interpretation is not much better, however, as it assumes an otherwise unprecedented intransitive usage with go, analogous to tarla go (cf. DIL D, 238.41-6; Desid., 344). Two further possibilities will be mentioned below.

The second problem is d'álguis: fágbhuis. In both words F writes the -us out in full (note, however, that F's dálghus: fágbhhus does not make perfect rime; in addition, line d is hypermetric in F) but L has the usual us/ uis contraction. 3 sg. s-preterite in non-palatal -s is well attested in Early Modern Irish prose; e.g. cf. some early examples from Agallamh na Seanórach cited ZCP xxvii (1968-9) 265. The Classical form, however, is the palatal -(a)is, as cited for fágbhaidh in IGT iii. 85 (conjunct only) and, indeed, Bergin considered the non-palatal ending to be a post-Classical development (Sgéalaigheacht Chéitinn, xxii).

The difficulty is that álg(h)us (not in IGT), though functioning at an earlier stage as an ā-stem (DIL A, 122. 36-40), shows itself in the Classical language to be an o-stem. Thus, nom. sg. an t-álgas (Di. D 7.36c); gen. sg. álgais (O Hara XXV. 11b); dat. sg. d'álgas (: fágbhas Dán na mB. M 2.2c = MD 49.2c), d'álgas (Aith. D 50.17a) and d'álgus (TBg. line 9999); cf. also examples cited DIL A, 123.1-19.

One therefore has to choose between two forms, both apparently non-Classical but the verbal form going against both historical precedent and IGT. I hesitatingly choose d'álguis, thus giving an unprecedented - for the Classical period - fem. dat. for that word, while maintaining the regular s-preterite in -uis in line d.

If such a form must be postulated, it may be

possible to go one step further and emend d'álguis to acc. sg. álguis, reading it as the direct object of tárthuigh in a: 'In his early years he conceived a desire for learning abroad so that he adopted a resolution of great wisdom: he left Éire of his ancestors'. Or perhaps we could read it as an o-stem, nom. pl., the subject of Tárthuigh: 'Urges for learning abroad seized [him] at an early age ...'. (Dálgas, DIL D, 52.3-8, is a late corruption of álgus and cannot be considered here.)

30 This quatrain, and q. 31, must refer to Oliver's attaining the professorship of Arts in Douai. Although the reference to oigheadh in 31a must surely be exaggerated, such positions were filled after public competition: see Rashdall, The universities of Europe i, 113 n. 3, 192 n. 1. One is reminded of Keating's comment on the contemporary state of affairs: 'agus is mar sin doghnítheas do'n leith thall d'fhairrge anois le mórán théid do bhuaib cathaoireach amach a los a bhfóghluma', Foras Feasa i, 72.86-8.

c sgol ríogh see introduction.

gheabh F's reading is metrically correct here and is a permitted variant of L's ghabh (IGT iii. 23).

31 d gcomhthroim I have shown eclipsis here on the authority of IGT i. 81. The precise meaning of cothrom here is uncertain, however. One might also take it as meaning 'just' (cf. DMU XXII. 11b; Foirm na nurrnuidheadh lines 1205, 2892) and cf. do dhíoth chothroim 'for lack of justice' IBP 28.17c. For adverbial uses of cothrom see DIL C, 420.21-4.

32 a Cf. q. 19b supra.

b 'na sheansháith Meaning uncertain; recte seanfháith 'mature poet'? Cf. F's reading seanath 'record' (cf. DIL S, 181.1-13).

33 b foirmfhreagra For foirm in the sense of 'word', on which I base my translation, cf. Dán na mB. M ii, 380; cf. q. 43b infra. I take freagra to be the verb noun here, cf. IGT iii. 47.

c gcladhsholas Cf. Poem IV. 3c.

chraoi Lenition here, instead of the expected eclipsis, is an example of 'sléagar'.

d Or, perhaps, 'a learned teacher undoubtedly'? Misgivings regarding the partitive use of de with saoi led me to the interpretation given in the translation.

34 I am not certain that the given interpretation is correct. One possible alternative might read: 'God taught him [the endurance of] hardship [and] he received from Christ the gifts to educate the ignorant youth, the royal ones of the bright, goodly residence of Flann'.

c lasmhair Although the meaning is clear, this word appears to be otherwise unattested.

d ainbhis cf. IGT ii. 38.

35 d Literally 'the good or the harm of

what I say'. For a comparable instance of the 'breacadh' here cf. Breacadh 29 (x).

d Cf. q. 12c n. supra.

37 ab On Ní díoth/ ní díoth cf. Breacadh 64.

c deighreacht Cf. q. 19c supra.

38 b ghéaraltuibh L's gearaltchaibh may be the correct reading though it is difficult to see how it fits into the context - even if, as Mac Craith (loc. cit., 112) suggests, the reference is to Oliver's part in the rebellion in Munster, in league with the FitzGerald of Desmond - as the emphasis in the quatrains preceding and following is to Oliver's exchange of a potentially easy life for a difficult existence as a wandering teacher. Hence my choice of F's reading here which seems to me to provide a nice antithesis to saorfhód in line a. (Alt occurs again in a compound in q. 48b infra.)

c deighshliocht probably anticipates the closing quatrains which praise the Hussey family.

d The meaning seems to be that the sacrifice was not simply in forsaking his inheritance, which anyone could do, but rather that he had a particular affection for what was his by right which made the leaving of it all the more painful. On the basis of this interpretation I have taken the liberty of giving a rather free translation of dob éidir here.

For teacht: deighshliocht/ eighreacht see Breacadh 24.

39 cd The reading of the manuscripts, bhfleadhs(h)ochluidh/-gh: n-ealothuin, while making good sense, do not form perfect rime. Reading sochla (cf. Aith. D 49.23a, DIL S, 319.66-82), from which the adj. sochlach derives, and emending g. sg. ealothuin to its permitted variant ealathna (IGT ii. 9) removes this difficulty while preserving the meaning.

40 a aoinDia I have made an exception in this case of the editorial practice explained in the General Introduction.

b cuirthe past participle of cuiridh functioning as gen. sg. of vb. noun.

chumhangsmacht The first element may be either the verb noun of con-icc (IGT ii. 17, iii. 53) - on which reading the translation is based - or the adjective cumhang: 'tight controls'(?).

d I have followed F here with regard to initial mutations, supported by acc. sg. magh, fixed by rime.

41 Here the poet says that because of the excellence of Oliver's teaching, those he taught did not have to journey abroad to seek their education. This is an exaggeration as the juramentos cited in the Introduction illustrate.

c This line is a syllable short in both manuscripts. The solution I have offered in the text is not wholly satisfactory as clár ... Néill seems to me to be much more natural an expression than clár ... ó Néill (cf. q. 5c supra). Perhaps, therefore, a word

such as soir has been omitted from the beginning of the line.

43 a Perhaps clár etc. should be interpreted as referring to Ireland here.

44 a For ceann i gceann see Poem V. 12a n.

c airmfhiadha The manuscript readings appear to suggest that this is a compound of arm and the gen. sg. of iadhadh. But the phonetic realisation of the medial cluster of such a genitive form would be a dental plosive (cf. IGT i. 49) which would not make perfect rime with ainmhiana in d. It therefore seems to me that there are two equally possible solutions: (i) a compound of arm and fiadh, as given in the text; (ii) a compound of the intensifying prefix air- and miadh (IGT ii. 95) 'honour'.

45 a Éibhir Fhinn see Poem IV. 38b n.

c bhfear On this ungrammatical eclipsis see Poem IV. 18a n.

46 d tóra This is the only example cited by Bergin, Ériu vii (1913-14) 27-9 (where soighionghrod is rendered as soighionrod) to support his proposal that teora is a development of tóra, the latter being a back-formation from tórann.

47 b oide an iomasⁱ cf. q. 23d supra.

48 For thuaidh/ uaidh/ fuair: armruaidh see Breacadh 28.

49 b sgath fhuinn Éibhir cf. q. 21c supra.

50 a fine: fhine: fhine is an example of 'breacadh fíre': see Breacadh 24 (b), 25 (v)-(x).

c fine is both masculine and feminine according to IGT ii. 1. In this line we have the gen. sg. fem. ('na fhine could be read but would not give good sense) and the gen. sg. masc. in the next line.

d A word has been omitted here in both manuscripts. The emendation has been made metri gratia but its meaning is not implausible.

51 a See Breacadh 24, 28 for fuil: fuil: deachuidh: leathfhuil.

d The meaning here is that Oliver's mother (unidentified) was of native Irish stock.

52 c There are two examples of ungrammatical lenition in this line. That on chorcra (unlenited in F) contravenes the teaching of IGT i. 85 but as this is similar to that concerning lenition after genitive singular as discussed at Poem IV. 5c n., I have decided not to interfere with the text.

Lenition would be expected after 3 sg. rel. copula present tense but non-lenition is metrically correct here; cf. 'Tighearna as fochanghlas fód' Top.

poems line 1041; see General Introduction: Editorial Principles.

53 d choimhfhearrdha F's reading means 'beautiful and manly' and may very well be correct.

54 a Eleanor Knott quotes this line in Ériu v (1911) 53 n.

d snáithe uama More usually snáth uama for examples of which see DIL S, 299.20-25.

55 a leam For the distinction between the use of fri and that of la with labhraidh see DIL L, 14.23-8.

b fearg Note the 'cosg réime' here.

POEM XI

Introduction

This poem is an elegy for Tadhg mac Briain Í Ruairc who died in 1605 and was buried in the Franciscan Friary of Carrag Phádraig in Dromahair, co. Leitrim. The following is his obit as recorded by the 'Four Masters':

Ó Ruairc Tadhg mac Briain mic Briain mic Eoghain tighearna na Bréifne, fear fuair mór nimnidh 7 néttualaing acc iomchosnamh a athardha fri a dhearbhrathair Ua Ruairc Brian Ócc, fear na ro saoiléadh a ecc fri hadhart, acht a oidheadh do rinn no dfaobhar, fear fuair deabhta duilghe, 7 gáibhthe guais iomdha acc saicchidh oidhreachta a athardha, 7 ionaid a athar gur ro léicc Dia ticcearnas chuicce fo dheoidh, 7 gur ro ecc, 7 a adhnacal i Mainistir S. Fronseis i cCarraic Phattraicc go nonóir amhail ro badh díor.

This obituary is a succinct précis of Tadhg's career which aptly identifies the crucial feature of it as his struggle with his half-brother Brian Óg.

Tadhg was the son of Brian na Múrtha by Máire Búrc, daughter of Ricard Sacsanach, Earl of Clanricard (see q. 25a n.). Brian Óg was 'a base son, begotten of Annably Ne Crean, lawful wife of John O Crean, a merchant of Sligo'.² Brian Óg was the elder of the two and had been sent to Oxford in 1584 from where he managed to escape in 1588.³ Tadhg was reported as being 'but v or vj yere old' in 1581⁴ and 'about fifteen years of age' in 1592² which means that

1 AFM vi, 2350.

2 Cal. SP Ire. 1588-1592, 464.

3 D. Mac Ghallóglaigh, 'Brian Oge O'Rourke and the nine years war' in *Breifne* ii (1962-5) (171-203) 172.

4 Br. Mus. Catg. i, 417 n. 1.

he would have been thirty years old, at the most, when he died in 1605. Hence the references in this poem to his premature demise (qq. 24-5) and the comparison with Cú Chulainn's short life and eternal fame (qq. 17-22).

Sources differ as to whether Tadhg was fostered with his maternal grandfather⁵ or with the Earl of Ormond⁶ but it is clear that when Tadhg was still at school in Limerick in 1592,² the year following his father's execution, Brian Óg was already a seasoned campaigner.⁷ Brian was therefore the natural candidate to succeed Brian na Múrtha but the Governor of Connacht, Sir Richard Bingham, successfully kept him in exile from his patrimony until 1595 when Ó Domhnaill overran North Connacht and, having installed a number of chieftains there, 'do ratsomh dana Ó Ruairc 7 Mac Diarmata ina natharda iarna niondarbadh la Gallaibh'.⁸

The following year, 1596, Tadhg, who had been with the English, joined Ó Domhnaill's camp⁹ and it is in this year that we find the first mention of what Fearghal Óg refers to as 'iomthnúth cinidh' (q. 54a), the struggle between Tadhg and Brian Óg for control of Bréifne. This appears to have been instigated through the machinations of the English¹⁰ and from then on the pattern of behaviour of both Tadhg and Brian Óg is characterized by allegiance to Ó Domhnaill, on the one hand, and by offers of submission to the English, on the other, as a means towards gaining supremacy in their territory.¹¹

5 *Celtica* i (1946-50) 245.

6 *Cal. SP Ire.* 1598-9, 192.

7 *Mac Ghallóglaigh*, art. cit., 173-4.

8 *BAR* i, 118; *Cal. SP Ire.* 1592-1596, 457; cf. Poem VIII Introduction.

9 *Cal. SP Ire.* 1596-1597, 25, 28.

10 Cf. *ibid.*, 105.

11 E.g., cf. *ibid.*, 205, 239, 271.

It was in connection with this dispute that Eochaidh Ó hEodhusa addressed Tadhg in a poem beginning 'Cathaigh red mheanma a mheic Bhriain'.¹² This is an extremely interesting poem, the burden of which is that Tadhg should be satisfied with the inferior share of Bréifne and that through being patient with the hardships and disadvantages which attend this unequal division, the chieftaincy will eventually come his way:

Díomhaoín ar tús a tarbha
 cuid ronna gach ríoghdhamhna
 a rodhocra is geall re glóir
 somholta earr a h-anshóidh.

.....

Annamh fuair ní fios mearbhfaill
 neach dá uaisle d'Eireannchuibh
 ceannas gasraidhe bhfear bhFáil
 gan seal n-amhsaine d'fhagháil.

Geall re ríge dhod rosg mall
 a mheic Bhriain a bhrath saorchlann
 róid fhoghla seanchuain Sionna
 leathbhruaigh fholmha ó n-Oiliolla.

(qq. 29, 34-5)

Tadhg did not heed Eochaidh's advice but his position weakened to such an extent that by 1598 Sir Conyers Clifford regarded him as worthless gain who 'could not bring in one man of the province nor pay one penny of compensation'.¹³ Clifford turned his attention to Brian Óg who submitted in February of

12 RIA MSS 23 F 16, pp. 8-10, 23 L 17, ff. 92r - 94r. See summary and citations in Br. Mus. Catg. i, 457-9.

13 Cal. SP Ire. 1598-1599, 25.

that year.¹⁴ Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh identified the reason for his submission as his contention with Tadhg¹⁵ and this seems to be confirmed by the fact that Ó Domhnaill's immediate reaction was to imprison Tadhg which had the effect of bringing Brian Óg back to the Irish side once more.¹⁶

It is in 1599 that we find the first mention of Tadhg having married Ó Domhnaill's sister - 'bean a dhiongbhála',¹⁷ - Máire,¹⁸ and one cannot help but wonder whether this match was not part of a move to bring Tadhg further under Aodh Ruadh's control. Quatrains to Máire are to be found in Eochaidh Ó hEodhasa's poem mentioned above (qq. 46-9)¹⁹ but we are more familiar with her as one of the two sisters addressed by Fearghal Óg in his poem beginning 'Truagh liom Máire agus Mairghréag' which composition can be dated to between the years 1608 and 1611 (see General Introduction, ch. (vii)).²⁰

1599 was also the year in which Brian Óg distinguished himself by dispatching Sir Conyers Clifford at the Curlews while Ó Domhnaill and his men, Tadhg among them, lay close by.²¹ Earlier that year Tadhg had accompanied Ó Domhnaill on the great hosting into Thomond and, with Donnchadh Mac Suibhne Baghuineach, had taken the spoils of the Burren.²² The following year the English were still engaged in

14 Ibid., 192-3; Mac Ghallóglagh, art. cit., 187-9.

15 BAR i, 168.

16 *Cal. SP Ire. 1598-1599*, 192, 310.

17 *Celtica i* (1946-50) 246.

18 *Cal. SP Ire. 1599-1600*, 7, 335.

19 Only in the 23 F 16 copy.

20 Máire had a chalice made and inscribed in memory of Tadhg for the monastery of Dromahair where he is buried; see *BAR ii*, 132-3.

21 Mac Ghallóglagh, art. cit., 193-5; Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors iii*, 336-8.

22 *BAR i*, 198-204.

'blowing the fire',²³ between Tadhg and Brian Óg and it was again reported that the former wished to submit.²⁴ He was still on Ó Domhnaill's side in 1601, however, as he and the Baron of Leitrim, Redmond Burke, were involved in recruiting allies for Ó Neill and Ó Domhnaill in Munster only to be repelled by Sir George Carew.²⁵ Later that year it was reported that the two brothers had been reconciled.²⁶

The aftermath of Kinsale saw a significant change in the fortunes of Tadhg and Brian Óg. The latter, inexplicably, refused to assist Rudhraighe Ó Domhnaill when he was exiled from Tír Chonaill on his return from Munster and when Rudhraighe submitted shortly afterwards one of his first actions was to plunder Bréifne in revenge for this.²⁷ From then on Tadhg's star was once more in the ascendant as he took control of his territory for the first time in his career, successfully harrying his brother in the process.²⁸ It may be from this time that the anonymous composition beginning 'Gearr go laibheóra an Lia Fáil' is to be dated.²⁹ This is a short encomiastic composition which praises, in particular, Tadhg's love of hunting.

Typical of the change in the respective fortunes of Tadhg and Brian Óg was the situation in April, 1603 when Brian was on the run in Leitrim while Tadhg kept company in Dublin with the Lord Deputy,

23 Cal. SP Ire. 1600, 306.

24 Ibid., 330, 439.

25 Cal. Carew MSS 1601-1603, 53, 58, 61, 65; Cal. SP Ire. 1600-1601 153, 239, 282, 345.

26 Cal. SP Ire. 1600-1601, 445.

27 I have mentioned this in my treatment of Rudhraighe in the General Introduction, ch. (vi).

28 Mac Ghallóglaiigh, art. cit., 199, 202.

29 Book of the O Conor Don, ff. 283r-284v. Another poem, with an identical first line, is to be found in the Book of Fermoy, RIA MS 23 E 29, ff. 94r-v, addressed to David Roche.

Mountjoy.³⁰ In September of that year James I officially granted Bréifne and Muintear Eoluis to Tadhg.³¹ The following January Brian died in Galway and was interred in the Franciscan monastery of Ros Iarla. The glowing obituary given him by the 'Four Masters'³² is in contrast to the somewhat non-committal one given to Tadhg.

In April of that year, 1604, Tadhg was knighted in co. Kildare.³³ The title 'Ó Ruairc' became extinct with the death of Brian Óg as it is unlikely that Tadhg was ever inaugurated though he was, of course, 'Ó Ruairc' de facto and hence he is referred to as such by the 'Four Masters' and in the poem beginning 'Gearr go laibheóra an Lia Fáil' (qq. 11c, 25c, 27d). Fearghal Óg is more ambivalent, referring to him once as Ó Ruairc (q. 43d) and once as 'mac Í Ruairc' (q. 10a).³⁴

In March 1605 the earl of Devonshire wrote to Sir Thomas Lake informing him of the likelihood of Tadhg's death.³⁵ He must at this time have been in his last illness and this must also have been the occasion of the composition of Eochaidh Ó hEodhusa's second surviving poem to Tadhg, that beginning 'Dealg athálaidh othras Taidhg'.³⁶ In this poem, Ó hEodhasa laments the fact that the descendants of Aed Finn³⁷

30 Cal. SP Ire. 1603-1606, 25.

31 *Ibid.*, 84-5.

32 AFM vi, 2348-50.

33 Cal. Carew MSS 1603-1624, 384.

34 A parallel case is that of Rudhraighe Ó Domhnaill who was never inaugurated Ó Domhnaill but who was accorded that title with the passage of time. For instance Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird refers to him in one poem as 'mac Uí Dhomhnaill' (*IBP* 2.2b, 14b) and in a later poem as 'Ó Domhnaill' (*IBP* 4.4b, 8a, 15d).

35 Cal. SP Ire. 1603-1606, 264.

36 *Di. D* 79. With the first line cf. 'teirm doigh deilg an atháluidh' *POR* XXV. 8b, from a poem possibly also by Eochaidh Ó hEodhusa.

37 See q. 37b n. of our poem, *infra*.

have been reduced to but one leading representative³⁸ and thus Tadhg's othras is an omen of doom for all of Ireland: 'Ní hé caointear achd cách féin/ dá gach aoineach do b'fháth bróin' (q. 17ab). The elegiac tone of this poem is unrelieved by the poet's pathetic appeal to Tadhg to recover (qq. 19, 22)³⁹ and neither is the sense of foreboding misplaced: after Tadhg's death, that year, the English contrived to disinherit his two sons Brian and Aodh, on the grounds that their mother Máire had never been properly divorced from her first husband, Domhnall Ó Catháin.⁴⁰

Fearghal Óg's association with the Ó Ruaircs extended back to the beginning of his career and his relationship with Tadhg's uncle, Conn mac Briain Bhallaigh (see General Introduction). While he was yet to address a poem to Tadhg's widow (see above), this elegy marks the end of that association and is appropriately thematically all-embracing.

Éire is depicted as attired in widow's weeds (qq. 1-5) which are the atmospheric and climatic disturbances occasioned by the death of her spouse (qq. 5-9, 45-8). Tadhg's death signals the demise of all the noble families of Ireland (qq. 10-13, 44) and this is perceived to have been brought about by envy and jealousy (qq. 14-16, 49-53). Having died so young, he did not live to enjoy the benefits of the struggle which he carried on (qq. 25-26) but his fame will be lasting just as Cú Chulainn's was, though his life-span was also short (qq. 17-24). Dallán Forguill's legacy of prosperity to Bréifne has now

38 'An Aodhchlann rer dheacuir dréim/ do heasgradh go haonchram siúil' (q. 4ab).

39 In the light of remarks made above it may be significant that Tadhg is not called 'Ó Ruairc' in this poem.

40 Celtica i (1946-50) 247; Walsh, Irish men of learning, 190.

come to an end (qq. 37-43) and everybody, from farmers and fishermen to warriors and poets, has cause to lament this loss because of the terrible climatic conditions (qq. 28-36).

In my Introduction to Poem IX, the elegy for Seaán Óg Ó Dochartaigh, I remarked on the thematic unity of a number of poems composed by Fearghal Óg in the early years of the seventeenth century. In this respect, the similarity between Poem IX and the present poem, composed about four years later, is particularly striking. Thus, as in 'Sgoil gan oide', we have references to atmospheric turmoil, death caused by tnúth, premature death (q. 25cd n.) and the death of gaisgeadh (q. 34 n.). This similarity is underlined by the verbal echo in quatrain 16cd.

Editorial remarks This poem is to be found in the Book of the O Conor Don, ff. 281r - 283r. From this it was transcribed by Eugene O Curry into RIA MS 3 C 13, pp. 590-601, which copy is of no independent value and has not been used for this edition.

Metre deibhidhe, dán díreach.

XI

- 1 Earradh cumhadh um Chruachain,
rōimh ghnáth sleachta saorThuathail,
do ghabh sí culadh cumhadh,
pudhar í fa urdhubhadh.
- 2 Cruth ar ēagcruth re h-athaidh
tug seinbhean Chuinn Chéadchathaigh:
nimh chuisne ag ceangal a tonn,
earradh tuirrsi na tiomcholl.
- 3 Tug ar ēagcosg ndubh ndoirche
a sgiamh naoidhe neamhfoirfe;
lór do thuar deórchroidhe dhi
snuadh na h-eólchuire uirthi.

1 Cruacha is wearing mourning clothes, the perpetual capital of the seed of noble Tuathal, she has put on sorrow's garb, sad is her eclipse.

2 The ancient wife of Conn Céadchathach has, for some time, exchanged beauty for ugliness: bitter ice binding her waves, sorrow's dress about her.

3 She exchanged in return for a black, dark appearance her fresh immature beauty; sufficient to presage a tearful heart for her is the aspect of sadness upon her.

Heading: Fergal Óg Mac an Bhaird .cc.

- 1 c chumhadh.
- 2 b seanbhean.
- 3 (Éagcosg and eólchuire glossed .i. cruth and .i. doilgheas respectively in a later hand) d snuagh.

- 4 Earradh tirim uma taobh
 ní léigid frosta fliuchbhraon;
 beirt sgaithfhliuch um Chruachain gCuinn
 tre bhuachoil Chaithreach Crobhuing.
- 5 An bheirt tuirrsi a-tá um Chruachain
 's um Bhóinn 's um ráith ríoghThuathail,
 mó do mhairg deabhaidh na ndúl
 i ndeaghaidh Thaidhg do thēarnúdh.
- 6 Ní coimhling nach cúis phudhair
 a-tá tre Thadhg thuasumhain:
 caor theinntighe ag drud 'na dheóigh,
 deirgtheine ar fhud an aīeóir.

4 Showers of wet drops do not permit dry clothes about her; there is clothing of wet foliage around Cruacha of Conn because of the protector of Caithir Chrobhuing.

5 The contention of the elements after the death of Tadhg is a greater source of anguish than this garb of grief which surrounds Cruacha and Bóinn and the fort of royal Tuathal.

6 It is no harmless conflict that takes place above because of Tadhg: after his going comes a bolt of lightning, red fire throughout the firmament.

4 c chuinn.

6 a fpudhair; c ndeoigh.

- 7 Lor do chomuaidhreadh chóig bhfonn
 cogadh na reann 's na réaltonn,
 's glór cheithre searbghaath re seal,
 tre dheaghlaoch Eithne d'oigheadh.
- 8 Na h-airdreanna - anba an léan -
 ag caitheamh a n-arm n-aithghéar,
 tug learg a h-aighthe d'adhaint:
 dearg dā n-aithle an fhiormamaint.
- 9 A bhfuil thuasamhain do throid
 tug glas ar bhliocht bhán mBuannuid,
 's tug ar i n-íoth fa fhonnBhúill,
 's tug crioth ar an gceathardhúil.

7 Sufficient to equally confuse five territories is the conflict of the stars and the constellations, and the noise of four bitter winds in turn, because of the death of the good warrior of Eithne.

8 The planets on high - great the misfortune - casting their ultra-sharp weapons, [this] has caused the surface of her face to glow: the firmament is red after them.

9 All the strife above has caused milk around the Buannad to run dry, and has caused ploughing in [the] corn around the Búill territory, and has caused the four elements to tremble.

- 7 a chomhbuaidhreadh; fhonn.
 8 a hairdreann; d fhiormameint.
 9 d cceathairdhúil.

- 10 Tadhg mac Í Ruairc na reann dte
ní h-é féin dhūinn is doilghe
do-chuaidh an ana fa úr
tre sduaigh nDala do dhíoghbhúdh.
- 11 Na fola uaisle an ana:
a lán, o ló a théarnamha,
díobh sin i gcomhraidh í Chuinn
do-bhir donnghoil um dhearnainn.
- 12 A-tāid i bhfeart fleisge Broin
fuil Nēill, Conuill, clann Charthaigh
's fuil Táil, fā gcleathlúbthair coill,
is creachBhūrcaigh chláir Chriomhthoinn.

10 Tadhg son of Ó Ruairc of the hot spears, it is not he himself who is most greivous to us [but that] prosperity has gone underground because of the disappearance of the warrior of Dala.

11 The prosperity is the noble families: many of those, from the day of his death, in the coffin of the descendant of Conn causes red heat around a hand.

12 In the grave of the scion of Bran are the stock of Niall, Conuill, the descendants of Carthach and the stock of Táil, around whom a wood bends like a sapling, and the raiding Búrcaigh of the plain of Criomhthann.

10 c úir; d dhíoghbhúdh.

11 b a théarnamha] a om. MS; d do bheir.

12 a bróin; c ccleathlúbthair; d is] s.

- 13 Saxain, Frangcaigh, mar fuair mē,
Grēagaigh, Easbáinigh ime:
fuil gach impire ón tír thall
fa ghrīb̄h finntighe Fréamhann.
- 14 Meisde Tadhg uaisle a fhuile:
do loigh neart súl sochaidhe
ar mhaighre lúith linne Breagh;
do-rinne an tnúith a thoirneadh.
- 15 Ó Ruairc 's na frēamha dā bhfuil,
tre inghilt súl síl gCobhthaigh,
gearrshaoghlach a-tád, re treall,
i bhfád reannfhaobhrach Raoileann.

13 English, French, as I have found, Greeks, Spanish around him: the stock of every emperor from yonder land around the griffin of the fair dwelling of Fréamhann.

14 Detrimental to Tadhg was the nobleness of his blood: the attention of all eyes lay on the swift salmon of the lake of Breagh; envy laid him low.

15 Ó Ruairc and the races from which he comes, because of the devouring eyes of the seed of Cobhthach, their life-span has been limited for some time in the land of Raoilinn of the sharp-edged spears.

- 13 a Saxan; b easbainigh.
14 a fholá; d tnúth.
15 c atáid; d bfód.

- 16 Toice mhíleadh Mhoighe Feart,
meisde a teacht uile i n-aoinfheacht:
i gclár Thē, tre shilleadh shúl,
do lingeadh é tre iomthnúdh.
- 17 Leithéid Thaidhg, tamhan ós choill
mac Deitchine, Cú Chulainn;
do luigh iomthnúith amhlaidh sin
ar fhaghlaidh fhionnbhrúich Uisnigh.
- 18 Cú Chulainn na gcraoiseach nocht,
glún Cathfaidh dob é a adhart;
do ghrādhaigh an draoi a dhalta
tar thánaidh gcraoi Chiannachta.

16 The wealth of the warrior of Magh Feart, it was worse [for him] that it all came at one time: in the plain of Té, through jealous eyes, great envy defeated him.

17 The equivalent of Tadhg, sapling above a wood, [was] the son of Deitchine, Cú Chulainn; thus did envy rest on the plunderer of the fair border of Uisneach.

18 Cú Chulainn of the ready spears, Cathfaidh's knee was his pillow; the wizard loved his pupil out of [all] the population of the land of the Ciannachta.

- 16 d iomthnúth.
17 c iomthnúth; d fhoghlaidh.
18 d craoi.

- 19 Gaisgeadh laoich an lá do gheabh,
do gheall Cathfaidh cnuic Lighean
clú síordhuidhe, saoghal gearr,
d'aonamh ríoghmuighe Raoileann.
- 20 'Ní beag liom bliadhain fa bhuaadh
dā raibh mo bhladh dā bhiothluadh',
do rāidh crēachtChú Cnuic Mhaine
lér thuit ēachtchrú Iúghaine.
- 21 Ar aoi an tsaoghail ghirr lér ghabh,
biaidh go bráth - buan an cunradh -
a chéadchlú choidhche ar cuimhne,
ēachtChú Boirche beannghuirme.

19 The day he took hero's weapons, Cathfaidh of the hill of Lighe promised everlasting fame [and] a short life to the only stag of the royal plain of Raoilinn.

20 'Sufficient for me is a year triumphant if my fame would be recounted for ever', said the wounding Cú of Cnoc Maine by whom fell the valorous stock of Iúghaine.

21 Because of the short life which he led, forever - the covenant was permanent - will his original fame always be remembered, the heroic Cú of blue-peaked Boirche.

19 a ghabh with gheall expuncted before it; d daondhamh.

20 a bhuaidh.

21 a tshaoghail gherr; b conradh; c coimhne.

- 22 Ó shin ag laochraidh Line
 ní mhairfeadh mac Deitchine;
 Cú na h-Eamhna, ón ragha rug,
 ní ragha a ndearna ar dhearmad.
- 23 Dar leat is í an uair roimhe:
 do ghabh codhnach Calroighe
 sgiath is calg idir chrú gCuinn -
 go Tadhg a-tú dā tharruing.
- 24 Buan a ainm, aithghearr a ré,
 Tadhg Uisnigh nár fhosd duibhré;
 ua na ríogh ó chathroigh Cuinn
 'na athChoin far-íor againn.

22 From then the son of Deitchine was not destined to live for long among the warriors of Line; because of the choice which the Cú of Eamhain made, what he achieved will not be forgotten.

23 You would imagine it to be the preceding occasion: the leader of Calraighe took shield and sword among the stock of Conn - to Tadhg I am applying it.

24 Eternal his fame, brief his rule, Tadhg of Uisneach whom black night did not detain; the descendant of the kings of the seat of Conn is, alas, our second Cú.

22 c rogha.

23 a leth; c colg; cuinn; d q. 24d is written here with the present line above it.

- 25 Tús a aoise, ar mhac Mháire
rug an bás, breath neamāidhe;
ní tharraigh sochar sluaigh Bhreagh
gé fuair dochar dā ndídean.
- 26 Gion go n-anadh fēinidh Fáil
re h-aoibhneas 'na fhiach d'fhaghāil,
mór gcamhaoir, ag rochtain reann,
do fhortaigh anaoibh Ēireann.
- 27 Tadhg Ó Ruairc, mar budh díor dhó,
fuair dā n-aodhaireacht annró:
dlighid tuatha Teamhra Breagh
is Bearbha is Cruacha a chaoineadh.

25 In the beginning of his career, death seized Máire's son, an unfriendly judgement; he did not attain the benefit of the host of Breagha though he received injury to protect them.

26 Though the warrior of Fál could not stay to receive happiness in payment for it, on many a daybreak, seizing spears, he relieved the distress of Éire.

27 Tadhg Ó Ruairc, as befitted him, received hardship in protecting them: the territories of Teamhair Breagh, and Bearbha and Cruacha should mourn him.

- 25 b neambaidhe; c tar̄; d dochar and da ndidean
transposed with caret showing correct position.
- 26 a go] gur; fēinidh] fi.dh (?) with feif written
overhead; d fhurtaidh.
- 27 c dlighidh.

- 28 Dlighidh Banbha, bean Logha,
do chumhaidh a cosnamha,
beith dī fa thormthuirrsi treall
's í ó ghormchuisne i ngéibheann.
- 29 Beith fa bhrón do dhíoth duille
ó ghaoith adhfhuair earrchuidhe,
dlighidh donnchoill Bhanbha Breagh:
lomchroinn abhla gan earradh.
- 30 Dlighidh lucht taisdil na dtuath,
ó cheathaibh soighnéan searbhlúath,
bheith tuirrseach ag triall do thigh;
grian fa Uisneach 'na h-aoidhidh.

28 Banbha, wife of Lugh, because of the grief arising from the contention concerning her, deserves to be under a clamorous sadness for some time as she is imprisoned by blue ice.

29 The dark wood of Banbha of Breagha deserves to be in sadness because of lack of foliage caused by an extremely cold vernal wind: bare, denuded apple-trees.

30 The people who travel the territories should be grieving on journeying home, because of the swift and bitter showers of lightning; sunshine is a stranger around Uisneach.

- 28 b cosnamha: lenition-mark over the c expuncted.
29 a dhíth.
30 d see notes.

- 31 Dlighidh fear lín bheith fa bhrōn
 san Bhrēifne, iar dTadhg do theasdógh:
 sūil re h-ēigneadhuihb nī fhuil
 fān mBúill ngéigleabhair ngrianaigh.
- 32 D'easbhaidh chruach ar chionn tSamhna
 dleaghar ar fheadh fhionnBhanbha
 do bhailtibh brughadh báigh chaoi:
 gāir chumhadh i ngach cunndaoi.
- 33 Ō nimh chuisne chrīche Breagh,
 dlighidh lucht téaguir thigheadh
 Ruarcoigh do chaoi ó chroidhe
 tre fhuachtghoimh chraoi Chonaire.

31 A fisherman in Bréifne must needs be sorrowful,
 Tadhg having died: there is no expectation of salmon
 along the bright Búill of the long branches.

32 Because of the absence of cornstacks towards
 Samhain it is right that tumultuous lamentation be the
 lot of the holdings of farmers: a cry of sorrow in
 every county.

33 Due to the bitter ice of the territory of Breagha,
 those who make houses secure should heartily mourn the
 Ruarcaigh because of the painful cold of the land of
 Conaire.

32 d conndaoi.

- 34 Reic a n-ōrarm i n-aisgidh
 cóir d'ógbhoidh an fhianghaisgidh:
 san gcriaidh do-chuaidh an fhala
 fa uaigh Ī Bhriain Bhōramha.
- 35 Dā dtighibh ag tocht folamh,
 d'ēis chóig gcrīoch do chuartughadh,
 cóir do dhāimh fhēarchraoi na n-Art
 dāil a ndéarchaoi tre dhúthracht.
- 36 Ruarcaigh rōimh einigh fhóid Bhreagh;
 cia h-ē an deóradh nach dlighfeadh
 osna ard, do dhruim dhochair,
 fa Thadhg, ó Cuinn Chéadchathaigh?

34 The young warriors of the fian-like valour should sell their golden weapons for nothing: warring has gone into the earth beneath the grave of the heir of Brian Bóramha.

35 Returning empty-handed to their houses, having travelled five territories, the poets of the grassy land of the Arts should passionately let flow their tearful lamentation.

36 Ruarcaigh are the focal point of the honour of the land of Breagha; who is the visiting poet who would not, through misery, be compelled to sigh loudly on account of Tadhg, descendant of Conn Céadchathach?

34 c sa criaidh; d bhoruimhe.
 36 d chuinnnn.

- 37 Dlighid ollamhain fhōid Fhloinn,
tre a ndubhairt Dallán Forguill,
fēige uachtair bhrogha Breagh,
Ruarcaigh Chobha do chaoineadh.
- 38 Breath i nDruim Cheat, cēim sochair,
romhainn, leis na Ruarcachaibh,
don chuainfhine ní thug tár,
rug an druaidhfhile Dallán.
- 39 Do dhearbhadh a ndubhradh leann:
ōn aonachsoin fhear n-Éireann
do-chōidh le Brēithneachaibh Breagh
tar fhóir ngēirchleathaigh nGaidheal.

37 The poets of the land of Flann, because of what Dallán Forguill said, uppermost ridge-pole of the fort of Breagh, should mourn the Ruarcaigh of Cobha.

38 In Druim Ceat, before our time, the poet-seer Dallán gave a judgment in favour of the Ruarcaigh, a beneficial step, he gave no reproach to the wolf-like race.

39 To prove what we have said: from that assembly of the men of Éire he went with the Bréifnians of Breagha in preference to the sharp-speared faction of the Gaidhil.

37 c feighe; d chabha.

38 d druaignfhile.

39 a linn; b sin; neirind; d thar.

- 40 San Bhrēithne na mbleidheadh mbān
 ōn uairsin do an Dallán,
 dó iar soighidh sluaigh Chonga,
 go bhfuair oighidh eatorra.
- 41 Fágbhais Dallán - dia do ghart! -
 an maith, ré n-ēag, i n-udhacht,
 ní h-oighrecht nach tuar toile,
 ag sluagh coirnbhliocht Calraighe.
- 42 Go h-ēag meic Bhriain, buan an dáil,
 tiomna dheirionnach Dhalláin
 gan imreasuin do bhaoi ar bun
 fa fhinshleasuibh craoi Chruachan.

40 Having journeyed to the host of Conga, Dallán remained, from that time, in Bréifne of the white goblets until he died among them.

41 Dallán - such generosity! - before death, bequeathed prosperity to the host, rich in goblets, of Calraighe; an inheritance which betokens affection.

42 Until the death of the son of Brian, a lasting circumstance, Dallán's last testament prevailed undisputed around the fair banks of the territory of Cruacha.

40 c soighe.

41 b ughacht.

42 a mic; dáil] crádh; c do bhí; d craoi and Cruachan
transposed with caret showing correct position.

- 43 Ní fhuil, iar n-éag aoibhle Breagh,
cuimhne ar udhacht an fhileadh;
mana leóin cuairt go h-íbh Cuinn
i ndeóigh Í Ruairc o Fhréamhuinn.
- 44 'Na éanar nīor imdhigh soin:
uaisle is oineach fhóid Fhionntuin
rug ó chlār Fhéilim fa fheart;
dā chrádh d'Éirinn a imtheacht.
- 45 Nī fhuil duine iar dTadhg Thailtean,
ná coill, ná úir fhochaintiugh,
fa iath bhFáil na bhfiodh sgoithgheal,
ná sriobh ag dáil dhearlaighteadh.

43 Following the death of the flame of Breagha, the poet's testament is forgotten; a visit to the descendants of Conn is a cause of sorrow after Ó Ruairc from Fréamhainn.

44 That one did not go alone: he took the nobility and honour of the land of Fionntan from Féilim's plain under a grave; his going is doubly grievous to Éire.

45 After Tadhg of Tailte there is no person, or wood, or corn-abounding soil, or stream dispensing gifts throughout the land of Fál of the bright-blossomed trees.

43 b ughacht.

44 a sin.

45 b fhochantiugh; c fáil; d dhearlaicteadh.

- 46 Mana tuirrsi uair oile:
 siansa na síon n-earrchoidhe,
 buaidhreadh suain sluaghlaoch Suca,
 fuaim na ngruamghaoth ngeamhrota.
- 47 Na h-eóin ag caoine a gcoda,
 ceól truagh le crích gCearmoda:
 seilg ag ealtadhuibh ní fhuil
 fa leirg n-ealtanaigh n-Aolmhoigh.
- 48 Coimeas atuirrsi ag Bóinn bhuig
 re Muaidh re Búill re Buannaid;
 lór le cách mar cheól gcumhadh
 fáth a ndeór do dhlúthughadh.

46 An omen of sorrow yet again: the noise of the vernal storms, the disturbing of the sleep of the warrior-host of Suca, the sound of the unpleasant winds of winter.

47 The birds lamenting their loss of sustenance, sad music to the land of Cearmaid: there is no hunting for birds around the slope of Aolmhagh abounding in bird-flocks.

48 The grief felt by the gentle Bóinn is identical to that of the Muadh, Búill and Buannad; the composition of the cause of their tears is deemed sufficient as mourning music by all.

47 b chermoda; d e. A.

48 a athtuirrsi; bóin; b muaigh; c cumhadh.

- 49 Do bhí an ana i n-aimsir Thaidhg
ag tuar uilc dā gach éanaird;
ar na tairrthibh, truagh a nimh,
is dual aithbhir a oighidh.
- 50 Mór dob fhearr d'inis Bhanbha
fuireach ag maith mheasarrdha:
gach toradh do thocht re a linn
fa robhadh ré n-olc d'Éirinn.
- 51 Do bhādar coillte croma,
is éigneadha, is iothlanna,
's guirt bharrbhuidhe, ceann i gceann,
ag tarrnguire uilc Éirionn.

49 In Tadhg's time prosperity was presaging evil to his every domain; the reproaches for his death should fall on the fruits, alas their poison.

50 It would have been ^{much} better for the island of Banbha to be content with moderate prosperity: the blossoming of every fruit during his time was a warning of evil for Éire.

51 Stopping woods, and salmon, and granaries, and fields of yellow crops, were severally presaging Éire's misfortune.

49 d aithfir.

- 52 Mēad a inmhe 's a óige
tug adhnadh na h-urchóide;
a rath do thocht 'na thuile,
ach, dob olc d'ú Iúghaine.
- 53 Tuar omhain iomthnūth cinidh:
gach éanrath ar éinshlighidh
d'fhás uile dob eagal linn
do dhreagan fuile Feidhlim.
- 54 Lōr do sheanmóir d'iath Earca
fear th'óige agus th'oighreachta
taobh re h-adhbhaidh ndorcha nduibh
fa dhamhraidh tholcha Thuathuil.

52 The extent of his status and his youth brought about the kindling of wrong; that his prosperity should come in a flood, alas, it was bad for the heir of Iúghaine.

53 A cause of apprehension is tribal jealousy: every single good fortune appearing all at once for the dragon of the stock of Feidhlim was fearful to us.

54 It is a sufficient moral for the land of Earc that a man of your youth and inheritance should be consigned to a dark, black dwelling beneath the warriors of the hill of Tuathal.

52 d ú] ó.

53 c̄ eagail; d fola.

55 A Thaidhg mheic Bhriain, fār bhris dair,
 mheic Bhriain mheic Eóghain éachtaigh,
 fuacht thuaidh i dtighibh na scol:
 na filidh uaibh gan earradh.

EARRADH.

55 O Tadhg son of Brian, about whom an oak broke, son of
 Brian son of valorous Eoghan, there is cold in the north
 in the houses of the schools: because of you the poets
 are naked.

XI Notes

1 The noteworthy feature of this opening quatrain is the mixture of 'breacadh' therein:
cumhadh: cumhadh: culadh: pudhar: urdhubhadh; ghabh:
culadh/ pudhar/ cumhadh/ cumhadh. See Breacadh 24,
 28, 54.

c culadh is a masculine noun (IGT ii. 11) and I have therefore removed the lenition from the initial of the following word.

2 b seinbhean cf. Poem XII. 52b.

c nimh chuisne cf. q. 33a infra.

3 b Note the cosg réime here.
neamhfhoirfe possibly 'of heavenly perfection'?

4 d Caithir Chrobhuing is another name for Teamhair: see the first of the two quatrains by Fearghal Óg quoted at q. 25cd n. infra and see also TD ii, 210.13 n.

5 d For téarnaidh in the sense of 'dies' cf. O Hara II. 43d, Duanaireacht, 108.4c, DIL D, 257.23-5, T, 154.41-3 and q. 11b infra.

6 a Ní ... nach is a common construction in

this type of verse, cf. q. 41c infra. In 'Ní dúinn nach easbhaidh ég Taidhg' (Marcher Lords III) it occurs four times (qq. 12c, 22c, 42a, 57a) in what seems to be a conscious stylistic device, the purpose being to echo the first line of that poem.

c The manuscript eclipsis of deoigh is surely a scribal error.

d ar fhud Lenition or non-lenition depends on the metrical requirements (cf. BST 191.1-3); e.g. 'Táinig fairge ar fud an domhain' Di. D 26.5a, 'Fiú a chána ar fhud gach oirir' DMU IV. 37a.

7 a cóig bhfonn i.e. the five cóigidh; cf. XII.19a.

c The lenition of ceithre (cf. IGT i. 18, Poem IV. 10b) is a late development.

d Eithne See Poem VIII. 7d n.

8 b On the motif of the weapons of nature, recurring in Fearghal Óg's work of this period, see Poem IX, Introduction.

d fiormamaint Forms of this word are cited in IGT ii. 3 and 13.

9 b bhán cannot be either the adj. bhán or g. pl. bhan as Buannaid is dat./ acc. (cf. q. 48b, TD 22a.52a, Di. D 95.13d) and the gen. form is Buannaide (Onom., 132; Celtica i (1946-50) 250.339). For the

form bhán (fa + sg. article) see BST 190.31. Buannad is the river Bonet in co. Leitrim.

c The manuscript reads ar a nioth. We might read ar as the preposition here with either glas or crioth as the subject of the verb. But the 'breacadh' in tug: tug: tug (Breacadh 24 (b)) permits us, I believe (see Poem XII. 24c n.), to take ar as a substantive without requiring it to have a riming partner in line d. This, to my mind, gives good sense: I have translated ar literally but it probably means something like 'churning-up' or 'uprooting'.

fonnBhúill perhaps 'melodious Buill'?

10 b Cf. Poem IX. 37a for an identical argument.

c an ana Though DIL A, 318.56 gives this word as an io-stem I have seen no example from Classical Early Modern Irish which conclusively demonstrates that it is not a feminine noun; cf. qq. 11a, 49a infra.

úr (IGT ii. 9b) is a permitted variant of MS uir (IGT ii. 14).

d Dala If I am correct in interpreting this as a placename (cf. 'craobh Dhala' Magauran XVI. 24d, 'deighfhear Dala' ibid. XXII. 33a) it may be connected with Magh Dolo in co. Derry (Onom., 348).

11 d Do-bhir is a permitted variant of MS do bheir (IGT iii. 14). The donnghoil is caused by the clapping and wringing of hands in mourning.

12 a Note the necessary absence of lenition on fleisge, an instance of 'sléagar' as is also, for example, sleachta in q. 1b supra.

Broin The normal use of fleasg, in contexts such as this, is with a placename (cf. Poems IV. 65d, V. 60d, IX. 13b). The scribe clearly writes Bróin here which is as in Magh Bróin in co. Mayo (Onom., 514). This, however, does not make perfect rime and I have consequently not shown the mark of length in the text. It may therefore be the second element in Sruth/ Srúbh Broin which is taken to be Stroove (par. Merville Lower, bar. Inishowen East); cf. TD 4.39b, POR XIV.8b, Mac C M III.7b, 15a.

b Conuill This could be gen. sg. after fuil, in which case it should be lenited. However it is legitimate to take it as nom. pl. in the light of Poem IX. 9a n.

c fuil Táil The Dál gCais, by which is meant the Í Bhriain, from Tál Cass mac Conaill Eachluaith: see Corp. Gen., 250, and Anal. Hib. xviii (1951) 148.

For fuil: fuil: Charthaigh see Breacadh 24 (c).

13 a Saxain MS Saxan is nom. sg.; cf. IGT ii. 153.

For comparable lists of colonizers see Poem XII. 2b n. and on their identities see TD 17.10 n. (ii, 256).

b ón tír thall seems to refer here to anywhere east of Ireland.

14 a fuile, a permitted variant of the gen. sg. of fuil (IGT ii. 42), is necessary here for perfect rime.

b For early examples of súil sochaidhe see DIL S, 318. 3-4, 7-8.

d For the element of tnúth in Fearghal Óg's poetry, see Poem IX, Introduction. Tnúith (IGT ii. 46) is a permitted variant of tnúth (IGT ii. 39) and is required for perfect rime.

toirneadh I have no other example of this word from Classical verse. I take it to be a form of toirneamh (< M Ir. tairniud); cf. Poem IX. 23d. I think it unlikely to be a form of the verb noun of toirnid 'marks out, limits'.

15 b For síol, and the eclipsis following it, see Poem II. 16a n.

c The form a-tád is necessary for rime. It is not cited in IGT iii. 7 but is attested (e.g. Di. D 3.32a, IGT i, p. 21.20) and is, of course, historically perfectly correct.

d fád and MS fód are permitted variants (IGT ii. 88).

16 a Mhoighe Feart Cf. Muighe Fearta Di. D 116.10c, Mhuighe na bhFeart Magauran V. 8a. Unidentified; possibly related to Magh Feartaighi (Onom., 520) or Achadh Fearta (Onom., 8).

b Cf. q. 50cd infra.

cd Cf. Poem IX. 24cd n.
Té see Foras Feasa ii, 104.

17 b Deitchine sister of Conchubhar according to TBC, daughter of same according to Compert Con Culainn (cf. ed. Van Hamel, p. 3.8). The form is Dechtere in TBC LU (ed. line 444), Dechtiri in LL (ed. line 796), Deichdene in Y (ed. line 444) and De(i)tchine in Stowe (passim). As in the case of Cormac Conloingios, Fraoch and Conlaoch in Poem IX. 18-21, the attempt to associate tnúth with Cú Chulainn here is contrived and serves to lead the poem from one area to another, namely the Cathfaidh/ Cú Chulainn uirsgéal infra.

d faghlaidh, necessary for rime, is a permitted variant of MS foghlaidh (IGT ii. 52).

On luigh: amhlaidh/ fhaghlaidh see Breacadh 24(d).

18 b Cathfaidh Features prominently in the Ulster cycle as a wizard with great powers of prophecy. For the form of the name see IGT ii. 111, 198.

d Ciannachta Probably Ciannachta Breagh, originally a vassal tribe, and their territory in north co. Dublin and south co. Louth; see EIHM, 393-4; Byrne, Irish kings and high-kings, 68-9; Onom., 231-1. Hence, in the present context, cró Ciannachta is probably a name for Breagha and therefore for Ireland.

19 This refers to the famous incident

recounted in the 'macgnímrada' where the young Cú Chulainn tricks Conchobhar into letting him take arms, having overheard Cathfaidh telling his pupils that he who should do that, on that particular day, would achieve great fame but would have a short life. He repeats this prophecy when he discovers that Cú Chulainn has taken arms, to which the latter replies that it would not matter to him if he only lived for a day or a night as long as he achieved renown: "'Bec a brig liom-sa sin", ar se, "gen go rabar acht aonlá no aonoidchi ar bith acht go mairit m'airdsgeula 7 m'imteachta dom es"' (TBC Stowe, 996-8); see TBC LU, 610-41; TBC LL, 922-62; TBC Stowe, 956-98.

a -gheabh (IGT iii. 23) is required for rime.

b On Lighe see Poem IX. 37d.

20 a buadh, a permitted masc. variant (IGT ii. 38) of buadh (IGT ii. 39, fem.) and buaidh (IGT ii. 42), is necessary for perfect rime.

b Cnoc Maine, in co. Limerick according to Onom., 276.

21 a ghirr (MS gerr) Examples of the gen. sg. masc. of gearr are not easy to come by: cf. 'a ndiaigh s(h)ínidh ghirr' IGT i, p. 13, and DIL G, 75.17-18.

bc MS connradh and coimhne are here altered to the forms cited in IGT ii. 49, iii. 83 and ii. 3, iii. 83 respectively.

d Boirche i.e. Beann(a) Boirche; cf. Poem IV. 61a n.

22 a Line as in Magh Line (Moylinny, par. Antrim, bar. Upper Antrim); cf. TD 3.40a n., Mac C M VII. 14d, XI. 28d.

My translation here is somewhat freer than the original.

c ragha is a permitted variant of rogha (IGT ii. 2, 5) and is necessary for perfect rime.

23 a For a similar use of dar leat see Di. D 27A. 25a.

b For the various areas associated with the Calraighe see Onom., 152-3 and Walsh, Irish men of learning, 120-22.

c calg, a permitted variant of colg (IGT ii. 69), is required for perfect rime.

24 b I.e. the absence of moonlight did not prevent Ó Ruairc from venturing forth on campaign; cf. Fearghal Óg's description of the devil: 'an tí as duibhe ná an duibhré' Di. D 35. 10b.

25 a Tús a aoise Cf. i dtús a aoise Poem X. 29a, Dán na mB. M 2.12b.

Máire Wife of Brian na Múrtha, Maire Búrc, daughter of the Earl of Clanricard, Ricard Sacsanach;

cf. Celtica i (1946-50) 245, Lambeth Palace MS 635 f. 111r.

cd The idea of unrewarded endeavour and unfulfilled promise due to premature death, expressed here and in q. 26, finds a direct parallel in Fearghal Óg's lament for Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill (see Poem IX, Introduction):

Ní fhuair go fóill fiach a ghníomh
ó nach raibhe a n-áit airdríogh,
idir mhaithibh fuile Floind,
'na shuidhe a gCaithir Chrobhaing.

Ar cumairce a chleas ngoile
a mbeirt uathmhar iarnaighe
go Bóind ní raghadh fa rinn,
cóir dá n-aghadh ó Éirind.

(Éigse xv (1973-4) 45.53-4)

26 c Although camháir is the only form cited in IGT ii. 42 (cf. Poem IX. 59c) camhaoir is also attested: see L. Branach, line 6604 n.

d do fhortaigh Variants in for- and fur- are permitted for this verb; cf. furtacht, fortacht (IGT ii. 25) and do fhortuigh: docruidh TD 15.37cd.

27 c I have altered the verb here from 3 sg. to 3 pl. as the rules of concord demand; cf. IGT v. 20.

28 c thormthuirrsi The first element here is based on the expansion of the ur/ru contraction over the initial t; throm- might also be read.

d The pronoun sí could be read here without any significant alteration to the meaning.

30 d 'na h-aoidhidh The manuscript photostat is unclear at this point. There is certainly something between the h and the o but that it is an a I cannot be sure. If it is a blob of ink, and the correct reading is na h-oidhidh, we would have to interpret the line with a verb noun - ag dul - understood and translate: 'the sun dying about Uisneach'; cf. DIL A, 104.27.

31 a fear lín There is another instance of this term in O Hara XVIII. 29d.

Bréifne Ó Ruairc's territory of west Breffney, corresponding to present-day mid- and south-co. Leitrim.

teasdógh See Poem II. 1d n.

32 a tSamhna The initial mutation here appears to be in keeping with the teaching of IGT v. 94; see B. Ó Cuív in Celtica x (1973) 125 n. 28; cf. Poem VI. 15d.

c brughadh, nom. sg. brughaidh: 'a wealthy landowner, the highest non-noble social grade, with a traditional obligation to provide public hospitality', Simms, From kings to warlords, 171.

báigh chaoi Literally 'contention of lamentation' or, perhaps, 'an inclination to mourning'?

d cunndaoui (MS conndaoui) The forms in IGT ii. 99 are cunntaí, cunndaí and cunntae.

33 a nimh chuisne cf. q. 2c supra.

b In view of the list of professions in the preceding quatrains it may be that lucht téaguir thigheadh is also to be construed as such a reference, thatchers perhaps? Cf. DIL T, 95.19-21.

d Conaire See Poem V. 66c n.; cró (etc.) Conaire, a name for Ireland; e.g. TD 26.11d, POR V. 24d.

34 Here, as in Poem IX and in 'Ní tráth aithreachais d'fhuil Chonuill' (see General Introduction, ch.(vii)), Fearghal Óg mourns the death of gaisgeadh.

d Both Bóruimhe (Magauran XXIV. 38b; Aith. D 17.24d) and Bóramha (Aith. D 8.34b, DMU II.4b) are well attested; the latter form is required here for perfect rime, cf. Poem V. 66b.

35 b chóig gcríoch The five cúigidh; cf. Poem XII. 19a.

c na n-Art see Poem IX. 54c n.

36 a róimh einigh A frequently occurring term which McKenna translated as 'sanctuary of hospitality' O Hara XXIV. 22d; see TD ii, 204-5.

b deóradh See Poem VII.25ab n.

37 b The statement in these quatrains (37-41) that Dallán gave a judgment in favour of the Ruarcaigh at the sixth-century Convention of Druim Ceat is obviously anachronistic. There may, however, be some foundation for the tradition.

One of the three reasons for convening the assembly was to debate the proposed expulsion of the poets.¹ In the source for this, the preface to the Amra Choluimb Chille,² we are simply told that the solution arrived at involved the reduction in numbers of the poets and their billeting throughout Ireland.³ Keating's account of this is greatly amplified.⁴ It is there stated that the billeting consisted of appointing an ollamh to each rí cúigeadhach and to every tighearna triúcha céad. It was Dallán who made these appointments and the names of the provincial ollamhs are given.

It may be that some tradition arose from this which recorded that Dallán, on that occasion, appointed himself as ollamh to the territory of Bréifne. His association with that territory and with Aed Finn mac Fergnae⁵ are set out at the beginning of Tromdámh Guaire:

Is ann i mbui Eochaidh Rí-éiceas i bharradh

1 Cf. Poem V.35d n.

2 See Kenny, Sources, 426-7; MacCana, 'Regnum and Sacerdotum', 462 n. 1.

3 LU 360-62; RC xx (1899) 44.

4 Foras Feasa iii, 92-4.

5 See Eriu xxviii (1977) 34.

righ Brefne 7 ba heisein Dallán Forguil. Bui tromdham mor aige ann doib, et asi in Brefne inad ba ferr leis, or ba himdha a cruigh 7 a cethracha.⁶

Bréifne is here to be understood as comprising what later became an dá Bhréifne⁷: west Bréifne, territory of Ó Ruairc, and east Bréifne (co. Cavan), territory of Ó Raghallaigh. Thus it is that Aed Finn features in that part where the genealogies of the Í Ruairc and the Í Raghallaigh coalesce,⁸ and it was for this reason that another poet could make an almost identical claim for Pilib mac Aodh Conallaigh as Fearghal Óg makes for Tadhg Ó Ruairc:

Rug ollamh róm rogha glic,
in tÁodh Fionn ó bhfuil Filip
do raghain tar rġoghraidh Breagh;
samhail dá fhíorbhloidh eisean.

Ní fhuair aithghin Aodha Finn
a ccrích dár chuartaigh d'Éirinn;
breath Dalláin í in gach ionadh
is andáigh í d'éilioghadh. (POR XIII. 5-6)

d For Cobha/ Cabha see Poem V. 59a n.

38 a Druim Cheat in co. Derry; see Onom., 359-60.

d druaidhfhile Compound formed from gen. pl.

6 Joynt, Tromdámh Guaire lines 15-19.

7 Cf. POR V. 12c, XIII. 14b.

8 Anal. Hib. xviii (1951) 104; Carney, A genealogical history of the O'Reillys, 27.

of draoi (IGT ii. 85); cf. IGT i. 93.

39 a do dhearbhadh cf. Poem V. 14a n.

Emending MS eirind to Ēireann in b means that leann has to be read here; lionn is a proscribed form, BST 194.16.

c Bréifne and its derivatives frequently have -th- instead of -f-; cf. IGT ii. 11, 12, 18.

40 a This line has an exact syntactical parallel in another line by Fearghal Óg: 'San Eadáil na n-eas dtana' IBP 8. 5a. Professor Ó Cuív (Éigse xv (1973-4) 16) would emend this to 'S i n- 'It is in' to avoid the repetition of the article. Such repetition, however, is found in Old Irish (Thurn. Gramm., 297.472) and in Early Modern Irish prose (e.g. Lorgaireacht, p. lxxxvii) and I feel that to emend would be rather drastic in the present instance.

c soighidh (MS soighe) This emendation is necessary for perfect rime.

Conga Cong, co. Mayo.

d oighidh An anecdote in Egerton 1782 tells how Dallán was slain by 'goill' and buried in Inis Cháil Chonuill (co. Donegal); RC xx (1899) 435-6.

42 a Briain Brian na Múrtha, see Introduction.

dáil The manuscript reading, crádh, makes excellent sense but does not make perfect rime with Dalláin in line b. As an alternative to emendation

one might postulate a variant, non-declinable form (in the singular) of Dallán, as is the case with words such as beagán, seagán, Nioc(a)lás, Tomás, etc. (all IGT ii. 35). However, every example I have looked at shows gen. sg. Dalláin; e.g. (:andáigh) POR XIII. 6c, IBP 38.10c, (:Fáil) IBP 38.12b. Cf. 'fíor an dáil' Poem IX. 45a.

c do bhaoi a permitted variant of MS do bhí (IGT ii. 7) is necessary for rime.

43 c íbh is unstressed; see Poem VI. 16c n.

44 c fa recte fá 'under his'?

d dá chrádh i.e. Tadhg's death and the fact that he has taken uaisle is oineach with him; cf. qq. 10-13 supra.

45 d MS dearlaicteadh does not make comhardadh slán. The forms of the word cited at IGT iii. 56 are dearlagadh and dearlaghadh. Forms in -c- are also attested: cf. TD ii, 260 19.2d n. and POR p. 262 where Carney suggests that this form arose from analogy with tiodhlaicim. A continuant, voiced or unvoiced, is needed here and, as there is no evidence for a form in -ch-, I have emended to -gh-. For the plural forms cf. Desid., 299 and the examples from TBg. cited in DIL D, 39.45-7.

46 c On uair: suain: fuaim cf. Poem X. 4a n.

Note the metrically necessary absence of lenition on sluaghlaoch after g. sg. suain.

47 a caoine a short variant of caoineadh (cf. qq. 27d, 37d supra) permitted by the poets (IGT ii. 3, iii. 71).

c Cearmaid, son of the Daghdha, whose son killed Lugh Lámfhada; Met. Dind. iv, 278. Hence críoch C. used here, and clár C. in DMU II. 43b and L Branach 23.36b, by Fearghal Óg as a name for Ireland.

d Aolmhoigh We might expect gen. Aolmhuighe here - cf. Poem V. 77b - but Knott explains, in TD ii, 253, that 'this word belongs to a class of proper names which can be declined like magh 'plain', or as o-stems'.

48 b Buannaid See q. 9b n. supra.

cd The translation here is tentative. The final line could also be rendered 'the reason for the compressing (etc.) of their tears'. However, one of the usages of the verb dlúthaighidh is in the context of metrical composition and the juxtaposition of the verb noun with ceól cumhadh leads me to believe that some such usage is present here. I would therefore interpret these lines as meaning that the cause of the tears of the people has been used as subject matter for a dirge which is the sound emitted by the Bóinn and the rivers of the West in unison.

49 a an ana See q. 10c n. supra.

b dā recte do, 'to every area', ?

The meaning of this, and the next four quatrains, which constitute a reprise of qq. 14-16 supra, is that such an abundance of prosperity and fertility attended the rule of Tadhg that it was bound to occasion iomthnúth (see q. 14d n.) and thus bring about his downfall. Thus, the poet argues, the blame for his death should be placed on that excessive fertility.

51 c ceann i gceann A riming partner for the first word here is not mandatory in this construction; see Poem V. 12a n.

52 cd Cf. 16ab supra.

53 a iomthnúth cinidh See Introduction and q. 14d n.

c eagal and MS eagail occur with equal frequency in Classical verse (cf. Poems IV. 50d, VIII. 41c), the former being required here for perfect rime.

d fuile is a permitted variant form of MS fola, gen. sg. of fuil (IGT ii. 42) and is necessary here for perfect rime. Note the absence of lenition after dat. sg. masc. dhreagan. Lenition here would be metrically faulty and its absence can be regarded as an example of sléagar.

55 b Bhriain Brian Ballach (d. 1562).
Eóghain (d. 1528).

POEM XII

Introduction

Only two poems by Fearghal Óg to members of Síol Néill survive. That beginning 'Maith do suidhigheadh Síol Néill', to Toirdhealbhach Luineach, was composed early in the poet's career (see General Introduction, ch. (iii)). The second, the poem edited here, was addressed to Toirdhealbhach's successor, Aodh Ó Néill, and belongs to the work of Fearghal Óg's later years. Of the subjects addressed in the present collection, Ó Néill is by far the most well-known. There is therefore little that need be said here by way of prefatory remarks.

In the General Introduction I have treated of poems concerning the departure of the Earls and the subsequent fate of those who arrived in Italy in April 1608. The most important of the exiles was, without doubt, Aodh Ó Néill, Second Earl of Tír Eoghain. From 1608, until his death on 20 July 1616, he was to remain in Rome - permission to leave being constantly refused him by Philip III of Spain - while he witnessed the death or return to Flanders of many of those who had travelled with him from Ireland.¹

This poem is an appeal by Fearghal Óg to Ó Néill to return to Ireland 'ón naomhRóimh a-noir' (q. 52c). Though the attractiveness of the country has been the downfall of many (qq. 1-7), and though Ó Néill himself, in the past, has suffered much because of it (qq. 8-12), he will be compensated for all the hardships he endured (qq. 17-22) providing he return ('acht go dtí i-le' q. 25a). He is the prophesied one (qq. 23, 25-8, 42-4, 49-53), another Moses who will

1 My source for Ó Néill's years in Rome is Ms Kerney Walsh's Destruction by peace, Hugh O'Neill after Kinsale.

lead the children of Israel from their exile (qq. 29-41).

It is not possible to associate this poem with any specific date within the period 1608-16. This is because there was seldom any time during those years when Ó Néill was not endeavouring to organise an invasion of Ireland² only to be thwarted, time and again, by Spanish procrastination or indifference. Thus, efforts to return in 1608,³ 1609⁴ and 1613⁵ all came to nothing, as did 'his most vigorous attempt' of 1614, following the passing, by the Irish parliament, of a bill for his attainder, which attempt occasioned much anticipation in Ireland.⁶

Another member of Clann an Bhaird, Muiris Óg, also composed a poem predicting Ó Néill's return.⁷ This, however, is in no way comparable to our poem as it is concerned merely with describing the warlike dress of the chief as he will appear on his return.

One may contrast the present poem with one addressed to Ó Néill by Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird⁸ which must be dated to the same period. It begins 'Fríth an uainse ar Inis Fáil'⁹ and its argument is not complicated. Éire has suffered much because God has punished her for the sins of her people. Aodh Ó

2 Cf. B Mus. Catg. i, 382 n. 6; B. Ó Buachalla, 'Na Stíobhartaigh agus an t-aos léinn: Cing Séamas' in PRIA 83 C, 118 n. 23.

3 Kerney Walsh, op. cit., 84-5.

4 Ibid., 96-7.

5 Ibid., 118-23.

6 Ibid., 129-36.

7 'Deisi chatha chinm Ghaidhiol' in Franciscan Lib. MS A 25, pp. 139.4 - 140.14.

8 It is thus ascribed in the Book of the O Conor Don, Br. Lib. Eg. 174 and two nineteenth-century Ó Longáin manuscripts. In RIA 23 F 16 it is ascribed to 'an fear céadna', the author of the preceding poem being Eochaidh Ó hEodhusa (this is also the case with Eg. 111). Professor Ó Buachalla (loc. cit., 90) appears to accept the latter ascription whereas I believe the poem to be more consistent with the work of Eoghan Ruadh.

9 DER 14.

Néill has discharged his duty to his country, having done everything that has been asked of him and having endured great hardship in the process. If he is therefore to save Ireland, success will attend his efforts only through the grace of God to whom he must pray: 'An Coimsigh do chí ar ndocra/ guidh róin do dhruim dhúthrachta/ ar son bhar bhfírsealbha féin' (q. 25).

There is here no great optimism, and very little encouragement to the exiled chief. On the other hand, there is no trace of the criticism which the same poet levelled at Rudhraige Ó Domhnaill (see General Introduction, ch. (vi)), but rather an acknowledgement that Ó Néill has done his best and that only God can help him now if he is to pursue the cause further.

The contrast with Fearghal Óg's composition is exemplified by the reference which both poets make to the exile of the Israelites. Eoghan Ruadh makes reference to them (q. 16) as part of his exposition of the way God punishes those who sin against Him. Fearghal Óg uses the story to provide a parallel and precedent for the heroic task which Ó Néill will perform.

Yet an element of restrained criticism is discernable in our poem, in qq. 45-8, where the poet implies that Ireland's misfortunes, in part at least, have been caused by Ó Néill himself, presumably through leaving the country. Thus while Eoghan Ruadh regards the hardships suffered by Ó Néill as proof that the Earl has done his best, we are to infer that Fearghal Óg, while asserting that Ó Néill will be rewarded for past discomforts, considers his return as a debt which he owes to his country.

Editorial remarks The poem occurs in RIA MS 23 F 16, pp. 70-73. There is also a copy of this in Br. Lib. MS Eg. 111, ff. 63-64r, which is of no independent value.

Metre deibhidhe, dán díreach.

XII

- 1 Mōr do mhill aoibhneas Éireann,
meisde méad a caithrēimeann,
gnáth bha Bhanbha an ghormchlūimh ghloin
faghla agus comhthnūidh cogaidh.
- 2 Tug aoibhne a tulach 's a tonn
Gréagaigh, Frangcaigh, fian fhionnGhall
's an fhian Lochlonnach i-le
go fiadh mbothlongach mBóinne.
- 3 Urmhór ar ghluais dā gabhāil
Banbha, buime Pharthaláin,
a-táid a bhfearta i gclār Chuinn
's a leachta lámh re Liathdruim.

1 The pleasantness of Éire has destroyed many, she is the worse for the amount of her battle-rolls, plunderings and mutual contention ever surround Banbha of the bright, green vegetation.

2 The beauty of her hills and her waves brought Grecians, French, English warriors and the Norse warrior-band hither to the land (abounding in temporary dwellings) of the Bóinn.

3 Most of those who journeyed to conquer her, Banbha, nurse of Parthalán, their graves are in the plain of Conn and their tombs close by Liathdruim.

Heading: Fearghal Óg .cc.

- 1 d comhthnuth.
2 a tulcha; b fhionnGhall] lochlann; c alle; d b. b.
3 c ferta.

4 D'fhuil Ghaoidheal fēin, gidh iad ann,
fa aoibhneas chríche Cualann,
mór ngaoilGhrēagach thiar do thuit,
i bhfiadh chlaoinghēagach Cormaic.

5 Do thuitiodar, truagh an bhroid,
lucht comhghaoil agus caruid,
's clann is athair uair oile,
fa uaim n-achaidh Ūghoine.

6 Do thuit fós, foirfe an báthadh,
clann na deisi dearbhrāthar
's clann aonathar, mar fhuair mē,
fa naomhachadh bhruaigh Bhóinne.

4 Of the blood of the Gaoidhil themselves, moreover,
many a one of Grecian kin fell in the west, in
Cormac's land of bending branches, because of the
beauty of the territory of Cuala.

5 They fell, alas the tragedy, relations and friends,
and father and children another time, because of
[attempting to] unite the field of Ūghoine.

6 Again there fell, final the destruction, the
children of the two brothers and the children of one
father, as I have learned, because of the saintly
pasture of the shore of the Bóinn.

4 a feain; d bhfiadh.

5 ā achaidh.

6 b dearphbhrathar; c aonathair.

- 7 Ar thuit fa thulaigh Logha,
go ríomhthar na rēaltana
is duille tre ghéigfhiodh ngeal,
ní h-éidior uile a n-áireamh.
- 8 NĪ fiú an tarbha tárras di
ō chruthōgaibh na cruinni,
críoch gēireannach thirmshíon dte,
imshníomh Éireannach impe.
- 9 Ō Nēill Teamhra tuir Chaisil
dó bheanas na briathraisin:
nīrbh fhiú seanBhóinn, lér fhuaigh Art,
gach neamhghlōir fuair dā furtacht.

7 Until the stars and leaves through bright,
branching woodland are counted, it will not be
possible to enumerate all who fell because of Lugh's
hill.

8 The benefit which accrued to her, sharp-speared
land of dry, warm seasons, from the handsome warriors
of the world is not worth the unrest of the Irish
concerning her.

9 Ó Néill of Teamhair, pillar of Caiseal, it is to
him that those words apply: the ancient Bóinn, with
whom Art wedded, was not worth every blemish he
received from helping her.

- 7 c ngéigfhiodh; d héidir.
8 b chruthoġ; c críochc geirreannach.
9 c fhuaidh; d neamhghl⁺.

- 10 Nírbh fhiú tighearnas thuath mBreagh:
mar dhamhna Tailtean tēigheadh
flaith Gaoidheal i gcoinne chealg
i gcoille chaoilshleagh gceinnearg.
- 11 Nírbh fhiú comhtha chríche Néill
a gcualaidh 's ar dhéach dhíbhséin:
gāir shluagh is caismearta cath,
is fraisneachta fuar faobhrach.
- 12 Ar chleacht dībh nírbh fhiú Éirinn:
gaoth meirgeadh shíl shaoirFhēilim,
's gaoth gheimhreada ba garbh snuadh,
is seinleaba arm n-ionnuar.

10 The lordship of the territories of Breagha was not worth [that] : as heir of Tailte the prince of the Gaoidhil used to go against treachery into the woods of slender, red-tipped spears.

11 The ransoms of the land of Niall were not worth all that he heard and saw of these: cry of hosts and shouts of battle and a cold, biting snowshower.

12 Éire was not worth what he experienced of them: the breeze of the battle-standards of the seed of noble Féilim, and a winter wind of harsh disposition, and a well-worn bed of cold armour.

- 10 a th-; b teig; d chaoilshleadh cceinndearcc.
11 d fraisshneachta.
12 b tsh. tsh.; c geimhreata; d nfionnfhuar.

- 13 Aodh Macha, mar is díor dhó,
do-chífe, i n-íoc a anró,
ar Feis na Samhna ós Bhóinn Bhreagh
glóir a anma dá h-oirdneadh.
- 14 I Mórdháil Uisnigh íobhaidh
a luach d'fhíon ar airdríoghaibh
ar ibh do ghoirmshreibh bruaigh Bhreagh,
coinnmhídh uaidh ar gach n-innbhear.
- 15 Glúin fhíllti i n-Aonach Tailltean
íocfaid re a fholt bhfochaintiogh
áit a ghlún i sleasaibh sroth
iar dtreasaibh ag túr Theamhrach.

13 Aodh of Macha, as is his due, will see, in compensation for his suffering, the glory of his name being honoured at the Festival of Samhain above the Bóinn of Breagha.

14 In the Great Assembly of Uisneach, sponsored by high-kings, he will drink of wine an amount commensurate with what he drank of the dark water of the shore of Breagha [when] he had billetings on every estuary.

15 Knees genuflected [in submission] at the Assembly of Tailte will requite his hair of dense strands for the mark of his knees in banks of streams after battles [spent] attaining Teamhair.

13 b anró.

14 d coinnm̄ uaibh.

15 a Glún; b íocf̄; fochaintíodh.

- 16 I gclár a sgéith do sgoltadh
ag cur treas fán dteaghArtmhagh,
táithfidh mál mórtha na mbreath
an clár órtha fa Uisneach.
- 17 Ēaruic ann osna na gcoll,
's osna sdéad bhflatha Frēamhonn:
osna a mheirge solas sean
i ndoras reilge ruaidhshleagh.
- 18 Teas a laochruidhe ar lár chath,
teas crithreadh a cholg bhfaobhrach,
fuacht fíorthobar is fiach ann
fa thriath chríochphobal gCualann.

16 As recompense for the splitting of the face of his shield while doing battle about the plain of the house of Art, the proud, judgment-giving prince will unite the golden plain around Uisneach.

17 The sigh of the hazel trees and of the steeds of the prince of Fréamhann will be compensation for it: the sigh of his ancient bright banners in front of an enclosure of crimson spears.

18 The heat of his warriors in the thick of frays, the heat of the sparks of his sharp swords is compensation for the cold of natural springs around the prince of the peoples and territory of Cuala.

16 b fán t.

17 a coll; b flatha; c meirgeadh.

18 a laochchruidhe; d cualann.

- 19 Do bhíodh ag cosnamh chóig bhfonn
i gcoill dhírih chrann gcomhlann;
fiodhbhadh chlaon i n-earradh óir
do gealladh d'Aodh 'na h-onóir.
- 20 I n-Íoc ar mhaol, do chor chath,
do reannaibh sleagh sluaigh Theamhrach,
biaidh géirinn ar ghaoibh goile
fa chraoibh mhéirsheing Mhucroimhe.
- 21 I n-aghaidh na gcreach 's na gcath
do chleachtadh cuingidh Teamhrach,
biaidh an ana i ngach ionadh,
biaidh an fhala ag íslioghadh.

19 He was wont to defend five territories in an upright wood of trees of battle; an inclining wood in golden dress was promised to Aodh in honour of it.

20 In compensation for all that he blunted, for the purpose of fighting battles, of the spear-points of the host of Teamhair, there will be a sharp point on war-javelins around the slender-fingered branch of Mucraimhe.

21 Instead of the raids and battles which the champion of Teamhair used to experience, prosperity will be in every place, enmity will be subsiding.

19 a Do bhí.

20 a ccath; b sleadh; c báidh geirrinn; d craoiph.

21 b chuing⁺.

- 22 Ō Dhún Bhaoi go Beinn Éadair
 beid cúirtí gan choimhēadaidh
 i bhfiach a sáraighthi sin,
 námhfhairche Chliach is Chaisil.
- 23 Do ghairm fhlatha d'Aodh Eanghach
 go cathair na claoinTeamhrach,
 tiocfaid caithearraidh chraoi Bhreach
 ar aoi a aithearraigh d'oirdneadh.
- 24 I n-éaruic na bhfianbhoth bhfliuch,
 's na ndībhearg neartmhar neimhneach,
 biaidh síodh ag tuinn re trághaibh,
 biaidh ō Cuinn i gcomhdhálaibh.

22 From Dún Baoi to Beann Éadair courts will be unguarded in compensation for overcoming that, the hostile territory of Cliú and Caiseal.

23 To give a prince's summons to Aodh Eanghach to the fort of sloping Teamhair, the warlike leaders of the land of Breagha will come for the purpose of inaugurating his reincarnation.

24 In compensation for the wet bivouacs and the powerful, lethal raids, wave and shores will be in harmony, the heir of Conn will be in assemblies.

22 a éidir; b biaidh; choimheadaicc; d is] om.

24 ā bhfionnōboth with the n-contraction expuncted; c sídh.

- 25 \bar{O} Néill Teathbha acht go dtí i-le,
 ní bhia lag acht na linnte,
 's ní bhia teann acht teas bruithne,
 's ní bhia ceall gan chumairche.
- 26 Aodh Tailltean muna thí a-noir,
 ní bhia dóigh ina dheaghaidh
 re h-athchobhair ag Bóinn Bhreagh
 nā ag clachtholaigh mhóir Mhaisdean.
- 27 Muna thí do chobhair cháigh,
 ní creidthi d'aoineach annáil
 nā naomh, nā faidh, nā file,
 's ní cáir taobh re tairngire.

25 Providing \bar{O} Néill of Teathbha comes hither, only the lakes will be weak, and only the heat of the [sun's] fire will be strong, and church ground will not be without protection.

26 If Aodh of Tailte does not come from the east, neither Bóinn of Breagha nor the great stone hill of Maisde will have hope of other help after him.

27 If he does not come to help everyone, one should not have faith in historian or saint or prophet or poet, and one should not trust prophecy.

25 a teathfa; alle; \bar{b} bhiaidh; \bar{c} bhiaidh; acht t $\bar{7}$; \bar{d} bhiaidh; chumarce.

26 a ttí; \bar{c} breadh; d no.

27 \bar{b} daoinneach; \bar{d} cōir.

- 28 Nā brēagnaigheadh briathra Finn,
nā Nēill, nā Airt, nā Fhēilim -
cia an fáth nār tharngair a thocht? -
cách ag anmhain re a fhurtacht.
- 29 Banbha na mbileadh sgoithgheal
luibh íocshláinti a h-othoirchneadh;
a gliaidh an chathchraoisi Chuinn
biaidh 'na athMhaoisi aguinne.
- 30 Rí mac n-Iosra-héal uile,
Maoisi, ceann an chaomhchuire,
ar neimh 's ar an uile olc
dā threibh uile dob fhurtocht.

28 Let him not disprove the words of Fionn or of Niall, or of Art or of Féilim - who is the prophet who has not foretold his coming? - all are awaiting his assistance.

29 Banbha of the bright-blossomed trees, [he is] the healing herb of her sickness-wounds; he will be as another Moses to us [leading us] from the strife of this battle-land of Conn.

30 King of the sons of all Israel, Moses, leader of the fair band, to all his people he was a saviour against venom and every evil.

28 c fáidh; tairrngir.

- 31 Clann Iosra-héal, d'iúl litri,
 tug Forann, flaith Éigeiphti,
 fuath uile dōibh, mar nār dhligh,
 nīr chóir don chuire a chísín.
- 32 Do marbhthaoi uathaibh uile
 le Forann na fionghuile,
 crīoch a bheart ba searbh iar soin,
 gan leanbh iar dteacht ar talmhain.
- 33 Maoisi diadha, dearbh an sdair,
 do iar dtoigheacht ar talmhain,
 i mbáirc thana ar muir a-mach
 do chuir cara dá chumhdach.

31 According to written evidence, Pharaoh, prince of Egypt, displayed utter hatred towards the children of Israel, which was not right for him, not just to the host were those exactions of his.

32 All of them might have been slain by murderous Pharaoh had a child not arrived on earth: bitter was the conclusion of his deeds after that.

33 Blessed Moses, certain the narrative, having arrived on earth, a friend sent him out onto the sea in a slender boat for his protection.

- 34 Do bhádar, trā, do thoil Dé,
gur éirigh - foirfe an fínné -
gan fhios ag aodhaireacht air
an gaoloireacht ōr ghabhloigh.
- 35 A-dubhairt Dia, 'na dhiaidh soin,
re Maoisi go n-a mhacoibh,
dul tar Ruadhmuir ngairg ngeilte,
ō fhuarmhuigh aird Ēigiphte.
- 36 Crīosd ainnséin, re h-eatail ngráidh,
tug shlait ndiadha 'na dheasláimh
dār thráigh an ríoghmuir reampa,
an rīoghraidh cháidh choisearca.

34 By the will of God, then, until he grew up - the testimony is flawless - the host, related to him by kin, from whom he sprang, were secretly protecting him.

35 God, after that, told Moses and his sons to go across the Red Sea, rough, bright and warm, from the cold, high plain of Egypt.

36 Then Christ, with a rush of love, put a holy rod into his right hand whereby the royal sea receded before them, the holy, blessed kingly host.

34 b éiridh; fhínné.

35 a Aduphairt; b mhacoiph; c ngairbh.

36 b a neasláimh; d cháig.

- 37 Rug Forann, go bhfeirg roimhir,
i ndiaidh Mhaoisi mhíorbhoiligh,
léim uaibhreach san sál seinte
ó chlár fhuairfhliuch Eigeiphte.
- 38 Do imdhigh Maoisi slán sonn,
's do agair Íosa ar Fhoronn
a olc trom, gā dtámaid ris,
dā dtānaig an tonn tairis.
- 39 Forann eachtronnaigh fhóid Bhreagh,
clann Iosra-héal meic Mhíleadh,
dōigh naomh an chraoisi Chodhail,
Maoisi Aodh, nō a ionnamhail.

37 Pharaoh, with raging anger, following Moses the miracle-worker, gave a presumptuous leap from the cold and damp Egyptian plain into the warm, ancient sea.

38 Moses went safely to this side and Jesus prosecuted Pharaoh for his greivous evil because of which, in short, the wave came over him.

39 Pharaoh represents the foreigners of the soil of Breagha, the children of Israel are the sons of Míl, Maoise is Aodh, or is the image of him, hope of the saints of this land of Codhal.

- 38 b aghair; d ttainic.
39 b israhel; c choghail.

- 40 Do nós Fhorann tiocfa an tonn,
ar nāmhdaihb Ī Néill Chualonn;
fine Cuinn beanfaidh a broid,
le dearbhthoil tar tuinn tánoig.
- 41 Tāinig Aodh Life tar lionn
le cloinn Iosra-héal Éirionn;
fóirfidh sē ēigean gach fhír:
an céidfhear é nō a aithghin.
- 42 Fíorfaidh Ō Néill Colam cáidh,
fīorfaidh fós fuighle Bearchāin;
gēabhaidh teann ar chathair chniocht:
rachoidh earr ar a n-oirbheart.

40 As in the case of Pharaoh, the wave will come upon the enemies of Ó Néill of Cuala; he will lead the tribe of Conn from oppression, he will come across the sea with great willingness.

41 Aodh of Life will come across the water with Éire's children of Israel; he will remedy the distress of every man: he is the original [Moses] or his replica.

42 Ó Néill will vindicate blessed Colam, again he will verify the words of Bearchán; he will gain supremacy over a stronghold of [English] soldiers: their way will end.

- 40 b naimhdibh ui.
41 a linn; b éirind; c fóirfe.
42 a colaim.

- 43 Líonfaidh \bar{O} Néill teach Dhá Thí,
 fíorfaidh Fíthiol is Flaithrí,
 le fíchdheabhaidh fíorfaidh Fionn,
 líonfaidh ríghthealaigh Raoilinn.
- 44 Fíorfaidh \bar{O} Néill Flann File:
 do tháth Bhanbha boirdghile,
 tar tuinn bhfuair ngrianomhain ngil
 le buaidh siaramhain sínfidh.
- 45 Táithfidh, dā dtí tar toinnlinn,
 ar sgaoil d'Éirinn eatoilbhinn;
 Cú Rí na fréimhe dā bhfuil,
 'na chéile do bhí ag Breaghmuigh.

43 Ó Néill will occupy the house of Dá Thí, he will vindicate Fítheal and Flaithrí, with angry battle he will vindicate Fionn, he will occupy the royal hill of Raoilinn.

44 Ó Néill will vindicate Flann File: to unite bright-shored Banbha he will advance victoriously across the bright, deep-bottomed sea.

45 If he comes across the sea he will unite what he fragmented of Éire of the pleasant sunshine; he is the Cú Rí of his race, who was a spouse of Breaghmuigh.

44 c ghriando \bar{m} ghil.
 45 \bar{d} breadhmhuigh.

- 46 An feadh do mhair mac Dáire
 ōs chionn Mhumhan míonáille,
 do bhí neimh ar-íribh air,
 rí do mhínigh threibh dTuathail.
- 47 Ní leigheōsdaoi, acht dā láimh féin,
 aoineach ar talmhain toinnréidh
 dā mbeanadh crēachtghoin Chon Raoi:
 cor re a ēachtaibh ní éadfaoi.
- 48 É féin leigheōsas ar loit,
 tairrngiortach chríche Cormaic;
 biaidh ina athChoin oile
 ag sgathmhuigh Bhriain Bhóroimhe.

46 While the son of Dáire reigned above smooth and beautiful Mumha, he was venomous indeed, a king who subdued Tuathal's people.

47 Only by his own hand could anyone on the smooth-surfaced earth who suffered Cu Raoi's grievous wounding be cured: it would be impossible to oppose his deeds.

48 It is he himself who will cure that which he has injured, the prophesied one of the land of Cormac; he will be a second Cú for the blossom-plain of Brian Bóroimhe.

- 46 c ar íriph; d mhínidh; tuathail.
 47 a féain; b aoinneach; c féadfaoi.
 48 a féain; air.

- 49 Do leigheas chréacht chríche Breagh
rachoid do mhacaibh Míleadh
líon gliadh, bh_us buanoimhne báidh,
siar le sluaghoighre Siobháin.
- 50 Léigfid na gaoithe goile,
is léigfidh leac Laoghaire
fios a rúin re h-Aodh n-Iodhan,
gach aon dúinn dá d_hheimhnioghadh.
- 51 Idir chníochna is chrích mBanbha
Aodh bhéarus breath sgaramhna,
sgaoilfidh cabharthach chláir Sreing
dáil danarchath re Duibhlinn.

49 To heal the wounds of the land of Breagha a
battalion of the sons of Míl, of deepest, lasting
love, will travel westwards with the hosting heir of
Siobhán.

50 The spears of battle and Laoghaire's stone will
yield knowledge of their secret to Aodh Iodhan,
everyone confirms it to us.

51 Aodh, who will deliver a separation-judgment
between the [English] soldiers and the land of Banbha,
the helper of the plain of Sreang will sever the
connection between the English battalions and Dublin.

- 49 b mhacaiph; c gliaidh; buan doimhne.
50 a na na.
51 a bhanbha.

- 52 Do-ghéana col re crích mBreagh:
beith ag seanmhnaoi na sinnsior
bu leis ōn naomhRóimh a-noir;
a geis do bhraonBhōinn beanfoidh.
- 53 Muaidh is Banna is Beann Éadair
is Máigh soir ag sírdhéagain,
mar sin do Shūir 's do Bhōinn bhinn:
súil ris an Róimh ag Raoilinn.
- 54 Ar aoi Chundaoisi cnuic Bhreagh,
Dún Dealgan soir ag silleadh,
's Dún Droma is Beanna Boirche:
orra is gearra geamhoidhche.

52 He will mate incestuously with the land of Breagha: coming eastwards from holy Rome it will be his lot to be with the ancient wife of the ancestors; he will remove her taboo from the wet Bóinn.

53 Muaidh and Banna and Beann Éadair and Máigh are continually looking east as are Súir and sweet Bóinn: Raoilinn looks to Rome.

54 Because of the Countess of the hill of Breagha, Dún Dealgan and Dún Droma and Beanna Boirche gaze eastwards: on these the winter night is shortest.

52 b sionnsior; c o.

53 ā Muaigh; beīnn; b sírdhéagain.

54 ā chnuic.

- 55 Fiú a báidh re Teamhraigh thiaroin
fēachadh uirrthí i n-imchianaibh;
Caitir Fhíona, sgeallán sgol,
beangān díona na ndeōradh.
- 56 Deich rígh 's dā fhichead uair geall
i gceannas chríche h-Éireann,
ōs Bhóinn gheilte lēr fhaoi Art,
do bhaoi reimpe san ríoghdacht.
- 57 Deich rígh 's dā fhichead oile
ōs chóigeadh chlann Rudhroighe
do sgoith chaomshluaigh chraoi Lughaidh
do bhaoi i gCraobhruaidh Chonchubhair.

55 Her affection for Teamhair is worthy of our looking at her far away; Caitir Fhíona, shield of poetry-schools, sheltering branch of the wandering poets.

56 Before her in the kingdom were fifty kings who received a pledge in the matter of the ruling of the land of Éire, over bright and warm Bóinn with whom Art mated.

57 Another fifty kings of the best of the gentle host of the land of Lughaidh were in Conchubhar's Craobhruadh over the province of the families of Rudhraighe.

55 b fecĥ ; c caitear.

56 a is da fhíththead oile fuair geall.

57 a is da fhiththead; b rughroidhe; d ccraophruaidh.

- 58 Clann Rudhruighe an fhréamh dā bhfuil
Caitir Fhíona an fhuilt chornaigh;
roighne curadh chláir Logha,
dāibh dob umhal IarMhumho.
- 59 Rann ar gach ndán, díochra an chuing,
ag Māg Aonghusa oruinn;
beangán nár dháigh do dhonnadh,
leannān gráidh do ghabhomar. Mór
- 60 Mac Í Ruairc, rún gach sgoile,
toirbhearta Chuinn Chalroighe
le dāimh nīrbh fhéile annamh,
cēile gráidh lēr ghabhamur. Mór

58 Clann Rudhraighe is the stock from whom Caitir Fhíona of the curly hair is descended; choicest of the warriors of the plain of Lugh, IarMhumha was submissive to them.

59 We owe Māg Aonghusa a quatrain from every poem, a sincere obligation; scion who was unlikely to be caused to blush, lover that we took.

60 Ó Ruairc's son, idol of every poetry-school, the poets did not deem a rare liberality the bestowings of Conn of Calraighe, love-companion to whom we adhered.

58 a rughruidhe; b caitear; chorñ.

59 b̄ aonusa.

60 ā ui; chalroidhe.

61 Do ghabh treisi i dtigh Nimhe
 Peadar ar aoi n-aithrighe;
 a thrēan do leathnoigh dā logh:
 fearthain a dhéar go dlúthmhor.

M.O.R. do Mill

61 Peter gained influence in Heaven's house by virtue of repentance; his power spread in reward for it: the intense shedding of his tears.

61 b naithridhe.

Dúnadh: 10 Decembris precedes and 1654 follows.

1 c bha see BST 190.29.

d The form -tnúidh (IGT ii. 45), a variant of MS -tnúth (IGT ii. 39, 45), is required for perfect rime.

2 a tulach (MS tulcha) Gen. pl. is almost certainly what is intended here. The manuscript reading is gen. sg. or nom./ acc. pl. Tulach is the only form of the gen. pl. cited in IGT ii. 190, though the form fanntolchadh (: torchar) occurs in Di. D 78.5b.

b fhionnGhall (MS lochlann) Although the manuscript reading is metrically correct it seems to me that it renders line c redundant. Comparable lists of invaders occur in Poem XI. 13 and TD 17.9-11 where the Spanish and the English are included and the Norse excluded. Fionnghall was an early synonym of Lochlannach but it later came also to signify the Old English; cf. IBP, 220 n. 7, LCAB XV. line 18, DIL F, 143.49-56. I have therefore made an emendation here which may appear drastic but which is in keeping with the context.

For fian: fian: fiadh see Breacadh 24(a), 25(i)-(iv).

c bothlongach This compound also occurs in a quatrain not dissimilar from the present one:

trén Lochlannach tar sál soir
go Clár mbothlongach mBalair. POR XII. 5cd.

Professor Carney translates this as 'abounding in house-like ships'. I interpret it, rather, as a

reference to the temporary dwellings used while on hostings (cf. q. 10 n. infra); hence -longach which I take to mean literally 'moving like a ship'.

3 b Parthalán was reputedly the first to invade Ireland; e.g., cf. Foras feasa i, 156, EIHM, 75.

cd I do not think that any distinction is being made between feart and leacht here. The sense is that the graves are scattered from Connacht to Tara.

4 c gaoilGhréagach A reference to the supposed Grecian connections of the Gaoidhil; cf. TD i, p. lix.

5 It is difficult to say whether any specific events are being referred to here and in q. 6 or whether the poet is simply trying to express the extent to which the attractiveness of Ireland proved fatal for those involved. It would be possible to make tentative identifications of these references (e.g. Brian Bóroimhe and Murchadh mac Briain who fell at Cluain Tarbh; or the seven sons of Ailill Ólomm who fell at Magh Mucramha) but the ultra-cryptic nature of the allusions makes these impossible to verify.

6 bc For clann: clann cf. Breacadh 64 (vii).

7 a thulaigh Logha i.e. Teamhair.

b This is an element from the catalogue of futilities or impossibilities common in Irish literature; cf. Poem VII. lines 31-3 n.

9 d fuair The subject of the verb is Ó Néill in a.

10 An alternative translation of this quatrain might be: 'The lordship of the territories of Breagha was not worth the prince of the Gaoidhil opposing treachery: as heir to Tailte he used to go into woods of slender, red-tipped spears'. Because of the possibility of this interpretation I have allowed lenition in chealg to stand.

a The lenition of tuath here, and caoilshleagh in d are instances of 'sléagar' as outlined in the General Introduction.

d coille This could be either dat./ acc. sg. or acc. pl.; see IGT ii. 191 and ex. 2128.

The catalogue of hardships endured by a warrior on campaign, which is introduced here, is commonplace in bardic verse. In the present collection it is also found in Poem VIII. 11-12, 16-21.

In these descriptions the inclemency of the weather is invariably emphasised,¹ as it is here (qq. 11d, 12c) and in Poem VIII. 11d. This forms the

1 Cf. IBP 29 (passim).

backdrop for the description of the harsh living conditions which the warrior has to endure. In Poem VIII, emphasis is placed on the temporary dwellings - botha² or fianbhotha (cf. q. 24a infra) which were constructed by using spears (VIII. 10c)³ and branches of trees (VIII. 16c) with scant roofing (VIII. 12c n.). The soldier is therefore compelled to sleep outdoors (VIII. 12d, 18c), sometimes in his armour (q. 12d infra).⁴ For sustenance he has only the ice-cold water of rivers and streams (qq. 14c, 18c infra, VIII. 10a, 12c, 17d) and whatever food can be obtained by raiding (VIII. 12d). All this suggests a contrast with the comfortable life back at the castle in peace-time⁵ which contrast is the essence of the cruas/ buga antithesis in bardic verse (cf. Poem V. 14b n.).

This motif of the catalogue of hardships can be employed in a number of ways. For instance, in 'Sona sin a chlanda Cuind' Fearghal Óg uses it simply to say that Cormac Ó hEadhra is a battle-hardened man and is therefore not to be trifled with by his enemies (O Hara IX. 22-7); in 'Fáth cumhmadh ag crích Luighne' Fearghal Óg suggests that Cormac's chronic illness is the result of the hardships he endured earlier in his career (O Hara XXIV. 11-15).

By far the commonest use of the motif, however, is that occurring in an earlier poem of Fearghal Óg's to the same Cormac. In 'Táinig san chluiche ag Cormac' he claims that Ó hEadhra is now the supreme ruler of his territory and that he has thus been rewarded for all the hardships he suffered

2 Cf. BAR i, 76.

3 'Snadmthar botha naoidhe am nóin/ dá ngaoithibh ar comair cuain' DMU XIII. 18cb. See L Branach, 343 (367 n.).

4 Cf. IBP 29.8cd, O Hara IX. 25a.

5 E.g. LCAB XXIX. 3, DMU XII. 6, Di. D 75.11.

while striving to achieve that supremacy (O Hara VIII. 24-36). In Poem VIII in the present collection, Fearghal Óg says that though Conchubhar Óg Mac Diarmada suffered much in asserting his supremacy and ridding his territory of the Goill, he will now reap the reward for those hardships. In the present poem the poet maintains that though the suffering endured by Ó Neill was not commensurate with the end result (qq. 8-12)⁶ he will still be compensated for all the hardships if he returns to Ireland (qq. 17-24).

12 bc Knowing the corruptions which abound in the O Gara manuscript it is quite possible that the correct reading here should be gaoithmheirge .../ gaoth 'the wise battle-standard ...' referring to Ó Néill and the subject of the verb in a. However, this does not warrant emending the text, especially in view of q. 17c infra. For the lenition of síl see Poem II. 10b n.; the non-lenition of meirgeadh is an instance of 'sléagar'. For gaoth: gaoth see q. 6bc n. supra.

gheimhreada The -d- is necessary for perfect rime though I have no other riming example of this form (cf. geamhrata Poem XI. 46d). Either -dha or -tha could be added to the nom. sg. or gen. pl. of a noun to form a derivative adjective known as a tulshamhlughadh (IGT i. 151-5).

13 a Macha see Poem VI. 17b n.

c Feis na Samhna A festival held on the

6 Contrast Fearghal Óg's remarks concerning Aodh Óg Ó Domhnaill in Di. D 110.9.

first day of November to mark the coming of Winter, an important date in the calendar of Irish mythology; e.g. see Mac Cana, Celtic mythology, 127-8.

14 a On Dál Uisneach see Poem II. 12d n.

b ar airdríoghaibh Perhaps 'in the presence of high-kings'?

15 a Alliteration makes it necessary to show lenition on fillte here. I have therefore emended MS Glún to its nom. pl. form (IGT ii. 44), which, in turn, necessitates reading a plural verb in line b.

For the fair of Tailte see Poem IV. 46d n.

d An alternative interpretation here would be to take túr as 'tower', referring to Ó Néill, and to translate: 'the tower of Teamhair having left the mark ...'.

16 b teaghArtmhagh A dvandva compound; perhaps we should translate 'around the house and plain of Art'? Cf. Eigse xv (1973-4) 161.

c For mál cf. Di. D 93.50c where the editor prints it with a capitalized initial as though it were the personal name as in 'magh Máil' etc. (cf. Poem IV. 78c n.).

I do not have another example of mórtha, and perhaps one would be on safer ground emending to mórdha/ órdha. But órtha is attested: cf. Di. D 70.12d, O Hara XXXIV. 20a.

On the idea of the king uniting the country see Poem II. 12d n.

d Unfortunately the translation fails to bring out the correspondence between clár in line a and clár here. For clár: clár: mál cf. q. 2b n. supra; órtha refers perhaps to the land covered in ripe corn?

17 a osna na gcoll The hazel trees sighing under the weight of their produce. For osna: osna: osna see Breacadh 24(b), 25(v)-(viii).

b This line refers to horse racing which was an important feature of ao-naigh the relics of which are to be found in some modern-day point-to-points; cf. Fest. Lugh., 305, 318-9, 328-9. It was also a feature of the entertainments provided by a chief at his residence (cf. TD 11.12, Di. D 68.20) the passing of which was lamented by Fear Flatha Ó Gnímh (MD 54.8).

c meirge, being originally an io-stem, can be assumed to have had a 'taoibhréim ísiol iollraidh' as well as a 'taoibhréim ard iollraidh' (cf. q. 12b) though the word is not cited in IGT; cf. DIL M, 87.36. Alternatively reilge could be emended to reilgeadh.

d For the phrase i ndoras 'in front of' see DIL D, 368.65-77.

18 ab For teas: teas see q. 6bc n. These two lines also allude to peace-time activities at the chief's residence. The first line I take to refer to

some form of jousting or sword-practice; the second line may also refer to this or possibly to the sharpening of weapons and the making of new ones in a forge, cf. Magauran III. 8 and q. 20c infra. Comparable activities are described by Tadhg Dall in his description of Eniskillen castle, TD 11. 20-21.

19 a This line lacks a syllable in the manuscript. One could also emend to 'do bhí sé'.

The five territories are, of course, the five provinces. Perhaps 'striving for' is the intended meaning of cosnamh here.

c i n-earradh óir i.e. laden with fruit and blossoms.

d 'na h-onóir Perhaps 'because of it': cf. DIL O, 147.73-4.

20 d Mucroimhe as in Magh Mucramha, a plain in co. Galway, south of Athenry.

21 a For the usage of i n-aghaidh here cf. Poem VIII. 21a.

cd On the rime biaidh: biaidh see Breacadh 14, 15.

22 a Dún Baoi par. Killaconenagh, bar. Bear, co. Cork, where Ó Súilleabháin Béire had a castle in the sixteenth century (cf. Introduction to Poem X). See Éigse iv (1943-4) 104 for a note on an early

instance of two placenames used to indicate the limits of an area of Ireland. For examples using Beann Éadair cf. TD 24.36, Di. D 96.10, Butlers XIX.3, L Branach line 2490.

b beid The manuscript reading has been emended from singular to plural in order to avoid the fault known as uathadh re hilar (IGT v. 20).

d This line lacks a syllable in the manuscript.

Cliach, gen. of Cliú, an area in co. Limerick; see Onom., 248-9.

23 a For Aodh Eanghach see Poem V. 53c n. Note that there also Eanghach rimes with claoinTeamhrach.

24 a fianbhoth Cf. q. 10 n. supra.

c Ordinarily síodh, because it has no riming partner here, would represent an example of the metrical fault known as 'anocht' (IGT v. 6; Ériu xii (1938) 220.13). It may be that in this case, however, the fact that the phenomenon is caused by the 'breacadh' in the rime biaidh: biaidh (cf. q. 21cd n. supra) may mean that it is not to be regarded as a fault. Ó Máille (Breacadh, pp. 136-7) lists seven examples of words without requisite riming partners, but in those cases the words are part of the 'breacadh'. A comparable instance occurs in q. 25 and cf. Poem XI.9c n.

25 a Teathbha A plain in the midlands; see Onom., 663.

b -bia is the correct conjunct form of the substantive verb, 3 sg. future; cf. IGT iii. 7.

lag i.e. 'shallow', but I have translated literally in order to preserve the antithesis with teann in c.

These two lines refer to a common feature associated with the rule of the rightful king: the sun's heat is so strong that it causes rivers and lakes to dry up. For other examples see Poem V. 57ab, O Hara XXV. 56c, Di. D 80.5, and especially DMU VII. 23-8. Thus, in elegies, the sun is eclipsed; cf. Poem XI. 30d.

c Note that teas has no riming partner; cf. q. 24c n.; recte teann (see apparatus)?

d On the reference here see Poem VIII. 11b n.

chumairche is a permitted variant of MS cuma(i)rce (IGT ii. 3) and is necessary here for perfect rime.

27 b creidthi For a note on the ogham-form of the participle of necessity see IGT i. 49, 57.

I have no other example of neach (etc.) annáil and perhaps it is to be construed as a person worthy of mention in the annals rather than the compiler of such material.

For a note on prophecy see Poem V. 53c n.

c Note that in b the verb is followed by a prepositional phrase, whereas here it takes a direct object.

d The form cáir is necessary for perfect rime.

28 a While the reference in b to Niall, Art and Féilim functioning as prophets is simply a poetic extension of the idea of great heroes of the past prefiguring the warriors of the present (as for example in Poem V. 64-9 or in 'Teasda Éire san Easbáinn', Éigse xv (1973-4) 40. 28-9), Fionn is frequently mentioned in the company of the saints (cf. qq. 42-3 infra) when the motif of a chief being the fulfilment of a prophecy is invoked; cf. Aith. D 27.23-5, POR V. 27, Butlers I. 18, Di. D 97.10-11.

b For lenition of a genitive after ná see BST 10b.20.

c fáth is a variant of fáidh (IGT ii. 38, 95, 112) and so is tarngair of tairngir (IGT iii. 65) and these forms are required here for perfect rime.

29 The likening of the plight of the Irish to that of the Israelites - which is introduced here - was a popular theme of seventeenth century Irish literature.¹ We find it also in the fourteenth century² and it persisted down to the nineteenth century.³ The source is, of course, the Book of Exodus.

1 E.g., de Brún, et al., Nua-Dhuanair i, 36-7; MD 54. lines 65-8 (and ibid., line 79 for 'an t-athMhaoise'). Cf. Éigse xi (1965-6) 207-8.

2 Di. D 74.

3 E.g., cf. Ó Dubhda, Duanair Duibhneach XXII. 1.

30 a For uile: uile: uile (see q. 17a n.) : chaomhchuire see Breacadh 28. The syllable division in Iosra-héal is based on the 'rinn/ airdrinn' rime with éidréan in MD 54. lines 65-6.

32 I am not altogether satisfied with my interpretation of this quatrain. An alternative might be: 'Murderous Pharaoh was wont to slay all of them; bitter was the conclusion of his deeds after that: no children being born'. This would refer to Pharaoh's instructions that all male children be drowned in the Nile in order to control the population-growth of the Israelites (Exodus 1:22). With this in mind one might go further and suggest that gan in d is a scribal misreading of \bar{g} or \dot{g} and that gach should in fact be read; 'Pharaoh used to kill every new-born child of them all ...'. This would be very appropriate in the context as the next quatrain explains how Moses avoided this fate.

33 d Exodus 2:1-3 tells us that the 'cara' was Moses' mother who 'took for him an ark of bulrushes, and daubed it with slime and with pitch, and put the child therein; and she laid it in the flags by the river's brink'.

34 b On the origins of the word fínné see Éigse xviii (1980-81) 107-9.

d gaoloireacht Cf. gaoilGhréagach in q. 4c supra.

Moses was discovered in the bulrushes by Pharaoh's daughter who gave him to Moses' mother to be

reared until he grew up whereupon he was adopted by Pharaoh's daughter; Exodus 2:5-10.

35 Here Fearghal Óg skips the plagues and the Passover and concentrates on the crossing of the Red Sea.

c ngaing The manuscript reading, ngairbh does not make perfect rime. I suggest that this is a scribal slip for the near synonym garg.

36 a The anachronistic confusion of Christ (cf. q. 38b) with God is commonplace in bardic religious verse (e.g., cf. Dán Dé, p. xiv) but I feel that here we have to do rather with a reminder of the fact that Moses, in his role of saviour of the Israelites, prefigured Christ the saviour of mankind. That this is deliberate here can be inferred from the iar dtoigheacht ar talmhain reference in q. 33b. Cf. General Introduction, ch. (ix), n. 43.

b This line lacks a syllable in the manuscript. Fearghal Óg telescopes events here. In the Bible Moses' rod is not given to him by God but is transformed into an instrument of magical powers (Exodus 4:2-4) and is therefore referred to as 'the rod of God' (Exodus 4:20). With this Moses initiates the plagues of blood, frogs and lice and, having crossed the Red Sea, brings water from a rock. The parting of the Red Sea, however, was brought about by Moses raising his hand, not his rod, over the water (Exodus 14:21).

38 a For sonn: trom: tonn: Fhoronn see q. 30a n.

d tánaig, a permitted variant of MS tāinig (IGT iii. 5), is required for perfect rime.

39 b In q. 41b it would seem that what the poet has in mind is in fact those meic Mhíleadh who are in exile across the sea.

c Codhail see Poem II. 35a n.

Mention of saints here anticipates qq. 42-4.

40 a The only other example I have of the genitive of Forann is cosg ainmhian Fhoruinn, Dán na mB. M 9.67c, which is not a riming example.

b námhdaibh (MS naimhdibh) Plural forms of námha with a palatal medial cluster are proscribed by IGT ii. 6. Though such forms are as old as the Milan glosses (DIL N, 12.31-6) and occur regularly in Early Modern Irish prose, examples from the poetry are quite rare (e.g. Di. D 86.17a).

d tánoig It is clear that here, and in q. 41a, the poet is making a modal use of the perfect/preterite tense. On this see E.G. Quin, 'The Irish modal preterite' in Hermathena cxvii (1974) 43-62, especially pp. 53-7.

42 b On fíorfaidh: fíorfaidh cf. q. 6bc n. Bearcháin See Poem V. 53c n.

c For cniocht used with specific reference to English soldiers see DIL C, 268.83-296.6.

43 b Fíthiol is Flaithrí Father and son respectively, two sages associated with the reign of Cormac mac Airt to the first of whom are attributed sayings of a gnostic and prophetic character; see R.M. Smith, 'The Speculum Principium in early Irish literature' in Speculum ii (1927) 411-45.

líonfaidh: fíorfaidh: fíorfaidh: líonfaidh probably represents a variety of 'breacadh' mentioned in Breacadh 28.

c Fionn see q. 28a n. supra.

44 a Flann File Flann is mentioned in the context of prophecies in other poems (e.g. TD 35.1c, Aith. D 8.38c) from which it might be construed that it is Flann Mainstreach who is intended. However, POR XXXIII. 28b makes it clear that we have to do with Flann Fíona (otherwise Aldfrith, king of Northumbria) to whom gnostic briathra are attributed; see Smith, loc. cit.

45 b eatoilbhinn 'pure and sweet'?

c Cf. 'ré lán na fréimhe dá bhfuil' Poem II. 1c.

Perhaps Raoi (cf. q. 47c): do bhaoi should be read here to avoid the possible 'rudhrach' in tí: Rí: bhí; see Poems V. 42cd n., X. 4a n.

46 c For the division of ar-íribh see BST 212.16-18.

47 a Note the eó-future here, and at q. 48a, for the verb leigheasaidh, a feature attested elsewhere (DIL L, 86.35, 42; DMU XX.2h), perhaps under the influence of leasaighidh.

d On éad- for féad- see Poem IX. 40d n.

I have not encountered the source of this reference to Cú Ruí but the idea of the inflicter of wounds being the only person with the power to cure them is one which is usually associated with Cú Chulainn: 'Dáig ní gonad Cú Chulaind nech ara térnád co mbeith cuit dó féin 'na legius' (TBC LL, 2105-6). (For discussion see Schoepperle, Tristan and Isolt, 375-89.) It therefore seems likely that the poet has transferred this characteristic to Cú Ruí for the purposes of the poem.

49 a chríche For absence of eclipsis see Poem II. 10b n.

d Siobhán, mother of Aodh Ó Néill, died in 1600 at Magheracross, co. Fermanagh, and was buried in the monastery of Donegal. Her obit is recorded by the 'Four Masters' (AFM vi, 2222) who tell us that she was a daughter of Cú Chonnacht Comharba Mág Uidhir and therefore a sister of the Cú Chonnacht for whom the Mág Uidhir duanaire was compiled and for whom Fearghal Óg composed five poems (see General Introduction).

50 b leac Laoghaire The Lia Fáil (see Poem V. 6a n.). Cf. the following lines by Fearghal Óg to Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill: 'do-gheibhtear a labhra ó leic Laoghaire/ ag reic ar n-Aoidhne re h-adhbha nÚghaine' Di. D 109.5cd.

c Aodh is again likened to Aodh Eanghach (see q. 23a) for whom another name is Aodh Iodhan (cf. Poem V. 55c).

51 a Note the acc. pl. here after idir and cf. Poem VIII. 41c where dat. pl. follows idir meaning 'among'.

c For Sreang see TD ii, 200.16 n. and cf. Di. D 107.16c.

d There was more than one place named Duibhlinn (cf. Onom., 372) and this is reflected in varying uses in the poetry; e.g. O Hara VIII. 30d, XXXI. 16c, TD 3.23c, Di. D 97.25, 100.6. Here it clearly refers to Dublin.

52 Here we have the time-honoured motif of the king marrying the land who is likened to an old woman from whom, by lying with her, he will remove her geis; cf. TD 1 passim. For the notion that this relationship was incestuous cf. O Hara XXXIII. 12.

53 c Súir The river Suir which rises in north-west Tipperary and enters the sea at Waterford. For the non-palatal initial see TD ii, 348.

54 a The Countess was Ó Néill's fourth wife, Catherine, daughter of Aodh Mág Aonghusa; see Walsh, The will and family of Hugh O'Neill, 20; Hill, The Macdonnells of Antrim, 211-2. Fearghal Óg must have been well acquainted with her as Mág Aonghusa was his principal patron up to the 1590s (see General Introduction and Poem V Introduction). Note that the placenames here are all associated with Mág Aonghusa's territory; cf. Poem V. 37b, 56c, 57a.

bc On Dún: Dún cf. q. 6bc n.

55 c Caitir The MS form Caitear is proscribed by IGT ii. 185 ex. 2112.

sgeallán Dr Breatnach (Celtica xvi (1984) 63-72, qq. 1d, 3c, 4c) follows Greene (DMU XV. 4b) in interpreting sgeallán as that word in DIL 86.20-29 meaning 'pip, seed, stone' and hence, for these two editors, a young poet, a pupil.

In the present instance, however, it seems to me that sgeallán is to be taken as a diminutive of sgeall 'a shield' which makes perfect sense in the context, especially in view of line d (on deóradh see Poem VII. 25ab n.).

56 For the various enumerations of the kings of Ireland and of Ulster (q. 57) drawn from Clann Rudhraighe see the Introduction to Poem V.

a This line, in the manuscript, has ten syllables. I have therefore shortened is to 's and removed oile which is a scribal slip due to q. 57a.

57 d On Craobhruadh see Éigse xv (1973-4)
103-13.

58 b chornaigh I have not met with another example of this use of the adj. cornach, but corn (cf. cuach) is found referring to hair: see DIL C, 479.79-81.

c chláir For absence of eclipsis see Poem II. 10b n.

d On Clann Rudhraighe's adventures in west Munster see Poem V. 25c n.

59 a Fearghal Óg's arrangement with Mág Aonghusa is dealt with in the Introduction to Poem V.

c I.e. Mág Aonghusa was unlikely to have been caused to blush by the satire of poets.

61 The final quatrain of this collection of poems brings us back to Poem I the theme of which was the desire for the 'gift of tears'; see Introduction to same.

APPENDICES

Appendix I

The following poem is addressed to a poet, Fearghal Óg, 'fear dhéanta na ndíreachdhán' (q. 10b). The question immediately arises as to whether or not it is Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird who is intended. It might be argued, for instance, that either Fearghal Óg Ó hUiginn¹ or Fearghal Óg Mac Eochadha² could be the poet in question. To this one can only say that the Scottish location would suggest Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird.

A comparable poem is that beginning 'Cuimsech sin, a Fhearghail Óig'³. It is not stated in this composition which Fearghal Óg is involved although the editor, Professor Bergin, seems to have assumed that it is Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird. I would like to think that this is so though we have no way of knowing for certain. If it is true then another point of comparison between that poem and the present one is that in each our poet is reproached for breaching conventions: conventions of poetic society in one, conventions of polite society in the other. Taken together they give us an additional glimpse of an aspect of our poet's character and, in the context of its Scottish setting, the present poem provides us with a healthy corrective to the pleading of 'Dursan mh'eachtra go h-Albuin', though it is impossible to tell if both poems belong to the same period.

'Cá h-ainm a-tá ar Fhearghal Óg' is a well-made poem with a finely paced build-up and a neat twist in the final quatrain. Such is the artistry involved that neither the faulty manuscript text nor

1 See Poem I, Introduction.

2 Cf. L Branach 34 and 46.

3 IBP 27.

the question of whether or not an uirsgéal has been omitted after q. 8 take from the final impression which it leaves with the reader. The drama of the occasion and the author's disdain for Fearghal Óg's behaviour are emphasised by the use of an imagined intermediary for the purpose of communicating with our poet.

I do not believe that this poem is to be regarded as a Féuch féin-type composition, a type first brought to light by Professor Carney⁴. Qq. 1-3 and 5 might certainly belong to such a category but, viewed in the context of the poem as a whole, such a proposition seems improbable to me.

The only copy of this poem, of which I am aware, occurs in Nat. Lib. Scot. MS Adv. 72.1.34⁵, p. 39. This manuscript was written c. 1603 by Eoghan Mac Pháil, a scribe and physician working in Argyll in the first half of the seventeenth century⁶, and a contemporary of Fearghal Óg. The possible significance of the Argyll connection and the mention of Mull, in the context of Fearghal Óg's sojourn in Scotland, is noted in Appendix II.

Much of the outer margin of p. 39 of 72.1.34 is frayed and eroded with consequent loss of text. As a result, I have had to make many rather speculative emendations. The orthography also presents difficulties but the fact that the poem was so obviously composed in deibhidhe, dán díreach, convinces me that a standardised edition of this poem is justified.

4 'Thomas Costello and O'Rourke's wife' in *Celtica* i (1946-50) 280-84, and 'The Féuch Féin controversy' in Carney, Studies in Irish literature and history, 243-75.

5 Described Mackinnon, 139-42; Mackechnie, 174-5; R. Black in Stair society: miscellany ii (1984) 138-9.

6 R. Black, loc. cit.; Bannerman, The Beatons, 105, 150-51.

- 1 Cā h-ainm a-tā ar Fearghal Óg,
cā taobh tainig a[n sgológ],
nō cá ceird rē bhfuil an fear? -
do chuir fheir[g ar ar n-aigneadh].
- 2 Labhuir go fōill re Fearghal:
nā bíodh sē re sibheanradh,
nā gēabhadh cogur i gcūil,
's nā dēanadh obar iomth[núidh] .
- 3 Nā claonadh súil re suirghe -
beir chuige mar cho[mhairle]:
nā bíodh sgēal ag orradh air -
nā cromadh mēar [ar mhállaibh].

1 By what name is Fearghal Óg known, where has the scholar come from, or what craft is the man about? - he has put us in angry humour.

2 Speak gently to Fearghal: let him not be flirting, nor whispering in an alcove and let him not be doing the work of jealousy.

3 Take [this] advice to him: let no patron have cause to reproach him; let him not permit his eye to wander a-wooing, let him not lay a finger on gentle [maidens].

In the upper margin the scribe has written: 'Tru Ar marbta/ truagh/ An f [...]'.

- 1 b taoibh; tainic; d cur.
2 b re] om.; sithbherna[...]; c geub; cocur; d oibir;
iomts [...].
3 c orradh] urrthain.

- 4 Do-chuala, dā gcreide sin,
gur fhéach Fearghal uair [éigin] -
do chráidh mo chroidhe dā chionn -
ar mhnáibh an toigh[e i dtigiom].
- 5 Ní h-é a-mháin: do dearbhadh damh -
cūis ar bhfeirge re Fear[ghal]-
sūil re maluirt, grādh ar ghrādh,
gur amhuirc [lámh ar leannán].
- 6 Mās é gur fhéach uirthé fēin,
cā beag a mhéid do mhī[chéill]? -
rachadh ar dhēar do dhāil damh
gan mhēar i lāimh do le[agadh].

4 I have heard, if one could credit it, that on one occasion Fearghal eyed the women of the house that I frequent; through it he has tormented my heart.

5 Not only that: it has been proven to me that, in expectation of requital, love in exchange for love, he gazed at the hand of our beloved; [that is] the cause of our anger towards Fearghal.

6 If it is a fact that he looked at her, is he not exceedingly insensitive? - [even] though he never touched her it would [still] cause me to weep.

4 c do] da; d toighe] tig[...].

5 b feirge; c maltuirt.

6 a urtha; c reach; dheor; do] a.

- 7 Bean is mhionca mharbhas cāch,
innis uaimsi don oġlá[ch];
an bheansoin dā dtarla a thol,
budh easbhaidh anma d'Fhearghal.
- 8 Do-chuala Fearghal, feacht n-aill,
gur marbhadh le mnaoi gcumuin[n]
a mhac samhla, eacht oile;
do-arla a cheart cosmhuile.
- 9 Och mo thruaighe fēin Fearghal,
marbhthar ē gan ainnearbhadh;
nī cās dúinn crē os a chionn
dā mbé fa ūir na h-Éirionn.

7 Tell this to the young man from me: it is a woman who most frequently kills people; that woman on whom his affections have fallen will be the cause of Fearghal losing his soul.

8 Fearghal must have heard sometime how someone just like him was killed by a lady-love on another occasion; an exact precedent for his situation occurred.

9 Alas, I really pity Fearghal, he will be killed without any doubt; it is nothing to me if earth covers him provided he be under the soil of Éire.

7 a marbhtha; c -sin; thoil.

8 b cumuin[.]; c acht; d do tharrla; cosmuil.

9 b an dearb; c dúinn] leam; crē] creidh; d mbé] mb̄.

- 10 Dā gcuirthe sin ar seachrán,
fear dhēanta na ndíreachdhā[n],
ainm na mnā lēr marbhadh sinn
a-tā ar adhradh i n-Ēirinn.
- 11 Deaghail bhāis na beanadh dí,
nā bíodh ag amhurc uirthé;
do mharbh sí duine re dān
do-bhī i Muile 'na mhacāmh.

10 If that one were led astray, the maker of strict
verse, the name of the woman by whom we were slain
would be honoured in Éire.

11 May the separation which death imposes never
befall her, let him not be looking at her; [though]
she [herself] killed a poet who was in Muile as a
youth.

- 10 Before this quatrain is written the first two
lines of q. 11, cancelled.
a curtha; seachrann; c leir marbhtur; d adhradh
adur.
- 11 a Deugal; buinadh; b amurg; urth.

Notes

1 a Cá The proscription of cá/gá in IGT i.16, as opposed to ciodh, cia etc., appears to be based on metrical grounds - the latter forms alliterating, riming etc. - and does not constitute a total proscription. For examples of cá from published verse cf. Aith. D 16.19c, DMU XXIV.21b, Dán na nB. M 18.21b; cf. also BST, pp. 222-3.

b taobh In Class. E. Mod. I. taobh can be either masc. or fem. and accordingly has two separate declensions, IGT ii.38, 39. As the nominative case follows cá (cf. Thurn. Gramm. 286-7; 'cá bean' Aith. D 85.1b) MS taoibh cannot represent a fem. acc. sg.

a[n sgológ] Reconstruction is purely exempli gratia here. A disyllabic word ending in -óg, -ód, or -ób is required. Fearód 'that man', or bardód 'that bard' might be considered. On the evidence of DIL S, 101.59 ff., it would appear that sgológ in the sense given here is found mainly in texts earlier than the present one. On the other hand it is an attractive suggestion given the pejorative possibilities of the word.

2 b sibheanradh This is surely the word intended by the author. The meaning 'merry-making' given in DIL S 212.6-13 seems too vague given the usual context in which the word occurs. Murphy, EIL, 135 translated it as 'lovers' talk'.

c ná géabhadh Note secondary fut. for imper. gabhadh (IGT iii.23) here.

d obar This form (IGT ii.56) is required for rime. One would expect acc. sg. obair n-iomthnúidh but some form of cosg réime may be at work.

3 a We could also translate: 'Let no eye incline/ stray'.

c MS urrthain possibly represents urrainn with scribal insertion of an unhistoric letter as at qq. 2d and 5c. This word, common in modern Gaidhlig in phrases such as is urrainn dhomh 'I am able' etc., derives from Old I aurrae, aurrad (DIL A, 483.36ff; Mac Bain s.v. urradh, urrainn). In Class. E. Mod. I urradh, orradh, earradh (IGT ii.11), urra, orra, earra (IGT ii.7) have the primary sense 'chief, leader, patron': cf. Di. D 82.38b, SVBDL VII.1a, 3a etc., and note 'a rí as orradh d'ollamhnaibh' DMU XXIII.26d. This meaning is also found in Gaidhlig urra(dh): cf. BG, line 6129, Dwelly s.v. urradh etc.

An extended meaning 'surety, guarantor' also occurs in Class. E Mod. I: cf. Poems VII.20b, VIII.35c. In Gaidhlig urrainn also occurs in this sense: cf. 'Chan urrainn domh t'uaisle, a rùin', Watson (ed.), Gaelic songs of Mary MacLeod line 1233.

The form orradh is required for perfect rime.

d The construction in this line would seem to parallel that in a, though the reconstruction is guesswork.

4 a gcreide The final two letters are ligatured here so that it is impossible to tell whether the scribe intended -t- or -d-. Perhaps the

safest spelling would be -dthe, cf. Poem XII.27b.

b For uair éigin cf. Poem X.13d.

d The variant gen. sg. toighe (IGT ii.31, 164) is required to rime with croidhe. Alternatively the latter could be emended to its variant cridhe (IGT ii.2) to rime with tighe.

5 d On the upper margin of the page on which this poem is written is the word 'leannan' with a cross to its right and left. It is quite possible that there was a corresponding mark on the margin, now torn, indicating where the word was to be inserted in the text. As the only possible location for it would have been at this point, I give the word here. Leannán can have gen. sg. in either palatal or non-palatal -n (IGT ii.35). If the restoration is correct, lámh is an instance of cosg réime before a sealbhadh.

6 a uirthe We could also emend MS urtha to 3 pl. ortha, referring to mnáibh in q. 4d, but I prefer 3 sg. fem. in the context.

For the adverbial use of féin cf. DIL F, 9.15-19.

c It is necessary to emend MS dheor to its permitted variant dhéar for perfect rime. This word is one of a group included in IGT ii.39 for which a masculine inflection in the singular declension is permitted.

I read damh as being in apposition with rachadh rather than with dáil. For comparable idioms

cf. DIL T, 132.25-9.

d Literally 'without placing a finger in a hand'.

7 a As one would expect gen. sg. cáich/cáigh to follow marbhtha I have emended the latter to rel. sg. mharbhas.

c tol (IGT ii.95), a permitted variant of toil (IGT ii.14) is required for perfect rime. Another variant, tal (IGT ii.96), could also be read.

d Note the possible pun here: anma = gen. sg. of ainim (IGT ii.34) 'soul' and gen. sg. of ainm (IGT ii.41) 'name, reputation'.

8 This quatrain reads like the introduction to an uirsgéal which has been omitted by the scribe. On the other hand it might be a clever reference forward to the final quatrain.

a I translate do-chuala (lit. 'has heard') as though used modally.

Perhaps the repetition of the phrase feacht n-aill/eacht oile is to be regarded as a stylistic lapse though feacht:eacht:ceart is an instance of 'breacadh fíre rainn' as defined in Breacadh 25-7.

d Do tharra is an unhistoric form. Tarla, do-arla and do-rala are cited as variants IGT iii.2; cf. L Branach, line 3998 n.

9 b ainnearbhadh Cf. 'ó atá an bás dearbh agus an aimsir aindearbh', TBg, 131-2.

cd The emendations may be rather drastic here but riming partners are required for MS creidh (c) and uir (d) and the only alteration in meaning is the slight one between 'ní cás leam' and 'ní cás dúinn', and between past subj. 'dá mbeadh' and pres. subj. 'da mbé'.

I interpret these two lines as meaning that if Fearghal Óg were buried in Scotland he would still pose a threat to the poet.

10 The meaning of this quatrain is somewhat obscure and elucidation is not helped by the necessity to emend lines c and d. In the latter case the emendation is extremely tentative.

My interpretation of the quatrain, thus emended, is that if Fearghal Óg were encouraged in his erring ways, on his return to Ireland the woman would be immortalised in his verse - a further cause of jealousy.

On the other hand the quatrain may contain clues to the woman's name in the manner familiar to us from the Dánta Grádha. If so I am afraid such clues remain obscure to me.

a gcuirthe We might also read 2 sg. gcuirthea.

b dhéanta Lenition here is an instance of 'sléagar'.

d For the mixture of indicative and subjunctive moods here cf. Poem II.14b n.

11 Two themes have been current throughout the poem, the author's jealousy of Fearghal Óg and the destructive nature of love. The latter theme is powerfully expressed: forms of the verb marbhaidh occur in each of the five quatrains qq. 7-11. In this final quatrain the two themes of jealousy and death are united. Even though, as a youth in Mull, the author has been 'slain' by the woman, he now prays that the same fate may not befall her and, in the same way that he addressed Fearghal Óg in the earlier quatrains, he issues an order to death not to regard her as an object of his intentions.

b As noted above, I regard (an) bás as the subject of the verb here, not Fearghal Óg.

d Muile The island of Mull in Argyll.

Appendix II

Nat. Lib. Scot. MS Adv. 72.1.1 is a composite manuscript.¹ Ff. 1-9 were written by Dubhghall Albanach mac mic Kathail (ff. 4r, 7r) c. 1467 (f. 7r). Ff. 10-25 were written by Ádhamh Ó Cuirnín.² This second section has been identified as the Revd John Beaton's 'broad book'.³

It is not possible to locate precisely the place of writing of either section. The first part would appear to have been written somewhere in Upper Ormond. The Irish translation of the Dialogus Beatae Mariae et S. Anselmi de Passione,⁴ which occupies ff. 4v-7r.a.17, was copied by Dubhghall Albanach, in Baile Í (?) Buaghaidh (unidentified) in the presence of a certain Eilísi Puitiléar.⁵ Diagrams illustrating the measurements of Christ's feet were subsequently drawn on the lower margin of f. 4r and on the upper margins of ff. 4v and 5r for Dubhghall Albannach by Tanaidhe Ó Maoil Chonaire in the house of Mac Aedhagáin Urmumhan.⁶ This was situated on the eastern bank of the river Shannon in extreme north-west Tipperary, in the townland of Ballymacegan, parish of Lorrha, barony of Upper Ormond.⁷ The second part of the manuscript

1 Described Mackinnon, 72-9, Mackechnie, 111-5.

2 Unsigned; hand identified by T. Ó Concheanainn, 'The scribe of John Beaton's 'Broad Book'', in Ériu xxvi (1975) 99-101, who suggests c. 1425 as the date of writing.

3 Campbell and Thomson, Edward Lhuyd in the Scottish Highlands 1699-1700, 47-51; Bannerman, The Beatons, 35-9, 120-33 et passim.

4 Cf. McNamara, The Apocrypha in the Irish Church, 75-6 and R.A.Q. Skerrett, 'Fiarfaidhi San Anselmuis', in Celtica vii (1966) 163-87.

5 Colophon f. 7r.a.

6 This information accompanies the above marginalia on f. 5r (upper margin).

7 PRIA xxxvi C (1922) 97; C. Ní Mhaolchróin, 'Ginealaigh Cláirne Aodhagáin A.D. 1400-1500' in Measgra, 132-9; O.S. Townland Index: Tipperary Sheet 1.

may possibly have been written in Ó Ruairc's territory of West Bréifne in Co. Leitrim with which the Clann Chuirnín are associated.⁸

Two non-scribal hands occur in both sections of 72.1.1.⁹ The first is that of the Revd John Beaton (c. 1640-1714), Episcopalian minister of Kilninian in Mull.¹⁰ His hand appears on ff. 1v, 7r and 15r. This corroborates other evidence¹¹ which shows that both parts of the manuscript were in Beaton's possession when he met Lhuyd in Coleraine early in 1700.¹²

The second non-scribal hand to be found in both parts bears no signature. Unequivocal examples of this hand are to be seen of ff. 9v (upper and lower margins), 10v.b, 17r (lower margin), 21v (lower margin) and 25v.b. Other possible instances may be seen in the upper margins of ff. 6v and 7v. Noteworthy features of this hand are as follows: (i) a general tendency of the letters to be forward-slanting; (ii) the shaft of the letter l frequently descends well below the line; (iii) a majuscule s (alongside the 'Gaelic' s), the lower compartment of which descends below the line; (iv) the lower compartment of the letter g is closed, well-rounded, and lies below the line; (v) in the example of this hand on f. 25v.b there are two instances where the letter a is apparently constructed with two tall minim strokes, not joined at top.

The non-scribal writing on f. 25v.b consists of a comórtus, or comparison of palaeographical

8 'The learned family of Ó Cuirnín' in Irish men of learning, 119-32.

9 In my examination of this manuscript and of the others discussed here, I have had constant recourse to a typescript catalogue of the Gaelic manuscripts in N L Scot prepared by Mr. Ronald Black. My interpretations and conclusions differ somewhat from those of Mr. Black.

10 Campbell and Thomson, Edward Lhuyd, 12-22.

11 Ibid., 50-51.

12 Ibid., 12.

styles, between our anonymous writer and Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird. Much of this is either illegible or partly legible, particularly the two lines which can be taken to be in the hand of our poet. Beneath these two lines is written: '[c]omortus ann so re Ferghal Og Mac an Bhaird/(...) 7 dar lem is nemmac [sic, recte nemmaith] mo chuit fein don chomortusin'. This is followed by a fragment of verse, one quatrain of which will be identified below.

As the hand which makes this comórtus with Fearghal Óg is also in evidence in the first part of 72.1.1, the conclusion must be that both parts of the manuscript were brought together, at the latest, at a time contemporary with our poet.

MS Adv. 72.1.8¹³ is another composite manuscript. The first part, ff. 1-27, was written by Gilla Ísa mac Donnchaidh Mhóir Mhic FhirBhisigh and his son, Tomás Cam,¹⁴ and may once have formed part of YBL¹⁵. The second part of the manuscript is by an unidentified scribe and contains copies of Caithréim Chealacháin Chaisil and Togail Troí. Two non-scribal hands contribute marginalia to both sections of the manuscript. The first signs himself 'Fergus Ó Ferghuil' (f. 18v. upper margin) 'o Albuin' (f. 29r.a),¹⁶ his hand occurring also at ff. 7r and 25r. From references which he makes to his 'triath bunaidh .i. Mac Cailín' (ff. 25r, 29r.a) we may deduce that he was based in Argyll.

The second, non-scribal hand, is that which makes the comórtus with Fearghal Óg in 72.1.1 and again it is unsigned. Definite examples of this hand

13 Described Mackinnon, 112-3, Mackechnie, 145-6.

14 T. Ó Concheanaínn, 'Gilla Ísa Mac Fir Bhisigh and a scribe of his school', in Eriu xxv (1974) 157-71.

15 Ibid., 170n. 17.

16 This latter is actually textual rather than marginal: Ó Fearghail writes thirteen lines of text at f. 29r.a. 30-42.

are to be seen at ff. 16v, 23r and 35v, other possible instances being marginalia at ff. 14r and 24v.

MS Adv. 72.1.5¹⁷ is a single manuscript of eleven folios the scribe of which has not been identified. The hand which makes the comórtus with Fearghal Óg in 72.1.1 is also in evidence here, contributing jottings and marginalia to ff. 3v, 4v, 8r and 9v. In the inner margin (transversely) of f. 3v, and on f. 4v which is blank save for non-scribal jottings, this hand writes a quatrain which is also found in fragmentary form following the comórtus in 72.1.1. Normalised to the E. Mod. I. standard it reads:

Mairg do Dhia do dhealbh misi
 suil do fhéachus uirthisi
 nár dhall sé radharc mo ruisg
 's gan mé d'amharc a h-éaguisg.

This may be translated 'Alas that God who made me did not deprive me of my eyesight before I looked on her so that I did not see her beauty'. I have not succeeded in locating the source of this quatrain but, in theme and sentiment, it is quite close, for example, to the poem beginning 'Aoibhinn duit a dhuine dhoill'.¹⁸

The presence of this quatrain in 72.1.1 and 72.1.5 further confirms the unity of the hands in question. This corroboration is helpful because in 72.1.5 the writer gives us his first name. The following interlinear comment occurs at f. 9v.a.m: 'Comortus ann so ó Rudhraidhe re fear sgriobhtha an leabairsi'. The same writer also started to inscribe his name on f. 4v: 'misi Rud'.¹⁹ I believe we can

17 Described Mackinnon, 79-83, Mackechnie, 137-41.

18 Dánta Grádha 28.

19 A 'Fergus [? mac] Rudhraighe' wrote a 'coimes litre' on f. 1v (inner margin) of 72.1.1, but this does not appear to bear any relation to the hand of either Fearghas Ó Fearghail or of the Rudhraighe noted here.

further identify this hand by referring to MS Adv. 72.1.15 but, in passing, we should note that another detail which links 72.1.1 and 72.1.5 is the signature of the Revd John Beaton on f. 1r of 72.1.5: 'Eóin Maig Bhetha 1701 san 1 don Magh'.²⁰

MS Adv. 72.1.15²¹ consists of a copy of Togail Troí by one Tuathal Buidhe Ó Duibhgeannáin. On the upper margin of p. 42 the following is written: 'Ihesus Maria Deo gratias misi Conairi mac Muiris hUí Moil tSetae dos graif ar cin glain Tuothoil Vuide'. In his typescript catalogue Mr. Black suggests that tSētae (g. sg. of sét, u.m.) is a pun on conaire (g. sg. of conar, ā.f.). This seems highly likely and gives us Conaire mac Muiris Ó Maoil Chonaire as the author of the above note.

The most immediately interesting point about this is that Conaire's hand - other definite examples occur at pp. 28 (lower margin) and 32 (upper margin) - is scarcely distinguishable from the hand which makes the comórtus with Fearghal Óg in 72.1.1. We have already seen that the owner of this latter hand is a certain Rudhraighe. The only explanation which occurs to me is that Rudhraighe and Conaire must be closely related members of the same family. That is to say that the person with whom Fearghal Óg compared his scribal hand in 72.1.1 may have been one Rudhraighe Ó Maoil Chonaire.²² I have noted and examined the hands of five other scribes of Clann Mhaoil Chonaire who

20 Cf. Campbell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, 43.

21 Described Mackinnon, 198-200, Mackechnie, 156-7.

22 It might be objected that Rudhraighe is not otherwise attested as an Ó Maoil Chonaire name: cf. *Anal. Hib.* xviii (1951) 70, *Irish men of learning*, 34-48. On the other hand names of other Ó Maoil Chonaire scholars such as Eanna (*Anal. Hib.* xxvi (1970) 66-7), Grigóir (AFM iv, 768, 890, *Iarnán* (Br. Lib. MS Eg. 1782, ff. 52v. b, 53r. a/b, et *passim*) and Síoghraidh (Bodleian Lib. MS Laud 610, ff. 4v, 18v etc.) are not found in Uí Mhaoil Chonaire genealogies either.

sign themselves either Conaire or Conaire mac Muiris²³ but none of these compares with the Conaire mac Muiris of Adv. 72.1.15. Palaeographical evidence is, therefore, of little help if we wish to ascertain to which of the four branches of Clann Mhaoil Chonaire Rudhraighe may have belonged.²⁴

72.1.1 and 72.1.8 are both composite manuscripts, one part of each being of North Connacht provenance. Both manuscripts also contain the hand of Rudhraighe [Ó Maoil Chonaire?]. 72.1.15 is also of North Connacht origin and contains the hand of Conaire mac Muiris. Consequently I would be inclined to consider these two persons as members of the Roscommon branch of Clann Mhaoil Chonaire. We might also recall that Fearghal Óg claimed that a special relationship existed between this branch and his own family.²⁵

72.1.1, 72.1.5 and 72.1.8 each has connections with Argyll. The first section of 72.1.1 was written by Dubhghall Albanach mac mic Kathail. 'Alban(n)ach' does not necessarily mean that Dubhghall was a Scot²⁶ but the fact that he wrote the Highland genealogies on f. 1 of that manuscript would suggest that he was. These genealogies²⁷ have been used to illustrate the extent of the sphere of influence of the Lords of the Isles in the fifteenth century which

23 These are as follows: (i) Br. Lib. MS Lansdowne 1197, f. 169r; (ii) J. Hardiman, Ancient Irish deeds and writings, 71 and facsimile before title-page (original document now lost); (iii) Bodleian Lib. MS Laud 610, f. 98r. a. 22; (iv) TCD MS 1293 (H.1.19), f. 49v. 17-34; (v) TCD MS 1317 (H.2.15b) pp. 79b.30-80a.41, 82a.4-17, 87a.1-6, 87b (lower margin), 95b (lower margin), 100b.31-40, 103b.26-45.

24 The four branches, as set out by An Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh, were located in Roscommon, Longford, Thomond and Leinster; see Raithbheartaigh, Genealogical Tracts I, 8-9.

25 General Introduction chs (ii) and (viii).

26 Cf. Bannerman, *op. cit.*, 105.

27 See Skene, Celtic Scotland: a history of Ancient Alban iii, 458-90. (72.1.1 is referred to in this source as MS 1467.)

evidence accords with that adduced from the 'Book of the Dean of Lismore' (Adv. Lib. MS 72.1.37).²⁸

Dubhghall gives his patronymic as 'mac mic Kathail'. As the name Cathal features prominently among members of the Mac Mhuirich family,²⁹ hereditary poets to the Lords of the Isles up to the sixteenth century before moving northwards from Kintyre to become poets to the Clanranald branch of the Mac Donalds,³⁰ it seems likely that Dubhghall was a member of this family also.

Both 72.1.1 and 72.1.5 bear the handwriting of the Revd John Beaton who, as we have seen, was Episcopalian minister of Kilninian in Mull. He is regarded as the last learned representative of that branch of the medical family of Mac Beatha who were settled in Pennycross, in Mull, and who provided physicians to Mac Lean of Duart.³¹ In the late 16th century a direct ancestor of the Revd John, Domhnall, was in contact with members of the Mac Duinnshléibhe family, physicians to Ó Domhnaill in Donegal.³²

72.1.8 contains marginalia and additional material by one Fearghas Ó Fearghail who, as we have also noted, claimed Campbell of Argyll as his 'triath bunaidh'. It is also worth noting that the scribe of the only copy of the poem addressed to Fearghal Óg - which mentions Mull in its final quatrain - edited in Appendix I, Eóin Mac Pháil, was also in this area. He was a member of what was originally an ecclesiastical family associated with Ardchattan, in Morvern, and Muckairn in Lorne, later becoming physicians to the

28 Steer and Bannerman, *Late medieval monumental sculptures in the West Highlands*, 205-6.

29 *TGSI* xlii (1960-63) 281; Mac Kenzie, *Report ... into the nature and authenticity of the Poems of Ossian*, Appendix, 277.

30 *TGSI* xlii (1960-63) 283.

31 Bannerman, *op. cit.*, 25-40.

32 *Ibid.*, 27-8.

Campbells of Cawdor and Ardnamurchan.³³

All this would seem to suggest that four manuscripts which, at one time or another, were in the possession of members of Clann Mhaoil Chonaire - possibly the Roscommon branch - found their way to Scotland, three of them definitely to Argyll, sometime after Fearghal Óg had made a comórtus with a member of that family in 72.1.1. The first part of this manuscript may have come into the possession of the family as early as c. 1467 when Tanaidhe Ó Maoil Chonaire met Dubhghall Albanach in Mac Aedhagáin's house in Ballymacegan. It is possible, also, that Fearghal Óg brought these manuscripts with him to Argyll on his way to Edinburgh c. 1581.³⁴

33 Thomson (ed.), The companion to Gaelic Scotland, 188; The Stair society: miscellany ii (1984) 138; Bannerman, op. cit., 150-1.

34 Professor Ó Concheanainn suggests that the second part of 72.1.1, 'John Beaton's broad book', was brought to Scotland by 'some book-collector' in the seventeenth century: Éigse xv (1973-4) 251.

Appendix III

The genealogies of Fionn (Poem II.31)

The most complete collection of Fionn's genealogies is to be found in Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh's book of genealogies (= F), now UCD Add. Irish MS 14, pp. 435-6. The following lists are taken mainly from this manuscript. Variant readings are provided from the following sources: L (= LL, lines 39663-5) p. 311 c 13-19; B (= Book of Ballymote) p. 120 b 9-11; R (= Rawl. B 502 = Corp. Gen., p. 22, 118 a 50); Lec. (= Book of Lecan) f. 193v.a; G (= NLI G 2) f. 8v.b; Adv. (= NL Scot. Adv. 72.1.5) f. 8v.a; T₁ (= TCD H.3.17) f. 228v.a; T₂ (= TCD H.3.17) f. 245v.a; Eg. (= Egerton 1782 = SG i, p. 92).

Laighin

(i) F L B R Lec. Adv. T₁ T₂ Eg.:

Fionn	
m Cumhaill	m Ealtain ³
m Trénmhóir ¹	m Baoisgne
m Subailt ²	m Nuadad Neacht

1. om. Lec. Adv. T₂. 2. Suaelt L, Suelte B, Suailt R Lec. Adv. T₁ T₂, Sualtaigh Eg. 3. om. Eg., Eltaim R Lec. Adv., Eltanain T₂.

(ii) F T₁ G:

Fionn	
m Cumhaill	m Baoisgne
m Tréimhóir	m Cairbre Garbroin
m Treudhuirn	m Ailt
m Fearghusa	m Soailt ²
m Buain	m Fearghusa Fairghe ³
m Moda ¹	m Nuadhad Neacht

1. Mogha T₁ G. 2. Suailt T₁ G. 3. Fhailge G.

(iii) F: ar beraid araile 7 as fíor sin gurab do Uibh Tairrsigh do Uibh Fhailge do. Aithechtuath na hUí Tairrsigh do Luaighnibh Temhrach 7 dfearaibh Cul Bregh do sunnradh iad.

Adv. it beroid foirind eile 7 is fír sin conad dUib Tairrsig dUib Failghi do eatachtuataibh doibh amail as bert Mael Muire Sechmaid ni do muintir Breogain gensa maidin Garbruide suca hUa Tairrsig Gailideoin Laigen. Do Luignib Temra dano do Ib Tairrsig 7 dferuib Cualand Breag do (?)tsonra.

Eg. ad beraid araili ocus is fír sin conad do Íb Tairrsigh ua Failgi do ocus gomadh do aithechtuathaib iadsighe amail at bert Maelmura isin croinic: sé cinedha nach do muir Breoghain gébus maighin. Garbraidi hsucca.uí Tairrsigh Galeon laigen.

(iv) Agallamh na Seanórach: IT iv/1, 81 lines 6546-54
Is annsin ro fhiarfaig rí Connacht do Caitli:
'can do Fínd mac Cumail?' 'Do Laignib,' ar

Cailte. 'Cá tuath do Laignib,' ar in rí. 'A Híb Tairrsig Laigen,' ar Cailte. 'Cá baile issin tuaith sin?' ar in rí. 'A Glaissi Bulgain,' ar Cailte. Ocus adubairt Cailte: 'Find mac Cumail meic Threduirn meic Trenmoir meic Cairpri Garbsroin meic Fiachach Fobric a Glaissi Bulgain de Huaib Failge.' 'Ocus can da máthair dano?' ar rí Connacht. 'Muirne Munchaem, ingen Taidg meic Nuadat do Thúaith dé Danann.'

- (v) F: [Fionn
m Muirne
m Taidhg
m Nuadhad Necht]

Mumha

- (i) F Lec. Adv. T₁ T₂:

Fionn		
m Cumhuill	m Guill	m Deadhaidh ³
m Bhaoisgne	m Forghuill ¹	m Sin
m Fir da Roth	m Daire ²	

1. om. T₂, Irguill Lec. Adv. 2. Dauri Lec. 3. Deaga Lec., Degad Adv., Deadat T₁, Degath T₂.

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (ii) (a) <u>DF</u> XXXVII. 5 | (b) <u>DF</u> XXXVII. 6-10 |
| Fionn | Fionn |
| m Cumhaill | m Cumhaill |
| m Baoisgne | m Trénmhóir |
| m Fir da Roth | m Fir dha Roth |
| m Cuinn | m Cuinn |
| m Garaidh | m Garaidh |
| m Dáire Duinn | m Baoisgne |
| m Deaghoidh | m Dáire |
| | m Deaghaidh |

(c) TCD H.4.31, fo. 33r.b

- | | |
|------------------------------|---------------|
| Fionn | |
| m Cubhaill | m Garaidh |
| m Treinmoir | m Daire Duinn |
| m Fear dha F̄ [<u>sic</u>] | m Deaghaidh |
| m Cuinn | m Sin |

(iii) F T₁:

- (a) Fionn
m Cumhaill
m Baoisgne

do Orbraige Droma Iomnacht .i. (b) F Adv. Eg.:

- Fionn
m Cumhaill
m Baoisgne
m Oiche

do Corca Oiche ua fFidhgente

(iv) F: Adeirid aroile go madh í Torba († Tarbga)
ingen Eachach († Echumain) do Eurnaibh Dhuine
Cearmna a [sc. Fionn] mhathair.

Notes

- Laighin (i) MacNeill's version of this, DF i, p. lii, omits Ealtain.
- (iii) The quotation in Adv. and Eg. is from a poem ascribed to Mael Muru Othna which begins Can a mbunadas na nGaedel; cf. LL lines 16151-2.
- (v) This is a synopsis of Mac Fhir Bhisigh's account. It accords with that given in 'Fotha Catha Cnucha', RC ii (1873-5) 86-93.
- Mumha (i) The Lec. version of this is also printed in ZCP viii (1912) 560-1.
- (iii) The '.i.' occurs in F only; MacNeill makes no mention of this in his discussion.
Eg. simply mentions the Corca Oiche connection without giving a genealogy.

Appendix IIIA

The death of Fionn mac Cumhaill

Acht géar Laighneach Fionn na bhfian,
 tuitim i Mumhuin Mhaicniadh
 dó do bhaoi i ndán fa dheiríodh:
 fa draoi an fádh lēar foillseighíodh.

Ag léim tar an mBric mBladhaigh
 fa dheōigh do thuit thiamhuin,
 mar nár shaoil idir shíol gCuirc
 dob fhíor don draoidh a ndubhuirt.

(Poem II.32-3)

In order to complete the parallel between the subject of his poem and that of the uirsgéal, having already established his position regarding Fionn's origins, Fearghal Óg turns, in the two quatrains quoted above, to traditions regarding the death of Fionn. For the purposes of understanding these somewhat oblique references to Fionn's death, and to appreciate their importance in the larger context of the traditions to which they belong, it is necessary to survey these traditions in a certain amount of detail.

So that this discussion may be more coherent, I think it necessary to begin by anticipating my conclusions. Most of the major references to the death of Fionn are given by Gerard Murphy in DF iii, pp. xli-xliii.¹ He observes there

1 Nagy, The wisdom of the outlaw, 62, is too severe when he claims that 'the circumstances of his [sc. Fionn's] death appear only vaguely in the extant tradition, which seems remarkably unconcerned with the question of when, where or how Fionn died'. See also MacKillop, Fionn Mac Cumhaill, 30-32.

that the traditions can loosely be divided into two streams: 'a pseudo-historic account of Fionn's death, according to which he fell in battle against a tribe known in history, contrasted with various accounts of a magically controlled death' (p. xlii). As an explanation of this apparent dichotomy he suggests that 'Perhaps we should not be far wrong in seeing in this difference traces of the differences we have been examining between learned and popular tradition concerning Fionn' (p. xlii).

While not denying that different aspects of a tradition may attract the attention of the different sections of the society to which that tradition belongs - in this case the 'literate' and 'illiterate' or, perhaps, the aristocratic and non-aristocratic sections of Gaelic society - I believe that Murphy's suggestion, and the premise on which it is based, is artificial and untenable, in the case of traditions regarding the death of Fionn. I would suggest that it is possible and more helpful to view these traditions as a single unit, the contradictions contained therein being more apparent than real. The framework which permits us to see this as a unified whole is that of the motif of the Threefold Death.² While this motif, in its 'finished' form, is not evident in any one source for the death of Fionn, it is possible to postulate its original existence by reconstructing it from its constituent parts into which, I believe, the tradition has disintegrated.

The strongest indication that we have to do with the motif of the Threefold Death is to be found in two prose fragments which date from the 10th or

2 A summary of occurrences of this motif will be found in K. Jackson, 'The motive of the Threefold Death in the story of Suibhne Geilt' in *Féil. Mhic Néill*, 535-50. More recent discoveries and commentary are noted below.

11th centuries,³ and in two poems collected from oral tradition, one in Argyll/ Perthshire c. 1750 (F. 20) and the other in Perthshire c. 1801 (O. 19).⁴ The two fragments printed by Meyer are found in Bodleian Lib. MS Laud 610 and Br. Lib. MS Egerton 92 respectively. The Laud text tells how Fionn in his old age, deserted by his followers, decides to prove himself: 'Ro fedar-sa im' rith 7 im' léim sin, ar is toir ata mo léim .i. for Bóinn 7 ragh-sa dia bruach'. On his way to the Boyne he encounters a woman⁵ 'ag tath an grotha a Maistin'. The Laud fragment breaks off here.

Fortunately the second fragment appears to pick up the story almost precisely at the point where the first ended. The first sentence or two is fragmented but it is clear that the woman is telling Fionn about a prophecy which told that when he should drink 'neimh a hadhairc' he would die. From this we can safely guess that what has happened in the meantime is that Fionn has asked the woman for a drink and, having taken his drink from a horn, is reminded by her about the prophecy. This part of the story will be confirmed from an oral source further on.

Fionn then proceeds to his léim. The fragment does not say that he attempted his léim but simply says: 'Ro gab iarum idir da charraig co tarrla a etan imon carraig, co mbai a inchinn uimpe, co mbui marbh etir an da charraig'. I think it is to be understood that this encounter with the two rocks is

3 K. Meyer, 'The death of Fionn Mac Cumhail' in ZCP i (1897) 462-5.

4 Campbell, Leabhar na Feinne, 195-6. Both versions probably originate in Perthshire as one of the locations where Fletcher, the source of F. 20, learned his stories was in Glen Dochart (see *ibid.*, p. xvi) and his version gives Glen Dochart as the location of Fionn's death.

5 Nagy sees her as 'the shadowy figure' of Fionn's female fosterer, *op. cit.*, 107.

the result of an unsuccessful léim. Four men, called 'iascaire na Boinde', come across Fionn. These are Aicclech mac Duibhreann and the three sons of Uirgriu. The text then says that Aicclech beheaded Fionn and that the sons of Uirgriu slew him.⁶ They take the head with them to an empty house and, while eating their fish there, Fionn's head speaks to them. The account ends with a quotation from 'Fiana batar i nEmain' (see below).

In this version, then, Fionn, in fulfillment of a prophecy, dies as a result of a fall and of wounding. I would associate the use of the word marbh in the phrase 'co mbui marbh etir an da charraig' with that found in Cath Finntrágha where it is said of Fionn: 'Ocus do thuit féin isin chosair cró 7 ba marbh hé asa aithle acht gé dho éirig arís'.⁷ This usage was explained by Cecile O'Rahilly as meaning 'unconscious, in a swoon' and she cites other examples in support of this.⁸

In the oral versions⁹ collected in Scotland the following account of Fionn's death is given. There was once a man called Taileachd mac Chuiligeadan¹⁰ living with a 'leannan síth' on an

6 Meyer mistakes this to mean that they slew Aicclech. A summary account of the death of Fionn cited by Campbell, op. cit., 34, says that the killing was performed with a salmon-gaff for which see A Clon., 61 n. 2 and AFM i, 120 n. a.

7 O'Rahilly, Cath Finntrágha, lines 1337-8.

8 Ibid., pp. 84-5.

9 In this summary I follow the earlier version, F. 20, which is the more complete. O. 19 adds nothing extra but is valuable in that it confirms the details of the earlier version.

10 'Taileachd' ('Taoileach' O. 19) I regard as a form of the earlier 'Aiccleach'; 'Cuiligeadan' is less certain: cf. Colgán, a 'rí Lochlannach' and Fionn's adversary in Bruidhean Chaorthaim, ed. Mac Piarais, passim. For such changes in personal names in oral transmission see Bruford, 'Gaelic folktales and medieval romances' in Béal. xxxiv (1966) 167-70.

island in Glen Dochart in Perthshire (between Killin¹¹ and Crianlarich). On hearing of her, Fionn began visiting her and soon aroused the jealousy of Taileachd. As an alternative to solving the problem by combat, the woman suggests a leaping contest:

Am fear a's fearr buaidh an leum, is e
leannas mi fein le tlachd.

The two then leap from the island to the shore.
Taileachd leaps back to the island:

Ach air leum an sin do dh'Fhionn
Chaidh e foidhe gu cheann
Agus ghlac Taileachd an sin an
Corom bha thaobh cùil air agus bhuin e an
ceann do dh'Fhionn mu'm burrain e riamh
tionndadh ris.

The rest of the poem tells how the Fiana avenge Fionn's death.

The presence of the leannan síth is suggestive of some form of residual reflex of the woman in the 10th/ 11th century fragments who prophesies Fionn's death. If, however, the element of prophecy is absent in this version¹² we appear to have

11 According to O. 19, lines 42-3, this placename derives from the cill where Fionn was buried; for other suggestions see Watson, History of the Celtic place-names of Scotland, 323. Martin Martin knew of traditions which explained 'Araimn' as deriving from àr Fhinn 'the Place of the Giant Fin-Mac-Coul's Slaughter or Execution', A description, 217.

12 The woman being a leannan síth implies magical qualities such as the prophesying abilities of her earlier prototype. The jumping contest between Taileachd and Fionn is of no great significance as regards the argument presented here. For a similar competition cf. Macdougall, Folk and hero tales, 47. Fionn was noted in oral tradition for his jumping ability, cf. IFC MSS 54, p. 5, 22, pp. 50-51. Such ability is

a clearer account of the manner of death: Fionn falls, he goes under the water, and Taileachd beheads him.

If we examine the Egerton and Laud fragments in the light of the Scottish version, it may not be too fanciful to suggest that some element of submersion in water may also be postulated for the earlier account, given that Fionn's léim is, there, specifically stated to be located at the bank (bruach) of the Boyne. Taking the two versions together, the essentials of the story can be set out as follows. Fionn contravenes some previously established geis involving drinking from a adharc and to which a prophecy is attached. He is reminded of this and recognizes that his days are numbered. Conscious of his fate, Fionn proceeds with his léim: he falls into the water and is slain by the sons of Uirgriu and Aicclech mac Duibhreann.

In Laud 610, f. 121v, directly preceding the fragment from the same manuscript discussed above, there occurs a tale which in Egerton 1782, f. 24v, bears the title 'Teasmolad Corbmaic úi Cuinn et aighed Finn maic Cumail sunn'.¹³ This story has some points of similarity with those which we have been considering. As with the earlier fragments Fionn is now an old man living in Almhu 'iar tiachtain foirbtechta 7 arrsaidechta cuice iar ndith Cormaic'. We are further informed that Fionn had as a wife a 'Banfáidh ... 7 banfisidh' who was called Smirgat ingen Fothaid Canand: 'Is i iarum ro raid fri Finn an tan no ibad dig a hadairc, comad deirid saegail do. Conid airi sin na hibed-som deoch a cornib, acht a

characteristic of the hero in Irish tradition; see Éigse xv (1973-4) 197-8 and Cross, Motif-index H.1562.4, F.1071. For a more modern illustration see RSAI Jn. xxxii (1902) 234.

¹³ Laud version ed. Meyer, Anecdota Oxoniensia i/4, 72-6; Egerton version ed. O Grady, SG i, 89-92.

cuachaibh do gres'.¹⁴

It is to be noted here that the function of the 'banfisidh' is apparently to articulate the geis of which Fionn is, in future, to beware. She does not play a part in the incident which brings about his death and we are given to understand that there is some distance in time between the prophecy (or the stating of the geis) and its actual fulfilment, unlike the fragments. Nevertheless the introduction of Smirgat is not entirely void of malevolent undertones.¹⁵ In a brief anecdote, dated by Meyer to the 11th century,¹⁶ it is claimed that a state of perpetual enmity existed between Fionn and Fothad Canand, Smirgat's father.¹⁷ The association of Fionn's wife with Fothad Canand increases the sense of doom which surrounds Fionn in this version of his death-tale.

This sense of inevitability, which was also present in the earlier versions, is confirmed by subsequent events. Fionn leaves Almhu 'lá n-ann' and comes to a place called *Adarca Iuchbaa.¹⁸ Here he takes a drink from a well and, by placing his thumb under his déd fis, it is revealed to him that the end of his life is near.¹⁹ In this tale, then, the

14 Thus in an incident in Agallamh na Seanórach, when Fionn is offered a drink by a fairy woman, he is specifically stated to have taken his drink from a cuach; SG i, 195.

15 The details which are given here regarding Smirgat are confirmed in the versions of the bansheanchus in the Books of Ballymote and Lecan; for the Ballymote text see Meyer, Fianaigecht, p. xxix; the Lecan text is in RC xlvi (1931) 178. In the Book of Leinster recension she is simply referred to as Smirnat (sic) Mongfhind, RC xlvi (1930) 301.

16 RC xiv (1893) 243.

17 For Fothad see Fianaigecht, 1-21; EIHM, 10-11; DF iii, pp. lxiii-iv.

18 Only in dat. pl. in Laud and Egerton; see Onom., 12.

19 The 'déd fis' also plays a part in the Scottish version: it is used there to reveal the whereabouts of Taileachd/Taioileach to the Fiana. For the nature of Fionn's prophecy -

prophecy element comes in two stages: the statement of the geis, with the additional possibility of underlying malevolent connotations, and the breaking of the geis albeit in a somewhat figurative way (see below), followed by Fionn's revelation to himself of the impending consequence of his action.

He proceeds on his way until he reaches Druim Breg. Here, or, more precisely, 'Oc Brea for Boin', he encounters Luaigni Temrach, the three sons of Uirgriu and Aicclech mac Duibrend, who is said to be the son of the third son of Uirgriu. A fierce battle ensues between these and Fionn. We are told that the reason for the battle is that Fionn is the slayer of Uirgriu. The result is baldly given in the text: 'Aiclech mac Duibdrenn, is leis dorochair Finn 7 is e ros dicenn'.

It is to be noted here that although this story, in many ways, complements the earlier fragmentary tale, the element of the léim is no longer present. Instead we have a pitched battle and the beheading of Fionn appears to be of no more significance than to emphasise the thoroughness of his defeat. In addition, we should note that the element of geis/ prophecy is more fully developed than in the versions examined already.

In Egerton 1782 a tale which immediately precedes the one just discussed contains yet another account of the death of Fionn.²⁰ This tale is dated by Meyer²¹ to the 13th/ 14th century and is far more elaborate than any discussed up to this. For our purposes, however, its main point of interest is its

'tre teimn laega' - in the present story, see Scott, The thumb of knowledge, 97-117.

20 Ed. Meyer, Fianaigeacht, 51-99, who gives it the title 'The chase of Síd na mBan Finn and the death of Fionn'.

21 Ibid., p. xxxi.

inclusion of the prophecy and of the slaying of Fionn, and its omission of any mention of Fionn's léim.

While feasting in the house of one of his people, the two giolla imchuir responsible for carrying Fionn's drinking-horn (corn), Midhlethan, kill each other in a fight.²² Having witnessed this, Fionn becomes silent and loses his appetite. When asked the reason for this he explains how he came to possess Midhlethan.²³ While on a hunting expedition Fionn and his men are surrounded by a 'doburcheo draidhechta' through which they later hear the beguiling strains of 'ceōl ... síde'. On going to the hunting-mound the following day, they encounter an 'aithech dub dodhealbda dí[í]recra dímór'. Having first entertained them with music, the aithech produces a marvellous corn full of 'midh somesga'. Fionn and all his men drink from this in turn whereupon, at break of day, a great change comes upon the aithech: 'innus co raibe cruth ... ālaind fair con nāch tánic ō t[h]urcbāil gréne co fuin ... dob ferr inneall 7 ēcusc inā ē ...'.

This seems to be a curious variant of the well-known sovereignty motif.²⁴ In this instance, however, it is subordinated to the narrative requirements of the story and is of no greater significance than the magical mist and music.

22 This and what follows, *ibid.*, 56-60.

23 Further traditions regarding a famous drinking cup of Fionn's, a cuach in this case, are found in Scottish ballads which tell of how a hag comes from Norway to steal Fionn's cup. Fionn subsequently recovers it and kills the hag; see Campbell, *op. cit.*, D. 5, F. 6, H. 8, X. 2, pp. 61-3; also Christiansen, *The vikings and the viking wars*, 220-21.

24 T.F. O'Rahilly, 'On the origin of the names Éraim and Ériu' in Ériu xiv (1943-6) 7-28; R.A. Breatnach, 'The Lady and the king: a theme of Irish literature' in Studies xliii (1953) 321-36; P. MacCana, 'Aspects of the theme of king and goddess in Irish literature' in Ét. Celt. vii (1955-6) 76-114.

However, these three elements, taken together, provide the appropriate atmosphere for the utterance of the prophecy which ensues.

The fact that the text, at this point, is fragmentary does not prevent us from extracting the essentials: the aithech reveals himself to be from a sídh and Fionn completes his account of the origin of the horn by repeating the words of the stranger:

in trāth do ... gilla urchuir in chuirn a chēile
comb ... isin bliadain sin no co fuighinn fēn ba
....

('when the two bearers of the corn (should kill) each other, that it is in that year that I myself should die.')

Fionn decides to leave the country to avoid the fulfilment of the prophecy. In the poem in which he announces this it is clear that he possesses some additional foreknowledge concerning his fate:

Do Lúaigne atā i ndān in tres
nī gnīm ūailli acht adhbhur fras. (p. 68)

The Fian persuade him to stay and they provide for one of them to stay with him every night until the end of the year. The first to remain with him is one Fer Taí mac Uaithne Irgalaig whose wife is a daughter of Goll mac Morna, Iuchna Ardmor.²⁵ These have a son, Fer Lí, who, being anxious to avenge his grandfather, opposes Fionn and a battle quickly ensues. The forces opposing Fionn include 'cúic (sic) mic Uirgrenn' (p.

25 A possible link with ^{*}Adharca Iuchbaa, above, and with the couplet cited from DF below. Murphy (DF iii, 43) points out, however, that in the present tale she intercedes for Fionn.

78) and 'Aithlech Mór mac Duibrend' (pp. 92, 94). The tale breaks off at a point where Fionn is faced by the sons of Uirgriu, and it is to be supposed that he is subsequently slain by them.

This story is very much a literary exercise and we should not be surprised at the amount of elaboration involved in it. Nevertheless it can be argued that the essential elements which were observed in the previous story, namely a prophecy concerning a corn and death as a result of a pitched battle, are also present here.

There is one point of verbal coincidence between Laud/ Egerton fragments and the Aided Finn story. This is the phrase neimh a hadairc.²⁶ It may be thought that this neimh is itself a contributory factor in Fionn's death, that is that he died as a result of poisoning. In the prophecies, however, the emphasis is always on the act of drinking from a corn or an adharc (synonyms according to Aided Finn) and not on the contents of the vessel. I am, therefore, inclined to interpret neimh according to the second sense given by DIL N, 21.1-17, 'bane, malefic power'. We might then translate neimh a hadairc as 'evil power from a horn'.

Coming from these accounts of the death of Fionn to that which Fearghal Óg gives, the initial impression may be that there are few points of comparison between them. However, despite the allusive style of the two quatrains in question, the essentials of the story, as given by our poet, can be set out as follows:

1. Fionn's death is foretold by a draoi/fádh.

26 ZCP i (1897) 464; Anecdota Oxoniensia i/4, 74; SG i, 91.

2. Fionn believes his fate can be avoided in Munster.
3. Fionn dies jumping 'tar an mBric mBladhuigh'.

For greater elucidation of this account we must look to the Early Modern Irish tale Feis Tighe Chonáin.²⁷ Of the many questions which Conán, in the manner of Pádraig in the Agallamh, asks of Fionn is 'créad fá lingin[n] tú léim na Brece Bladha (?)²⁸ gacha bliadhna' (lines 146-7). In reply Fionn tells of how, as an 'óg-macaomh bhaoth ēagiallaidhi', he made his way to Luachair Deaghadh where he came upon two assemblies, one of men, one of women, each sitting on a high hill with an 'all dubh dua[i]bhseach domain gāibteach grāineamhail' (lines 164-5) between them. He discovers that the reason for the two gatherings is that Séadna mac Oilealla, 'mac rī Ciarraidhe Lu[a]chra'²⁹ (line 171), was in love with Athnat daughter of Dáire an Síidhe. The coibche which she asked of him was that he jump the all and thus they gathered each year only to see him run to the edge of the precipice and turn back without attempting to jump. Fionn then proceeds to make the jump and the return jump also '7 do bēraind nī ba mionca damad āil liom féin' (lines 192-3). He consequently gains the affections of Athnat who, having slept with him, asks him, the following morning, to make the jump every year. Fionn consents to this '7 do fhág mur gheasuibh orm, an bliadhna[i]n nach ttiurain[n] hē, ēag no

27 Ed. M. Joynt; line references are to this edition.

28 The '(?)' is editorial; v. ll. blaidhe, bloighe, blóidhe. Flower in B Mus. Catg. ii, 335 also gives the variant bláidhe. From the form which Fearghal Óg gives it would seem that the first vowel was short.

29 There is no evidence for such a person in the genealogies of Ciarraige Luachra (Corp. Gen., 287-8, 427-8).

oigheadh d'f[h]lagáil damh' (lines 200-202).

It is clear that Fearghal Óg's allusion to the death of Fionn is to be explained, to a certain extent, by reference to the above tale. Here, however, there is no mention of Fionn's death having come about as a result of this incident: the fact that Fionn himself narrates the story precludes any such reference. Indeed we are given to understand that Fionn was not unaccustomed to such geasa.³⁰

In an earlier edition of Feis Tighe Chonáin Nicholas O'Kearney provides the following summary of a co. Waterford tradition:

it is said that Fionn was under a geasa (pledge) to leap this glen [Gleann Dealgain] forwards and backwards before sunrise on the mornings of May-day; but that on a certain morning, as he was on his way to make the leap, he met a red-haired woman milking cows on the way-side, from whom he asked a drink, which she sternly refused, not knowing who it was that asked for it. When Fionn found his request refused, he foresaw that his days were numbered and he cursed the red-haired woman; but nevertheless he made towards the glen, which he leaped forward; but in leaping backwards he fell into the glen, and the imprint of his hands, knees etc., are still visible on a greenish stone which lies in the bottom of the glen.³¹

While we must not overestimate Feis Tighe Chonáin in that it is clearly a deliberately constructed literary tale, its importance for us is that it provides corroboratory evidence for the allusions to the death

30 An incident similar to this is recounted later in Feis Tighe Chonáin, lines 1453-80. The location is Magh na Céide, the woman Éadaoin Sléibhe Caoin and the anecdote ends with a precise verbal parallel to the present incident. Nagy, op. cit., 119-21, analyses the Athnat episode in the context of Fionn's passage from childhood to adulthood and of his constant movement between the real world and the otherworld.

31 Transactions of the Ossianic Society ii, 131.

of Fionn as given by Fearghal Óg. This evidence consists primarily in the placename *An Bhríc Bhladha and in the léim, while this and the geis provide a link with the versions considered earlier. From this it seems clear that Fearghal Óg and the author of Feis Tighe Chonáin were drawing on the same tradition for their own separate purposes.

O'Kearney's story provides further connections with the earlier versions. Firstly we have the woman milking the cows from whom Fionn requests a drink. This immediately recalls the woman 'ag tath an grotha' in the Egerton/ Laud fragments. In O'Kearney's anecdote it is because he is refused by the woman that Fionn foresees his death and not because of the actual drink itself, or the type of vessel containing it. Nevertheless the similarity exists and this is enhanced by the resoluteness with which Fionn proceeds to his léim. The fact that it is Fionn himself who foresees his death also recalls the Aided Finn version.

There is also a connection between O'Kearney's account and that of the Scottish ballads in Leabhar na Feinne. It will be recalled that Fionn and Taileachd jump from the island to the shore and that it is on the return leap that Fionn falls. Similarly O'Kearney tells us that it was on the return leap that Fionn met his death and note also that in Feis Tighe Chonáin Fionn performs a backward leap.

Buttimer has outlined the structure of events involved in the motif of the Threefold Death as Forewarning, Denial and Execution.³² Radner details a more comprehensive morphology as follows:

- 1) The future victim commits an offence.

32 'Loegaire mac Néill in the Bórama' in Doan and Buttimer (eds) Proceedings, (63-78) 66-7.

- 2) There is immediately a prophecy, almost always delivered by a cleric, that the offender will be punished for his offence by a threefold death.
- 3) Disbelief in the prophecy is expressed.
- 4) The events of the story bring about a reversal and belief may be explicitly expressed.
- 5) The prophecy is fulfilled and the offender/victim is killed.³³

In commenting on this, that author remarks that 'not every story includes every element of the motif. It is also true that the five elements are given varying degrees of emphasis in different stories'.³⁴ She also regards the motif as 'an explicitly Christian narrative device'³⁵ and in this respect it must be said that the anecdotes concerning the death of Fionn are devoid of any such frame of reference, which makes it all the more interesting if the presence of the motif be conceded there.

That this is the case must surely be admitted if the morphology outlined above is applied to these anecdotes. Thus, for example, in the earliest fragments we have elements 1 (the offence being the breaking of the geis), 2 and 5. In the Aided Finn version are found elements 1, 2, 3 (Fionn attempts to avoid his fate by drinking exclusively from cuacha) and 5. In Fearghal Óg's version we have elements 2, 3 and 5.

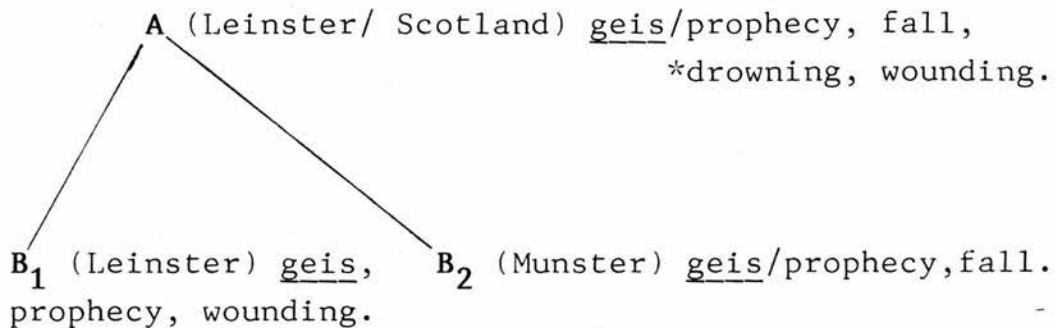
It is in the means by which Fionn dies, and the location of his death, that differences arise

33 'The significance of the Threefold Death in Celtic tradition' in Ford (ed.), Celtic folklore and Christianity, (180-200) 183-4.

34 Ibid., 184.

35 Ibid., 187.

between the various versions. Viewed within the framework of the motif of the Threefold Death, these differences become amenable to explanation. The position may, therefore, be illustrated by means of a stemma. A represents the Egerton/ Laud and the Scottish versions; B₁ stands for the 'Síd na mBan Finn'/ Aided Finn versions; B₂ signifies the Fearghal Óg/ O'Kearney version.



Traces of the story, in its fullest form, are preserved in the earliest text and in texts collected from oral-tradition on the periphery, as it were, in Scotland. As time progressed, a version of the story becomes localised in Munster where the element of slaying, deriving as it does from traditions of rivalry between Tara (represented by the Luaighni, the sons of Uirgriu) and Leinster (represented by Fionn),³⁶ is of no relevance and is thus lost. In Leinster, however, it is the wounding which is developed and the fall which is lost.

The most common realisation of the motif of the Threefold Death in Irish tradition takes the form of death by guin, loscadh and bádadh.³⁷ Thus it is in

36 See EIHM, 391-4.

37 Only bibliographical references not found in Jackson, art. cit., are given here.

the two accounts of the death of Diarmait mac Cerbaill, in Aided Muirchertaig meic Erca,³⁸ in the two accounts of the death of Grácc and, though somewhat less clearly, in Baile Chuind Chétchathaig³⁹ and in the Bóramha version of the death of Loegaire mac Néill.⁴⁰ There are two exceptions to this: the death of Aed Dub in the Vita Sancti Columbae I, whose death can only be construed as threefold if his fall from the prow of a raft is taken as one of the three elements (the other two are wounding and drowning),⁴¹ and the death of Suibhne in Buile Shuibhne which, according to Frykenberg, is to be interpreted as resulting from wounding, falling and drowning.⁴²

Versions of the motif which originate outside Ireland do not include the element of loscadh⁴³ and this has led Frykenberg - following Jackson who proposed a British origin for the Celtic sub-type of the Wild Man of the Woods topos - to suggest a British sub-type of the motif of the Threefold Death, in which he would include the Aed Dub and Suibhne episodes.⁴⁴ Both sub-types, it is suggested, were developed in the British kingdom of Strathclyde having been assimilated from the Irish kingdom of Dál Riada to the north.

It is therefore tempting to associate the absence of loscadh in the Fionn story with this

38 See T. Ó Concheanainn, 'The act of wounding in the death of Muirchertach mac Earca' in Éigse xv (1973-4) 141-4.

39 B. Ó Cuív, 'The motif of the threefold death' in Éigse xv (1973-4) (145-50) 150.

40 C. G. Buttimer, art. cit.

41 Jackson, art. cit., 536.

42 B. Frykenberg, 'Suibhne, Lailoken, and the Taídiu' in Jefferiss and Mahon (eds) Proceedings, 105-20.

43 Vita Merlini: fall, hanging, drowning. Lailoken a: stoning, wounding, drowning. Twm Gelwydd Teg: snake-bite, fall, drowning. Hildebert poems: wounding, hanging, drowning.

44 Art. cit., 108-9.

sub-type, especially when one bears in mind the east-Ulster milieu in which traditions regarding Fionn can be inferred to have flourished as early as the seventh century.⁴⁵ Certain other features, as well as the absence of loscadh contribute to this inclination: the element of the léim which is an attribute of, though not exclusive to, the Wild Man; the fact that in some of the versions Fionn, by acknowledging the breaking of the geis and/ or by foreseeing the future, actually foretells his own death, like Fer Caille/ Lailoken;⁴⁶ the element of rock or stone mentioned in the early fragments and in the tradition recorded by O'Kearney and which Frykenberg identifies as a prominent feature of the British sub-type.⁴⁷

On the other hand, Professor Ó Cuív has remarked that 'it must be admitted that drowning, burning and wounding are the most obvious ways of meeting a violent death'.⁴⁸ But they were not the only ways and it might be possible to argue that the fall was available as a variant where circumstances made it possible for the inclusion of the element of loscadh. It is noteworthy that there are four elements in the death of Grácc and only by regarding one of them - the fall from the tree - as an 'incidental' does Jackson provide him with a Threefold Death.

Whatever its ultimate origins, I am satisfied that viewing the apparently disparate traditions regarding Fionn's death in the context of this motif helps us to see them as a unit, however fragmented that unit may now be. While I would not claim this to be the final word on the subject I

45 P. Mac Cana, 'Fianaigeacht in the pre-Norman period' in Almqvist et. al. (eds) The heroic process, (75-99) 85-90.

46 See Jackson, art. cit., 548.

47 Art. cit., 118 n. 50.

48 Art. cit., 149.

believe that it represents an advance on previous attempts to make sense of the matter. We have seen how Professor Murphy sought to explain the variety in the tradition by seeing in it two streams: pseudo-historic accounts involving death in battle and other accounts involving a magically controlled death. This latter is a reference to the element of geis and prophecy in the stories and, as I have shown this element to be a constant in all versions, Murphy's interpretation must now be set aside.

More recently Professor Baumgarten has attempted to fuse some of the versions into a single continuous narrative by taking an onomastic/etymological approach to the subject.⁴⁹ I do not believe that it is possible to say what the 'original' story was to the extent of including actual place- and personal names as Baumgarten does. All that can be done is to point out the elements which constituted the bones of the story. One of those elements is that of wounding which Baumgarten does not mention at all. This is not the case with Dr Ó hÓgáin who reviews some⁵⁰ of the traditions regarding Fionn's death and concludes that 'The story of his fatal leap seems to have been a folkloric development, and the idea that he was killed by his enemies the older and more learned tradition'.⁵¹ As will be clear from what has been said above, this is not a conclusion with which I can agree.

For sake of completeness, we may add that in the more abbreviated references to the death of Fionn, those

49 Almqvist et. al., op. cit., 21-3.

50 As with Murphy and Baumgarten the Scottish evidence is ignored.

51 Ó hÓgáin, Fionn mac Cumhaill, 111.

occurring mainly in poetry and in annalistic material, it is possible to follow the disintegration of the Threefold Death motif to the point where little, if any, trace of the prophecy exists, thus leaving only either the element of slaying or the léim. It must be admitted, however, that the very nature of these narratives may be responsible, at least in part, for the reduction of the story to its bare essentials.

To take the element of slaying first, in the well-known poem by Cináed húa Artacain, 'Fiana batar i nEmain',⁵² we find the following quatrain:

Ro bith Finn dna, ro bith Finn,
ba do goeib gomach guin,
do thall Aicclech mac Duibrenn
a chenn do mac Murni muin.⁵³

In another version of the same poem in Laud 610, the following couplet occurs:

la fein Luaigne aided Find
oc Ath Brea for Boainn.⁵⁴

The Egerton 1782 version contains the same couplet with the addition of the following gloss: '.i. la Aichlech mac Duibrenn dorochair Find ac Ath Brea os Boaind 7 ni a mBeola Broghoige a Luachair'.⁵⁵ Clearly this early 16th century scribe, if indeed it is he who

52 Ed. Stokes in RC xxiii (1902) 303-48; for date and authorship see Ériu xvi (1952) 151-6.

53 Loc. cit., 310.30, 330.38. This quatrain is not found in the earliest version (LL) of the poem and is taken from Egerton 1782. It also occurs, in somewhat different form, in the Egerton 92 fragment of the death of Fiomm, discussed above, and in AFM i, 120.

54 Loc. cit., 322.28.

55 Ibid., 328.27.

is responsible for the gloss, was aware of the existence of the alternative Munster tradition and was anxious to assert the veracity of that of Leinster. It also shows that there was more than one precise location in Munster where the deed was thought to have taken place. We will see further evidence for such variation below.

Indeed the Leinster tradition itself was not without some variation as witness the following quatrain from another poem attributed to Cináed beginning 'Án sin a maig Meic ind Óc':

Hi Fertai na Failend fand
is and ro maided in glond
mór in gnim n-úalle do rind
echt Find for fein Lúaigni lond.⁵⁶

We get a tantalising glimpse of another possible variation within Leinster tradition in a couplet of a poem in Duanaire Finn beginning 'Anocht fíordheireadh na ffian':

dár tuit Fionn tre inghin Ghuill
a ccath Breghdha os Bouinn.⁵⁷

The following quatrain, which appears in the upper margin of p. 164a of LL, where the poem 'Áth Liac Find cid dia tá' occurs, gives the more usual Leinster account:

56 LU lines 4149-52. This is the only instance of the name Fertai na Failend cited in Onom., 414, Hogan commenting that it is near Brug na Bóinne which is probably correct as the poem occurs in the context of 'Senchas na Relec'.

57 DF XIX.5cd; the second line should read 'ag Ath Breä os Bóäinn' (DF iii, 43).

Ro díchned Find ba fer tend
 ó Acclech mac Duibdrend
 is ro bennad de a chend
 o maccaib anaib Urgrend⁵⁸

an account with which the annals concur.⁵⁹

Equally brief references to Fionn's death being the result of a léim are also found. Thus in the poem beginning 'Cnucha cnoc os cionn Life' we find the following couplet:

Ge thuit Find na leim baoise
 rob uathadh a chomhaoise.⁶⁰

A similar allusion to Fionn's baothléim occurs in a poem in the so-called 'Agallamh Bheag' beginning 'Ingnadh in fhis tarfas dam':

At bath Find ac leim aísi
 cid edh ro bo reim baoísi.⁶¹

With this may be compared the following quatrain from Caithréim Fhinn mhic Cumhaill:

Dá chéad bliadhain go mblaidh
 is fiche bliadhain gan tláithe
 righe Finn fa fada a ré
 gur torchradh é ag Léim Aoife.⁶²

which in Agallamh na Seanórach, reads as follows:

58 LL lines 21833-6.

59 AFM i, 118-20; A Tig. = RC xvii (1896) 20; A Clon., 61.

60 ZCP xi (1917) 44.52ab.

61 Book of Lismore, f. 199v.b.30.

62 An Seabhac, Laoithe na Féinne, 268.5.

Dá cét bliadan co mblaithe
 oculus tricha gan tlaithe
 saegal Find, ba fada re
 go torchair 'ga léim baissi.⁶³

Two other examples from Agallamh na Seanórach provide further corroboration of Fearghal Óg's version. The first, while again only mentioning the léim, occurs in a context suggestive of the presence of the element of geis. In reply to Conall's question 'in rabadur gessa for Find?' Caoilte recites a poem beginning 'Is truagh in gnímh' where we find this couplet:

Do marbad Find na Feinde
 ic tabairt a laechleime.⁶⁴

Earlier in the story Caoilte remarks 'Oculus do bhí Find isin ríghi sin ... no gu bhfuair bás ⁷ aidhed a n-Aill in Bhruic a Luachair Deghadh ...'.⁶⁵ This immediately reminds us of the all over which Fionn performs his léim in Feis Tighe Chonáin and it is possible that g. sg. in Bhroic represents a variant of *An Bhreac Bhladha(ch). This possibility is supported by another occurrence of the name in a line from a poem beginning 'Ag so in fód inar ghein Fionn':

Bás Finn a mBroic ar ndul di.⁶⁶

63 IT iv/1, 72 lines 2537-8.

64 Ibid., 81 line 2783.

65 Ibid., 50 lines 1765-7.

66 DF XLIII.40a (= Book of Lismore, f. 198v.b.8). The di refers to Fionn's wife Ainne mentioned earlier in the poem.

Finally the evidence for other possible locations in Munster for the death of Fionn is provided by the following quatrain:

I nArd Chaille cailte cle
i Múscraigi Tri Maige
a chend síar ri Liac Sinnaig
adhnacht Find cu flathminnaib.⁶⁷

and by J.F. Campbell who cites 'Irish authorities' for the death of Fionn having occurred 'near Cape Clear'.⁶⁸

Having examined all the available references⁶⁹ to the death of Fionn mac Cumhaill, it can be seen that the differences which appear to exist between the various accounts are not as great as might first be imagined. When considered within the framework of the motif of the Threefold Death, the common ground between them becomes much clearer and more obvious. Brief and cryptic as Fearghal Óg's allusions admittedly are, without them that common ground might well be as difficult to perceive as it seems to have been up to this. It is hard to imagine that our poet was unaware of the existence of an alternative tradition regarding Fionn's death. We have reason to be grateful that the exigencies of the occasion demanded that he chose the Munster tradition thereby enhancing the quality of a very fine elegy on Éamonn mac Maoil Mhuire mheic Dhonnchaidh Mheic Shuibhne.

67 LL lines 18015-8, seventy-third quatrain of a poem attributed to Gilla in Chomded hua Cormaic beginning 'A rí richid reidig dam'.

68 Op. cit., 195. I have not discovered these authorities.

69 We can ignore Meredith Hanmer's remark in his Chronicle of Ireland that 'the end of Fin Mac Coill was, that he dyed a beggar and in great miserie'. Ware, Ancient Irish histories ii, 63.

Appendix IV

POEM IV. 27-34: the Alexander apologue.

The legend of Alexander, in its historical form or with its multitude of apocryphal accretions, provided medieval writers in all countries with abundant material for whatever branch of literary activity they engaged in.¹ In Ireland, important fifteenth-century manuscripts such as the Book of Ballymote (RIA MS 23 P 12), the Book of Lecan (RIA MS 23 P 2), the Leabhar Breac (RIA MS 23 P 16) and Bodleian Library MS Rawl. B 512 all contain material relating to Alexander.²

The substance of Fearghal Óg's apologue³ is, ultimately, of oriental origin. Because of his all-conquering invasions of Persia and India, Alexander made an immense impression on the consciousness of the cultures on which he imposed himself.⁴ One of the ideas which appealed both to occident and orient alike was the moral implications

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- 1 One scholar has remarked: 'A mesure que se développaient les langues littéraires, chaque nation médiévale traita, dans sa langue, le riche sujet que lui offrait la légende alexandrine', Abel, *La Roman d'Alexandre*, 113.
 - 2 See C. Giesler, 'History of Alexander the Great' in *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge* ii (1884-6) 65-70, 116-8, 129-31, 184-5; K. Meyer, 'Die Geschichte von Philipp und Alexander ...' in *IT* ii (1887) 1-108; K. Meyer, 'The correspondence between Alexander and Dindimus' in *Anecdota* v (1913) 1-8; E. Peters, 'Die irische Alexandersage' in *ZCP* xxx (1967) 71-264; R.T. Meyer, 'The sources of the Middle-Irish Alexander' in *Modern Philology* xlvii/ 1 (August 1949) 1-7.
 - 3 Ó Caithnia, *Apalóga*, 123-4 is not very helpful as regards sources here; further anecdotes relating to Alexander, other than those noted by Ó Caithnia, will be found in TCD MS 1362a, f. 1r. 27-1v.11; TBg, lines 2794-9; *Scáthán*, lines 872-8; and cf. *Celtica* xvi (1984) 92.8.
 - 4 Witness, for example, the reflection of this in the paintings of Persian artists from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries; cf. Gray, *Persian painting*, passim.

of the sudden and early termination of so illustrious and so superlative a career. The humbling of a proud leader was a popular motif in Medieval exempla, and in other traditions also⁵, and what greater exemplification of this than the death of Alexander.⁶

The theme of the philosophers at the tomb of Alexander found its way from oriental tradition into Medieval European literature directly through two works and indirectly through a third. Regarding the poem 'Ceathrar do bhí ar uaigh an fhir', Robin Flower observed: 'The theme is taken from the supplementary chapter to the Historia de Preliis (the abridged Latin version of Pseudo Callisthenes, cf. Ward and Herbert Cat. of Rom., i, p. 120) in the sayings of the eight philosophers at Alexander's tomb'.⁷ Kuno Meyer had expressed the same opinion some thirty years earlier.⁸ The work to which both referred is the mid-twelfth century third recension (I³) of a tenth century work known as 'Nativitas et Victoria Alexandri Magni'. This is a Latin translation of a Greek manuscript (now lost) containing what purported to be an authentic account of the life and exploits of Alexander by his historian, Aristotle's nephew, Callisthenes of Olynthus.⁹ The third recension, the I³ Historia de Preliis enjoyed considerable popularity from the

5 See H. Schwarzbaum, 'International folklore motifs in Petrus Alphonsi's Disciplina Clericalis' in Sefarad xxii (1962) 337-9; J.E. Keller, Motif-index of Medieval Spanish exempla, 39; S. Thomson, Motif-index v, 21-2.

6 A theme found, from time to time, in Irish tradition; e.g. Is gach aon dá threise faoi shoilse na gréine nach dtug a ngaiscí uilig aisíoc ón éag dhóibh ...
... is Alastran a raibh an Domhan dó ag géilleadh an Asia, an Africa, America is Éaraip.

Ó Gallchóir (eag.) Séamas Dall Mac Cuarta, 34.

7 Br. Mus. Catg ii, 70-71.

8 IT ii/ 2 (1887) 3.

9 This information derives from G. Cary, The Medieval Alexander, 11, 38, 52; for Callisthenes see Hammond and Scullard, The Oxford Classical Dictionary, 196.

twelfth century onwards. It was translated or adapted into Italian, Hebrew, Czech, Russian and English¹⁰, and this work, or perhaps an intermediate text derived from it, may indeed have been the source of the Irish version of the anecdote of the philosophers.

However, an equally likely source is the work from which the anecdote in the Historia is itself taken, namely the late eleventh/ early twelfth century Disciplina Clericalis.¹¹ This is a translation by the philosopher, astronomer and personal physician to Henry I, Petrus Alphonsus¹² - a Spanish Jew converted to Christianity - of a series of exempla, mainly from Arabic sources.¹³ One of these exempla is the account of the philosophers at the tomb.¹⁴ This work is of prime importance in Medieval literary history - its influence can be discerned in Boccaccio, Chaucer etc.¹⁵ - and all occurrences of the eight philosophers derive from it, helped along, no doubt, by the semi-independent tradition of the I³ Historia de Preliis.¹⁶

10 For a fifteenth century English adaptation^{at} see Skeat (ed.), The wars of Alexander; the sayings of the philosophers are on p. 278.

11 The manuscript tradition of the philosophers-anecdote in the I³ Historia de Preliis is discussed by F. Pfister, 'Historia de Preliis ...' in Münchener Museum für Philologie des Mittelalters und der Renaissance i (1911) 271 ff; the text is printed ibid., 272, regarding which Pfister says: 'Das Stück ist der Disciplina Clericalis ... entnommen stammt also indirekt aus arabischen Quelle ...' (271-2).

12 See Watt, The influence of Islam on Medieval Europe, 64.

13 This information is taken from Jones and Keller, The Scholar's Guide, 13-29.

14 Ibid., 112.33

15 See ibid., 27-8.

16 Among the works containing the story are the immensely popular Gesta Romanorum, ed. H. Oesterley, the anecdote printed p. 329, and a fifteenth century English translation of exempla, from a French source, entitled An alphabet of tales, ed. Banks. The latter text acknowledges its source for the story as Petrus Alphonsus (p. 347). A more complete list of instances will be found in Cary, op. cit., 300-301 n. 62.

The second direct entry-point for the anecdote into European tradition is an early thirteenth century translation, by an unknown Spanish writer, of an eleventh century Arabic compilation.¹⁷ The Spanish text, known as Bocados de Oro, was quickly translated into Latin and from Latin into French.¹⁸ This work also contains the anecdote of the philosophers at Alexander's tomb but, rather than citing eight, as the Disciplina does, it gives eleven.¹⁹ Other differences between the Bocados and the Disciplina will be noted below and while I will state why I believe the Disciplina/ Historia tradition to be the ultimate European source for Fearghal Óg's apologue, it may be of interest to note that the French translation of the Bocados, completed sometime towards the end of the fourteenth century and entitled Dits Moraulx, was the source for the English translations which engaged the talents of at least five writers in the latter half of the fifteenth century.²⁰ One of these writers, William Worcester (1415 - ? 1482) was the owner of a manuscript²¹ containing a translation by a colleague, Stephen Scrope, with interlinear and marginal corrections by Worcester. That this manuscript spent some time in Munster is attested to by marginalia mentioning Cork (ff. 47, 54) and Waterford (f. 76). On f. 54v is the comment 'as maith ni holc'.

The earliest appearance of the philosophers in Irish tradition is in the poem 'Ceathrar do bhí ar uaigh an fhir', the earliest extant copy of which is in the 'Book of the Dean of Lismore' (Nat. Lib. Scot.

17 This information is derived from Bühler, The dictis and sayings of the philosophers, ix ff.

18 Ibid.

19 Cf. H. Knust, Mitteilungen aus dem Eskurial, 302-3.

20 Bühler, op. cit., xiii.

21 Emmanuel College, Cambridge, MS I.2. 10; described ibid., xxi-xxv.

MS Adv. 72.1.37) pp. 85-6.²² This manuscript was compiled between 1512 and 1542. Apart from what may be oral corruptions, such as 'do bhiomar' (q. 2b) and what O Rahilly considered to be four interpolated quatrains,²³ this text is essentially the same as that found in Irish manuscripts.

Comparison between the Irish version and the European originals displays a closer affinity to the Disciplina/ Historia tradition than to that of the Bocados. All four sayings are found in essence²⁴ in the former tradition. The Bocados contains three of the sayings but, significantly, lacks the aphorism which in Irish appears as 'inné / 'na mharcach ar talmhuin truim / ... an talamh a-tá i-niugh / 'na mharcach ar a mhuin-suimh'.²⁵ This fact, I believe,

22 For this version see Rel. Celt. i, 94-7. I have counted some fifteen copies of the poem in Irish manuscripts. The earliest of these is RIA MS 23 L 34, p. 208 (written in Dublin by Maurice Newby, 1711-15) edited by O Rahilly, MD ii, 79; cf., also, Meyer's edition (from Br. Lib. MS Eg. 127, f. 51v) in IT ii. 2 (1887) 3-4.

23 MD ii, 231. The Dean's version has 10 qq., the versions in Irish manuscripts have 6 qq. There is a 9 qq. version, beginning 'Ceathar shuigh air uaigh an fhir', in Glasgow University Library, McLagan Collection, MS 122, item 1 written by James McLagan (+ 1805) (see Mackechnie, 433); this is essentially the Dean's text with one or two interesting variants.

24 One interesting difference between the BDL text and that printed in MD is q. 5b,d:

do thaisgeadh airgead is ór ...

... atá an t-ór 'gá thaisgeadh soin. (BDL)

This retains the sense found in the European sources which record the tradition that Alexander was buried in a golden casket: e.g.

Alexaundre was wont to keepe golde & silver, and now golde and silver kepithe hym; & that said he because of the chase of golde in þe which he was.

(Bühler, op. cit., 210)

The MD version reads merely:

do bhronnadh airgead is ór ...

... ag so an t-ór is ní fhuil-sean;

The McLagan version reads:

'so an tor, cait am bheil eisin?'

and this is also the sense of q. 34 of Fearghal Óg's poem.

25 Cf. Fearghal Óg, q. 33. In the Historia this appears as 'Heri terram premebat, hodie eadem terra premit ipsum', Pfister, art. cit., 272.

is sufficient to distinguish to which tradition the Irish version belongs.

It is clear, however, that the Irish version, in common with all Irish adaptations from non-native sources in the Medieval period, has a character of its own. This is underlined when we analyse the relationship between Fearghal Óg's verses and the earlier 'Ceathrar do bhí ar uaigh an fhir'. The substance of the four aphorisms is identical in both but the style and wording of Fearghal Óg are much different and this, combined with the strict metre ('Ceathrar do bhí' is in ógláchas of deibhidhe) and the setting of the verses, gives the uirsgéal a complexion entirely absent from the earlier poem.

But these differences of form and tone, from an analytic point of view, are superficial. The similarities are of such a degree as to suggest that the uirsgéal is simply the earlier poem in a new shape. In both we are dealing with four sages - not eight as in the Disciplina / Historia versions - who say precisely the same things. Equally significant is the linguistic coincidence involved in the use of the term 'marcach'. The measurement of the grave as 'seacht dtroighthe do thalmhuin' - 'seacht dtroighthe talmhaidhe' in Fearghal Óg, q. 32b - is also noteworthy.²⁶

26 Cf. Ar ngabháil neirt ar gach neach
ní fhuair Alasdram uaibhreach -
a chuimhne [ó] chroidhe is dleacht damh -
acht seacht dtroighe don talamh.

Philip Bocht 16.17.

Da tti se le seacht ttroighibh
nir theach do mhéad a mhuirir
Niall Óg ni hecht nach doiligh
ar sheacht throigibh dfhod fhuinidh.

RIA MS 23 F 16, p. 73.

and Éigse x (1961-3) 271.4d.

The originals measure in arm-spans, thus Historia:
'hodie quatuor solae ulnae sufficiunt', Pfister, art. cit.,
272.

While the possibility of an earlier common, native exemplar cannot be excluded, I am inclined to view 'Ceathrar do bhí ar uaigh an fhir' as the original instance in Irish tradition of the anecdote of the philosophers which Fearghal Óg adapted for his apologue. It must be remembered that this poem could belong to any period from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century and may, perhaps, represent the residue of a series of such compositions adapted from current Medieval exempla.²⁷ The 'marcach' and 'seacht dtroighthe' I regard as native alterations. The reduction in the number of the philosophers²⁸ may also be, though it could conceivably belong to whatever intermediate source, if any, was employed by the adapter.

27 The occurrence in BDL of native uirsgéala divorced from their original context has been remarked by Terence McCaughey in Ériu xxxv (1984) 40-41.

28 For sake of completeness we might note that '... Persian and Arabic authors name the wise men at the grave as Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, Hippocrates, Zeno, Pythagoras, Solon, Xenophanes and others ...', Hermes, The Disciplina Clericalis, 190 n. 162.

Appendix V

The following is a complete list of annalistic entries relating to Clann an Bhaird. Readings are from the first source cited and only important variants are given.

- 1173 Maoil Iosu Mac an Baird Epscop ^aChluana Fearta Breanainn^a do écc.
AFM iii, 10; AU ii, 176; Tig.: RC xviii (1897) 288; AB: RC xlii (1925) 290.
^{a--a}0 maine Tig.
- 1356 Aodh mac Toirrdéalbhaigh Uí Concobhair, Ri Connacht do mharbhadh i mBaile Locha Deacair la Donnchadh Carrach Ua Ceallaigh, 7 la ^acloinn Meic^b an Baird^a ar foraileamh^c Maineach i ccionaidh^d ingheine Seóinín a Burc bean Uí Cheallaigh do breith^e leis ar aitheadh, 7 ar elódh roimhe sin.
AFM iii, 608; ALC ii, 14; AC, 312; AClon., 299.
^{a--a} the scept called clan Barde AClon.; ^bom. ALC, AC; ^cforgall ALC, AC; ^dndigaltus ALC, AC; ^eALC, AC add do mac Toirrdhealbhaigh.
- 1408 Mac an Baird Chúile an Urtann Ollamh Ua Maine do écc.
AFM iv, 796.
- 1449 Ua Fialáin 7 Giolla Criost Mac an Baird décc.
AFM iv, 964.
- 1459 Sean Cam mac Con Uladh Mec an Bhaird decc^a.
AFM iv, 1004; AU iii, 198.

^aAU add in bliadhuinsi idon sai fhir dana.

1461 Tomas mac Uigestin Meic an Baird mortuus est.

AC, 502.

1478 ^aPlaidh mor do techt le luing ar cuan Esa Ruaidh
7 leathnughadh don plaidh sin ar fud Tire
Conaill 7 a Feraibh Manach 7 isin coicid co
coitcenn^a. Ocus dighbala mora do dhenum doibh 7
Mac an Baird Thire Conaill idon Goffraigh^b dheg
di.

AU iii. 262-4; AFM iv, 1106; ALC ii, 176;

AC, 480.

^{a--a}om. ALC, AC; ^bAC adds mac Eogain.

1485 hUa Neill idon Conn mac Enri do dhul sluagh mor
a Tir Conaill tar eis Fheile Michil 7 dighbhala
mora do dhenum a Tir Aedha leis 7 Baile Mic an
Baird idon Aedh do loscadh le Ragnall Mac
Domhnaill idon ceann feadhna galloglach do
muinntir hI Neill an Ragnall sin.

AU iii, 296.

1488 Mac an Baird Oirghiall dheg an bliadhainsi idon
Nuadha^a Mac an Bhaird^b 7 a mac do ghabhail a
inaidh idon Aedh^b.

AU iii, 332; AFM iv, 1164; ALC ii, 186; AC,
592.

^aAC adds mac Seáin Caim; ^{b--b}om. AFM, ALC, AC.

1495 Mac an Baird ^aTire Conaill^a idon Aedh Mac an
Baird dheg in bliadhainsi.

AU iii, 390; AFM iv, 1218; ALC ii, 192; AC,
598.

^{a--a}om. ALC, AC.

- 1498 Mac an Baird Oirghiall dheg don plaidh in bliadhainsi ^aidon Aedh^a.
AU iii, 434; AFM iv, 1246.
 a--a_{om.} AFM.
- 1507 Mac an Baird Airghiall, Giolla Padraicc mac Aodha 7 Tuathal Buidhe mac Adhaimh Gairbh Mic an Bhaird do mharbhadh ar aon la Coin Uladh Ua Condalaigh 7 la a braithribh.
AFM v, 1292.
- 1509 Corbmac mac Seain mic Concobhair Óicc Meg Uidhir, Diarmait mac Floinn Mic an Bhaird, 7 Tadhg Ó Cianain décc.
AFM v, 1302.
- 1510 ^aMac an Baird Tire Conaill^a idon Eoghan Ruadh do dhol déc a nIndsi Mic an Duirn an bliadhainsi.
AU iii, 494; AFM v, 1304; AC, 614.
 a--a_{ollam h. Domnaill} AC.
- 1522 Coccadh romór ar nergi a nErinn an bliadhainsi 7 go hairithi ider hUa nDomnaill idon Aodh 7 O Néill idon Conn mac Cuind Dala I Neill iarum do léic air impód a Tír Eoguin ... 7 táinic a Tír Aodha 7 do loisc 7 do mhill morán don tír 7 do gab caislen Beóil Atha Senaigh 7 do mharbh daoine imdha and Do marbhadh ann fós ^aduine maith ealadhna^a idon Diarmait mac Taidc Caim Í Cleirigh ... agus do marbhadh ann fós mac Mic an Baird ar an cor cetna idon Aodh ^bmac Aodha^b Mic an Baird, adhbur maith fhir dána.
AU iii, 538-40; AFM v, 1352-4; ALC ii, 236-8; AC, 644.
 a--a_{dias dollamhnaibh Í Dhomhnaill} AFM; ^{b--b}_{om.}
ALC, AC.

- 1530 Ingen Meic an Baird .i. Una decc.
AC, 674; ALC ii, 274.
- 1531 Giolla Pattraic mac Adhaimh Mic an Baird décc.
AFM v, 1402; ALC ii, 276; AC, 678.
- 1534 Cormac mac Fergail Meic an Baird saí re dan 7
 duine dob ferr da cinedh fein do taobh dercc 7
 dáonachta dfagbail bais ^ado galar obann^a iar
 nongad 7 iar naithrige.
AC, 684; ALC ii, 284; AFM v, 1416.
^{a--a}om. AFM.
- 1541 Mac an Baird^a Concobhar Ruadh mac Fearghail
^bollamh Uí Dhomhnaill lé dán^b oide scol 7 saoi
 gan urdubhadh i ffoghlaim an dána 7 i
 nealadhnaibh oile, fear tighe aoidheadh coitcinn
 do chongmhail 7 dfothucchadh décc iar nongadh, 7
 iar naithrighe ^ban 20 December^b.
AFM v, 1464-6; ALC ii, 332; AC, 720.
^aALC, AC add Tíri Conaill; ^{b--b}om. ALC, AC.
- 1546 Domhnall mac Aodha Duibh mic Aodha Ruaidh Í
 Domhnaill do marbhadh (an 20 April) a ffiull la
 hUa nGallchubhair, Eoghan mac Emainn 7 la a
 mhnaoi Onora ingean Tuathail Bailbh Uí
 Gallchubhair iar na thóchuireadh dia saighidh go
 hInis Saimhér ar slánaibh Dé, 7 Mheic an Baird
 Gofraidh, 7 Chon Choicriche mic Diarmata mic
 Taidcc Caim Uí Cleiricch.
AFM v, 1494.
- 1550 Mac an Bhaird Thíre Conaill, Feargal mac
 Domhnaill Ruaidh saoi fhir dhana, 7 oide scol,
 fear ro ba mór ainm, 7 oirdhearcus ar fud Ereann
 ina aimsir, congmhalaigh coitcheann tighe

naoídhheadh décc.

AFM v, 1518.

- 1566 [Mael Ruanaidh mac Tomaltaigh Mheic Diarmada attacked and slain by Brian mac Maoil Sechlainn Í Cheallaigh at Cill Begnad, co. Galway.] ... ocus do marbadh ann maille ris ... Eogan Mac an Bhaird .i. maor Mic Diarmada.
ALC ii, 390-2.
- 1572 Eoghan Ruadh mac Fearghail mic Domhnaill Ruaidh Mic an Bhaird, Muiris Ballach mac Concoicriche mic Diarmada Uí Chleirigh, 7 mac Uí Mhóirin do chrochadh la hIarla Tuadhmunhan Concobhar mac Donnchaidh, 7 robdar saoithe hi seanchus, 7 i ndán an Muiris 7 an tEoghan remraite, 7 ro ba damhna aoire 7 easccaoíne don Iarla an feillghniomh ísin.
AFM v, 1656.
- 1576 Uilliam Ócc Mac an Baird, mac Corbmaic ollamh Uí Domhnaill lé dán, oide sccol, saoi dearscaighthe hi ffoghlaim 7 i naithne, post congbhala 7 cothaighthe daos foghlama 7 friochnamha do écc i nDruim Mór an 22 Februari.
AFM v, 1684.
- 1586 Mac an Baird Cula an Urtain .i. Muiris mac Laoisigh do dol deg.
ALC ii, 476.
- 1597 [Cavalry of Governor of Connacht, Sir Conyers Clifford, attacks part of retinue of Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill north of the Avonmore river in co. Sligo.] Ba don chur sin do marbhadh Maol Muire mac Con Uladh Meic an Baird saoi fhir dhana ro

bhaí ar mhaithibh a cheneoil budhein.

AFM vi, 2016.

1609 Mac an Bhaire Eoghan mac Gofradha mic Eoghain
mic Gofradha ollamh Uí Dhomhnaill i ndán saoi
earghna inntleachtach, 7 fear tighe naoidheadh
coitchinn do écc iar ccian aois, iar mbuaidh
naithrighe.

AFM vi, 2368.

Appendix VI

Bibliography of editions of the poems
of Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird
(numbers in parentheses are page-references)

Ar sliocht trír atáid Gaoidhil

T. Ó Concheanainn, 'Dán molta ó Fearghal Óg
Mac an Bhaird' in Celtica xvi (1984) 73-85.

Bean glas dom chroidhi a Choimhdhe

Poem I.

Beannacht siar uaim go hÉirinn

O. J. Bergin, 'Unpublished Irish poems XII.
- Love of Ireland' in Studies ix (1920)
565-70; IBP 5 (37-40; trans. 225-7).

Brath leandáin ac Leic Lughaidh

DMU IV (34-45).

Brian Ó Ruairc mo rogha leannán

ISP, 23.

Buidhioch me do Mhág Uidhir

DMU III (32-3).

Cia a-deir gur imthigh Éamonn

Poem II.

Cia re bhfuil Éiri ac anmhuin

DMU II (16-31).

Cía rér fháiltigh Inis Fáil

POR XIX (92-9).

Deacair foghnámh do thoil dá thighearna

Aith. D 76 (287-9; trans. ii, 175-7).

Díomhaoín gach dán acht dán Dé

Aith. D 90 (331-2; trans. ii, 206).

Dlighe a dhuine déanamh lóin

L. McKenna, 'Viaticum' in The Irish Monthly lvi (1928) 192-6; Di. D 20 (53-7).

Do bháidh teine Tír Chonuill

L. McKenna, 'On the ruins of Dun na nGall Monastery' in The Irish Monthly xlix (1921) 372-7; Di. D 81 (257-61). Dán na mB. M 22 (111-16; trans. ii, 50-53).

D'Oilbh Éarus is beatha a bhás

Poem X.

Dursan mh'eachtra go hAlbuin

Aith. D 53 (204-7; trans. ii, 120-22).

Earradh cumhadh um Chruachain

Poem XI.

Éisd rem éagnach a fhir ghráidh

L. McKenna, 'Poem to Florence Conry Archbishop of Tuam' in The Irish Monthly xlviii (1920) 51-4; Di. D 90 (293-6). Dán na mB. M 23 (117-21; trans. ii, 53-6).

Fáth cumhadh ag crích Luighne

O Hara XXIV (250-57).

Fill th'aghaidh uainn a Éire

Poem IV.

Fuarus iongnadh a fhir chumainn

O. J. Bergin, 'Unpublished Irish poems V. -
A begging letter' in Studies viii (1919)
72-6; IBP 6 (41-4; trans. 227-9). Dán na
mB. M 24 (121-4; trans. ii, 56-7).

Gabh a Bhriain liom fám lochtaibh

T. Ó Concheanainn, 'Dán réitigh ó Fhearghal
Óg Mac an Bhaire' in Celtica xv (1983)
88-95.

Grádh mo chroidheisi Cormuc

O Hara XI (150-53).

Iomdha fáth ag feirg an Choimhdheadh

Di. D 31 (94-7).

Ionnmhas ollaimh onóir ríogh

L. McKenna, 'Some Irish bardic poems ... C/
To Red Hugh O'Donnell' in Studies xli (1952)
99-104.

As fiacha ar neach an ní gheallas

O Hara X (144-9).

Leath re Fódla fuil Uidhir

DMU I (2-15).

Lubhghort fíneamhna fuil Ír

Poem V.

Mairg atá an uairsi gan Aodh

Ní Dhomhnaill, Duanaireacht, 108-10.

Mairg bheireas díogha dá dheoin

L. McKenna, 'Choose Heaven or Hell' in The Irish Monthly lvi (1928) 331-2; Di. D 35 (106-8).

Mairg im dheaghaidh cheanglas cumann

Poem VII.

Mairg nach diongnadh dán do Dhia

L. McKenna, 'The duty of praising God' in The Irish Monthly lvi (1928) 379-83; Di. D 38 (114-17).

Mairg nach doirteann a dhéara

L. McKenna, 'Sorrow for sin' in The Irish Monthly lvi (1928) 437-40; Di. D 39 (117-20).

Maith do suidhigheadh síol Néill

LCAB IX (101-10).

Mé ar t'fhaosamh a ógh

Aith. D 54 (207-8; trans. ii, 122).

Mé féin m'éanbhráighisi ar Aodh

Poem VI.

Mithidh sin a mhaca Míleadh

Poem VIII.

Mór an lucht arthraigh Éire

L. McKenna, 'The flight of the Earls' in The Irish Monthly liv (1926) 471-5; Di. D 107 (363-7).

Mór cóir cháich ar chrích Laighean

L. Branach 23 (90-97).

Mór do mhill aoibhneas Éireann

Poem XII.

Ná déana díomas a dhuine

Timthiridh Chroidhe Neamhtha Íosa viii
(1918) 49-50; Di. D 43 (134-5).

Naomhtha an obair iomrádh Dé

Timthiridh Chroidhe Neamhtha Íosa viii
(1918) 57-63; Aith. D 75 (281-6; trans. ii,
172-5).

Ní díol grádha gleann na ndeor

L. McKenna, 'Vanity of the world' in The Irish Monthly lvi (1928) 487-8; Di. D 45
(137-8).

Ní fada ón Fhódla a táth a dtuaidheamhain

L. McKenna, 'Poem to Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill'
in The Irish Monthly xlviii (1920) 481-5;
Di. D 109 (370-73).

Ní maith altuighim m'anáir

L. McKenna, 'Ingratitude to God' in The Irish Monthly lvi (1928) 263-8; Di. D 46
(139-44).

Ní rí fíre acht flaith nimhe

L. McKenna, 'Christ the king' in The Irish Monthly lvi (1928) 654; Di. D 47 (145).

Ní thréigfe mé Mac Suibhne

Poem III.

Ní tráth aithreachais d'fhuil Chonaill

L. McKenna, 'Elegy on Aodh Óg Ó Domhnaill'
in The Irish Monthly xlviii (1920) 207-9;
Di. D 110 (373-8).

Saor meisi a Mheic an Dúilimh

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Oileach IV.46b, 61b, V.74a, VII.19c, IX.59a.

Oirghialla IV.55c.

Parrthas V.5a.

Raoili(o)nn II.11d, V.10d, 66d, VIII.5d, XI.15d, 19d,
XII.43d, 53d.

Rinn Iorruis V.24d.

An Róimh IX.9a, XII.53d; compound XII.52c.

Ros* IX.48c.

Ruadhmuir XII.35c.

An Rúta IV.75a.

seanGhall see s.v. **Gall**.

Síodh Lir V.26c.

Sliabh Ealpa IX.51c.

Sliabh Fuaid IV.62c.

Sliabh Sión VII line 37.

Sligeach IV.47b, VII line 107.

Srádbhaile IV.54b, VII line 96.

Suca VIII.9a, XI.46c.

Suileach IV.63b.

Súir XII.53c.

Tail(1)te IV.46d, VII.8a, XI.45a, XII.10b, 15a, 26a.

Teach an Teampla IV.67c.

Teamhair II.3d, V.3a, 6d, 54d, VII.19a, 33b, VIII.24a, 28b, 43d, XI.27c, XII.9a, 15d, 20b, 21b, 55a; compounds V.53d, 68b, IX.13b, XII.23b.

Teathbha XII.25a.

Thebes X.17b.

Tír Chonail II.23a, 24b.

Tír Eóghain IV.69a.

Tír Fhiachrach IV.56a.

Tráigh na dTréinfhear V.72d.

An Traoi IX.8b.

Troighneach pl. IX.8a.

(Na) Tuatha Toruidhe (pl.) II.21a, 22a, IV.58d, V.46d.

Uisneach II.12d, VIII.42b, IX.27c, XI.17d, 24b, 30d, XII.14a, 16d.

Ulaidh (pl.) II.18c, 22c, III.2b, 11b, 12b n., IV.10d,

11a, 51c, V.16c, 21b, 23b, 39d, 43b, 45d,
49d, 70a, VII line 5, VIII.27a, IX.15c, 19b,
X.48c.

Ul(1)tach II.22d, 34b, IV.18d, 26d, V.45c, IX.38c,
39b, 49b, 53b.

Abbreviations

(References are to authors or titles
as listed in the Bibliography)

<u>AB</u>	A.M. Freeman, 'The annals in Cottan MS. Titus A xxv' in <u>RC</u> xli (1924) 301-30, xlii (1925) 283-305, xliii (1926) 358-84, xliv (1927) 336-61.
<u>AC</u>	Freeman, A.M. (1944)
<u>A Clon.</u>	Murphy, D.
<u>AFM</u>	O Donovan, J. (1848-51)
<u>AI</u>	Mac Airt, S. (1951)
<u>Aith. D</u>	McKenna, L. (1939-40)
<u>ALC</u>	Hennessy, W.M. (1871)
<u>Anal. Hib.</u>	<u>Analecta Hibernica</u>
<u>Anecdota</u>	Bergin, O.J. et al (1907-13)
<u>Arch. Hib.</u>	<u>Archivium Hibernicum</u>
<u>Arch. Surv.</u>	Lacy, B.
<u>A Tig.</u>	W. Stokes, 'The annals of Tigernach' in <u>RC</u> xvi (1895) 374-419, xvii (1896) 6-33, 116-263, 337-420, xviii (1897)

	9-59, 150-303, 374-91.
<u>AU</u>	Hennessy, W.M. et al. (1887-1901)
<u>BAR</u>	Walsh, P. (1948, 1957)
<u>Béal</u>	<u>Béaloides</u>
<u>BG</u>	Watson, W.J. (1976)
<u>BnÉ</u>	Plummer, C.
<u>Breacadh</u>	Ó Máille, T.S.
Br.Lib.	British Library
<u>Br. Mus. Catg.</u>	O Grady, S.H., R. Flower (1926, 1953)
<u>BST</u>	McKenna, L. (1979)
<u>Butlers</u>	Carney, J. (1945)
<u>Cal. Carew MSS</u>	Brewer, J.S., W. Bullen
<u>Cal. Fiants Ire.</u> <u>Eliz. etc</u>	<u>Report of the deputy keeper of the public records in Ireland</u>
<u>Cal. Ormond deeds</u>	Curtis, E.
<u>Cal. SP Ire. etc</u>	<u>Calendar of state papers relating to Ireland</u>
<u>CGSH</u>	Ó Riain, P.

<u>The Chronicle of Ireland</u>	Wood, M.
<u>CIH</u>	Binchy, D.
<u>Civil Survey</u>	Simmington, R.C.
<u>CMCS</u>	<u>Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies</u>
<u>CML</u>	Jackson, K.
<u>CMT</u>	Gray, E.A.
<u>Co. Louth Arch and Hist. Soc. Jn.</u>	<u>Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society</u>
<u>Cork Hist. and Arch Soc. Jn.</u>	<u>Journal of the Cork etc.</u>
<u>Corp. Gen.</u>	O'Brien, M.A.
<u>Dán Dé</u>	McKenna, L. (1922)
<u>Dán na mB. M</u>	Mhág Craith, C.
<u>Dánta grádha</u>	Ó Rathile, T.
<u>DER</u>	Ó Raghallaigh, T.
<u>Desid.</u>	O Rahilly, T.F. (1941)
<u>DF</u>	Mac Neill, E., G. Murphy
<u>Di. D</u>	Mac Cionnaith, L.

<u>DIL</u>	<u>Royal Irish Academy (Contributions to a) Dictionary of the Irish Language</u>
<u>DMU</u>	Greene, D. (1972)
EETS	Early English Text Society
<u>EIHM</u>	O Rahilly, T.F. (1946)
<u>EIL</u>	Murphy, G.
<u>Féil. Mhic Néill</u>	Ryan, J.
<u>Fest. Lugh.</u>	Mac Neill, M.
<u>Foras Feasa</u>	Comyn, D., P.S. Dineen
<u>Franc. Catg.</u>	Dillon, M. et al (1969)
<u>Gleanings</u>	Walsh, P. (1933)
<u>Graiméir</u>	Mac Aogáin, P.
<u>Hist. Cath. Ib.</u>	Kelly, M. (1850)
<u>IBL</u>	<u>The Irish Book Lover</u>
<u>IBP</u>	Greene, D., F. Kelly
<u>IER</u>	<u>The Irish Ecclesiastical Record</u>
IFC	Irish Folklore Commission
<u>IGT</u>	'Irish Grammatical Tracts' ed. O.J. Bergin in Supplements to <u>Ériu</u>

viii (1915-16), ix (1921-3),
x(1926-8), xiv (1946), xvii (1955)

<u>IHS</u>	<u>Irish Historical Studies</u>
<u>IMN</u>	<u>Irisleabhar Muighe Nuadhat</u>
<u>Iomarbhágh</u>	McKenna, L. (1918)
<u>ISP</u>	Knott, E. (1957)
<u>IT</u>	Windisch, E., W. Stokes
<u>ITS</u>	Irish Texts Society
<u>L Branach</u>	Mac Airt, S. (1944)
<u>LCAB</u>	Ó Donnchadha, T. (1931)
<u>LCS</u>	Walsh, P. (1920)
<u>Leb. Gab.</u>	MacAlister, R.A.S.
<u>LL</u>	Best, R.I. et al (1954-83)
<u>LU</u>	Best, R.I., O.J. Bergin (1929)
<u>Mac C M</u>	Williams, N.J.A.
<u>Mackechnie</u>	Mackechnie, J.
<u>Mackinnon</u>	Mackinnon, D.
<u>Magauran</u>	McKenna, L. (1947)
<u>Má Nuad Catg.</u>	Walsh, P., P. Ó Fiannachta

<u>Marcher Lords</u>	O Sullivan, A., P. Ó Riain
<u>MD</u>	O Rahilly, T.F. (1927)
<u>Measgra</u>	O Brien, S.
<u>Metr. Dind.</u>	Gwynn, E.
<u>Misc. Celt. Soc.</u>	O Donovan, J. (1849)
<u>Misc. Ir. Ann.</u>	Ó hInnse, S. (1947)
<u>Nat. Lib. Scot.</u>	National Library of Scotland
<u>NHI</u>	Moody, T.W. et al.
NLI	National Library of Ireland
<u>NLI Catg.</u>	Ní Shéaghda, N. (1961-)
<u>Ó Bruadair</u>	Mac Erlean, J.C.
<u>O Hara</u>	McKenna, L. (1951)
<u>Onom.</u>	Hogan, E. (1910)
<u>Parrthas</u>	Ó Fachtna, A.
<u>PBA</u>	<u>Proceedings of the British Academy</u>
<u>PH</u>	Atkinson, R.
<u>Philip Bocht</u>	McKenna, L. (1931)
<u>POR</u>	Carney, J. (1950)

<u>PRIA</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy</u>
<u>RC</u>	<u>Révue Celtique</u>
<u>Rel. Celt.</u>	Cameron, A.
RIA	Royal Irish Academy
<u>RIA Catg.</u>	Royal Irish Academy <u>Catalogue</u>
<u>RSAI Jn.</u>	<u>Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland</u>
<u>Scáthán</u>	Ó Maonaigh, C. (1952)
<u>Scots Merc.</u>	Hayes-McCoy, G.A.
<u>SG</u>	O Grady, S.H. (1892)
<u>SGS</u>	<u>Scottish Gaelic Studies</u>
<u>Smaointe</u>	Ó Maonaigh, C. (1944)
<u>Stud. Hib.</u>	<u>Studia Hibernica</u>
<u>SVBDL</u>	Watson, W.J. (1937)
<u>TBC I</u>	O Rahilly, C. (1976)
<u>TBC LL</u>	O Rahilly, C. (1967)
<u>TBC LU</u> = <u>TBC I</u>	
<u>TBC Stowe</u>	O Rahilly, C. (1961)

<u>TBg.</u>	Bergin, O.J. (1931)
TCD	Trinity College Dublin
<u>TD</u>	Knott, E. (1922, 1926)
<u>TGSI</u>	<u>Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness</u>
<u>Teag. Críosd.</u>	Mac Raghnaill, F.
<u>Thurn. Gramm.</u>	Thurneysen, R.
<u>Top. Poems</u>	Carney, J. (1943)
<u>Trip. Life</u>	Stokes, W. (1887)
UCD	University College Dublin
<u>UJA</u>	<u>Ulster Journal of Archaeology</u>
<u>Walsingham</u>	Hogan, J., N. McNeill O'Farrell
<u>ZCP</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie</u>

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