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THE RECEPTION AND USE OF FLANN MAINISTRECH AND HIS
WORK IN MEDIEVAL GAELIC MANUSCRIPT CULTURE

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Appendices and Bibliography

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Declaration

This is to certify that that the work contained within this thesis has been composed by me and is entirely my own work. No part of this thesis has been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification. I have published a specific case study of a text covered primarily by **Chapters 2** and **3** as ‘Flann Mainistrech's *Götterdämmerung* as a Junction within *Lebor Gabála Érenn*’, *Quaestio Insularis*, 13 (2012), 69–93. Where it becomes relevant, it is cited in the main body of the thesis as a secondary source. It is also included (with the permission of the current editor of *Quaestio Insularis*) as **Appendix 32**.

Signed:

Appendices

Preface

Many of the following appendices consist of primary texts from manuscripts. Within such appendices, some texts are printed from published diplomatic editions, others are my own transcriptions. These are not intended as editions of the texts in question, but are included here to support particular points made in the thesis proper. The relevant thesis-sections are referenced in each appendix. Within material printed from manuscripts, I have supplied line and word-division and capitals for proper names but avoided supplying punctuation, with the exception of question marks. Any points that appear in-text are thus from the relevant manuscript. When a published translation is yet to appear, I have provided a translation. When a poem is being printed from manuscript, I have identified the metre in order to explain my choices regarding line-division. Braces indicate semi-legible text in the manuscript and square brackets indicate my own editorial interpolations. When two or more texts are being compared in terms of their relationships, a colour-coding system is employed to highlight variants. Red signifies a unique reading; amber signifies a reading on which two or more manuscripts agree but on which at least one dissents; bold signifies variance in the inclusion, position, or order of entire quatrains.

Appendix 1: Poems attributed to Flann by O'Reilly and O'Curry	
See: LR:2.2, 6:2.2.	
Headings are my own and the names in round brackets are alternative attributions proposed by O'Reilly and O'Curry themselves, with varying degrees of certainty.	
O'Reilly, 'Chronological account', pp. lxxv–lxxviii: 14 poems, 6 uncertain	O'Curry, <i>Manners</i>, II, 149–69: 25 poems, 4 uncertain.
The deaths of the Túatha Dé Danann	
- 'Éstid a eolchu cen ón' (2:2.2.2)	- 'Éstid a eolchu cen ón'
The deaths of the kings of Tara	
- 'Ríg Themra dia tesbann tnú'	- 'Ríg Themra dia tesbann tnú'
- 'Ríg Themra toebaide íar ttain' (2:2.2.1)	- 'Ríg Themra toebaide íar ttain'
St Patrick's companions	
- 'Muintir Pádraig na paiter' (4:2.2.3; 5:2.1.2; 5.2.2)	- 'Muintir Pádraig na paiter'
The world-kings	
- 'Réidig dam, a Dé, do nim' (2:6.3; 3:2.1; 4:2.3.1)	- 'Réidig dam, a Dé, do nim'
The northern Uí Néill (the Donegal Series)	
- 'Atá sund senchas nach suaill'	- 'Atá sunn senchas nach súaill'
- 'A liubair atá air do lar'	- 'A liubar atá ar do lar'
- 'Conall cuingid clainne Néill'	- 'Conall cuingid clainne Néill'
- 'A eolchu Conaill cheolaigh'	- 'A eolcha Conaill cheolaigh'
	(Gilla Brigde Mac Con Mide)
- 'Cairpre, Éogan, Enda éim'	- 'Cairbre, Éogan, Enna éim'
	(Gilla Brigde Mac Con Mide)
- 'Enna, dalta Cairpri cruaid'	- 'Enna dalta Cairpri cruaid'
	(Gilla Brigde Mac Con Mide)
- 'Éistid re Conall calma'	- 'Éistid re Conall calma'
	(Gilla Brigde Mac Con Mide)
- 'Atá sund rolla na rígh'	- 'Atá sund rolla na rígh'
- 'Idir gach obair sgríobhas'	- 'Idir gach obair sgríobhas'
	(Éoghan Ruadh Mac An Bhaird)
	Cenél nÉogain
	- 'Cía tríallaid nech aisneis'
	- 'Cind ceithri ndini iar Frigrind'
	- 'Ascnam ní séol sadal'
	- 'Aní do ronsat do chalmu'
	- 'A ngluind, a n-echta, a n-orgni' (2:4.2.1.2)
	Síl nÁedo Sláine
	- 'Mugain ingen Choncraid cháin'
	- 'Síl nÁedo Sláine na sleg' (2:2.2.1)
	The kings of Mide (i.e. Clann Cholmáin)
	- 'Mide maigen clainne Cuinn' (2:2.2.1)
	The kings of Cashel
	- 'In éol duib in senchas sen' (2:2.2.1)
	A band of risible craftspeople
	- 'A gillu gairm n-ilgráda' (2:2.2.3)
	The saints of Ireland
	- 'Naemsenchas naem Insi Fáil' (5:2.1.2)

Appendix 2: Texts attributed to Flann by selected mid-twentieth-century scholars		
See: LR:3.2.2		
Only scholars dealing with a substantial corpus of texts are included. Struck-through incipits indicate the specific rejection of the attribution of the text to Flann by the scholar in question.		
Ó Cuív, ‘Developments’	Byrne, ‘Historical Note’, pp. 391–92	Carney, ‘Dating’, p. 180
‘Ríg Themra dia tesbann tnú’		‘Ríg Themra dia tesbann tnú’
‘Ríg Themra toibaige iar ttain’		‘Ríg Themra toibaige iar ttain’
‘In éol dib in senchus sen’		
‘Mide maigen Clainne Cuinn’	‘Mide maigen Clainne Cuinn’	
		‘Cía trállaid nech ainsis’
		‘Cind cethri n-dini iar Frigrind’
	‘Asenam ní seól sadail’ (?)	‘Asenam ní seól sadail’
		‘Aní do ronsat do chalma’
		‘A ngluind, a n-échtá, a n-orgni’
‘Mugain ingen Chonchraid cháin’		‘Mugain ingen Chonchraid cháin’
‘Síl nÁeda Sláine na sleg’	‘Síl nÁeda Sláine na sleg’	
		‘Réidig dam, a Dé, do nim’
Pódör, ‘Twelve Poems’	Byrne, ‘Ireland’, p. 865	
‘Éstid a eolchu cen ón’		
‘Ríg Themra dia tesbann tnú’		
	‘Ríg Temra toibaige iar ttain’	
‘In éol dib in senchus sen’	‘In éol dib in senchus sen’	
‘Mide maigen clainne Cuinn’	‘Mide maigen clainne Cuinn’	
‘Cía trállaid nech ainsis’	‘Cía trállaid nech ainsis’	
‘Cind cethri n-dini iar Frigrind’	‘Cind cethri n-dini iar Frigrind’	
‘Asenam ní seól sadail’	‘Asenam ní seól sadail’	
‘Aní do ronsat do chalma’	‘Aní do ronsat do chalma’	
‘A ngluind, a n-échtá, a n-orgni’	‘A ngluind, a n-échtá, a n-orgni’	
‘Mugain ingen Chonchraid cháin’	‘Mugain ingen Chonchraid cháin’	
‘Síl nÁeda Sláine na sleg’	‘Síl Áeda Sláine na sleg’	
	‘Muintir Pádraig na paiter’	
	‘Réidig dam, a Dé, do nim’	
	‘Cruithnig cid dos farclam’	
‘Toisig na llongse tar ller’		

Appendix 3: Flann's chronicle obits
See: 1:2.1.
Unless indicated otherwise, translations are my own but generally with reference to those by the respective editors. For details of editions, see the List of Abbreviations.
The Armagh Group
AU 1056.8: Flann Mainistrech, aird-fer leighinn 7 sui senchusa Erenn, in uita eterna requiescit. 'Flann Mainistrech, arch-fer léiginn and master of Ireland's history, rested in eternal life'. ¹
ALC 1056.3: Flann Mainisdreach, aird fhile 7 airdfher léighinn, 7 soí shenchusa Erenn, in uita eterna requieuit. 'Flann Mainistrech, arch-poet, and arch-fer léiginn, and master of Ireland's history, rested in eternal life'.
The Clonmacnoise Group
AT 1056.3: Fland Mainistreach ughdar Gaidhel, etir léighind 7 t-senchus 7 filidecht 7 airchedal in .uiii. kl. Decimbris, xui. lunae, uitam feliquiter in Christó finiuit. 'Flann Mainistrech, the Gaels' authority in literature and history and poetry and poetic composition, on the 7 th kalends of December [25 th November], the 16th of the moon, happily finished his life in Christ'.
CS 1056: Flann fer leiginn Mainistrech et tiugsháoi na n-Gaoidheal etir leigenn 7 sencus quieuit. + 'Flann, fer léiginn of Monasterboice and last scholar of the Gaels in both literature and history, rested'.
Late Chronicles
AFM 1056.3: Fland Mainistreach, fer léighind Mainistreach Búithe, saoi egna n-Gaoidheal, h-i léighionn, 7 h-i senchus, 7 h-i filidheacht, 7 i n-airchetal do écc an cethramhadh calainn do December, amhail as-bearor, Fland a prim-chill Búithi bind, rind ruisc a min-chind as mall, midh-shui sidhe súiges lind, tiugh-suí Tíre Trí Find Fland. 'Flann Mainistrech, fer léiginn of Monasterboice, master-sage of the Gaels in wisdom, literature, history, poetry and poetic art, died on the fourth kalends of December [28 th November], as it is said: "Flann of the chief church of melodious Buite, slow the bright eye of his fine head; contemplative sage is he who sits with us, last sage of the three lands is fair Flann" ²
AClon 1056: Fflann lector, the best learned, & chronicler in these partes of the World, died.

¹ Flann's obit is the same in both manuscripts of *AU*: McCarthy, *Irish Annals*, pp. 34–37, 312–24; Evans, *Present*, pp. 8–10.

² For the various translations of this quatrain, see **1:3** and **Appendix 4**.

Appendix 4: ‘Flann a prímhíll Buiti binn’: texts and translations	
See: 1:3, 5:3.1	
O’Donovan (ed. and trans.), <i>AFM</i>, II, 870–71	
Fland a prímhíll Búithi bind, rind ruisc a minchind as mall, midhshuí sidhe súiges lind, tiughsuí Tíre Trí Find Fland.	‘Flann of the chief church of melodious Buite, slow the bright eye of his fine head; contemplative sage is he who sits with us, last sage of the three lands is fair Flann’.
Murphy (ed. and trans.), ‘Poem’ [‘Úasalepscop Érenn Áed’], q. 31 (p. 155)	
Flann a prímhíll Buite binn rinn roisc a mínhinn is mall; midshúí sidhe súiges linn; tigshúí tíre Trí Finn Flann.	Flann, from the famous church of sweet-voiced Buite. Slow the glance of the eye in his gentle head. He is a magic mead scholar who imbibes ale. Final scholar of the three Finns’ land is Flann.
Ní Shéaghdha (ed.), <i>NLI Cat.</i>, fasc. 4, 54 [from the superscription to ‘Conall cuingid clainne Néill in NLI G.131, p. 108.23–25]	
Flann a prímhíll Buiti binn rinn ruisc a mhinchinn as mall miudhsai sidhe suighes lind tiughsai tíre trí fFind Flann.	[untranslated]
Mac an Bhaird (ed. [from <i>AFM</i>] and trans.), ‘Dán Díreach’, p. 165.	
Flann a prímhíll Bhuithe bhinn rinn roisc a mhínchinn is mall míodhshaoi sídhe suidheas lionn tioghshaoi tíre trí bhFionn Flann.	‘Stately is the gaze in the gentle head of Flann from sweet Buite’s main church (Monasterboice, Co. Louth). Flann is the mead sage of the <i>síodh</i> who sets forth liquor, the last sage of the land of the Three Fionns (i.e. Ireland)’. ³

³ Mac An Bhaird’s parenthetical material.

Appendix 5: Texts attributed to Flann in pre-1200 manuscripts					
See: 2:2.2.1, 2:41, 2:4.2.1.2, 2:5.1					
Ref.	Scribe	Poem/Attribution	Contents	Start date	End date
LU					
ll. 2783–924 (pp. 90–94).	M/H1	<i>Aided Nath Í ocus a adnacol</i> Detailed: ‘Fland tra 7 Eochaid eolach hua Céirin’.	Nath Í’s death and burial; kings and other notables buried at Cruachu and elsewhere.	Prehistoric.	Prehistoric.
ll. 4205–334 (pp. 133–36).	M	‘Mugain ingen Chonraid cháin’. Prosimetric: ‘Fland Manistrech’.	Account of the birth of Áed Sláine.	6 th cent.	6 th cent.
Rawl.B.502 (Section B)					
fol. 55 ^{rb} 6–55 ^{va} 17.	Section B only has one scribe. ⁴	‘Druim Cetta, cette na noem’. Internal: ‘Flann is Echthigern’.	<i>Dindsenchas</i> of Druim Cetta; history of the Ciannachta Glinne Geimin.	Prehistoric.	Prehistoric; 6 th cent.; 11 th cent. (?)
88 ^{ra} 30–88 ^{rb} 18.	–	‘Inn éol duib in senchas sen’. [No attribution]	Regnal history of Cashel: forenames only.	5 th cent.	1125x1138 (reign of Cormac Mac Carthaigh)
88 ^{rb} 19–88 ^{vb} 20.	–	‘Mide maigen clainne Cuinn’. [No attribution]	Regnal history of Mide (i.e. Clann Cholmáin): names, reign-lengths, <i>aideda</i> .	Verse prologue on prehistoric Mide; regnal history beg. 5 th -cent.	1106 (death of Donnchad mac Murchada Móir Úa Máelsechnaill)
88 ^{vb} 21–89 ^{ra} 35.	–	‘Síl nÁedo Sláine na sleg’. [No attribution]	Regnal history of Síl nÁedo Sláine: names, reign-lengths, <i>aideda</i> .	6 th cent.	995 (death of Muirchertach Úa Congalaig)
LL					
I, ll. 1309–455 (pp. 41–46).	U ⁵	‘Éstid a eolchu cen ón’. Prosimetric: ‘Fland Manistrech’.	Nobles of the Túatha Dé Danann: names and <i>aideda</i> .	Prehistoric	Prehistoric.
I, ll. 1920–91 (pp. 60–62).	U	‘Toisich na llongse tar ller’. Prosimetric (gloss): ‘Fland Man.’	Leaders of the Goidelic invasion of Ireland: names and <i>aideda</i> .	Prehistoric	Prehistoric
I, ll. 3419–516 (pp. 108–11).	T2 ⁶	‘A gillu gairm n-ilgrada’. Simple: ‘Fland Manistrech’.	An itinerant band of craftspeople: names.	Unclear but probably prehistoric.	Unclear but probably prehistoric.
III, ll. 15640–	U	‘Ríg Themra dia tesbann tnú’. Simple: ‘Fland	Regnal history of Tara: names and	Prehistoric.	5 th cent (death of Nath Í mac

⁴ Ó Cuív, *Catalogue*, I, 171.

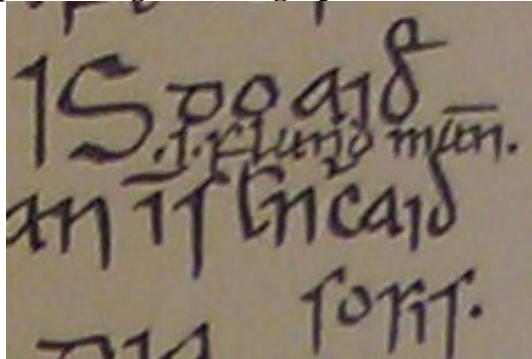
⁵ Duncan, ‘Reassessment’, pp. 51–53.

⁶ Duncan, ‘Reassessment’, p. 54.

780 (pp. 504–08).		Manistrech'	<i>aideda.</i>		Fiachrach).
III, ll. 15783–987 (pp. 509–15).	U	'Ríg Themra tóebaige iar ttain'. Simple: 'Fland'; internal (l. 15986): 'Fland'	Regnal history of Tara: names and <i>aideda.</i>	5 th cent. (Lóegaire mac Néill's death).	1014x1022 (second reign of Máel Sechnaill mac Domnaill).
III, ll. 18209–67 (pp. 590–91).	U	'Mugain ingen Choncraid cháin'. Simple: 'Fland'.	Account of the birth of Áed Sláine.	6 th cent.	N/A
III, ll. 19369–427 (pp. 635–36).	U	'Inn éol duib in senchas sen'. Simple: 'Fland'.	Regnal history of Cashel: forenames only.	5 th cent.	c. 1050x1063 (Donnchad mac Bríain's reign).
IV, ll. 23343–414 (pp. 782–84).	U	'Cia tríallaid nech aisnis senchais'. Simple: 'Fland Manistrech'.	<i>Dindsenchas</i> of Ailech, Cenél nÉogain's fortress.	Prehistoric	5 th cent. (?)
IV, ll. 23413–82 (pp. 785–87).	U	'Cind cethri ndíni iar Frigrind'. No attribution.	Regnal history of Cenél nÉogain: Names, reign-lengths, <i>aideda.</i>	5 th cent.	1030x1033 (reign of Áed Athlam).
IV, ll. 23483–572 (pp. 788–89).	U	'Ascnam ní seol sadal'. No attribution.	Battles of Cenél nÉogain.	6 th cent. (?)	722x734 (reign of Áed Allán).
IV, ll. 23573–712 (pp. 791–96).	U	'Aní doronsat do chalmu'. No attribution.	Battles of Cenél nÉogain.	5 th cent.	1091x1099.
IV, ll. 23713–851 (pp. 797–802).	U	'A ngluind, a n-échtá, a n-orgni'. Internal: 'Flann [Mainistrech]'.	Martial deeds of Cenél nÉogain.	5 th cent.	1047 (Mathgamhán úa hIffernán's death).
IV, ll. 23852–24054 (pp. 803–09).	U	'Mide maigen clainne Cuinn'. Simple: 'Flann' (rubricated).	Regnal history of Mide (i.e. Clann Cholmáin): names, reign-lengths, <i>aideda.</i>	Prologue on prehistoric Mide; regnal history begins 5 th -cent.	1073 (Conchobar úa Máel Sechnaill's death).
IV, ll. 24055–196 (pp. 810–14).	U	'Síl nÁedo Sláine na sleg'. Simple: 'Flann Mainistrech' (rubricated).	Regnal history of Síl nÁedo Sláine: names, reign-lengths, <i>aideda.</i>	6 th cent.	995 (Muirchertach úa Congalaig's death).

6.1: 'Toisich na llongse tar ller'

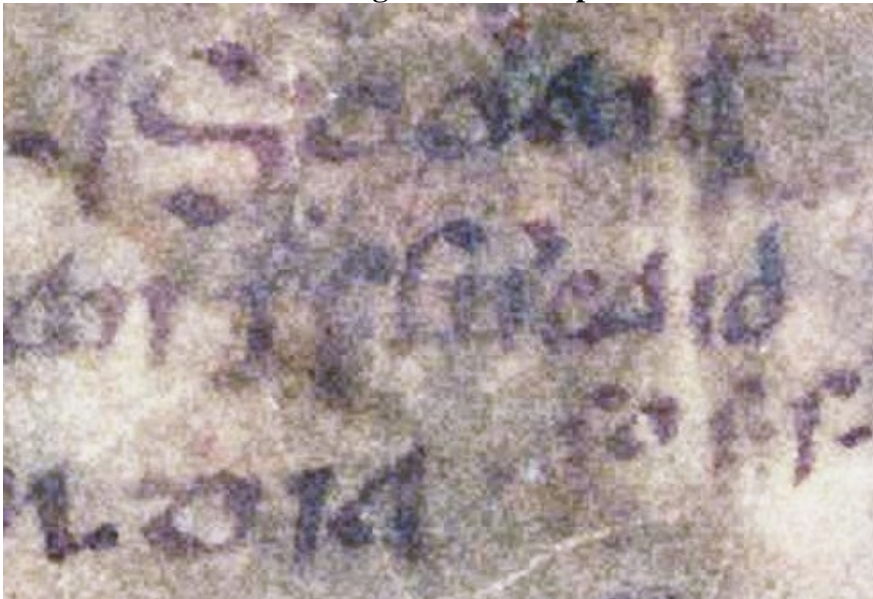
Joseph O'Longan's lithographic facsimile (1880):



Atkinson (ed.), *Book of Leinster*, p.16^a6–8 (*LL*, I, ll. 1918–20 (p. 60)).

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The original manuscript:

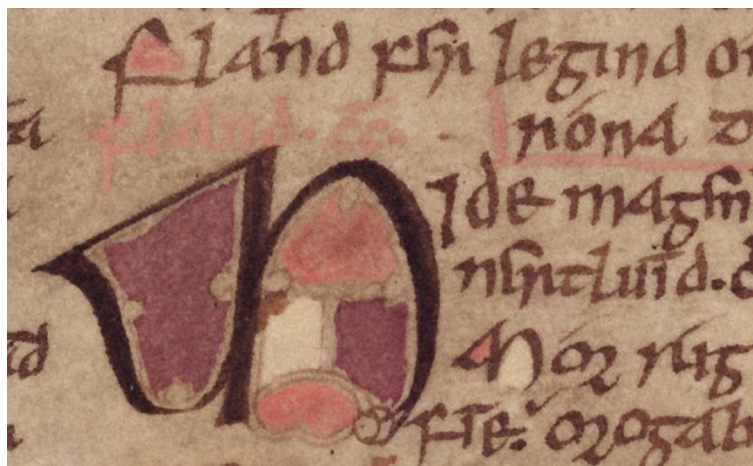


LL, p. 16^a6–8 (Source: *ISOS*).

By permission of the Board of Trinity College Dublin.

The second image has been enhanced via *GNU Digital Manipulation Programme (GIMP) Version 2.8.14*, using the equalizer, colour enhancement, and soft-glow functions. I am very grateful to Dr Christopher Yocum for his friendly assistance with this software.

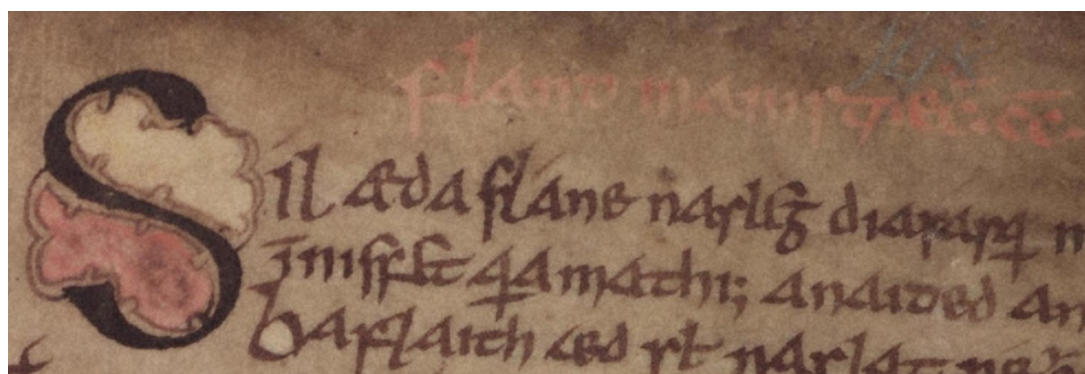
6.2: 'Mide maigen clainne Cuinn'



LL, p. 184^b17–22. (Source: *ISOS*).

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6.3: 'Síl nÁeda Sláine na sleg'



LL, p. 185^b1–4. (Source: *ISOS*).

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Appendix 7: Cenél nÉogain Suite poems in later medieval manuscripts

See: 2:4.2.1.2

7.1 'Cind cethri ndíni iar Frigrind'

q.		<p>T: <i>LL, saec. XII, III, ll. 23415–485.</i> Following 'Cía tríallaid nech aisnis senchais' within the Cenél nÉogain Suite.</p> <p>R: <i>Lec., saec. XIV/XV, fol. 254^{va}33–254^{vb}50.</i> Following Ailech II ('Cía tríallaid nech aisnis senchais') in a type-C <i>Dindsenchas</i> collection (Gwynn's 'Lc').</p> <p>D: <i>RIA D.ii.2, saec. XVI, fols 60^{rb}10–61^{ra}21.</i> Following Ailech II ('Cía tríallaid nech aisnis senchais') in a type-C <i>Dindsenchas</i> collection (Gwynn's 'S').</p>
1	T	<p>Cínd cethri ndíni iar Frigrind forraig gleogal Ailech ágmar ro gab anrath airech Eogan.</p>
	R	<p>Cind ceithri ndíne la Frigrenn foraid gleorglan Ailech admur rogob anrad airech Eogan</p>
	D	<p>Cínd ceitri ndíne la Frigrenn foradh ngléoghlan Aileach adhmur ro gabh ánradh airech Eogan</p>
2	T	<p>Eogan mac Néill ro rígad i nAiliuch iaram uaig arrálad. ri ré da fichet buan bliadan.</p>
	R	<p>Eogan mac Neill ro rígad a nOileach iarum uada ro ralad relegad fichi buan bliadan.</p>
	D	<p>Eoghan mac Néill ro ríghadh a n-Ailech iarom. uadh ro raladh re ré dá fhiched mbuan mbliadhan.</p>
3	T	<p>Baí Muridach and dia éis o dún ni dichet fialglan fethet ri ré cethri mbliadan ficet.</p>
	R	<p>Bai Mureadach and da eisi o dun fhichead. fualglan feched fri re ceithri mbliadan ficheat</p>
	D	<p>Bai Muiredhach ann da éisi o dún riched fialglan feithead. fri ré cheithri mbliadhan fichead</p>
4	T	<p>Fichi fa dí do Murchertach mór Mac Erca clethail chachta</p>

		7 a cethair co certa.
	R	Fichi fa do do Murchertach mor mac Earca. cleathaid cachta 7 a ceathair certa
	D	Fichi fá dó do Muirchertach mór mac Earca clethaigh cachta rob aí 7 ceathair certa.
5	T	Certfichi a trí do Fergus do Domnall cen deochaid a .iii. do Baetán co mbrethaib 7 d'Eochaid.
	R	Ceirtricha a trí a sead fuair Domnall can deochair. a se do Baetan can decair 7 dEochaid
	D	Ceittricha a trí a sedh fuair Domhnall gan deochair a .ui. do Baedán cen dechair acus dEochaidh.
6	T	Oenocht mblíadan do Cholgain mac Domnaill dírig co brad n-eolaig la trí secht do Cholmán Rímid.
	R	Aenocht mblíadan do Cholman mac Domnaill dirich co mrad ceolaich la trí ocht do Cholman Rimid
	D	Áenocht mblíadhna do Cholgain mac Domhnail dírigh co mradh n-éolaigh. lá trí ocht do Cholmán Rímidh
7	T	Oenocht mblíadan do Aed Ollán mac Domnaill os iathbla dá secht do Subni Mínd mórtha mac find Fiachna.
	R	A secht Aed Ollan mac Feargail osa iathbla. da ocht do Suibne Mend mórtha mac find Fiachna
	D	Aenocht dAedh Allan mac Fergail ósa íathbla da n-ocht do Suibhne Mend mórtha mac fiond Fiachna
8	T	Fég a dó do Máel find Fithrig iarna iarair Ernain mac Fiachnai in fénnid ré sé bliadnaib.
	R	Fichi is bliadan do Mail Fichrid iarna riaraid

		Domnall deagmac Fiachna in fendid a se is bliadan
	D	Fichi bliadan do M ^h ael F ^h ithrigh íarná íarraid ^h Ernán deg ^h mac Fiach ⁿ a an fennid ^h a sé is bliadhain
9	T	A sé fo chethair do Chrundmáel mac saer Subni cen locht do Fergus co foibdi a .uiii. umli.
	R	A se fo cheathair do Chrunmael mac saer Suibne can locht do F ^h eargus co foibte a h-ocht uilme
	D	A sé fó ceathair do Ch ^r undmael mac sháer Suib ^h ne gan locht do Ferghus co foibd ^h e. a h-ocht uilme
10	T	A deich do Mael Duin mac Mael Fithrig mar ro faemad Fland let ós lind. a .xuiii. do mac Cind Faelad.
	R	A deich do Mael Duin mac Maili Fithrid faemad. Fl nd lat os lind a .uii. deg do mac find Fhaelad
	D	A deich do Mael Duin mac Maile Fithrigh do fáemhad ^h Fland lat os lín a h-ocht dég do mac Cind Faelad
11	T	Sé mís do Erthaile o Chrundmael cétaib cure gaine gaile sé mis do mac Maile Tuile
	R	Se mis dArthaili ua Crunmail cetaib cuire. gais congloine se mis oile do mac Maili Tuile.
	D	Sé mís d Airrtaile ua Chrunmail cédaib ^h cuire gaís conglaine sé míss do mac Maele Tuile
12	T	Tri secht mbliadan do mac Maile Duin do Fergal clandad chomram tri .uii. do Aed Alláin na n-ergal
	R	Tri seacht mbliadan do mac Maili Duin con deagblaid. crandain comruim tri seacht dAed Allan mac Fergail
	D	Trí shecht mbliadhan do mac Maile Dúin do F ^h earghal

		cl andan comramh trí shecht dAedh Allán mac Fhergail
13	T	E rbbúait.uui. cóic do Niall Frossach cia fuair forrán a .x. daena do Mael Duin mac Aeda Allain.
	R	A braid .uii. coic do Niall Fhrosach cen uair forrain a deich do noe{il} do Mael Duin mac Aeda Allain
	D	E arbaidh shecht cóic do Niall Fhrosach ge fúair forráin a .x. don duil do Mháel Dúin mac Aedha Olláin
14	T	Oen ar trichait do Aed Ordvide naro fubthad dá dó cen rúin do mac Máele Dúin do Murchad.
	R	Aen ar fhichit dAed ur Oirnidí na n urchor. a do can run do mac Maili Duin do Murchad
	D	Aen ar .xxx. dAedh úr Oirdnidhe na n urchor a dho gan rún do mhac Máile Dúin do Murchadh.
15	T	Mad Niall Caille mac Aeda Orddvide airig. xx. a trí os laech Maig Lí ba rí Ailig.
	R	Mad Niall Cailli mac Aeda Oirnidí airid. fichi sa trí os cach laech Mag ba rí aes mar Ailig
	D	Madh Níall Caille mac Aedha Oirnidhe airigh. fiche sa trí os láech Magh Lí bá rí Ailigh.
16	T	A cóic fá thrí do Mael Duin do mac Aeda ind Orddain a trí da secht do Aed Findliath fecht ní terc torcaib.
	R	A cuic fo trí do Mael Duin mac Aeda in ordain a trí fo .uii. dAed Fhind fecht ní tearc torcaib
	D	A cúic fo thrí do Máel Dúin mac Aedha in ordain a trí dá shecht dAedh Fhíndliath fecht ní terc torgaibh
17	T	Triallais Murchad mac Mel Duin ré .uii. mbliadan.

		<p>réil ro rélad <u>conna</u> <u>gebad</u> acht a <u>giallad</u>.</p>
	R	<p>Triallais <u>mac Maili Duin</u> re <u>ocht</u> mbliadan. <u>rel do relad</u> conach <u>gebad</u> acht mar do <u>riarad</u></p>
	D	<p>Triallais <u>Murchad a mac minglan eadh</u> <u>shecht</u> mblíadh<u>an</u> <u>reidh</u> ro <u>gíalladh</u> conach <u>gabhadh</u> acht a <u>ríaradh</u>.</p>
18	T	<p>Gabais a <u>mac</u> Flathbertach fri ré .ix. mblíad<u>an</u> <u>comrand caemfer</u> malle 7 Domnall <u>dianglan</u>.</p>
	R	<p>Gabais a <u>mac</u> Flaitbertach fri re nai mblíad<u>an</u> <u>conclann caemda</u> imale 7 Domnall <u>dian diambla</u></p>
	D	<p>Gabhais a <u>mac</u> Flaitbertach <u>fri</u> re náei mblíad<u>han</u> <u>conglan caemhdha</u> imalle 7 Domhnall <u>díanghla</u>.</p>
19	T	<p>Domnall <u>iar sin</u> <u>fria .ix. dec</u> fri dúrdul fial in <u>faelur malle</u> 7 Niall Glundub.</p>
	R	<p>Domnall <u>d aeis</u> <u>fri re .ix. mblíad<u>an</u> dec</u> durchor fial in <u>faebar imale</u> 7 Niall <u>glan</u> Glundub</p>
	D	<p>Domhnall <u>da éis</u> <u>fri ré náí mblíad<u>han</u> dég</u> durchor fíal an <u>faebhar imalle</u> 7 Níall <u>gel</u> Glúndub<u>h</u></p>
20	T	<p>Gabais Niall for Temraig tírig ríge <u>riarglain</u> Flaitbertach i nAiliuch <u>Eogain</u> teora <u>bliadnaib</u>.</p>
	R	<p>Gobais Niall for Theamraid thirig rigi <u>rianglann</u> Flaitbertach a nOileach <u>Eogain</u> teora <u>bliadand</u></p>
	D	<p>Gabhais Níall for Theamraigh thírigh righe <u>rianglain</u>. Flaitbertach <u>da áeis</u> a nOileach teora <u>bliadhan</u></p>
21	T	<p>Noí mblíad<u>na</u> <u>déc</u> do Fergal <u>mac Domnail</u> dela. a .u. iar céin do Murchertach <u>mac Néil</u> neda.</p>

	R	Teora bliadan dec do Domnall do fa deagblaid. a rigi nAilich co heargnaig iarsin Temraid
	D	Téora bliadhán deg do Domhnall. dó fa deghblaigh i rrighi nAiligh co h-ergnaidh iar sin Teamhraigh
22	T	Teora bliadna déc do Domnall cona degblaid. i rrige Ailig co h-ergnaid riasin Temraig.
	R	Nai mbliadna dec do Fheargal mac Deala a coic iar cein do Murcheartach mac Neill neada
	D	Náei mbliadhna deg do Fhearghal mac Domhnaill deala. a cúic iar céin do Muircertach mhac Neill neadha
23	T	Tarraid Flaithbertach is Chond is Tadc co taigib re ré .u. mblíadan co mbladaib ar mag Ailig.
	R	Taraid Flaithbertach is Cond is Tadc co taigib. re choic mblíadan co mbladaib iar mag Ailig.
	D	Tárraidh Flaithbertach is Conn is Tadg co taidhibh re ré chúicc mblíadhán co mbladhaibh ar muigh Ailigh
24	T	Oenbliadain déc do Murchad Glún i ILár lainech iar ngreis galach cen anad ropo leis Ailech.
	R	Aenbliadan dec do Murchad Glun for lar laindech iar ngreas ngalach cen fhalach robo leis Ailech
	D	Áenbliadhain dég do Mhurchadh Glún ar lár laindech iar ngreis ngalach gan fhalach robo leis Aileach.
25	T	A .uiii. do Domnall Ú Néill i nAliuch ergnaid firu fo dlaib iar mbeith i rriгу for Temraig.
	R	A hocht do Domnall .h. Neill a nAileach eargnaid. fri re fodlaid iar mbeith a rigi for Themraid

	D	A h-ocht do Domhnall ua Neill a nAilech eargnaidh frí ré foghlaidh íar mbeith a righi dho for Theamhraigh
26	T	A trí fó thrí do Fergal i rrige Ailig. tri cóic la hóen eret ro gab Aed ind ainig
	R	A trí fo thri do Domnall a righi nAilig. a cuic isa haen la h-airead dAed an enich
	D	A trí fo thrí do Domhnall a righi nAiligh a cuicc is a háen la h-airedh dAedh ind inigh.
27	T	Trícha bliadan do Flathbertuch Hu Néill nemthruim Aed and ro thriall. málle 7 Niall mac Mael Sechnuill.
	R	Trícha bliadan do Flaitheartach Ua Neill nemthruim. Aed ann rus triall imale 7 Mael saer Seachlaind
	D	Trícha bliadhan do Fhlaitheartach Ua Néill nemthruim Aedh ann ros triall maráen is Níall mac Mailsechlainn
28	T	Sé rig dec dib ro gabsat for Herind ule na rí g aile fuaratar bríg o cech dune.
	R	Se riga dec dib ro gobsad Erind uile. na rig aile fuaridur brig o cach dune
	D	Se righa dég dibh ro gabhsat Erind uile na righ eile fuaradar brigh ó gach duine.
29	T	Díb Murchertach 7 Domnall Fergus firdil. Baetán na ndám Eochaid is Cholman Rímid.
	R	Dib Murcheartach Domnall 7 Feargus firdil. Baedan na bad Eochaid 7 Colman Rimid.
	D	Dibh Muirchertach 7 Domhnall bá dibh Ferghus firdhil Baedán na mbagh

		Eochaigh 7 Colmán Rímidh
30	T	Rím Aed Uaridnach Subne Mend is Fergal fossad Aed Ollan riam 7 a brathair Níall Frossach.
	R	Rim Aed Uairignach Suibne maith Meand 7 Feargal fosaid. Aed Ollan riam 7 a brathair fial fosaid
	D	Rím Aedh Uairidhnach Suibhne maith Mend 7 Feargal fosadh Aedh Allán rímh 7 a brathair Níall
31	T	Fég Aed Ordnide is Niall Caille cetaib comland Aed Findliath fial in Glundub Niall 7 Domnall.
	R	Fed Aed Oirnidí is Niall Cailli croda in comlan. Aed fial Glundub Niall 7 Domnall
	D	Fegh Aedh Oirdnidhe is Níall Caille crodha comlonn Aedh ferdha fial in Ghluínduibh Níall 7 Domhnall
32	T	Derb ro sechnus drem na llethrig ciabtar lanfir ardgus n-eolaig connachas tarddus i n-arim.
	R	Derb ro thenchus drem na leithrig ciabdar lanfhir. ardcos eolaid conach tardgus acht a n-airim
	D	Derb ro thinchus drem na leithrigh ciabdar láinfhir conach tárrus don droing d áinigh acht a n-áirimh.
33	T	A cóic cethrachat do rígaib ro gab Ailech ó Eogan fíal co toract Niall na ngiall ngraiagech.
	R	A coic ceathrachad do rígaib ro gob Aileach o Eogan fhíal co toracht Niall na ngiall ngraidech
	D	A cóicc .xl. do ríghaibh ro gabh Oilech ó Eóghan fhíal co toracht Níall na ngíall ngroidheach.

33a	T	–
	R	Cach rig dib ro gob Banba bag ro maith f <u>in</u> d ní dam <u>d</u> ais can <u>sin</u> fri sith <u>glenn</u> robodar flaith <u>in</u> d
	D	Gach rí d <u>h</u> ib <u>h</u> na ro gab <u>h</u> Banb <u>h</u> a bagh ro m <u>h</u> aith f <u>in</u> d ní dam <u>h</u> daís gan <u>síth</u> fri sith <u>ghrem</u> robd <u>h</u> ar flaith <u>ch</u> inn [D continues, unbroken, with ‘Aní do ronsat do chalmu’ (Appendix 7.2)]
34	T	Gébas Ailech armothá i rré <u>arbia</u> acht dré <u>ch</u> <u>ros foid</u> ní fitir nech coich na cia. C.
	R	Gebis Ailech armotha dind <u>diaa</u> . acht dreach ní f <u>h</u> idir neach cuic <u>h</u> <u>ro neath ach cin</u> d cia C.I.A.T.R.I.A
	D	–
Translations of qq. 32–33a/34		
32	T (trans. MacNeill)	Truly I have omitted the list of half-kings, though they were whole men, a learned man’s high task, so that I have not brought them into reckoning.
	R (my trans.)	Truly, I have dealt with the list of half-kings, though they were whole men, a learned man’s high task, so that I have given but their number.
	D (my trans.)	Truly, I have dealt with the list of half-kings, though they were whole men, so that I attained, of the host, in response, only their number.
33	T (trans. MacNeill)	Forty-five kings have ruled Ailech from noble Eogan down to Niall of the mounted hostages.
	R (my trans.)	Forty-five kings have ruled Ailech from noble Eogan down to Niall of the mounted hostages.
	D (my trans.)	Forty-five kings have ruled Ailech from noble Eogan down to Niall of the mounted hostages.
33a	T	–
	R (my trans.)	Each king of them that took Ireland, a contention most noble and bright, they did not submit without that; they were lordly heads over a peaceful glen.
	D (my trans.)	Each king of them that did not take Ireland, a contention most noble and bright, did not submit without peace; they were lordly heads with peaceful power.
34	T (trans. MacNeill)	They that shall rule Ailech besides in the time to come, except the Face that shall have sent them, none knoweth who or whose they are.
	R (my trans.)	They that shall rule Ailech afterwards [...] except the Face, no one knows who [...].
	D	–

7.2 ‘Aní doronsat do chalmu’		
q.	<p>T: <i>LL</i>, IV, ll. 23575–598. Following ‘Cind cethri ndíni iar Frigrind’ within the Cenél nÉogain Suite.</p> <p>R: <i>Lec.</i>, fol. 59^{va}16–37. Following <i>Catha Cenél Éogain</i>; remainder of fol. 59^v blank.</p> <p>D: RIA D.ii.2, fol. 61^{ra}22–61^{tb}24. Following ‘Cind cethri ndíni iar Frigrind’, itself following Ailech II (‘Cia tríallaid nech aisnis senchais’) in a type-C <i>Dindsenchas</i> collection (Gwynn’s ‘S’).</p>	
1	T	ANí doronsat do chalmu clanna Eogain. cia ’meradid ní etat a arim eolaig.
	R	Anni do ronsad do calma clanda Eogain. acht geraid id nochon fed a n-airim acht an eolaig
	D	INní do rindsid do ghnimhaibh clanda Eoghain inní raidhigh ni fhéd a áirimh acht a eólaigh.
2	T	Inn eol dúib cath Slebe Cua clú co certa mebaid cen brón ria Murchertach mór mac Erca
	R	An eol daib cath Slebe Cua clu co certa. mebaid gen bron for Muircertaig mor mac Erca.
	D	An eól daibh cath Sleibe Cúa clú con certa mebaidh gan brón ría Muircertach mór mac Earca
3	T	Ocus cath Ocha for Ailill Molt is mó gessib triathach tossach i torchair h-ua Fiachrach fessin
	R	Ocus cath Ocha for Aillil Molt moo gesib. triathglan tosaig a ndrochair úa Fiachrach fesin
	D	Ocus cath Ocha for Ailill Molt mo gheisibh triathglan tosaigh a torchair úa Fiachrach fesin .
4	T	Ocus cath Gránne for Findcath fegait eolaig ria Murchertach co clú cáemfir ria n-u nEogain
	R	Ocus cath Graindi for Findchad fedaid eolaig. re Murcertaig clu co cruaid fhir

		re n-uib nEogain.
	D	Ocus cath Ocha for Ailill Molt mo gheisibh triathglan tosaigh a torchair úa Fiachrach fesin
5	T	Cath Cell Osnaid for sluag o Muman is mó sechme i torchair Oengus co n-achri 7 Eithne.
	R	Cath cell Usnad for sluag Muman moo a seichne. a torchair Aengus co n-aichne 7 Eichne
	D	Cath Cell Osnad for sluagh Mumhan moo a secme a torchair Aengus cona aicme 7 Eithne
6	T	Ocus cath Inde for Illaind i mbíth glanfer fraech for feraib isin debaid fri laech Lagen
	R	Ocus cath Midi for Aillil imad nglainfer. fraech for feraib isin debaid fri laech Laigen.
	D	Ocus cath Midhe for Illann imad nglainfer fraech for feraibh isin debaigh is laich Laighean.
7	T	Is cath Delgga cath Mucrama ba mór glondalt cath i Tuaim Drubi dia ndrengat for slúag Connacht.
	R	Is cath Delga cath muc numa ba mor glonn allt. is cath ac Tuaim Drubaid dregaid for sluag Conacht
	D	Is cath Delga cath mac numa bá mór nglonn alt is cath ac Tuaim Dhrubhaidh drengad for sluaigh Connacht
8	T	Is cath cegsa i torchair Duach Tenga Uma. mebaid ria Murchertach Mena ba mór guba.
	R	Is cath segsa a dorchair duach tenga umae. mebaid re Murchertaig. nena ba mor guba
	D	Is cath seghsa in an dorchair Duach Tenga Umha mebaidh re Muirchertach nena

		bá mór ngab <u>h</u> a.
9	T	Is <u>cath</u> Culi <u>cath</u> Dromma <u>troeta</u> flathi. <u>cath</u> i <u>mMaig Airb</u> 7 in <u>cath</u> i <u>nArd Machi</u> .
	R	Cath cuili <u>ocus</u> <u>cath</u> Droma <u>traethad</u> flaiti. <u>cath</u> a <u>Muig Gairb</u> 7 in <u>cath</u> in <u>airm aichne</u>
	D	Cath Cuile 7 <u>cath</u> Droma <u>traethad</u> flaithe <u>cath</u> <u>Chind Aichle</u> 7 <u>cath</u> amuigh <u>airm aiche</u>
10	T	<u>Cath</u> Almaini <u>cath</u> <u>Chind Eich</u> 7 <u>cath</u> Ailbe. ro bris in <u>tríath</u> 7 in <u>cath</u> i n-iath Adni.
	R	Cath Almaine <u>cath</u> <u>Cind Eich</u> 7 <u>cath</u> Ailbe. ro bris in <u>tríath</u> 7 in <u>cath</u> in <u>niath Aidne</u>
	D	Cath Almaine <u>cath</u> <u>Chind Eich</u> 7 <u>is</u> <u>cath</u> Ailbe ro bris in <u>tríath</u> 7 an <u>cath</u> a n-íath <u>Aidhne</u> .
11	T	Is <u>cath</u> <u>Detna</u> i <u>torchair</u> <u>Ardgal mac Conaill</u> <u>rige ferand</u> <u>la cath Átha Sige sonaim.</u>
	R	–
	D	–
12	T + 57 qq.	Serbchath Slebe Eblinne for mathe Muman is for Echaid Sremm i <u>farcbad</u> <u>i lar</u> cend curad.
	R	Serb <u>cath</u> Slebi Eblin <u>di</u> for maithib Muman. for Eochaid Srem a <u>ndrochair</u> <u>imad</u> cend curad
	D	Serb <u>chath</u> Sleib <u>h</u> e hEblin <u>ne</u> for math <u>aibh</u> Mum <u>h</u> an for Eochaid <u>h</u> Sream a <u>torchair</u> <u>i lar</u> cend curad <u>h</u>

Appendix 8: <i>Aideda</i> in ‘Éstid a eolchu cen ón’ and <i>LGÉ N</i> (prose)		
See: 2:62		
Same circumstances of death in ‘Éstid a eochu cen ón’ and <i>LGÉ N</i> (prose) ⁷		
Quatrain (<i>LGÉ</i> , IV)	Character	Corresponding material in <i>LGÉ N</i> (prose).
q. 2 (pp. 226–27).	Edleo.	IV, §310 (pp. 112–13); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1070 (p. 34).
q. 3 (pp. 226–27).	Ernmas.	IV, §310 (pp. 112–13); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1071 (p. 34).
q. 3 (pp. 226–27).	Fiach[r/n]a.	IV, §310 (pp. 112–13); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1071 (p. 34).
q. 3 (pp. 226–27).	Echtach.	IV, §310 (pp. 112–13); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1071 (p. 34).
q.3 (pp.226–27).	Etargal.	IV, §310 (pp. 112–13); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1071 (p. 34).
q. 7 (pp. 228–29).	Núadu Argatlám.	IV, §312 (pp. 118–19); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1093 (p. 34).
q. 7 (pp. 228–29).	Macha.	IV, §312 (pp. 118–19); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1093 (p. 34).
q. 8 (pp. 228–29).	Ogma.	IV, §312 (pp. 118–19); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1094 (p. 34).
q. 8 (pp. 228–29).	Casmael.	IV, §312 (pp. 118–19); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1095 (p. 34).
q. 33 (pp. 236–37).	Delbáeth.	IV, §315 (pp. 124–25); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1125 (p. 35).
q. 34 (pp. 238–39).	Fiachna.	IV, §315 (pp. 124–25); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1126 (p. 35).
q. 34 (pp. 238–39).	Aí (?). ⁸	IV, §315 (pp. 124–25); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1126 (p. 35).
qq. 36, 38 (pp. 238–39).	Fotla.	V, §469 (pp. 154–55); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1813 (p. 57).
qq. 36–37 (pp. 238–39).	Mac Gréine.	V, §469 (pp. 154–55); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1813 (p.57).
qq. 36, 38 (pp. 238–39).	Banba.	V, §469 (pp. 154–55); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1813 (p. 57).
qq. 36–37 (pp. 238–39).	Mac Cuill.	V, §469 (pp. 154–55); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1813 (p. 57).
qq. 36–37 (pp.238–39).	Mac Cecht.	V, §469 (pp. 154–55); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1813 (p. 57).
Different circumstances of death in ‘Éstid a eochu’ and <i>LGÉ N</i> (prose)		
q. 11 (pp. 228–29).	Bress.	IV, §312 (pp. 118–10); <i>LL</i> , I, l.1099 (p. 35).
q. 28 (pp. 236–37).	Néit.	V, §381 (pp.14–15); <i>LL</i> , I, l.1466 (p.46).

⁷ Here and in **Appendix 11**, use was made of Michael Murphy, *Lebor Gabála Éirenn: The Book of the Takings of Ireland Part VI: Index* (ITS, 2008) <<http://www.ucc.ie/celt/indexLG.html>> [accessed 26 July 2015].

⁸ Macalister (*LGÉ*, IV, 100) suggests that Aí mac Ollamon may have emerged at some point out of a misreading of ‘ui. meic [sic] Ollaman’ (‘six sons of ollamon’), which is *LL*’s reading at this point.

Characters mentioned in 'Éstid a eolchu' and <i>LGÉ N</i> (prose)		
q. 4 (pp. 226–27).	Donand.	IV, §316 (pp. 128–29); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1169 (p. 37).
q. 5 (pp. 226–27).	Cethen.	IV, §314 (pp. 122–23); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1109 (p. 35).
q. 5 (pp. 226–27).	Cú.	IV, §314 (pp. 122–23); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1109 (p. 35).
q. 5 (pp. 226–27).	Cían.	IV, §314 (pp. 122–23); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1109 (p. 35).
q. 6 (pp. 226–27).	Coirpre.	IV, §314 (pp. 122–23); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1110 (p. 35).
q. 6 (pp. 226–27).	Étain.	IV, §314 (pp. 122–23); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1110 (p. 35).
q. 9 (pp. 228–29).	Dian Cecht.	IV, §314 (pp. 124–25); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1121 (p. 35).
q. 9 (pp. 228–29).	Goibniu.	IV, §314 (pp. 124–25); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1121 (p. 35).
q. 9 (pp. 228–29).	Luigne.	IV, §314 (pp. 124–25); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1121 (p. 35).
q. 10 (pp. 228–29).	Creidne.	IV, §314 (pp. 124–25); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1121 (p. 35).
q. 12 (pp. 230–31).	Bé Chuille.	IV, §314 (pp. 122–23); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1116 (p. 35).
q. 12 (pp. 230–31).	Dianann.	IV, §314 (pp. 122–23); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1116 (p. 35).
q. 13 (pp. 230–31).	Indui.	IV, §316 (pp. 126–27); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1130 (p. 36).
q. 14 (pp. 230–31).	Fea.	IV, §314 (pp. 122–23); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1116 (p. 35).
q. 15 (pp. 230–31).	Boind.	IV, §316 (pp. 130–31); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1181 (p. 37).
q. 16 (pp. 230–31).	Nechtán.	IV, §316 (pp. 128–29); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1154 (p. 36).
q. 17 (pp. 232–33).	Abcan.	IV, §316 (pp. 130–31); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1185 (p. 37).
q. 18 (pp. 232–33).	Elmar.	IV, §316 (pp. 130–31); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1184 (p. 37).
q. 19 (pp. 232–33).	Brían.	IV, §316 (pp. 128–29); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1170 (p. 37).
q. 19 (pp. 232–33).	Iucharba.	IV, §316 (pp. 128–29); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1170 (p. 37).
q. 19 (pp. 232–33).	Iuchair.	IV, §316 (pp. 128–29); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1170 (p. 37).
qq. 20–21 (pp. 232–33).	Cermait.	IV, §313 (pp. 120–21); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1109 (p. 35).
q. 22 (pp. 232–33).	Lug.	IV, §316 (pp. 128–29); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1146 (p. 36).
q. 23 (pp. 234–35).	Áed.	IV, §313 (pp. 120–21); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1109 (p. 35).
q. 25 (pp. 234–35).	Cridinbel.	IV, §314 (pp. 122–23); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1110 (p. 35).

q. 26 (pp. 234–35).	Óengus.	IV, §313 (pp. 120–21); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1109 (p. 35).
q. 27 (pp. 234–35).	‘Óenmac Manannáin’ ⁹ (‘Manannán’s only son’).	IV, §316 (pp. 128–29); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1161 (p. 36).
q. 28 (pp. 236–37).	Badb.	IV, §314 (pp. 122–23); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1180 (p. 37).
q. 28 (pp. 236–37).	Neman.	IV, §314 (pp. 122–23); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1180 (p. 37).
q. 29 (pp. 236–37).	Sigmall.	IV, §316 (pp. 128–29); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1156 (p. 36).
q. 30 (pp. 236–37).	Manannán.	IV, §316 (pp. 128–29); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1161–65 (p. 36).
q. 31 (pp. 236–37).	Uillend.	IV, §316 (pp. 130–31); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1182 (p. 37).
q. 32 (pp. 236–37).	In Dagda.	IV, §313 (pp. 120–21); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1106 (p. 35).
q. 33 (pp. 236–37).	Caicher.	IV, §316 (pp. 128–29); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1154 (p. 36).
q. 34 (pp. 238–39).	Éogan.	IV, §315 (pp. 124–25); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1126 (p. 35).
q. 35 (pp. 238–39).	Óengus.	IV, §313 (pp. 120–21); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1109 (p. 35).
q. 35 (pp. 238–39).	Áed.	IV, §313 (pp. 120–21); <i>LL</i> , I, l. 1109 (p. 35).
Characters in ‘Éstid a eolchu’ not mentioned in <i>LGÉ N</i> (prose)		
q. 3 (pp. 226–27).	Tuirill Picreo. ¹⁰	–
q. 15 (pp. 230–31).	Aine.	–
q. 16 (pp. 230–31).	Cairpe.	–
q. 18 (pp. 232–33).	Midir.	–
q. 22 (pp. 232–33).	‘in cruittire’ (‘the harper’).	–
q. 24 (pp. 234–35).	Corrchend.	–
q. 29 (pp. 236–37).	Fuamnach.	–
q. 29 (pp. 236–37).	Bri.	–
q. 31 (pp. 236–37).	‘Ben in Dagda’ (‘the Dagda’s wife’).	–
q. 35 (pp. 238–39).	Eochaid Iúil.	–
q. 35 (pp. 238–39).	Labraid.	–

⁹ Cf. *LGÉ IV* §368 (pp. 192–93).

¹⁰ = Delbaeth mac Ogma? (Murphy, *Index*, s.n. Delbaeth³).

Appendix 9: ‘Réidig dam, a Dé, do nim’ in *AI*

See: **2:6.3.2, 4:2.3.1**

For ease of reference, Mac Airt’s sigla are used for specific manuscripts of ‘Réidig dam, a Dé, do nim’:¹¹

D (Schmidt’s D): RIA D.iv.3, fols 36^{ra}1–40^{vb}20.

H (Schmidt’s UM): *UM*, fols 44^{vb}1–47^{rb}5.

L (Schmidt’s Lc1/Lc2): *Lec.*, fols 11^{rb}5–13^{vb}51.

For some reason, Mac Airt did not claim to have used the second *Lec.* text of the poem (fols 27^{va}25–30^{vb}6), although Schmidt has pointed out that he does use it under the same siglum (L) as the first.¹² Schmidt has included the second *Lec.* text in his analysis. I have confined the present study to the text and variants in Mac Airt’s edition.¹³

References to ‘Réidig dam, a Dé, do nim’ are by canto number (Roman numerals) and quatrain number within that canto (Arabic numerals), as numbered in Mac Airt’s edition. Under the ‘Summary of shared text/information’, the format of the text or information in *AI* is given in brackets at the end of each item; a reference to Mac Airt’s edition indicates full citation of verse. Quatrains from ‘Réidig dam, a Dé, do nim’ cited in *AI* are identified as such and located in *AI* but otherwise given under their canto and quatrain number in Mac Airt’s edition (e.g. ‘*AI* §171’s III:4’).

Definite Citations and uses

	<i>AI</i> ref.	RdaDdN ref.	Format	Summary of shared text or information
D1	§171.	III:1–11.	III:1, 4 quoted <i>in extenso</i> ; III:2–3, 5–11 summarised in Gaelic prose.	The Persians’ origins (<i>AI</i> : III:1); why they are so named (<i>AI</i> : Gaelic prose); Cyrus permits the Jews’ return to Jerusalem from exile (<i>AI</i> : III:4); the treasures from Solomon’s temple returned to Jerusalem (<i>AI</i> : Gaelic prose); the Jewish leaders’ names and roles (<i>ibid.</i>); Cyrus’ reign-length (30 years) (<i>ibid.</i>); his invasion of Scythia and his slaying by Tomyre (<i>ibid.</i>).

Comments

The poem (III:4), in D, states that 30 Persian kings ruled the world; this is in neither LH nor *AI* §171’s III:4; *AI* and the poem’s different versions go on to enumerate around a dozen Persian world-kings (see **D4**), broadly tallying with the number of kings each names. *AI* §171 (Gaelic prose) states that 4,000 silver vessels were returned to Jerusalem; the poem (III:5), 50,000 (D. H: unspecified; L: 1000). *AI* §171 (Gaelic prose) adds that it was in the seventh month of his reign that Cyrus permitted the Jews’ return. The poem (III:11) and *AI* §171 (Gaelic prose) disagree on the number of Persian soldiers that fell with Cyrus in Scythia (300,000 v. 200,000) and *AI* §171 (Gaelic prose) adds that Cyrus [re?]built Babylon. *AI* §172 (Latin prose) notes different scholarly views of the time elapsed from the burning of the temple to its re-foundation and mentions that Samaritan interference delayed its completion until the second year of Darius. None of this appears in the poem.

¹¹ Mac Airt, ‘Poem [1]’, p. 255.

¹² Schmidt, ‘Zu *Réidig*’, p. 220.

¹³ For various other fragments of this poem, see Schmidt, ‘Zu *Réidig dam*’, p. 212.

D2	§174.	III:12–15.	Latin/Gaelic prose.	Cambyses' reign-length (<i>AI</i> : Latin prose); his cognomen ('the second Nebuchadnezzar') (<i>ibid.</i>); Judith's beheading of his general, Holofernes (<i>AI</i> : Gaelic prose); the phrase 'deest caput Holofernis' (<i>AI</i> : Latin prose).
Different texts of the poem (III:12) disagree on Cambyses' reign-length (DH: 7 years; L: 8 years); <i>AI</i> §174 (Latin prose) gives 8 years. The poem (III:13–14) adds that Cambyses was known as 'the second Nebuchadnezzar' specifically among the Jews and that he was slain by insurgent <i>magi</i> , one of which was his son-in-law, Smerdes.				
D3	§186.	III:25–29.	Quoted <i>in extenso</i> , with short prose introduction; attr. to <i>poeta</i> .	Artaxerxes Mnemon's reign-length (40 years) (<i>AI</i> : Latin prose); his cognomen among the Jews (Ahasuerus) (<i>AI</i> : III:26); the story of Esther (<i>AI</i> : III:27–29).
<i>AI</i> §186, in its prose introduction (Latin prose), notes that Artaxerxes' cognomen was 'Mnemon', whereas this is simply assumed in the poem.				
D4	§191	III:31–34.	III:31–32 partly cognate with Latin prose; III:33–34 quoted <i>in extenso</i> ; attr. to <i>poeta</i> .	Darius son of Arsamus' reign (<i>AI</i> : Latin prose); chronological recapitulation of the Persian world-kingship (<i>AI</i> : III:33); the 'Greek' world-kingship follows thereafter (<i>AI</i> : III:34).
<i>AI</i> does not mention the four year reign of Perses son of Ochus (III:31); indeed, he is apparently unique to 'Réidig dam, a Dé, do nim'. ¹⁴ The poem (III:31) ascribes Darius a reign of seven years, <i>AI</i> §191 (Latin prose) six years. Alexander's defeat of Darius is mentioned in the poem at this point (III:32) but not in <i>AI</i> until §192 (Latin prose). In the chronological recapitulation, <i>AI</i> §191's citation of III:33 gives 12 kings and 230 years. In the poem's III:33, disagreement is found (D: 12 kings, 230 years; HL:10 kings, 250 years). The reigns of the Persian world-kings total 227 years in <i>AI</i> but 240 years (rounding up) in the poem, 230 in H.				
D5	§§193–94.	IV:1–11.	qq. 8, 10–11 summarised in Gaelic prose; qq. 2–4, 6–7 quoted <i>in extenso</i> ; attr. to <i>in file</i> .	The Greeks' global power (<i>AI</i> : Gaelic prose); Alexander's age when he began his conquest and his age at his death (<i>AI</i> : IV:6); the cause of Alexander's death (<i>AI</i> : IV:7); ¹⁵ his kingdom's division into twenty-four, then four, and the first king of each latter division (<i>AI</i> : Gaelic prose).
IV:1 and 5 are not represented in <i>AI</i> §193 (Latin/Gaelic prose and citations of the poem): IV:1 states that the Greeks descend from Japheth and IV:5 that Alexander had his capital at Babylon. <i>AI</i> §193 (Gaelic prose) gives the length of the Greek world-kingship as 286 years and 12 kings and 1 queen; concluding the Greek canto, the poem (IV:25) instead gives 280 years (L problematic) but the same number of kings and queens.				

¹⁴ Mac Airt, 'Poem [2]', p. 43. It is perhaps for this reason that Schmidt ('Zu Réidig', pp. 230–31) silently omits him from his summary of the poem.

¹⁵ As Mac Airt notes ('Poem [3]', p. 101), only some versions of the poem, along with *AI* §193, state that Alexander was poisoned at a feast; the others simply state that he died in Babylon. Disagreement over his cause of death goes back to the earliest sources: A. B. Bosworth, 'Alexander the Great Part 1: The Events of his Reign', in *The Cambridge Ancient History Volume 6: The Fourth Century BC*, ed. by David M. Lewis, John Boardman, Simon Hornblower, and M. Ostwald, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), 791–845 (pp. 843–45).

Possible uses				
P1	§§181–83.	III:17–23.	Latin prose; one sentence of Gaelic prose (<i>AI</i> §183).	Xerxes' reign (Latin prose); his invasion of Greece (<i>ibid.</i>); the expedition's soldiers and ships (<i>ibid.</i>); Artabanus' reign-length (seven months) (<i>ibid.</i>); Artaxerxes' reign (<i>ibid.</i>); his cognomen (Longimanus) (<i>ibid.</i>); Ezra's return to Jerusalem and the re-establishment of the law (<i>ibid.</i>); Nehemiah's rebuilding of Jerusalem's walls (<i>ibid.</i>).
<p><i>AI</i> §181 (Latin prose) and the poem (III:17–22) give the same categories of information on Xerxes' expedition, disagree on the exact number of soldiers and warships, but agree on the numbers of supply ships.¹⁶ The poem's (III:17) manuscripts disagree on Xerxes' reign-length (DL: 20; H: 10); <i>AI</i> §181 gives 20. The poem (III:19) specifies that Artabanus assassinated Xerxes; §182 (Latin prose) simply notes his reign's commencement. Artaxerxes is ascribed a forty-three year reign-length in <i>AI</i> §183 (Latin prose) but only forty years in the poem (III:20). <i>AI</i> does not mention the subsequent short reigns of Xerxes (two months) and Sogdianus (seven months) given by the poem (III:23). <i>AI</i> §183 (Gaelic prose) adds that two tribes of Israel returned from Assyria and ten from Babylon, information not found in the poem.</p>				
P2	§185	III:24.	Latin Prose	Darius Nothus' reign-length (19 years) (all Latin prose).
<p>The poem (III:24), but not <i>AI</i>, mentions the loss of Egypt during Darius Nothus' reign.</p>				
P3	§§188–89.	III:30.	Latin prose.	Artaxerxes Ochus' reign; Arses' reign-length (4 years); conquest of Egypt (all Latin prose).
<p><i>AI</i> §188 (Latin prose) gives Artaxerxes Ochus a reign-length of 26 years, the poem (III:30) 30 years. <i>AI</i> §188 (Latin prose) has Artaxerxes Ochus conquer Egypt, not Arses, as in the poem. In H, III:30 does not include Arses but gives 4 years as an alternative reign-length for Artaxerxes (!).</p>				
P4	§§197–98.	IV:13–15.	Latin prose.	Ptolomeus Philadelphus' reign-length; his commissioning of the Septuagint; his extensive library (all Latin prose).
<p><i>AI</i> §197 (Latin prose) gives Ptolomeus Philadelphus a reign of 27 years; the poem (IV:13) gives him 38 (DL) or 37 (H) years. <i>AI</i> and the poem describe his library differently: in <i>AI</i> §197 (Latin prose), it contains both Gentile literature and the Scriptures, while, in the poem (IV:15), it contains works in every language. The poem (IV:15) numbers the books therein at 80,000, <i>AI</i> §197 (Latin prose) at 30,000. <i>AI</i> §197 (Latin prose) contains the additional detail that Ptolomeus liberated the Jews that were living in Egypt. <i>AI</i> §198 (Latin prose) contains a passage detailing Ptolomeus' military power that has no parallel in the poem.</p>				
P5	§200	IV:16.	Latin prose.	Ptolomeus Euergites's reign-length (Latin prose).
<p><i>AI</i> §200 (Latin prose) ascribes 26 years to Ptolomeus Euergites, the poem (IV:16) 27 years (D) or 17 years (HL).</p>				
<p>Rawl.B.503 is missing the next two folios (between fols 6^v and 7^r) after §200. The text resumes during the reign of Augustus and the world-kingship of the Romans.</p>				

¹⁶ The poem's manuscripts disagree on some of these figures: Mac Airt (ed. and trans.), 'Poem [2]', p. 36.

Appendix 10: Attributions to Flann in <i>LGÉ</i>			
See: 3:2			
10.1: Definite attributions to Flann Mainistrech in <i>LGÉ</i>			
Summary			
recension <i>m</i> ¹⁷	‘Éstid a eolchu cen ón’ (<i>Rm</i> : ‘Cruithnig cid dos farclam’)		
recension <i>a</i>	‘Éstid a eolchu cen ón’ ‘Toisich na llongse tar ller’		
recension <i>b</i>	‘Ochtauin August in rí’ ‘Réidig dam, a Dé, do nim’ ‘Ríg Themra dia tesbann tnú’ ‘Ríg Themra toebaige íar ttain’		
recension <i>c</i>	‘Éstid a eolchu cen ón’ ‘Toisich na llongse tar ller’ ‘Anmand na toisech delm tenn’		
Recension – Manuscript – <i>LGÉ</i> ref.	Poem	Attribution	
Recension <i>m</i>			
<i>Rm</i>	§316a	‘Éstid a eolchu cen ón’ (1 q.)	‘ Fland cecinit (‘Flann sang’). ¹⁸
	§468	‘Anmand na tóisech delm tenn’ (1 q.)	–
	§492	‘Cruithnig cid dos farclam’ (1 q.)	‘ Flann cecinit .i. Mainistrech’.
<i>Ym</i>	§316a	‘Éstid a eolchu cen ón’	‘ Fland cecinit’.
	§468	‘Anmand na tóisech delm tenn’	–
<i>Lbm</i>	§316a	‘Éstid a eolchu cen ón’	‘ Fland cecinit’.
	§468	‘Anmand na tóisech delm tenn’	–
Recension <i>a</i>			
N	§316	‘Éstid a Eolchu cen ón’	‘ Fland Manistrech cecinit’.
	§502	‘Toisich na llongse tar ller’	‘Is do aidedaib na tóisech-sa anuas ro chan in senchaid \.i. Fland Man/ so sis’ (‘It is on the deaths of those leaders above that the historian \ i.e. Flann Mainistrech / sang this’).
F	§318	‘Éstid a Eolchu cen ón’	‘Conad dia n-aidedaib ro chan Flann Mainistrech in duan-sa sis ga foirgeall’ (‘So it is on their deaths that Flann Mainistrech sang this poem, providing authoritative testimony on them’).
	§502	‘Toisich na llongse tar ller’	‘Et is da n-aidedaib na taisseach-sa anuas ro chan Fland so sis’ ¹⁹ (‘And it is on the deaths of these leaders above that Flann sang this’).

¹⁷ Sigla are as in Scowcroft, ‘Medieval Recensions’, p. 4.

¹⁸ Translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

¹⁹ This attribution’s existence cannot be gleaned from Macalister’s edition: Dublin, RIA, MS D.iii.1 (671), *saec.* XV, fol. 2^{vb}38–40.

Recension b			
E	§385	‘Toisich na llongse tar ller’	‘De quibus dicitur’ (‘On which it is said’).
	§594 <i>bis</i>	‘Ochtauin August in rí’	‘Amail adbert Flann ’ (‘As Flann says’).
R	§385	‘Toisich na llongse tar ller’ (1 q.)	‘De quibus dicitur’.
	§594 <i>bis</i>	‘Ochtauin August in rí’	‘Amail asbert Flann ’.
Y	§385	‘Toisich na llongse tar ller’	‘De quibus dicitur’.
	§594 <i>bis</i>	‘Ochtauin August in rí’	‘Amail asbert Flann Fland [<i>sic</i>]’.
<i>Lb</i>	§385	‘Toisich na llongse tar ller’	‘De quibus dicitur’.
	§594 <i>bis</i>	‘Ochtauin August in rí’	‘Amail asbert Flann ’.
D	§386	‘Toisich na llongse tar ller’	‘Is do aideduib \ocus dia n-anmannaib/ na toisech-sa anuas ro chachain Flann innso sis’ ²⁰ (‘It is on the deaths \ and on their names / of those leaders that Flann sang this’).
	§594 <i>bis</i>	‘Ochtauin August in rí’	‘Amail asbert Flann ’.
Recension b: Appendix			
<i>Lb</i>	<i>Lec.</i> , fols 11 ^{rb} 4; 13 ^{vb} 46–49	‘Réidig dam, a Dé, do nim’	<p>Superscription: ‘Do flaithiusaib in domain moir annso’ (‘on the kings of the great world, here’).²¹</p> <p>Internal: ‘Cach flaith failte os gairbri glain frís raite airdri in domain o Niñ co Leomain na clann ros rim in t-eolas aenFhlann</p> <p>Flann feidbind romben brig mbreath fer leigind min Mainistrech, ro gle triana gnim a guth re cach righ do reidhiugudh’</p> <p>(‘Each ruler of gladness over clear [?] who was called high-king of the world, from Ninus to Leo of the weapons, Flann alone, the wise man, hath numbered them.</p> <p>Flann, sweet of word, the strength of</p>

²⁰ Again, this is only to be found in the original manuscript: RIA D.iv.3, fol. 18^{va}14. The interlinear insertion seems to be in the main scribe’s hand.

²¹ Material from or relating to ‘Réidig dam, a Dé, do nim’ is printed from manuscript. The conclusion of ‘Réidig dam, a Dé, do nim’ is edited and translated from *Lb* by MacNeill (‘Irish Historical Tract’, p. 138), and from *UM*, with variants from elsewhere, by Thurneysen (‘Flann Manistrech’s Gedicht’, pp. 270–72).

			judgments hath sounded him, the gentle lector of Monasterboice, his voice through his work hath made clear the explanation of each king's time' (transl. MacNeill)). ²²
	<i>Lec.</i> , fol. 15 ^{vb} 8–9	‘Ríg Themra dia tesbann tnú’	‘De regibus Hibernie ab Erimon usque Eochu Feidlech et incipit ab Eochu usque ad Laegaire mac Neill. Et Flann cecinit’ (‘On the kings of Ireland from Érimón to Eochaid Feidlech and from Eochaid to Loegaire mac Neill begins. And Flann sang’).
	<i>Lec.</i> , fols 16 ^{ra} 36; 16 ^{va} 38–39	‘Ríg Themra toebaige íar ttain’	Superscription: ‘Do rigaib Erind iar cretim inso sis’ (‘On the kings of Ireland after the faith here’). Internal: ‘Coro Flann sech digla drenn mac in fir ligda leigind for nem ni dal dithich De ruachain righthig hi righe’ (‘May Flann, disregarding vengeance for feuds, the son of the brilliant lector, attain God’s heaven, a judgement that cannot be gainsaid, attaining the royal house in the kingdom’).
D	RIA D.iv.3, fols 36 ^{ra} 1; 40 ^{vb} 13–17	‘Réidig dam, a Dé, do nim’	Superscription: ‘Do flaithiusuib in domuin moir indso sis’ (‘On the lords of the great world here’). Internal: ‘Cach flaith failti os gargbrígh glain fris raiti airdrigh in doman o Nin co Léomhain na cland ros rím an t-eolach oen Fhlann Fland feigbindh rom ben bríg breth fer leighinn mín Mainistrech ro gle triana gnim a guth ré cach rígh do réidigut’ (‘Each ruler of gladness over clear, blunt power who was called high-king of the world, from Ninus to Leo of the weapons, Flann alone, the wise man, hath numbered them

²² MacNeill (ed. and trans.), ‘Irish Historical Tract’, p. 138.

			Flann, sweet of word, the strength of judgments hath sounded him, the gentle lector of Monasterboice, his voice through his work hath made clear the explanation of each king's time' (trans. MacNeill)).
	RIA D.iv.3, fol. 43 ^{vb} 12–13	‘Ríg Themra dia tesbann tnú’	‘Finit de Regibus Hiberniae ab Heremon usque Eocha Feidleach 7 incipit nunc ab Eocha usque ad Laegaire mac Néill. Flann cecinit’ (‘On the kings of Ireland from Érimón to Eochaid Feidlech and from Eochaid to Lóegaire mac Neill begins. And Flann sang’).
	RIA D.iv.3, fol. 44 ^{va} 13	‘Ríg Themra toebaige iar ttain’	[ms. illegible] ‘...iar cretim innso sios’. Internal: [ms. illegible]
Recension c			
Lc	§371	‘Éstid a Eolchu cen ón’	‘Conad dia n-oideadaib do chan in t-eolach in duan-sa .i. Flann Mainistrech’ (‘So it is on their deaths that the knowledgeable one, that is, Flann Mainistrech, sang this poem’).
	§503	‘Toisich na llongse tar ller’	‘Is ar oigeadaib na táiseach-sa táncadar le Macaib Míled in Éirind, do neoch ro airmemar romaind, 7 ara n-anmandaib, ach ger o hairmead, roime iad 7 do na hindadaib 7 do na cathaib a ndrochradar 7 do na rígaib ler thoitsead 7 in méd do thoit le Túatha Dé Danann i cathaib 7 comracaib d’f’b 7 in méd do thoit le Macaib Mílead fén, amail adfet Flann Mainistrech’ (‘It is on the deaths of those leaders that came with the sons of Míl to Ireland, which we have already recounted, and on their names, even though they have already been listed, and on the locations and on the battles in which they fell and on the kings by which they fell and on those that fell by the Túatha Dé Danann in battles and those that fell by sons of Míl themselves, as Flann Mainistrech relates’ (trans. Macalister)).

	§503	‘Anmand na toisech delm tenn’	‘Ocus is for anmandaib na taiseach sin 7 na hoichthigern, do neoch thanic le maccaib Míled in Éirinn 7 ar na dindaib ro cumdaiged leo in Éirinn, do chum Flann Mainistreach in duan-sa; 7 ro bad fearr comad ac teacht tar na táisechaib ica cét-imrad docuimneocha hi, 7 o nach ead ni hanoircheas a cuimneochad, mara tarla don toiscsea a cur sa leabar-sa annso’ (‘And it is upon the names of those chieftains, and of the lordlings who came with the Sons of Míl into Ireland, and of the forts that were founded by them in Ireland, that Flann Mainistrech framed this song. And it were better that we should have remembered it when we were going over the chieftains at their first mention; and since it was not so, it is not improper that we should remember it now, as there has come this opportunity of inserting it into this book here’ (trans. Macalister)).
	§628	‘Suibne go sloghadh dia soí’.	[No introduction. This is a quatrain from ‘Ríg Themra toebaige iar ttain’: <i>LL</i> , III, ll. 15846–49 (p. 511).]
B	§§273, 275 (2 qq.)	‘Réidig dam, a Dé, do nim’	‘Ut dixit poeta’; ‘ut dicitur’ (‘As the poet said’; ‘as it is said’).
	§371	‘Éstid a Eolchu cen ón’	‘Conadh dia n-aigheadhaibh ro chan Fland Maneisdreach in duan-sa sis’ (‘So it is on their deaths that Flann Mainistrech sang this poem’).
10.2: Problematic Attributions to ‘Flann’ in <i>LGÉ</i>			
Recension – Manuscript – <i>LGÉ</i> ref.		Poem	Attribution (my translations)
Recension a			
N	§245	[‘Ériu oll oirdnit Gáedil’] ‘Togail tuir Chonaind co ngail’	‘Unde in suí senchasa cecinit’ (‘Whence the master of history sang’).
F	§245	‘Togail tuir Chonaind co ngail’	‘As don gabail sin Nemid do can in senchaid in duan’ (‘It is on that conquest [<i>sic</i>] by Nemed that the historian sang the poem’).
Recension b			
E	§257	‘Togail tuir Chonaind co ngail’	‘Ut dicitur’.
R	§257	‘Togail tuir Chonaind co ngail’ (1 q.)	‘Ut dicitur’.
Y	§257	‘Togail tuir Chonaind co ngail’	‘Ut dicitur’.

D	§257	‘Togail tuir Chonaind co ngail’	‘Ut dicitur’.
Recension c			
Lc	§266	‘Togail tuir Chonaind co ngail’	‘Ocus is don gabáil sin rochan in senchaid so in duan so síis’ (‘And it is on that settlement that the historian sang this poem here’).
	§614	‘Augaine mór mac ríig Érenn’ ‘Boroma Laigen na learg’ ‘Ríig ro gob Temair na treab’	‘Don Boroma ando síis, do rér Fhloind ’ (‘On the <i>bóroma</i> here, according to Flann’).
B	§266	‘Togail tuir Chonaind co ngail’	‘Ocus don gabáil sin rochan in duan so síis [sic]’ (‘And on that settlement, [?] sang this poem’).
H	§271	‘Togail tuir Chonaind co ngail’	‘Conad don scel sin do chan Fland fili an duan-sa, do chuimnugud an sceoil’ (‘So it is on that story that Flann the poet sang this poem, to remember the story’).

Appendix 11: <i>Aideda</i> in ‘Éstid a eolchu cen ón’ and <i>LGÉ F</i> (prose)		
See: 3:4		
Same circumstances of death in ‘Éstid a eochu’ and <i>LGÉ F</i> (prose)		
Quatrain (<i>LGÉ</i> , IV)	Character	Corresponding material in <i>LGÉ N</i> (prose).
q. 2 (pp. 226–27).	Edleo.	IV, §310 (pp. 112–13).
q. 3 (pp. 226–27).	Ernmas.	IV, §310 (pp. 112–13).
q. 3 (pp. 226–27).	Fiach[r/n]a.	IV, §310 (pp. 112–13).
q. 3 (pp. 226–27).	Echtach.	IV, §310 (pp. 112–13).
q. 3 (pp. 226–27).	Etargal.	IV, §310 (pp. 112–13).
q. 7 (pp. 228–29).	Núadu Argatlám.	IV, §§312, 314 (pp. 118–19, 124–25).
q. 7 (pp. 228–29).	Macha.	IV, §312 (pp. 118–19).
q. 8 (pp. 228–29).	Ogma.	IV, §312 (pp. 118–19).
q. 8 (pp. 228–29).	Casmael.	IV, §312 (pp. 118–19).
q. 32 (pp. 236–37).	In Dagda.	IV, §314 (pp. 124–25).
q. 33 (pp. 236–37).	Delbáeth.	IV, §315 (pp. 124–25).
q. 34 (pp. 238–39).	Fiachna.	IV, §315 (pp. 124–25).
q. 34 (pp. 238–39).	Aí (?). ²³	IV, §315, 316 (pp. 124–25, 128–29).
qq. 36, 38 (pp. 238–39).	Fotla.	V, §469 (pp. 154–55).
qq. 36–37 (pp. 238–39).	Mac Gréine.	V, §469 (pp. 154–55).
qq. 36, 38 (pp. 238–39).	Banba.	V, §469 (pp. 154–55).
qq. 36–37 (pp. 238–39).	Mac Cuill.	V, §469 (pp. 154–55).
qq. 36–37 (pp. 238–39).	Mac Cecht.	V, §469 (pp. 154–55).
Different circumstances of death in ‘Éstid a eochu’ and <i>LGÉ F</i> (prose)		
q. 11 (pp. 228–29).	Bress.	IV, §312 (pp. 118–10).
q. 22 (pp. 232–33).	Lug.	IV, §314 (pp. 124–25).
q. 28 (pp. 236–37).	Néit.	V, §381 (pp. 14–15).
Characters mentioned in ‘Éstid a eolchu’ and <i>LGÉ F</i> (prose)		
q. 4 (pp. 226–27).	Donand.	IV, §316 (pp. 128–29).
q. 5 (pp. 226–27).	Cethen.	IV, §314 (pp. 122–23).
q. 5 (pp. 226–27).	Cú.	IV, §314 (pp. 122–23).
q. 5 (pp. 226–27).	Cían.	IV, §314 (pp. 122–23).
q. 6 (pp. 226–27).	Coirpre.	IV, §314 (pp. 122–23).
q. 6 (pp. 226–27).	Étain.	IV, §314 (pp. 122–23).
q. 9 (pp. 228–29).	Dian Cecht.	IV, §314 (pp. 124–25).
q. 9 (pp. 228–29).	Goibniu.	IV, §314 (pp. 124–25).
q. 9 (pp. 228–29).	Luigne.	IV, §314 (pp. 124–25).
q. 10 (pp. 228–29).	Creidne.	IV, §314 (pp. 124–25).

²³ With reference to Macalister’s (*LGÉ*, IV, 100) suggestion that Aí mac Ollamón may have emerged at some point out of a misreading of ‘ui. meic [sic] Ollaman’ (‘six sons of Ollam’), F reads ‘secht mac Ollamón’ (‘seven sons of Ollam’).

q. 12 (pp. 230–31).	Bé Chuille.	IV, §314 (pp. 122–23).
q. 12 (pp. 230–31).	Dianann.	IV, §314 (pp. 122–23).
q. 13 (pp. 230–31).	Indui.	IV, §316 (pp. 126–27).
q. 14 (pp. 230–31).	Fea.	IV, §314 (pp. 122–23).
q. 15 (pp. 230–31).	Boind.	IV, §316 (pp. 130–31).
q. 16 (pp. 230–31).	Nechtan.	IV, §316 (pp. 128–29).
q. 17 (pp. 232–33).	Abcan.	IV, §316 (pp. 130–31).
q. 18 (pp. 232–33).	Midir.	IV, §316 (pp. 126–27).
q. 18 (pp. 232–33).	Elcmar.	IV, §316 (pp. 130–31).
q. 19 (pp. 232–33).	Brían.	IV, §316 (pp. 128–29).
q.19 (pp. 232–33).	Iucharba.	IV, §316 (pp. 128–29).
q.19 (pp. 232–33).	Iuchair.	IV, §316 (pp. 128–29).
qq. 20–21 (pp. 232–33).	Cermait.	IV, §313 (pp. 120–21).
q. 23 (pp. 234–35).	Áed.	IV, §313 (pp. 120–21).
q. 25 (pp. 234–35).	Cridinbel.	IV, §314 (pp. 122–23).
q. 26 (pp. 234–35).	Óengus.	IV, §313 (pp. 120–21).
q. 27 (pp. 234–35).	‘Óenmac Manannáin’ (‘Manannán’s only son’). ²⁴	IV, §316 (pp. 128–29).
q. 28 (pp. 236–37).	Badb.	IV, §314 (pp. 122–23).
q. 28 (pp. 236–37).	Neman.	IV, §314 (pp. 122–23).
q. 29 (pp. 236–37).	Sigmall.	IV, §316 (pp. 128–29).
q. 31 (pp. 236–37).	Uillend.	IV, §316 (pp. 130–31).
q. 33 (pp. 236–37).	Caicher.	IV, §316 (pp. 128–29).
q. 34 (pp. 238–39).	Éogan.	IV, §315 (pp. 124–25).
q. 35 (pp. 238–39).	Óengus.	IV, §313 (pp. 120–21).
q. 35 (pp. 238–39).	Áed.	IV, §313 (pp. 120–21).
Characters in ‘Éstid a eolchu’ not mentioned in LGÉ F (prose)		
q. 3 (pp. 226–27).	Tuirill Picreo. ²⁵	–
q. 15 (pp. 230–31).	Aine.	–
q. 16 (pp. 230–31).	Cairpe.	–
q. 22 (pp. 232–33).	‘in cruittire’ (‘the harper’).	–
q. 24 (pp. 234–35).	Corrchend.	–
q. 29 (pp. 236–37).	Fuamnach.	–
q. 29 (pp. 236–37).	Bri.	–
q. 30 (pp. 236–37).	Manannán.	–
q. 31 (pp. 236–37).	‘Ben in Dagda’ (‘the Dagda’s wife’).	–
q. 35 (pp. 238–39).	Eochaid Iúil.	–
q. 35 (pp. 238–39).	Labraid.	–

²⁴ cf. *LGÉ* IV §368 (pp. 192–93).

²⁵ = Delbaeth mac Ogma (?); Murphy, *Index*, s.n. Delbaeth³.

Appendix 12: 'Cetrí ro gabh Éirinn uile'		
See: 2:2.2.1, 4:2.1.2, 5:2.1.1		
12.1: The poem in selected manuscripts		
q.	<p>Rawl.B.502, saec. XII, fol. 88^r1–28: Initiating a series of metrical king-lists for Irish kingdoms.</p> <p>UM, saec. XIV/XV, fol. 2^{ra}1–28: Concluding genealogies of Cenél nÉogain.</p> <p>BB, saec. XIV/XV, fol. 49^{ra}24 – 49^{rb}1: Concluding <i>Catha Cenél Éogain</i>, within genealogies of Cenél nÉogain.</p> <p>Ó Cleirigh Book of Genealogies (RIA 23.D.17), saec. XVII, pp. 48–49 (Pender (ed.), 'O Clery Book', §455 (pp. 35–37)): Concluding a version of <i>Catha Cenél Éogain</i> augmented with genealogical information.</p> <p>The metre resembles <i>deibide scaílte</i> (7^x, 7^{x+1}; 7^x, 7^{x+1}), although with the lines invariably ending on a single syllable.²⁶</p>	
Pref.	<p>Rawl.B.502 Rem<u>end</u> rigraide in<u>so</u> sis 7 rig h<u>Eren</u> a hAiliuch prius ('The king-lists here and the kings of Ireland from Ailech first' (my trans.)).²⁷</p>	
	<p>UM Fursannadh ar ní da rig<u>haibh</u> Clainni Eoghain mic Neill andseo am<u>al</u> adeir an duan aga nda<u>iream</u> cona ndoig<u>head</u>haibh ('An elucidation of some of the kings of Cenél nÉogain mac Néill here, as this poem states through enumerating them with their deaths' (my trans.)).²⁸</p>	
	<p>BB Finit do clandaib<u>h</u> Eogain meic Neill andso. Flann Fina cecinit ('Here ends the matter of Cenél nÉogain mac Néill. Flann Fina sang' (my trans.)).</p>	
	<p>Ó Cléirigh Book It iat in<u>nsin</u> craeb<u>ha</u> coibhnesa, catha, et coingleaca, <u>ocus</u> coimlenga cloin<u>di</u> Muireth<u>ai</u>gh mic Eogain mic Neill co Muircertach mac Domhnaill, conidh dona riog<u>haib</u> sin cenel Eoghain mic Nell as<u>bert</u> Flann mainest<u>rech</u> an nath-so ('These are the genealogies, battles, strifes, and contentions of the sons of Muiredach mac Éogain mic Néill down to Muirchertach mac Domnaill, so it is of those kings of Cenél nÉogain that Flann Mainistrech pronounced this composition' (my trans.)).</p>	
1	<p>Rawl.B.502 Cetri <u>ro</u> gab h-Eri<u>nd</u> uill. do sil Eogain a h-Echdruim in athir thuil<u>cheppach</u> thair. Muircertach mac Muiredaig</p>	<p>'The first king who took Ireland of the seed of Éogan from Aughrim; the father of a surfeit of slaughters Muirchertach mac Muiredaig'.²⁹</p>
	<p>UM Cedri<u>gh</u> d<u>ha</u> gab Erenn uill da sil Eoghain a theach<u>dhruim</u> an athir thuil<u>ceartach</u> thoir Muirceartach mac Muired<u>haigh</u></p>	

²⁶ Gerard Murphy, *Early Irish Metrics* (Dublin: RIA, 1961), §65 (p. 65).

²⁷ Ó Cuív (ed. [preface only]), *Catalogue*, I, 199.

²⁸ Mulchrone (ed. [preface only]), *RIA Cat.*, fasc. 26, 3316.

²⁹ The translation is of the Rawl. B.502 text only.

	BB	Cetri ro gabh <u>Erenn</u> uill do sil Eogain a h-Ech <u>druim</u> in n-athair tuil <u>cepthach</u> thair Muircertach mac Muredaigh	
	Ó Cléirigh Book	Ceidri ro ghab Eirind uill do shiol Eoghain a h-Each <u>druim</u> an nathair tuil <u>cepach</u> toir Muircertach mac Muireadhaigh.	
2	Rawl.B.502	Domnall inna diaid nir doim. Fergus in n-egaid Domnaill Baetan iar Fergus na fal. 7 Eochaid iar m <u>h</u> Baetan	‘Domnall after him, not ungenerous, Fergus after Domnall, Baetan after Fergus of the enclosures and Eochaid after Baetan’.
	UM	Domhnall nfa dhiaidh ní doim Fergus an caghaidh Domnall Buaedan iar Feargus na fal 7 Eocaigh iar mBuaedan	
	BB	Domnall ina diaidh ní doim Fergus an dheadaid Domnaill Baedan iar Fergus a fal 7 Eochaid iar mBaedan	
	Ó Cléirigh Book	Domhnall ina dhiaidh ní doim Fergus i ndeadaigh Domnaill Baedan iar bFerghus na b fal 7 Eochaidh iar mBaedan	
3	Rawl.B.502	Colman iar nEochaid na n-ag. Aed. Uairidnach iar Colman Suibni iar nAed ro dedlad de. 7 Fergal iar Suibne	‘Colmán after Eochaid of the cattle, Aed Uairidnach after Colmán, Suibne after Áed was severed from it and Fergal after Suibne’.
	UM	Colman iar nEochaid co n-adh Aedh Uairidhnach iar Colman Suibni iar nAedh deabhladh de 7 Fergal iar Suibni	
	BB	Colman iar nEochaid na n-agh Aedh Uairidhnach iar Colman Suibne iar nAedh dedlaidh dhe 7 Fergal iar Suibhne	
	Ó Cléirigh Book	Colman iar n-Eochaidh na n-agh Aodh uairidhnach iar cColman Suibne iar n-Aedh dedla de ocus Fergal iar Suibhne.	
4	Rawl.B.502	Aed Allán aithle Fergail. hi se ro gab for Temraich Níall Frossach iar nAed na ngiall . Aed Oirdnide iar n-aird Níall	‘Áed Allán, after Fergal, he took Tara, Níall Frossach after Áed of the hostages, Áed Oirdnide after high Níall’.
	UM	Aedh Allan h-aithli Fergaill ise ro ghabh for Teamhraigh Níall Frasach iar n-Aedh alle Aedh Findliath iar Níalle	

	BB	Aedh Allan daithle Fergail is e rogab for Temraig Níall Frasaach for Aedh na n-ghiall Aed Ordnide iar n-ard Niall	
	Ó Cléirigh Book	Aedh allan d'aithle Ferghail as e ro ghab for Themraigh Niall frosach ier n-Aedh na ngiall Aedh oirdnide ier ndeighNiall.	
5	Rawl.B.502	Niall fledach iar nAed hille. Aed Findliath iar Niall faille Niall Glundubh iar n-Aed find fhial. agus Domnall iar n-degNiall	‘Níall Fledach after Áed, hither, Áed Findliath after Níall, the rock, Níall Glúndub after Áed, bright and noble, and Domnall, after good Níall’.
	UM	– – Niall Glundubh iar n-Aedh find fial 7 Domnall iarna id Niall	
	BB	Niall Caille iar n-Aedh ille Aedh Findliath iar Niall Caille Niall Glundubh iar nAedh find fial 7 Domnall iar n-deig Niall	
	Ó Cléirigh Book	Niall caille ier n-Aedh alle Aedh finnliath iar Niall caille Niall glundubh ier n-Aedh bfinn fial ocus Domhnall ier ndeighNiall.	
6	Rawl.B.502	At iat so sluinnim do neoch. flaithi hErenn a h-Aileoch da fer dec is .iiii. cain. ro po chlethchur ca cetaib. Cet.	‘These are the names, for anyone, of the Ireland’s lords from Ailech: sixteen good men, they were a palisade for hundreds.
	UM	is iad sin slómdím da neoch flaithi Erenn a h-Oileoch da fer dheg is ceathrar cain da ba cleathcur go ccédaib // Ceidriugh	
	BB	[Physical gap: 4 lines] At iad so sloindim do neoch flaithe Erenn a h-Oiliuch tri fir deg is coigiarr cain [later gl.: ‘vel da fir .x. is cetrar cain’ ³⁰] ro bo cle\ch/thor co cetaibh	
	Ó Cléirigh Book	It iad so sloinnem do neach llaithe Erenn a h-Oileach .ii. fer decc is cetrar cain robadh cletcur co ccedaibh.	
7	Rawl.B.502	Aided Muirchertaich na mod. guin is badud is loscadh	‘The death of Muirchertach of the marches: wounded,

³⁰ ‘or, sixteen good men’; see Appendix 12.2.

		ec at bathatar [...] fus, a meicc Domnall is Fergus.	drowned, and burned; the death they died here, his sons, Domnall and Fergus’.
	UM	Oidheadh Mhuirceartaigh na modh góin is bathudh. Is loscadh eg adbathadar a fhus a meic Domnall is Fergus	
	BB	Oididh Murcertaig na mod guin is badhudh is loscudh eg adbath atair i bhos a meic Domnaill is Fergus	
	Ó Cléirigh Book	Oided Muirceartaigh na modh guin is badað is loscdað ecc at-batator abbus a mic Domnall is Ferghus.	
8	Rawl.B.502	Baetan mac Muiredaich maill. et Eochuid mac Domnaill do rocratar i Temraich. la Cronan mac Tigernaich.	‘Baetan son of gentle Muiredach and Eochaid mac Domnaill fell at Tara at the hands of Cronan mac Tigernaich’.
	UM	Domnall mac Muireadaigh maill 7 Eochaid mac Domnaill da thoitedar a Teamhraigh la Cronan mac Tigernaigh	
	BB	Baedan mac Murcertaigh moill 7 Eochaid mac Domnoill do rocradar i Temraigh la Cronan mac Tigernaig	
	Ó Cléirigh Book	Baedan mac Muirceartaigh mhoill et Eochu mac Domhnoill at-rochradar a Temhraigh la Cronan mac Tighernaigh.	
9	Rawl.B.502	Dorochair Colman Rimid la Locan didna dinnim ec atbath na thich trelmach. mo chara Aed Uairidnach	‘Colmán Rímid fell by Locán, poor protection; the death that died, in the weaponed house, my friend, Áed Uairidnach’.
	UM	Adrochair Colman Rimidh la Locan diamh dha dafnigh eg adbath na thig trealmach mo cara Aedh Uairidhnach	
	BB	Dorochair Colman Rimhidh la Logan dilba ndhinim dec atbath na thigh trelmach mo chara Aedh Uairidhnach	
	Ó Cléirigh Book	At-rochair Colman rimhe la Locan diolmain dibhe ecc at-bath na toigh trelmach mo chara Aedh uairidhnach.	
10	Rawl.B.502	Suibni mac Fiachna fuair gail. rommarb Congal mac Schandail do fuit Fergal flaith Daire. i cath erlam Almaine	‘Suibne mac Fiachna found a wound, he whom Congal mac Scandail slew; Fergal, lord of Derry, fell in the swift Battle of Almaine’.

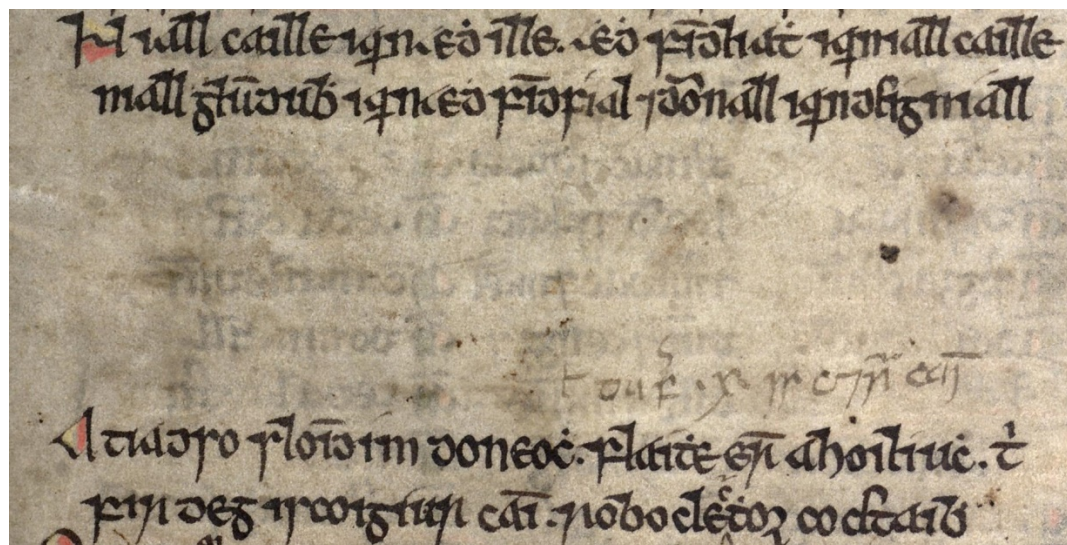
	UM	Suibni mac Fiachra fuair gail da mharb Conghal mac Scandail adbath Fergal fi flaith Dairi a cath earlamh Almhaini	
	BB	Suibne mac Colmain fuair ghail ro marb Suibne ³¹ mac Scandail marbtar Aedh Allan na fleadh i cat mal Maighi Seredh	
	Ó Cléirigh Book	Suibne mac Fiachna fuair goil ro marb Conghal mac Scannail at-bath Fergal flaith Doire a ccath adbal Almhoine.	
11	Rawl.B.502	Marbthair Aed Allain nan haed. i cath mall Maigi Seired marb Niall Frossach na fleidi. ar lar Ia na ailithre	‘Áed Allán, of the fires, died in the gruelling battle of Mag Seired; Níall Frossach, of the feasts, died on pilgrimage in Iona’.
	UM	Marfar Aedh Allan na flead andsa cath a Muigh Seireadh marbh Niall Frasach na fleighi ar lar hI ga oibitri	
	BB	Marb Niall Frassach na fleidhi for lar hi iar n-oilitre adbat in rig i Sliabh Fuaid Aed Ornide nir bhan shuairc	
	Ó Cléirigh Book	Marbthur Aedh allan na bfledh a ccath mall mhuighe Seiredh marb Niall frosach na fleidhe for lar h-I iar n-oilithre.	
12	Rawl.B.502	Atbath in ri i Sleib Fuait Aed Oirdnidi nar ban suaircc ro bo bainne do cheill chain. badud Neill fledach hi flich	‘The king died in the Fewes, Áed Oirdnide, noble, pale, and pleasant; it was a flood-tide that smothered fault, the drowning of feastful Níall in water [?]’.
	UM	Adbath in righ a sleib Aedh Oirdnighi nar ban shuairc dabadh bairdi da ceill cairn marbad Neill Cailli a Gallainn	
	BB	–	
	Ó Cléirigh Book	Fuair a oided a sliab Fuaid Aed oirdnide nar an-shuairc robadh bainne co ceill cairn badad Neill caille i Callainn.	
13	Rawl.B.502	Hic Druim Inasclaing na n-ech. atbath Aed Findliath fichtech i cath Atha Cliath forclud. dorochair Niall glan Glundub.	‘At Dromiskin of the horses died Áed Findliath of scores; in the Battle of Áth Cliath, an enveloping shelter, fell clean Níall Glúndub’.
	UM	Ag Druim Eineasclaind na n-each adbath Aedh Findliath	

³¹ gl., in same hand (?): ve| Congal

		a cath Atha Cliath for clodh ad <u>ro</u> chair Niall glan Glundubh	
	BB	Ig Druim Findasclaind na n-ech adbath Aedh Findliath fich teach i cath Ata Cliath for clud do rochair Nial glan Glundubh	
	Ó Cléirigh Book	Ag druimh Innasglaing na n-ech do tuit Aedh finnliath fich tech a ccath Atha cliath na ccludh at-rochair Niall glan glundubh.	
14	Rawl.B.502	At bath Domnall h-oa Neill. ar lar Aird Macha mag reid ba ferr in <u>da</u> s oc Boín bi. in bas do <u>ch</u> oidh in cetri .cet.	‘Domnall úa Néill died in Armagh, a gentle plain; it was better than, at the viscous Boyne, the death that came to the first king’ [i.e. Muirchertach mac Erca q. 7 ³²].
	UM	Ad rochair Domnall o Neill ar lar Ard Mhacha mhaigh rei ca fearr nas ag Boind dabhi inbas clachoidh an ceidri Ceidri rogab erenn uill	
	BB	Ad bath and Domnall o Neill for lar Ard Macha a maigh réigh ba fearr nas ac Boind bi in bás do choig in ceitri. Ceit righ Erenn	
	Ó Cléirigh Book	At -bath Domhnall .h. nair Neill for lar ard Macha maigh reidh ba ferr inas ag Boinn bi an bas do-choidh an ceidri. Cedri	

³² For Muirchertach mac Erca’s death at Cleitech, by the River Boyne, see ‘The Death of Muirchertach mac Erca’, ed. and trans. by Whitley Stokes, *Revue Celtique* 23 (1902), 395–437; *Aided Muirchertaig meic Erca*, ed. by Lil Nic Dhonnchadha, Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series 19 (Dublin: DIAS, 1964); Máire Herbert, ‘The Death of Muirchertach mac Erca: a twelfth-century tale’ in *Vikings and Celts: Proceedings of the Fourth Symposium of Societas Celtologica Nordica*, ed. by Folke Josephson (Göteborg: Göteborgs Universitet, 1997), pp. 27–39.

12.2: The gap in *BB*'s text



BB, fol. 49^{ra}34–38 (Cetrí ro gabh Éirinn uili', qq. 5–6).

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Appendix 13: 'Conall cuingid clainne Néill'		
See: 4:2.1.3		
q.	<i>Fen.</i> , saec. XVI, fol. 39 ^{rb} 1–48 ^{va} 32; Hennessy and Kelly (ed. and trans.), <i>Book of Fenagh</i> , pp. 312–415.	Rawl.B.514, saec. XVI, fol. 61 ^r 1–66 ^v 16.
1	Conall cuingid cloinni Neill, tainig a Temraig taibreid, d'athe a fhalad is tir thuaid, ar chuicid Ulad armcruaid.	Fland Mainistrech <u>cecinit</u> Conall cuingidh cloinde Neill. tainic a Temra taibreidh. d'aithe a fhalad sa tir thuaid. a cuicedh Uladh arm ruaidh
2	Ro bris Conall coicait cath ar tocht a Temraig amach. Nir brised air, ba rath noll, cath na cliathach, na còmlonn.	Do bris Conall coiga cath. ar techt a Temraig amach. nir brisedh air farath oll: cath no cliathach no comland
3	Ni dernad olc fri duine, do chlannaib Neill meit bloide, nach ris do chosaitfid soin, re Conall nglonnmer ngulbuin.	Ní dernad olc re duine. do clannaib Neill med mbloidhe. nach ris do cainedh sin. re conall. ngasta ngulban
4	Ni dernadh olc re charaid, Conall rigda a ro tabairt, ise a bunad, borb a blad, nach cend curad rosicfad.	Ni dernadh olc re charaid. do Conall rigda an rath a mhairc. nach e a bunadh borb a blad. nach cend curad do.ícfad
5	Nir dam Conall coir na cert do bidbaid, ba rigda in recht, acht sloig do dith a doman 'sa crich uili d'fholmugad.	–
6	Nir dam cert man tir atuaid, no gur cosuin hi co cruaidh; ar na cosnum nir ceim fann, ronnais co feigh a ferann.	Nir gab cert iman tír thuaid. no cor co isain í go cruaidh. ar na cosnamh ní feidhm fann. rannais co feigh an ferann
7	Leth do fein ruc as ga chert, daig is leiss tangus in fecht; leth da braithrib gairdi gal, do Chairpre, d'Enna, d'Eogan.	Leath do fen ruc as cech cert. doigh as lais tancus ar fecht. leth do braithrib gairce ngal do Cairpri dhEnna is dEogan
8	Forba Eogain ardomtha, o Sruib Broin go glais nEnncha. Ferann Enna siar arsin, co Bernas mor, co Sruthail.	Cairbri fris aniar miadh ngal. Enna etarra as Eogan. Ferghas as Boghaine balc. ris atuaid a dha degh mac
9	Cairpri fris aniar, miad ngal; Enna eturra is Eogan; Fergus is Boguine balc, ris atuaid, a da deg mac.	Forba eogan iar motha. o Shruib Bruin co glais nEncha. ferand Enna siar arsin. go Bernus mór go Sraithair
10	Cuid ig Conall fein don roind, teora fuind crichi Conaill; o Fertuis co Dobar ndil; odta Dobar co hEidnig.	Cuid ag Conall tiar don roinn. teora fonn tire Conaill. o Firsaid co Doghar ndil. a do Dhogar go hEidhnich
11	Ota Eidnig ni slicht cam, co roich fodes co Cromchall; o Bernas gan taisi threb, co Ros itir da inber.	A do Eidhnich ni slicht cam. co roich budh deis co Caenchall. o Bernus can taisse treb. go Ross itir da inber.

12	Roind Cairpre siar arsin sloind, no Fanglais a tir Choruind. Amlaid sin, nir bo cranna, fodlaiset a bferanna.	Lé Cairpri síar arsin sloinn. co Findglais cen tair Corainn. amlaid sin ní cuird cranda. foghailset a feranda
13	Ocht meic Neill ba tren a tres; Cethrar thuaid dib, cethrar thes; Maine thes, Laoguirí arsin; Conall Cremthuinne is Fiachaid.	Ocht mic Neill ba tren a thres . Cethrar thuaid dib cethrar tess . Maine tes Loeghaire arsin . Conall Cremthaine as Fiachra
14	Enna thuaid, Eogan gan ail ; Cairpre 7 Conall Gulbuin; ge ro fhagsatt Temraig trell, nir fagsat rigi nErend.	Eogan thuaid Cairpri co mail . Enna 7 Conall Gulbain. gé do fhacsat Temra trell. nír facsad righe nErend
15	Dés Nell ocus Dathi thoir, togthar Conall i Temraig; no gur breg Laeguire lonn iasacht na rigi o Chonoll.	–
16	Is samlad siric fri snath samlad chloinne Neill ri cach; is samlad feinned re fann, samlad mac Neill re Conall.	Is samail siricc re snath. samail cloinne Neill re cach. is samail fennedh re fand. samail meic Neill re Conall .
17	Engnum Cuinn cedchathraigh chaid i Niall .ix. giallaig nertnair; gan engnum Neill caide glonn, i mac aigi acht i Conall.	Engnamh Cuind Cetcathach caidh. a Niall Naígiallaigh nert nair. ga nengnamh Neill caide an glonn. a mac aice acht a Conall
18	Lais tangatar a Temraig, Clanna Neill co nert menmain, ocus Fiachraid gan laigi; do digail a frithoide .	Leis tancatar a Temraig. Clanna Neill comnert menman. 7 Fiachra gan loicce. do dighail a degh oide
19	Muiredach mend lúaidhed gail, frithoide Conaill gulpain, ocus Fiachraig gan laige, robhe sin a ard oide.	Muiredach mend fa garb gail fri thoide Conaill Gulbain 7 Fiachra gan loige. do bé sen a ar doide
20	Cana ocus a chlann chnedach, cagad doib re Muiredach; gabsatar a dun gan fheill; marbsad frithoide Conuill.	Cana thuaidh s a cland cnedhach. cocadh daib re Muiredach gubsatar a dún gan aill. marbaid fritoide Conuill
21	Rangatar na techta soir, dinsoiged Conuill gulbain, is co Fiachraig mac Echach, is co Niall nertchrechach.	–
22	Tainig Conall reme arsin, ocht doib do deg braithrib ocus Fiachra co na chloind, co riachtatar clar Coruin.	Thainic Conall roimhe arsin. ocht do bui do braithraib agus Fiachra cona cloind. co riacht athar clar Coraind
23	Targther o Ulltoib gan fhell breth airdbreitheaman Erenn, do Conall fein gan laige, a naidhidh a frithoide.	Taircther ó Ulltaib gan feall. breth ard breithimhan Erenn . do Conall céim gan loicce. an dighail a fri thoide
24	Adubairt Fiachaid annsín ard oide Conuill gulbain , 'Bennacht ar mo dalta ndil, narap seoitt sith a enig'.	Adubert Fiachra na fled . ard oide Conaill na cnedh bendacht ar mo dalta dil narub seoitt sith aenich

25	‘Ata sith rogebainn ind, a Fhiachruig in fhuil oir fhind; m’oide beo gan cron gan chrad, a dun ’sa argain imlan.’	Ata sith dogebaind ind. a Fiach <u>ra</u> an fuil for fhind. m oide beo gan cron gan chrad . a dun gan ar cain imlán
26	‘Nocon fhuighe tusa sin, brethrechtai a Chonaill gulbain; o shlog Ulad admus baig, nochon aigenda afhaghbail.’	Nochan fuighe tussa sin . breth rechta a Conaill Gulbain o sluaig Ulad admhus baidh. ní fhuil aicnedh na fhaghbáil
27	‘Mana fhaghar mo cert fein,’ ar Conall Gulban mac Neill, ‘ ni uil bidbad ongebad cert, ar ndenam uilc rim aein fhecht.’	Mana fhaghar mo breth fen. ar Conall Gulpain mac neill. nach an fhuill bidbha on gebhad cert . ar ndenam uilc rium ain fhin
28	‘Nocho dUlltoib is nar sin,’ ar in techtairea d’Ultaib, ‘acht do Niall na tuicsi tend, d’airdrig uili na hErend .’	Nacha dUlltaib as nar sin . ar an techtaire dUlltaib. acht do Niall na tochar tend. d airdrigh oirech ais ernend .
29	O na rogab Conall coir, o Ultoib collin a sloig. Áraigh Niall air a chlainn, gan dol re dicheill Conaill.	On lor nar gab Conall coir o Ulltaib colion a slog . saruighis Niall ar a cloind. gan dul re dicheill Conaill
30	Scaruid fri Conall annsoin Conall Cremthainni a brathair, is Maine collín a sloig, is Fiacha mac Neill nert-moir.	Scarthar re Conall ann sin . Conall Cremthainn a brathair 7 Fiachra lion a shloigh . as Maine mac Neill nertmoir
31	Fuabrit scarad fris uili, Clanna Neill co med bloidhi; acht in leoman, garg a gal, Eogan mor mac a mathar.	Fobraid scaradh ris uile. Clanna Neill co méd mbloidhe . acht an loman garcc a ghal . Eogan mór mac a mathar
32	Andsin atbert Eogan oll, ‘Tam fein lin digla ar nglonn; nibath cesta ar ar cloind, misi 7 tusa, a Chonuill’.	Andsin aspert Eoghan oll. a tám fen lion digla ar nglonn. ni fhasfa c[.] ar ar cloinn. mesi 7 tussa a Conuill
33	‘Ragaid sinne libh annsin’, ar Dathi ocus ar Fiachaidh; slog somalta nach frith faill, oide is comalta Chonaill.	Racha sinde lib and sin . ard Datí 7 Fíachra . sluag somholta nach frith faill. oide as comhalta Conaill
34	Atbert Enna re Cairpri, ri oide ceim gan cairde, ‘ Ni fuigeb Conall romchar, ar smachd oide na athar’.	Atbert Enna re Cairbri. re oidi gan im cairde. ni tréiciub Conall rumcar. ar smacht oide ina athar
35	‘ M’ane a Enna, ’ ar Cairbre, ‘ sun n ag Conall gan chairdre, anfadsa ag Eogan sunn seal; meth gach seolad co sindser’.	Maine Cairpri Enna and. ac Conall gan cairde clann . an fam as Eogan sunn sal ni maith seolad can sinnser
36	‘ Raga misi ar iasacht let’, ar Laeguirí go laech nert; ‘ danuga iasacht gan fell, uait aris ort mar iarfam’.	Dora chaindse ar íasacht let. ar Laegaire co laech nert . da tuctha iasacht can faill dam uaid an tan d iarrsam
37	‘Ni tibra ’ ar Fiacha na fled, oide Conaill na corr sleg , ‘Celga Laeguirí gan acht, ni bi in rigi acht ar iasacht’.	Ni racha ar fiachra na fledh . ar oide conaill na cnedh . cealgach Laeghaire cin acht . ni bi an righe acht ar iasacht

38	‘Cuma lem,’ ar Conall caid, ‘ Cia buss ri i Temraig Fail; gidbe tir imbusa and, bid lem a rigi,’ ar Conall.	Cuma lium ar <u>Conall</u> caid. gebe bus rí ar <u>Temraig</u> Fail gebe tír an bíusa ann. bid liom an <u>righe</u> ar <u>Conaill</u>
39	‘In demin toidhecht beo a cath’, ar Laegaire collan rath; ‘Ni ro dam, a Chonuill chain, iasachd bhus fhiach dom anmain’.	In demhín toigeacht beo a cath. ar laegaire co laech rath. ni bía damh ó <u>Conall</u> cain. íassacht bus <u>Fiachra</u> <u>domanmain</u>
40	Do rad Conall gan chaire a brethir re Loigaire; co tbred do sech gach fear, in cet aisged do shirfed.	Do rad <u>Conall</u> gan caire. a breth fen do Laogaire. co tiubred do sech cech fer. iasacht an tan do iarrfed
41	Lotsat Clanna Neill fothúaid, co hor Esau rogloin Rúaid; gur gabsadar longport ann, go comnart ima Chonall.	Luidhset <u>Clanna Neill</u> budthuaid. co h-oirer Eisa ro gloin <u>Ruaidh</u> gor gabatar longport ann go <u>comnart ima</u> <u>Conall</u>
42	Tinolait Ulaid a fecht, o nar gabad uatha cert; co rangatar co hEss Ruaid, do chabair Chana clann ruaid.	Tinoilid <u>Ulaid</u> ar feacht. on ar gabadh uatha cert. go rancatar co hEis Ruaid. do cabair <u>Cana</u> crann ruad
43	Cana is Cissi na nglonn ocus Senach na saerchlann; tri rig Ulad gan laigi, tíagad ra na socraide.	Cisi agus <u>Cana na cland</u> . 7 Senach na saercland. <u>tri</u> righ <u>Ulad</u> gan loicce. ergid fana sochraide
44	Tri catha d’Ulltoib annsoin, d’indsoigead atha Senaigh; ocus oen chath don taeb thall, ro eirgetar ba Conall.	<u>Tri</u> catha dUlltaib and <u>sin</u> . dindsoigead atha Senaich. 7 en cath don taib tall. do <u>ergheatar</u> <u>am</u> <u>Conall</u>
45	Comraigít uan ath annsoin, Clanna Neill ocus Ulltai; dar ath Senaigh, dar Es Ruaid, búi fuil co fairrgi forruaid.	Comruicid iman ath andsin. <u>Clanna Neill</u> agus <u>Ulaidh</u> tar áth Senaigh tar Ess <u>Rúadh</u> . bui fuil go fairce for <u>ruaidh</u>
46	Ced la Fiachaid laechda a li, ocus da chéd re Dathi; Maine 7 Enna inmain, da cet leo san chath irgail.	Ced le <u>Fíachra</u> laech go lí. 7 da cet le <u>Dáthí</u> . Cairbri 7 Enna inmain. da cet leo sa laech irghail
47	Ced laech fri Loegaire lond, ocus ced re hEogan oll; dobhesin comlann gach fir , do tren feruib int shluaigid.	Ced laech le Laegairi lona. 7 ced le hEogan oll. dobe <u>sin</u> comlann gach do tren feruib an tsluaigh <u>sin</u>
48	Gnimrada Conuill co ngail , nir beg a esba d’Ulltaib; Cana snimach , cona cloind, do rochair do laim Conuill.	Gnimhrada Conaill Gulpain . nir becc an esba dUlltaib. Cana san ath con a cloinn. do toitset do laim <u>Conaill</u>
49	Torchair fos ri Conall soin Senach o bfuil Ath Senaig, ocus tri ced, sloindti sin, d’Ultoib ria ndol don lathair.	Do tuit fos le Conaill <u>sin</u> . Senach ó fuil Ath Senaich. <u>agus tri</u> cet sloindti <u>sin</u> d <u>Ulltaib</u> re ndul do lathair
50	Cisi ri Carroighi cruaid, o dochoid on ath fothuaid, torchair le Conall gnim ngle,	Cissi ri Carbaide cruaidh. ar teithed on áth bhotuaidh . do tuith le <u>Conull</u> gnímh ngle.

	conid uada Sid Cisi.	úadh ainmnightir Sith Cisse
51	A cathreim osin amach, a aisneis is crann folach, on chath sin Atha Senaigh co scainnir ndeirce ndegenaigh.	A caithreim ósin amach. a faisneis as crand folach on cathsin Atha Senaich. go scainnir nderg ndegenaigh
52	Cath Bernais, Cath Dobair duinn; Cath lacha Febail foruill; Cath Gairgi, Cath Srubai Broin; ocus Cath airde Eogain.	Cath Bernais Cath Dobair duinn. Cath locha Feabail fortuill. Cath Cairce Cath Sruibe Bruin. 7 Cath airde Eogain.
53	Cath Boirni, Cath Inbir uill, ocus Cath Comai chrualoinn. Cath Line co form fuil, Cath Boirni ocus Cath Belaig.	Cath Boirne Cath Inbir uill 7 Cath Comair cruad luim. Cath Line dar ferad fuil. Cath Boirche 7 Cath Belaigh
54	Cath Clochair, Cath Cnucha cruaid; Cath Macha, Cath Emna uair ; Cath Delgan dal condremne ; Cath Dean is Cath Muirthemne.	Cath Clochair Cath Cruachain cruaid 7 Cath Macha mongruaidh Cath Delgan dail condemhneath cind oiss Cath Murthemhni
55	Cath Carad is Cath Grení, Cath Cruachan, Cath Corrlébhí; Cath Cera, Cath Gallmi gloin, Cath Aidni 7 Cath Umail.	–
56	Cath Luimnig, Cath Luachra arsin; Cath Claenratha, Cath Caisil; Cath Cliach, Caith Claire, Cath Rois, Cath Eni, Cath Argetrois.	Maisten Liamhain Life lond. Siúir Beoir Berbha Alma oll. Edar aichli Derca doil. láitri sencatha Conaill
57	Maisti, Liamain, Lifi lonn, Siuir, Beoir, Berba, Alma oll; Edar, ath in Derca daill, laithri sin chatha Conaill.	Cath Luimnig Cath Luachra arsin Cath Claenratha Cath Caissil Cath Cliach Cath Clairi Cath Roiss Cath Áine. Cath Airgedroiss
58	Deich catha dib i lLaignib, in ndigail Neill nert adbail , deich catha i Mumain mar ta , is ocht catha ar Connachta.	.X. cath dib ar Laighnib. an dighail Neill nert aingidh .x. catha ar Mumhan martair . as deich catha ar Condachtaib.
59	Da cath .x. leis ar Ulltoib, mar indisit na hugdair; ro ba fecht flatha ar fianuib. A secht catha air Oirgiallaib.	.X. catha lais ar Ulltaib. amail indissid ugdair. ba feacht flatha co fíadhnaib. as .uiii. catha ar Oirgiallaib
60	Cath Temra, cath Tailten thair, ocus Cath Tlachtga taebglain, ro bris ar fearaib Mide, fris ni ragaib Laegaire.	Cath Taiiltén cath Temhra tair. agus Cath Tlachtgha taebgloin. do briss ar feruib Midhe. riss nach argabh Laegaire
61	Deich catha ocus da chet sin, ar na rim a Manistir, d'Oengus maraen is do Fhlann, ro chom in gres do Chonall. Conall cuingi.	.X. catha is dá .xx. sin. ar na rímh a Mainistir. d Aenguss maraen as do Flann. do cum an gres do Conall Con.all. cuingid. clainne Neill.

Appendix 14: 'A liubair atá ar do lár'

See: 4:2.1.3

q.	<p>NLS Adv. 72.1.28, <i>saec.</i> XIV/XV, fol. 4^v1–16.</p> <p><i>Fen.</i>, <i>saec.</i> XVI, fols 43^{ra}19–43^{va}13; (Hennessy and Kelly (ed. and trans.), <i>Book of Fenagh</i>, pp. 358–65).</p> <p>Rawl.B.514, <i>saec.</i> XVI, fol. 63^r25–63^r41.</p>	
1	NLS Adv. 72.1.28	A liubair ta ar do lar senchus comuaige comlan do rig echtach Oilig uill, is do righ chinid Chonaill.
	<i>Fen.</i>	A liubair ta ar do lar senchus comuaige comlan do rig echtach Oilig uill, is do righ chinid Chonaill.
	Rawl.B.514	A liubhair ata ar do lar senchus comchubsnaid comhlan do righ echtach Oilich uill is do righ cinil Conuill.
2	NLS Adv. 72.1.28	Do dleisdis onoir eolaigh duit a liubair lantreoraigh agaed ata fis go cert do righaib tenda tuaisgeart
	<i>Fen.</i>	Dlestis sin onoir ndolaid, duit a liubair lantreoruig. Agat ata fis gach cert do rigaib tenna in tuaiscert.
	Rawl.B.514	Dlesdis ughdair eolaid duit a liubair lantreorigh agat ata fiss cech cert do rigaib tenda an tuaiscert
3	NLS Adv. 72.1.28	[...] tan bus righ righ Oiligh fri slogh Conaill cet gonaigh dligait tuarusul gach ain ado brughaidh go h-airdriugh
	<i>Fen.</i>	In tan bus ri ri Oilig ar sluag Conaill cet guinid dlegaitt tuarustal gach ain ota brugaid co h-airdriugh.
	Rawl.B.514	An tan bus ri Eogain ar sluag conuill cet ndeorigh tuarustal uaidh gach fir dib ó ata brugaid co h-airdriugh
4	NLS Adv. 72.1.28	In tan bus righ Conaill ar sil Eoghain gan dodaing [dlig]id in cetna doib sin o bus airdriugh e uaistib
	<i>Fen.</i>	In tan bus ri ri Conuill, ar sil nEogain ni doduing; dliged in cedna dibh sin,

		o bus airdri hé úastaib.
	Rawl.B.514	An tan bus ri Conaill ar slug nEogain gan dodhaing dliged an cetna dib sin o bus airdrigh é uaistib.
5	NLS Adv. 72.1.28	.l. ech is .l. bó .l. cloidhem .l. go is .l. sgiath comall ngle o gach righ dib dar[...]
	Fen.	Coicait ech is coicait bo, coicait cloidhim, coicait go, coicait sciath, coicait con ngle , o gach righ dib daroile.
	Rawl.B.514	Caeca ech as .l. \a/ bo. caeca cloidhem caeca gó caeca sciath caeca con ngle ó cech righ dib da roili.
6	NLS Adv. 72.1.28	Se sgeith vi cloidhim vi coin vi eich vi moghaidh vi doim tuarastal gach urrigh sin on righ bus airdrig uaistib
	Fen.	Se sceith, se cloidemh, se coin se heich, se mogaid, se doim; tuarustal gach uirrig sin, on righ bus airdri uastaib.
	Rawl.B.514	Se sceith se cloidhim sé coin .ui. eich .ui. moghaidh doimh tuarustal gach uirrig sin ond righ bus airdrigh uaistibh.
7	NLS Adv. 72.1.28	[...]judhruma a leithe sin tall gacha taisgidh in breth cam a leth sin go coir cubaidh tuarastal gach ard brughaidh
	Fen.	Cutrama a leithi sin thall, gacha taisig , ni breth cham; a leth sin cian buss cuman , tuarustal gach ard brugaid.
	Rawl.B.514	Cudramha a lethe sin tall gacha toisich ni breth cam a leth sin co coir cubaidh tuarustal gach ard brugaid
8	NLS Adv. 72.1.28	Ni dliged oirecht dib amne tar a chenn sin daraile acht sluaighedh go reim ratha is comeirge cruadh catha
	Fen.	Ni dliged airecht dib amne , tar a cheann sin da cheli , acht sloiged co reim ratha, is comergi cruad chatha.
	Rawl.B.514	Ni dlig oirechd dib malle tar a cend sin da ceili acht sluaighed is reim ratha

		is comerge cruad catha.
9	NLS Adv. 72.1.28	Slo <u>gh</u> dib ri beod <u>acht</u> gomblaid <u>h</u> ri h-ad <u>h</u> is re hin <u>nsaigaidh</u> slo <u>gh</u> eile re costud <u>h</u> <u>cat</u> <u>agus re cosgar cliadhach</u>
	<i>Fen.</i>	Sluaig dib re beodacht comblaid, re hagh is he hindsaiged; sluag eli re costad <u>cath</u> , ocus re coscur cliathach.
	Rawl.B.514	Sluag <u>h</u> dib re beod <u>acht</u> comblaid re h-agh is re hindsaiged sluag eli re costad <u>crech</u> re coscar <u>is re cliathach</u>
10	NLS Adv. 72.1.28	In tan bus righ ar Eirenn uill righ Eoghain no righ Conaill cet do gach crud <u>feidhm ngle</u> o gach righ dib daraile
	<i>Fen.</i>	In tan bus ri ar Erinn uill ri Eogain, no ri Conaill, ced da gach crud, <u>ba gnim ngle</u> , o gach rig dib daroile.
	Rawl.B.514	An tan bus ri ar Eirind uill ri Eogain no ri Conaill ced da gach crud <u>feidhm ngle</u> o cech righ dib daroili.
11	NLS Adv. 72.1.28	Aen cogar leo andis ar tus no go cumad a caemrus righ Temra righ <u>Cruachna tiar</u> cucar sin is righ oirgiall
	<i>Fen.</i>	En chogur leo andis ar tus, no co cumad a caemrus, ri Cruachna, <u>ri Cearna adchiam</u> cucu arsin, is ri Airgiall.
	Rawl.B.514	Én chocur leo andis ar tús no co cumadh a caemrus. ri Temra <u>ri Cruachain thiar</u> cuca ar sin as ri oirghiall
12	NLS Adv. 72.1.28	[as ar?] cumaid am breith do breith righraidh Leithe Cuind a leith <u>airdrig</u> Uladh cuca arsin is airdrig <u>Moghmaidh mígh</u>
	<i>Fen.</i>	<u>Mar</u> chumaid a mbreth do breth rigrad chloinde Chuind ar leth; <u>rigrad</u> Ulad cuca arsin, is rigrad mor <u>gacha cuigid</u> .
	Rawl.B.514	<u>Mar</u> cumaid am breith do breith righruid Lethe Cuinn ar leith. <u>airdri</u> Ulad cuca arsin as airdrig <u>Muman maid mhoir</u>
13	NLS Adv. 72.1.28	<u>fir</u> Erenn o tuind do tuind ar breith Eoghain is Conaill re righe <u>agus</u> gan righe

		is e sin a sen dire [...].
	<i>Fen.</i>	Fir Erenn o thuinn co tuinn, ar breth Eogain is Conaill; re rigi no gan righi is he sin a sen dine .
	Rawl.B.514	Fir Eirenn o tuinn go tuind ar breith Eogain as Conaill le righe agus gan righe as e sin a sen diri .
14	NLS Adv. 72.1.28	ein dlige <u>d</u> doib [...] ces dEas ruaidh d Oilech no neiges aen ainmugadh orro arsin ar slogh Conaill is Eoghain.
	<i>Fen.</i>	En dlige <u>d</u> doib sunn ro fes, d'Oilech is d'Eas ruaid na nes en ainmniugad orra arsin, ar shlogh Conaill is Eogain.
	Rawl.B.514	—
15	NLS Adv. 72.1.28	inand briathar do [...]gh o re Padraic is Cairnigh in da brathair gruad fri gruaidh inand buaidh inand dimbuaidh.
	<i>Fen.</i>	Inann briathra doib ga tig, or re Patraicc is Chairnig . in da brathair, gruaid fri gruaid , inann buaid inann dimbuaid.
	Rawl.B.514	Ní mo as inraid slua<u>g</u> oil<u>e</u>ch re slua<u>g</u> Eogain armdoilig na re slua<u>g</u> Conaill gan crud do reir Cairnich meic Sharain
16	NLS Adv. 72.1.28	Ni mo is raite slua <u>g</u> Oiligh re slua <u>g</u> Eoghain armgroigh na ri slua <u>g</u> Conaill gan cradh o re Cairnech mac Saran
	<i>Fen.</i>	Ni mo is raidhte sluaig Oilig re slogh Eogain armdoilig , na fri slog Conall gan chrad, o re Chairnig mic Sharain.
	Rawl.B.514	Inand briathra doib ga toigh o aimser Patraigh pendgloin an da brathair gruaidh fri gruaidh inann buaid inann dimbuaid.
17	NLS Adv. 72.1.28	aire ainm re aer uile iat o oilech med mblaidhe iar sin Oilech gan ell Temair righ tuaisgirt nE[renn]
	<i>Fen.</i>	Air ainmnigther iat huile o Oilech co mét gaili , oir is he Oilech gan fhell inat rig tuaiscert hErenn.
	Rawl.B.514	U[...] ainmnigter uili iad ó oilech med mb [...]

		oir ise Oilech gan fell Temhair rig tuaiscert Erenn
18	NLS Adv. 72.1.28	Ni sin da senchas in sluaigh Conaill is Eoghain arm cruadh is e Flann gan crad gan cair rosgrib da lar a libair
	<i>Fen.</i>	Ni sin do shenchus int sluaigh Conaill is Eogain armchruaid. Is he Flann gan crad gan chair ro scribh it lar a libair.
	Rawl.B.514	Cuid sin do shenchus an tsluaig Conaill as Eogain arm [...] is e Fland fili gan chair do scrib do lar a liubair

Appendix 15: The 'Uí Dhiarmata Colophon'	
See: 4:2.1.4, 5:2.1.4	
Material unique to each version of the colophon in <i>Lec.</i> and <i>BB</i> is marked in bold.	
<i>Lec.</i> fol. 68vb9–37	<i>BB</i> , fol. 61ra7–18
<p>Do thinoilseam tra in geinealach-sa hUa nDiarmata a croinicib na n-Geidel 7 a Saltair Cormaic hi Caisil 7 a Lebair Duine Da Leathglas 7 a leabraib Fhlaind Mainistrech 7 a Cin Droma Sneachta 7 a handalaib 7 a lebraib airisin coro theagloimsem co haeninad co n-abar sund do fhremaib 7 do bunadaib 7 do ardchraebaib coibniusa a cend 7 a n-airdrig; co mberar co Diarmaid Find mac Tomaltaig 7 co Mureadaig Muilleathan mac Feargusa 7 co Brian mac Eachach Muidmedon 7 co Cairbri Lifechair 7 co Conn Cetcathach 7 co hEochaid Feidleach 7 co hUgaine Mor 7 co hEremon mac Milid 7 co Gaedel Glas o builit Gaedil 7 co Naei mac Laimiach iar trill. Abair sund amach bodega do.</p>	<p>Ro thinoilsium in genelach hUa nDiarmada a cronighib na nGaedhel 7 a Saltair Cormaic i Caisiul 7 a Leabar Dinn Da Leatghlas 7 a lebraibh Airisean 7 a lebraibh Mainistreach a h-annaltaib go ro teglaimseam go h-eninadh go n-abar sund do fremhaibh 7 do bunadhaibh 7 do ardcaib coibneasa an airdrig 7 a n-aird ceand a m[...] berair go Diarmait mac Tomaltaigh 7 go Brian mac Echach Muidmedon 7 go Coirbri Lifechair mac Cormaic 7 go Cond Cetcathach mac Feidhlimidh 7 go Eochu Feidhleach mac Find 7 go h-Ugaine mor 7 go h-Eremhon mac Mileadh 7 go nGhaedhel nglas. Mac Niuil otat Gaidhil go n-abar sund</p>
<p>We, indeed, have gathered this genealogy of Uí Dhiarmata from the chronicles of the Gaídil and from the Psalter of Cormac in Cashel and from the book of Downpatrick and from the books of Flann Mainistrech and from <i>Cín Dromma Snechta</i> and from annals and from books of events so that I have gathered it into one place and so here is related the roots and origins and ancient common ancestors from the beginning and their high kings. So it is carried back to Diarmaid Finn mac Tomaltaig and to Muiredach Muilleathan mac Feargusa and to Brían mac Echach Muigmedon and to Cairbre Lifechair and to Conn Cetcathach and to Eochu Feidleach and to Ugaine Mór and to Erimón mac Mílíd and to Gáedel Glas, from which the Gaídil originate, and, in turn, back to Noah son of Lamech. It is now henceforth related.</p>	<p>We have gathered this genealogy of Uí Dhiarmata from the chronicles of the Gaídil and from the Psalter of Cormac in Cashel and from the book of Downpatrick and from the books of Monasterboice and from <i>Cín Dromma Snechta</i> and from annals, so I have gathered it into one place and so here is related the roots and origins and ancient common ancestors from the beginning and their high kings that are carried back to Diarmaid mac Tomaltaig and to Brían mac Echach Muigmedon and to Cairbre Lifechair and to Eochu Feidleach and to Ugaine Mór and to Erimón mac Mílíd and to Gaedel Glas. The son of Nel [i.e. Gáedel Glas], whence are the Gaídil, so it is related here.</p>
<i>LMG</i> , II, §239.13 (pp. 540–41)	
Do thinoilsiom edir tra an genealach-sa Ua nDiarmada a croinicib na nGaoidheal agus as leabraibh Cormaic is Caisiol agus a Leabhar Dúin Da Leathghlas agus a leabraibh Fhloinn Mhainisdrech agus a Cin Dhroma Sneachta agus a hannalaibh agus a leabraibh airisean go ro theagloimsiom go haoinionad.	
We have compiled this genealogy of Uí Dhiarmada from the chronicles of the Gaoidhil and from the books of Cormac of Cashel and from the Book of Dún Dá Leathglas and from the books of Flann Mainistreach and from <i>Cín Droma Sneachta</i> [...] and from the annals and books of history that we have collected into one place.	

Appendix 16: B² (AN)

See: 4:2.1.5

BB, fol. 63^{ra}1–33.Genelach Fiachrach andso do reir Flaind[Later hand:] The Hy-Fiachrach Race
of Tir-Aawley

Cúig meic la Fiacri/aich mac Eathach mac Earc Caelbúidhe is uadh Cenel Meic Earca .i. Fir Ceara ro bo leathan a ferand .i. crich meic Earca gonas tallsat Clann Briain uato in eiric Briain bo chear la Fiachra i gCath Damh Cluana. Nath Í in righ roghabh go Sliabh Ealpa. Amhalghaidh is e ro righsat fir Erenn i Sliabh aird Ioibh dianadh ainm Sliabh Cennglan Ealpa, dia fuair a brathair Dath Í gabhalaigh bas ann don tshaighit ghealan .i. saiged teind tighe tarrlaigh ainghel in coimhdhedh do tre easgaíne Formenius, righ Traigia, diaro coilledh a thor lasin righ agus ro ghuidh Formenius in coimhdhedh na beith flaithius Nath Í ní bha sia na sín go ro be sin fochand a bhais agus tuargaibhset a muindter corp in righ leo gonadh i Cruachan ro hadnacht agus ro ba in fhis do shochaidhe ca hínad and ro hadhnacht no gor faillsigh Torna Egeas dia neabhairt

Ceilis cach a Cruachu chroderg caemrigh Erenn Dathi mac Fiachra fialrigh ar muir ar tír techtas tair cach cara righ iath ro ort ar gach ni celis cac. Ceilis

Dunghal agus Flanngus Tomaltach agus Tuathal is iat sín in ceathrur da aes grada tugsadar leo corp in righ go ro h-adhnaicedh i Cruachain he gonadh uime sín. Ro laiset in cuigedh ailgi sín. Imhais ar Torna go ro faillsidhedh doibh ca baile i rraibe corp in righ conadh ann ro raidh Torna Eigeas

Ata fudsu righ pher Fhail
Dathi mac Fiachrach fri aidh
a Chruachu ro cheilís sin.
ar Gallaibh ar Gaeidhelaibh et reliqua.

Deich atha ro mebhaigne re na corp agus he marbh go riacht Erenn. At iat so na catha .i. Cath Corpair. Cath Cinni. Cath Coluim. Cath Faili. Cath Miscail. Cath Lunnand. Cath Cordhe Cath Moile. Cath Gremnis. Cath Feromhair. Ni sin genelach dleghair aisneis dia scelaibh go leir robsat ile re n-aisneis iat.

The Genealogy of [Uí] Fhiachrach here, according to Flann.

Fiachra Eathach son of Erc Caelbúidhe had 5 sons and from him stems Cenél meic Earca .i. the Fir Ceara, whose lands are broad .i. the territory of Mac Earca until the sons of Brian took it in vengeance for Brian who was fallen by the hand of Fiachra in the Battle of Damh Cluana. Nath Í is the king who conquered as far as the Alps. Amalgaid is the man the men of Ireland installed as king on high Sliab Ioibh,³³ which is called Sliabh Cennglan Ealpa,³⁴

³³ 'Mountain of Jove'; *Mons Iovis* (Mont Joux, Canton du Valais, Switzerland), whose name dates from at least Late Antiquity, is located on the Swiss-Italian border, at the Great St Bernard Pass (Ó Concheanainn, 'Genealogies', p. 4 (n. 16)).

³⁴ 'the pure-headed Alpine mountain' (?). It seems at least worth contemplating some connection with the name for the Great St Bernard Pass recorded in Classical Latin sources, *Summus Poeninus*, possibly based on a Celtic name derived from **penno*, 'head' ('cenn'): Alexander Falileyev, *Dictionary of Continental Celtic Place-names: A Celtic Companion to the Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Aberystwyth: CMCS Publications, 2010), p. 210.

when his brother Dath Í the conqueror found death by an arrow of lightning .i. an arrow of thick fire cast upon him by an angel of God on account of the complaint of Formenus, king of Thrace, when his tower was damaged by the king and Forménus asked the Lord that Nath Í's reign be no longer than that so that that was the cause of his death and his companions took the body of the king with them so that it was in Crúachu that he was buried and the knowledge that he was buried there was with the company, or until Torna Éces revealed it, when he said,

You have concealed from all, o Crúachu of the red blades, the sweet king of Ireland, Dath Í mac Fiachra, the decorous king over sea and land, who went eastwards. Each friendly king, the land that he ravaged before all, you have not concealed.

Dungal, Flannghus, Tomaltach, and Tuathal, they are the four from among the people of rank who took the body of the king along with them so that he was buried in Crúachu and was enclosed in it. The fifth laid stones there. There was vision with Torna, so that he revealed to them where the body of the king was, so that then Torna Éces said,

There is beneath you a king of the men of Ireland
Dath Í mac Fiachrach, with success,
o Crúachu, you have concealed him,
from foreigners and Gaels. etc.

10 battles were broken before the body, the body being dead, before they reached Ireland. These are the battles .i. Cath Corpair, Cath Cinni, Cath Coluim, Cath Faili, Cath Míscail, Cath Lunnand, Cath Cordhe, Cath Moile, Cath Gremnís, Cath Feromhair. Here is the genealogy that ought to be related; these thus far are clearly for narration from his stories.

Appendix 17: 'Airgialla ardmóra uaisli'

See: 4:2.2.5.1, 5:2.2

U: Egerton 90 [part of *UM*], fol. 18^{rb}46–18^{va}42

T: *TD*, fol. 36^r1–22

L: qq. 7, 8, 10, and 12: *LMG*, II, §§303.6 (pp. 6–7), 332.2–5 (pp. 70–73)

'Airgialla ardmóra uaisli' also appears in Dublin, RIA, MS 24.M.18 (607), *saec.* XIX (fol. 6^v–8^t), by Joseph O'Longan. However, this is a direct copy of U. Eugene O'Curry also made a copy from U, as our poem appears in a list of poems O'Curry transcribed in the British Museum for William H. Hudson (1796–1853), although apparently based on a catalogue found with Egerton 90. There, it is described as 'a poem by Flann of the Monastery on the history of the Three Collas'.³⁵ This copy, if it survives, is not easily locatable.

The T text has been printed by Damian McManus and Éoghan Ó Raghallaigh.³⁶ While I have used their diplomatic edition, I have not followed every reading, particularly where U (of which they make no mention) assists in deciphering T or expanding its abbreviations.

Overall, U and T contain frequent, significant variants, including in the order of quatrains. T's order seems slightly more logical so this has been followed below. L's quatrains tend to agree with T. In the text and translation below, I have included Ó Muraíle's texts of qq. 7, 8, 10, and 12 from L and made use of his translations in interpreting U and T, except where the latter contain different readings. Since U and T are clearly very different texts and their relationship is not an issue for this thesis, variants are unmarked. The poem's metre most closely resembles *Dían Midsheng* ($8/9^2 + 7^3$; $8/9^2 + 7^3$).³⁷

Preface in U

As fiadhbhraidh chneasda craed in bais dar thuit Eochaid Daimlen? Aderaid na seanachaidh gurub e Semoth mac Ceirb do fhorthaibh do marb Eochaid Daimlen athair na trí Colla. Agus is si cuis far marb se e a cinaigh Elatha mna Crindine cearda do forthaib la Eochaid Daimlein 7 gur ai sin máthair na trí Colla 7 aderad ar eli gurub i Eoleach ingen rig Alban mathair na Colla .i. mar adeir Flann Mainistrech andsa duain seo sis.

It is properly asked, what is the death by which Eochaid Daimlen fell? The traditional historians say that it was Semoth mac Ceirb, of the *fortha*,³⁸ who slew Eochaid Daimlen, father of the three Collas. And this is the reason for his death, the sin of Elatha, wife of Crindine, craftsman of the *fortha*, with Eochaid Daimlen, and so she was the mother of the three Collas. And others say that it was Eolach, daughter of the king of Alba, mother of the Collas i.e. as Flann Mainistrech says in this poem.

³⁵ 'Copy of a Catalogue in the British Museum by Eugene O'Curry', in *UCD Digital Library* <<http://digital.ucd.ie/view/ivrla:5524>> [accessed 6 May 2014]. I am grateful to Ciaran McDonough (NUIG) for bringing this to my attention.

³⁶ McManus and Ó Raghallaigh (ed.), *Bardic Miscellany*, §32 (pp. 28–29).

³⁷ Murphy, *Early Irish Metrics*, §1 (pp. 23, 48). I do not understand why Simms lists this poem's metre as *deibide* (*Bardic Poetry Database*, Poem 182 <bardic.celt.dias.ie> [accessed 15 June 2015]) and McManus and Ó Raghallaigh (*Bardic Miscellany*, p. 28) list it as *sédna mór*.

³⁸ A **foriud* (gen. sing. *fortha*) was a person against whom legal cases were brought in place of a king (*eDIL*, s.v. *fortha*). However, the Fothairt are involved in a loosely similar version of these events, recounted, in varying forms, throughout the metrical *dindsenchas* on Ailech (*MD*, IV, pp. 96–99 (qq. 19–20), 104–07 (qq. 26–31), 114–17 (qq. 46–55)), including, significantly, 'Cía tríallaid nech aisnis senchais' (2:2.2.1). This perhaps calls for the emendation of *Fortha* to *Fothairt* here in U.

The Poem			
1	U1	Oirgiallaigh ardmora uaisli eirgead umh crand craebh ruaidae fuilte fithce ar flaithe Aemhna crithre Teamra taebhuaine.	May the high, mighty, noble Airgialla arise around the trunk of the Red Branch, you who are interwoven on account of the lordship of Emain, flames from green-sloped Tara.
	T1	Airgialla ardmora uaisle. eirgid um crann craob ruaidhe. folta fighthi ar faithche Emhna crithre Temra taobhuaine	May the high, mighty, noble Airgialla arise around the trunk of the red branch, feuds interwoven upon the lawn of Emain, flames from green-sloped Tara.
2	U2	Teiged neach da fiabhraiche d eolcaei in sheancas beag buadachsa anmanna tri mac n-Eachaid Daimhneill na n-arm corr gergruadh gasda.	'One went to seek from the expert the small, triumphant knowledge of the names of the three sons of Eochaid Daimhleinn of the slender, sharp-cheeked, valiant weapons.
	T2	Teid neach da fiarfraiche dh eolcha[ib]. in sencas beg buadhach sa. anmanna tri mac Echach Doimlen. na n-arm ccoilgech cruad gas{da}	One goes to seek from the learned the small, triumphant knowledge of the names of the three sons of Eochaid Daimhleinn of the bristling, hard, valiant (?) weapons.
3	U6	Na tri Colla cait a rucha? Raied ribh [sun]na seancaidh[e]. Ca hainm dabhi ar a mathair gusna fathaibh far craidhe?	The three Collas, where were they born? The historian responds to you here. What was the name of their mother, with the reasons for her offence?
	T3	Na tri Colla cait a rugtha? Radhaid sunna senchaide. Ca hanmann bhos for a mathair. gusna fathaoibh er craithe?	The three Collas, where were they born? The historian speaks here. What was the name of their mother, with the reasons for her offence?
4	U4	Ca ferand do gabh gach aenfhear dona fialaibh forasda ce da thog in triar n-ard {n-}amhail gusna rannaib rogasda	What land did each one take for the steady kinsmen? What did the high trio take thus through the most cunning divisions?
	T4	Ca feronn do ghabh gach aoinfer. dona fialuibh forasda. Cia thuargaibh in triar n-ard amhail. gusna rannaib {..} ghasda	What land did each one take for the steady kinsmen? What did the high trio take thus through the [most] cunning divisions?
5	U3	Cath anmanna da bidar orro ar na macaibh mhilita sul du gortha dib ni Colla os druim droma diregra?	What are the names that were upon them upon the martial sons before they were instead named 'Colla', on the back of the matchless hill?
	T5	Cia na hanmanna badar forra na meic mhera mileta. ria siu do gairthe dhiobh Colla. for thuinn droma di{n}fregra?	What names were upon them the furious martial sons before they were named 'Colla', on top of the matchless hill?

6	U5	As dim dleagar a fhasneis dona briathraibh bindnisi a n- <u>imth</u> us tar mhBoinn mear glais as coir an eolas dinnisi[n].	I ought to narrate concerning it from the melodious words, their adventure over the grey, spirited Boyne it is true, the knowledge that we relate.
	T6	Is uaimsi dleghar a n-aisneis. tresna briathraibh binn eisi. a n- <u>iomth</u> us ag Boinn na mbeol as. coir {an} eolas dinnisin	I ought to narrate concerning them via the melodious words, their adventure at the harboured Boyne it is true, the knowledge that we relate.
7	U7	Oileach ingen airdrig Alban mathair na ngeg nglan ordha Eochaid Daimhneill ainm a n-athair do teand catha comora.	Oileach, daughter of Alba's High-King, mother of the pure, golden scions. Eochaid Daimlein, the name of their father, who won battles of great magnitude.
	T7	Aileach ingen airdriogh Alban. mathair na ngeg nglan ordha. Eochu Doimlen ainm in athair. do t{h}end catha comora	Oileach, daughter of Alba's High-King, mother of the pure, golden scions. Eochaid Daimlein, the name of their father, who won battles of great magnitude.
	L1	Oileach, inghean airdrigh Albon mathair na ngéug nglanórdha; Eochaidh Doimléun ainm a n-athar do teand catha com-móra.	Oileach, daughter of the high-king of Alba was the mother of the pure-golden limbs; Eochaidh Doimhléun was the name of their father who won very great battles.
8	U8	Caemhdas mac Seag/d/a fa Ulltaib dabi a dhalta a targere do thog Colla Uais os feaghaibh ar Loch Feabail n-ainglige.	Caemdas (?), son of Seagda, among the Ulaid, his fosterson was in a prophecy; he brought up Colla Uais, above the treetops, by angelic Loch Foyle.
	T8	Uais saormac Seghmuine dhUlt{aib}. do bhi a dhalta a ttairngire. togbhus Colla Uais os fhedhain. ar Loch Febail {aenglet}	Uais, the noble son of Seghmuine of the Ulaid, his fosterson was in a prophecy; he brought up Colla Uais over a company by Loch Foyle of the single grazing (?).
	L2	Úais, saormhac Segmhuine do Ulltuibh, do bhi a dhalta i ttairngire; togbhuis Colla Úais ós feadhuin ar Loch Fheabhuil ainglidhe.	Uais, the noble son of Seaghmuine of the Ulaid, his fosterson was in a prophecy; he raised up Colla Uais over a company on angelic Loch Feabhail.
9	U9	Gu rig Oileach fri rind ruca na fir sin gu find Eamhain ag folaimh shnama doibh tair[i]s tar loch radhais rind amail.	By the king, Ailech, by force, gave birth to those bright men of Emain; in a rash act of swimming by them across it, across the loch, he thus offered force. (?)
	T9	Ag ruadh Aileach raoilenn. na fir sin a finn Emain for chairthibh snama doibh tairis. ar Loch rades rinn Febail	At the birthing by Ailech of the palace of those men by the fair one of Emain; upon the pillar-stones of swimming by them across it upon Loch Febail that offers force. (?)

10	U10	Mend modornd mac rig Maland fa dimsach a dhoreagra do thogaibh Colla Mend Macha do teand catha croibderga.	Mend, the quick fist, the son of the king of Mála, ³⁹ his bad reply was arrogant, he who brought up Colla Mend of Macha who forces red- clawed battles.
	T10	Menn modhairne mac righ Malann. ba diomsach a dhofregra. s e tuargaibh Colla Menn Macha. do thent catha croderga	Mend, of the quick fist, the son of the king of Mála his reply was arrogant; it was he who brought up Colla Mend of Macha who forces blood-red battles.
	L3	Meann Moghairne, mac righ Malann, ba diomsach a doifhreagra, as se tuargaibh Colla Meann Macha, do theann catha croidhearga.	Meann Moghairne, son of the king of Mála, ⁴⁰ arrogant was his bad reply, it was he who set up Colla Meann Macha [and] encouraged blood-red battles.
11	U11	Colla Uais eir uaisli togail fuair in rig[e?] gan rolaige Colla Meand fa h-ainm da braithair do gnathi a glanidi.	Colla Uais, on account of noble upbringing, he seized the kingship (?) without great weakness; Colla Mend was the name of his brother: you are familiar with its transparency (?).
	T11	Colla Uais ar uais da thogbail. ar in rí gan rolaige. Colla Menn dob ainm da brathair. do gnathaig a ghlanoide	Colla Uais, on account of the nobleman who raised him on account of the king without great weakness; Colla Mend was the name of his brother; he was familiar with his pure youth.
12	U12	Colla Da Crich crich ro chosain re sluag n-Uladh n-ollbladach do marbsadar Feargus a Fadgha ar madh cadhbha comromach.	Colla Da Crich, who defends land, before the hosts of the most noble Ulaid, when he slew Fergus from Fadga in a beautiful (?), contentious deed.
	T12	Colla Da Crioch crich a righsat. re sluag nUlad n-ollbhladhach da ro mharbhsadar Ferghus Fogha. ar modh coba comramach	Colla Da Crich, whom lands make king, before the hosts of the most noble Ulaid, when he slew Fergus Fadga in a beautiful (?), contentious deed.
	L4	Colla Da Chríoch críoch do rioghsan re sluagh nUladh n-ollbladhoch, da ro mharbhsan Fearghus Fogha ar Magh Cobha comramhach	Colla Dhá Chríoch ruled over the territory before the host of the very famous Ulaidh [arrived], when he killed Fearghus Fogha on contentious Magh Cobha.
13	U13	B iad ced anmandha na Colla dar teast Tailltin tuiribeach sinni ag {san}igae na saer snaigaemh Aed, Cairill is Muredach.	These are the first names of the Collas who possessed famous Tailltiu, we are distinguishing the noble genealogy, Aed, Cairell and

³⁹ I am not aware of this polity, but, since both Ó Muráile and McManus and Ó Raghallaigh read the T and L texts this way, I have adopted their interpretation in U. It could perhaps relate to Malin (Málainn), in Inishowen (Co. Donegal).

⁴⁰ I cannot find any record of a polity of this name so have retained my own translation.

			Muiredach.
	T13	Ba hiad <u>ce</u> t <u>an</u> ma ⁿ na na cColla. do <u>teac</u> ht <u>Taill</u> tin <u>tuire</u> dach misi ag saigid a sil <u>sain</u> <u>seng</u> h <u>Aod</u> h <u>Caire</u> all <u>Mure</u> d <u>h</u> ach	These are the first names of the Collas who possessed pillared Tailltiu, I myself am seeking their distinct, particular lineage, Aed, Cairell and Muiredach.
14	U14	Muire <u>dh</u> ach Colla Da caem Crich as Aed Macha Meand mo <u>ch</u> aite Cairill air Colla Uais Em <u>h</u> na do luaigh <u>seal</u> b <u>h</u> a so <u>ch</u> aige	Muiredach [is] fair Colla Da Crich [Colla] Meand of Macha is Aed of the great resolution Cairill [the name] for Colla Uais of Emain who transports many herds.
	T14	Muire <u>th</u> ach Colla Da Cr <u>ic</u> h cairb <u>th</u> each Aod <u>h</u> Colla Menn motaighi. Caireall fo <u>r</u> Cholla Uais Emna. do gluais sealb <u>h</u> a so <u>ch</u> aige	Muiredach is Colla Da Crich, the chariot-fighter, Aed is Colla Menn of the greater house Cairill [the name] for Colla Uais of Emain who moves many herds.
15	U15	Ag sin dib seancas na saercland do ger <u>an</u> glan aistreach mar do cuala me in cland cliarach le Fland miadach Mainistreach.	Here, for you, is the history of the noble offspring that cuts short the complete journey as I heard from the poet-frequented son, from the noble Flann Mainistrech.
	T15	As e sin senu <u>s</u> na saorclann. fir na gaolcrann nglain es <u>cre</u> ach. mar do cualus in chlann cliarach. re Flann miadach Main <u>e</u> is <u>dr</u> ach	Here is the history of the noble offspring men of the narrow branches of the pure growth as the poet-frequented sons heard from the noble Flann Mainistrech.
16	U18	Mait <u>h</u> e na fear mor a ginal o f <u>bh</u> reim <u>h</u> gusna rigclannaib <u>h</u> fir da m <u>hb</u> her <u>th</u> a fin afra sluing do <u>th</u> sil cas Cuind Cet <u>ca</u> thai.	The nobles of the men, great their tribe, equal from the root with the royal offspring, the men who carry their lineage (?) from the tangled seed of Conn Cétcathach.
	T16	Maithi na meic mor a <u>bh</u> fine. urraim riam ga ré <u>dh</u> chlannaib <u>h</u> . fir le m <u>ber</u> thi fion as <u>fra</u> sloing. do <u>sh</u> il cas Cho <u>inn</u> Cet <u>ca</u> th <u>ai</u> ch	Good the sons, great their kindred perpetual respect among their fellow offspring, the men who carry their lineage (?) from the tangled seed of Conn Cétcathach.
17	U17	Ulltaigh dinsadar Eirind a crae <u>br</u> uid <u>h</u> in catha <u>ic</u> he robo leo leath Cuind gan cinaith le Tu <u>in</u> d m <u>B</u> iraigh m <u>h</u> bracaig <u>h</u> e.	The Ulaid sought Ireland from the battler's Red Branch, theirs was Leth Cuinn without crime along with Tonn Birraigh forever (?).
	T17	Ulaid do in <u>ns</u> aigh <u>sed</u> Eire. a cra <u>ob</u> hruaid <u>h</u> na cathaighi rob <u>u</u> d leo leth <u>Co</u> inn gan chionnid <u>h</u> . go To <u>inn</u> m <u>B</u> iorraigh m <u>br</u> ath <u>ch</u> aig <u>e</u>	The Ulaid sought Ireland from the battler's Red Branch, theirs was Leth Cuinn without crime, as far as Tonn Birraigh forever (?).
18	U16	Meic Eathach dindsadar Ulltaigh gersat ramra ruuda da gabsat mag minad Macha na tri catha curata.	Eochaid's sons sought the Ulaid, they cut down the thick woods, they took Macha's fertile plain, the three battle-heroes.
	T18	Meic E <u>ch</u> ach do fogair Ullta.	Eochaid's sons, who incited the

		robsad remra rugatta. do ghabhsad Madh minseng Macha. na tri catha curata	Ulaid, they were the thick woods who took Macha's fertile, noted plain the three battle-heroes.
19	U19	Da iarsat na fir ar Feargus dobo cheim tar gnathugu deabaigh doibh fa mur Meadba no Dun Eamhna dfasagudh.	The men sought for Fergus, the approach was by protocol, battle among them below the wall of Medb or to desolate the fort of Emain.
	T19	Do shirsed na fir air Ferghus. feidm gan gnaoi re gnath sholad. deabaigh doib sin fa mur Meadba. no Dun Emhna d fasoghudh	The men sought for Fergus an undertaking without beauty with customary success battle among them below the wall of Medb or to desolate the fort of Emain.
20	U20	Do radad catha na Colla dar greach badba a breachdhoire fa feart a nUllaigh a meirilli gu ceand Seimhni seactmaine.	The Collas give battles over which the crow screamed from the variegated oakwood; their plundering was a wonder among the Ulaid for a week, as far as Seimhne.
	T20	Do radadh cath dona Colla{ibh}. gur sgrech badhbh a breacdhore. laiter Ulaid da fod seilbhe. go cend Seimhne seachtmuine	Battles were given by the Collas so that the crow screamed from the variegated oakwood the Ulaid are roused throughout their domain as far as Seimhne, for a week.
21	U21	Adubairt riu smaiergand smaergadh oglach Fearguis Fodhaighe curthear mhise gu Tuind Tuaighe bhú me in Cuaille cothaitce	He said to them "The scanty marrow has been smeared" (?), the warrior of Fergus Fadhga, "I am dispatched to Tonn Tuaighe, I was supported in Cuaille".
	T21	Go nérbhairt riu smirdhonn smirdha. draoi Ferghusa fholtaighthi. beiridh mhisi go Toinn Tuaighi. bud me in Cuaille cohaiti	So he said to them "The smeared brown-marrow" (?), the druid of Fergus of the rich hair, "it carries me as far as Tonn Tuaighe, I was supported in Cuaille".
22	U22	Trian leis do clannaibh Neill nertmair fa o Colla gloim dheraibh trian do Connachtaib na fhuaille trian gach n-uaire d'Oirgiallaibh	A third, in his opinion, to the sons of mighty Niall that was from Colla, a shout that obstructs (?) a third to the pride Connachta a third, each time, to the Airgialla.
	T22	Trian leis do chlannaib Neill nertmair. dona Collaibh clann mhianaigh. trian do Connachtaibh na uaille. trian gach uaire dAirgiallaibh	A third, in his opinion, to the sons of mighty Niall, from the Collas, offspring of a vein of ore a third to the pride Connachta a third, each time, to the Airgialla.

Appendix 18: 'Scela cluana na clog mbind'

See: 4:2.2.5.2

UM, fol. 56^{ra}1–19.

According to the coloured initials in *UM*, q. 8 should begin 'Is se scribha [...]' (line c, as divided below). I have imposed a division that allows four- line quatrains, plus *dúinte*, to be maintained. The metre appears to be *deibide*-type, with irregular cadences.

1	[...] a gach tead <u>l</u> ach Padraig tug do Tigern <u>a</u> ch.	[...] from each household that Patrick gave to Tigernach.
2	Tri fuind dob andsa leis riam dar theasail thair agas thiar as meba <u>r</u> lium ara n-eis a frital iss a faisneis	The three lands that were ever dear to him, that he warmed (?), east and west. I remember them afterwards, their interpretation and their story.
3	In cnoc an ngabtha in gloir ag molad in naem naem og. ard na n-aingeal naema in smacht. is rileg coir co comn <u>a</u> t	The hill in which he assumed glory, the pure saint at the holy praising; the height of the angels, the saints of the kingdom. It is firmly a fitting tomb.
4	Se min <u>n</u> a Ailligh amra do ca <u>r</u> mac Cairbri calma. ceolan muille naema in ball. in clog ban is in bacall	Six treasures of splendid <i>Ailech</i> that the heroic son of Cairbre loved; the handbell, the holy mills, the limb; the pale bell and the staff.
5	In dubh <u>u</u> nach Ronan reidh sin aithe roim er fein cath <u>b</u> arr Martan fa maith sging scrin Padraig moir mac Alpraind	The <i>dubánach</i> of peaceful Ronán in repayment for his own noble settlement. The helmet of Martin was good clothing, the shrine of great Patrick son of Calpurnius.
6	Tigernach mac Cairbri caith meic Enna meic Fergus ain meic Luain meic Briuin go mbloid meic Eochaga aird echna <u>id</u>	Tigernach son of Cairbre of battle, son of Enna, son of bright Fergus, son of Luan, son of landed Brion, son of lofty, violent Eochaga.
7	Mac Daire Baire na mbeand meic Cathair airdrig Eirind gilfh <u>i</u> ach foll a Fearnmaigh. genelach trom Tigerna <u>id</u> .	Son of Daire Barrach of the mountains, son of Cathair, high king of Ireland; the white raven of opportunities (?) from Fernmag: the great genealogy of Tigernach.
8	berar in duan sa maseach gu Fland miadach Manistrech Is se scribh <u>a</u> do dena mar do sil in soiscela Scelu cluana na clog mbind	May this beautiful song be carried to the honourable Flann Mainistrech; these are the territorial divisions that he [Tigernach?] drew, as he spread the Gospel. Tidings of the meadow of the sweet- sounding bells.
9	Dallan Forgaill is se m'ainm Tigernach fa dear <u>b</u> a gairm me dearbas ga n[d]enam do leanbas ga prim <u>s</u> celaibh. Scela cluana na	Dallan Forgaill is my name. Tigernach, his calling was true. I am comforted by their construction (?), from infancy (?), by his foremost stories.

Appendix 19: ‘Mug Éme a h-ainm, érim nglé’	
See: 4:2.2.1.2	
<p>BL Harley 5280, fol. 75^r (marg.).</p> <p>TCD 1317, p. 31 (marg.).</p> <p>The text printed here is from TCD 1317; I am grateful to Dr Sharon Arbuthnot (QUB) for providing me with an image of the relevant page and her own transcription of the poem, of which I have made use. The translation is my own. Harley 5280’s text is difficult to read in places and partially obscured by the manuscript’s binding but what is legible seems to provide no major variants. The metre appears to be <i>deibide scaílte</i> ($7^x, 7^{x+1}; 7^x, 7^{x+1}$).</p>	
Fland <u>cecinit</u>	
Mog Eme a h-ainm, eraim ngle na cetoirci boi ind Ere Coirpri <u>Musc</u> dorat anair isse <u>ui</u> Cuind Cetchathaig	Mug Eme its name, a clear coursing, of the first lap- dog that was in Ireland. Coirpre Musc who first brought [it] from the east: he is a descendant of Conn Cetcathach.
<u>Consniset</u> imegand gartt Oillil Fland Peg is Corbmac, go tar mair cath ceid cend da airdri uille Eirend	They fought [...] Ailill Fland Bec and Cormac, the war of the first head disgracefully dragged on, two high kings of all Ireland.
Is ea cend fofuair fo neibh Con ^o ndla mac Taidg, Taidg mac Cein, conid de dobert in cend for Moen mac Edtna a desscc	This is the one that found the head, with fame, Con ^o ndla mac Taidg, Taidg mac Cein so that then he gave the head to Moen mac Etna for a dish (?).
Teitnais Moen, nirbo delm do, tria tenm lain laodo laodo conepert sell iar cene isse so cend Mog Eme.	Moen went, it was no conflict to him, through the full [...] <i>teinm laida</i> [a form of divination] so it was said, after a while, “this is the head of Mug Eme”.

Appendix 20: Taidg mac Céin’s encounters on Inis Derglocha		
See: 4:2.2.1.3 (<i>Eachtra Thaidhg mhic Chéin</i>)		
Ref. (SG)	Person.	Occupants of Hall/Role.
I, pp. 347.27– 348.24; II, pp. 390.2–391.4.	Ingen Gothniad Fir Bolg: wife of Sláinge mac Déla, the first king of Ireland.	Ireland’s pre-Goidelic kings and nobles.
I, pp. 348.25– 349.25; II, pp. 391.4–392.7.	Cessair Antediluvian: granddaughter of Noah.	Ireland’s Goidelic kings to Conn Cetcathach.
I, pp. 349.26– 352.2; II, pp. 392.8–394.18.	Veniusa Antediluvian: daughter of Adam and Eve.	Ireland’s Christian/righteous kings in the future.
I, pp. 352.3– 353.39; II, pp. 394.19–396.2.	Clidna Túatha Dé Danann: daughter of Genann.	Arms and equips Taidg.

Appendix 21: 'Aenach Teamra na n-ocht n-ech'

See: 4.:2.4.3

UM, fol. 56^{ra}27–56^{rb}20.

The division by speaker is my own, based on textual evidence, and is in no way indicated in the manuscript, other than Part 2's emphasised initial 'M' (q. 8).

Part 1: Flann Mainistrech

1	Aenach <u>h</u> Teamra na n-ocht n-each da rinn <u>i</u> Tuathal Teach <u>t</u> mar o cind is docho a ri do ainm uacht <u>a</u> r aenaigh	The assembly of Tara of the eight horses, that Tuathal Techtmar wrought; from the start it is to be expected, o king, that your renown be foremost at the fair.
2	Ni berth <u>a</u> ih ach <u>h</u> ocht n-eich fadh <u>o</u> issa n-aenach ni dib <u>h</u> ba mo dabi rig Eireann an fiadhaigh an grafaing uact <u>a</u> r aenaigh	Only eight horses were brought, for a long time, into the assembly, not by them was it greater. The king of Ireland was hunting in the foremost horse-troop of the assembly.
3	Robud <u>h</u> ocht n-each gac thiri isse sin seancas firi le rig gach cuigi miad greall a grafaing air <u>d</u> rig Eireann	There were eight horses of each land, that is the true tradition, with the king of each fifth, the dignity of grasshoppers (?), in the horse-troop of the High-King of Ireland.
4	Cormac craeb suileach cas dond cét mac rugud o Cond da bi gin gur fhagaib <u>h</u> cland .xxx. bliad <u>a</u> na nAcaill	A brown, twisting, knotted branch, Cormac, the foremost son born of Conn; although he did not obtain offspring, he was thirty years in Achall.
5	Sleact as Art mac a athar agus deag mac a mathar gu n-ebairt an draigh re hArt be eir do macsa Cormac	Offspring of Art, son of his father and good son of his mother; so the druid said to Art: “A woman for your son, Cormac”.
6	Ingen do Cond in broga bean Conaire meic Mogha dag Conaire garb garg darsat comainm Meadb Leatdearg	Wife (?) to Conn of the territory, wife of Conaire mac Mogha – good Conaire, blunt and hard – her cognomen is Medb Lethderg.
7	Miscis le Meidb Leitdeirg luind ar los Airt Cormaic U <u>i</u> Cuind nir lamad le dul amach da fecun aenaigh Teamrach Aenach Teamrach.	Hatred from fierce Medb Lethderg for Cormac, Conn's grandson, on account of Art; he did not dare, by sallying abroad, to view the assembly of Tara.

Part 2: Máel Sechnaill

8	Masa thu seanca Teamrach abair rium guro meamrach o thoirigh na mhbeach ar tus re n-airem is re n-imthus?	If you are a historian of Tara, tell me, so that it might be learned, whence came the bees, in the beginning, according to enumeration and process?
9	Ca cet filu dabi tair ar tus an aimsir Adhaim? Do sil Adhaim is raiti abair cuig cet cainti?	Who is the first poet who was in the east, in the beginning, in the age of Adam? Of the seed of Adam, it ought to be told, say who was the first satirist?
10	Ce rinnu gaeid gan cron tair ar tus ar in doman? Ce in gaid do meada{i}dead? Finnat ard-ollamhain Eireann	Who made a theft, without crime, in the east, first in the world? What was deemed to be the theft there? May the high poets of Ireland learn!

11	Cuidh <u>cét</u> easbog caem glan tairr ar tus dreich talmain? Ce <u>shil</u> Adhaimh ana ara tugud <u>cét</u> gradha?	Who was the first bishop, fair and bright in the east, first on the face of the earth? Who, of the race of Adam, thus, was first ordained?
12	Ce <u>shil</u> Adhaim fear ag [ga] n-earneam in treabadh do gabh ag dhaim ar tus tall agas da <u>sheol</u> a <u>cét</u> crand?	Who [was] the man of cows, of the seed of Adam, by whom was made the ploughing, who first possessed an ox, yonder, and steered the first plough (?)?
13	Ce ga ndhearnamh cloic[th]each cain tair ar fordreith in talmain? Ce <u>shil</u> Adhaim ni glond ga n-earnadh in <u>cét</u> teampull?	By who was built the fine roundtower yonder, on the face of the earth? By who, of the seed of Adam, no crime, was built the first temple?
14	Ce do <u>shil</u> Adhaim na leand ga n-earnamh in <u>cét</u> molind? Findat da tsheanchaid gan go ce ga n-dearnam in <u>cét</u> bro?	By who of the seed of Adam of the cloaks was built the first mill? Let them find out from the unlying historian, by who was made the first millstone.
15	Da beir-sa duit ceist maseach masa <u>thu</u> Fland Mainistreach ce ga n-dhernam gan on in <u>cét</u> fleadh ar tus ar doman?	I give you a question, in turn, if you are Flann Mainistrech! By whom, without flaw, was wrought the world's first ever feast?
16	Cread dar n-earnamh na deasci abair rium guro eisgi a Flaing a Flaing Manistreach na sreath in midhg no tailm in cet fleadh?	Of what was he making the dishes? Tell me what was conceded, o Flann, o Flann Mainistrech of the expounding, was it [the food] of fasting or of <i>talm</i> the first feast?
17	Ce ga dhearnamh ar tus teach? Abradh fos Fland Manistreach. No ce do gab tair gan on righe ar tus ar in domhan?	By whom was a house first built? Speak further, Flann Mainistrech! Or who began, yonder, without flaw, first, to rule a kingdom, in the world?
18	Ce <u>tri</u> mna agus ffear mbeand dfhuair ar tus Mis Eireann re na h-eisgaire anair re Bith agus re Ceasair?	Which three women and men of the mountains first found Mis of Ireland before the fisherman, in the east, before Bith and before Cessair?
19	Cai in duine cai in dus cai a ainm cai a h-imitus da rind ni feoil re gach neach? Abradh fos Fland Manistreach	Who is the man, what is the origin, what is his name, what is his story, he who did a deed of slaughter before all people? May Flann Mainistrech speak further!
20	Dim-sa dleagar maith mo cheist dam do radha in <u>cét</u> ceist anirn d a gnim ramra da dian dibh a dian amra.	Benefit is owed by me for my question, to speak the first question to me [...]
Part 3: Flann Mainistrech		
21	Na cruma da cuaidh fan deach a cuirp Iacob a caemteach {a?} noco ceilm ar gach neach is dib do rinneamh gach firbeach	The maggots who went, according to the verse, from the body of Jacob, his comely abode. It is not hidden from every man. It is from them that each true bee is made.
22	Mac Adhaim dabi ar miri Cain do be in <u>cét</u> fili Seth do tinlaic na tainti Cainan in <u>cét</u> cainti	The son of Adam who was enraged, Cain, he was the first poet; Seth who led the cattle; Cainan [who was] the first satirist.
23	Cainan <u>ua</u> Seth nar creid as e dorinni in <u>cét</u> goid ar caeiri fhind fa agar	Cainan, grandson of Seth, who did not believe, it is he who made the first theft of fine sheep, fearfully, that were in the

	dabi ar seilb a thana thar	possession of his plunder yonder.
24	Da ba in cét easbog caem glan airdrig nime agus talman, ise tug gradha ar tus tair ar Abel mac Adhaimh	The first bishop, precious and bright, was the High King of Heaven and Earth; it is he that ordained, first, yonder, Abel son of Adam.
25	Ag Mathasaleim na n-glond dorinead in cét teampull ag Enog, gun fir taid{bech dar}oindeadh in cét cloic{th}each	By Mathusaleh of the deeds was made the first temple. By Enoch, by the true explanation, was built the first stone house.
26	Cain mac Adhaimh in fear ag ga ndearnam {an tr}eabath da gab daim ar tus tall agus da t-sheol in cét crand	[It was] Cain son of Adam, the man of cows, by whom was made the first ploughing, who first harnessed an ox, in the east, and who steered the first plough.
27	Is ag in Cain sin na leand da rinneam in cét molind arsin muil ar brud na mal da rinni degnim don gran	It was by that same Cain of the cloaks that the first mill was built by means of the axle-wheel, by the breaking of tributes (?) he made a good deed of the grain.
28	Ag in Cain sin ní go da rinneamh ar tus in cét bro tricha bliadan ní fath fand re siu do rineadh molind	By that Cain, it is no falsehood, the first millstone, ever, was made; thirty years, it is no weak reason, before the mill was built.
29	Dim-sa dlear anois ní ceast{a a}nd d{ind}nisi mar fuilgeas in scribt gan ceas .i. fuilleis in seancas	I am now obliged to relate some problems here, just as the writing ceaselessly endures, that is, as the <i>senchas</i> increases.
30	Tri ingena Cain mir agas in t-Sheith meic Adhaim as iad fuair Eireann ar tus re n-airm is re n-imthus	Three daughters of crazy Cain and Seth, the son of Adam: it is they that first found Ireland, according to enumeration and according to process.
31	Mathasaleam fear na fleadh ga ndearnamh in cet fleadh chaigi thainig fo coir robi sin riam in cét cuilni	Mathusaleh, man of the repasts, by him the first feast was made; it came to him, as is right; his was the first ever kitchen.
32	Mhbuindhe snamamh darach duind agus caera clac ranic a gur a leasdar gan gais a dairci re caeidh cais is iad sin is nirco ra cleith do bo deasgi don cét fleagh	The flowing branch of the brown oak and the mounds of stones that reaches so that it is the vessel without sprigs; the acorns against (...?) hated. It is they, it is not concealed, that constituted the vessel for the first feast (?).
33	Ag Adhaim da roinneamh teach ase adeir Fland Manistreach arna indarbudh a partus issa luan ar {nir}bus	By Adam a house was built – this is what Flann Mainistrech says – upon his expulsion from paradise, it is on Monday (?) [...]
34	Toradh mac Esru meic Cloic in airdrig do gab Aissia Is\se/ sin is ní blad m-beand cet rig garaib cét ceithirnd agus da thilaich re cach tuarasdar ar tus do /glach\	Torad son of Esru son of Cloc the High King who took Asia: he is, it is something of the notables' glories, he is the first king who had [the] first warband: and he gave to all, the first tribute that he took.
35	Pennan mac Adhaimh gu dreoir isse dorinni in cét feoil da brathair do mill fini	Pennan son of Adam, with vigour, it is he who committed the first slaughter; against his brother, he violated his kin, against

	do Cain don in <u>cét</u> /filid\	Cain, against the first [poet?].
36	As misi Manistreach <u>m</u> hbeand Fland ar <u>d</u> -ollam Eire <u>ann</u> re Mael Seach <u>l</u> aind saer na n-each do luid <u>h</u> as issa n-aenach.	I am from Monasterboice [of the] heights, I am Flann, archpoet of Ireland, against Mael Sechnaill, noble of the horses; I entered the assembly.

Appendix 22: An intracodical network in <i>UM</i>		
See: 4:3.2		
The following table is based on work done on <i>UM</i> by Mulchrone and O’Sullivan. ⁴¹ In the table, C is Adam Cusin, and F is Faelán Mac a Gabann.		
fol. ref. (text/section beg.)	Scribe	Text and Attribution
Gathering 9		
39 ^{ra} 1	C	The Prose <i>Banshenchas</i> .
41 ^{vb} 20	C	‘Adham aenathir na ndhaine’. The metrical <i>Banshenchas</i> , mainly on women from Irish history.
44 ^{vb} 1	C	‘Réidig dam, a Dé, do nim’. Attr. Flann Mainistrech; on the world-kings.
47 ^{rb} 6	C	‘Adham ar n-athair uile’. Attr. Faelán Mac a’ Gabann; on famous women from biblical and classical history.
47 ^{vb} 6	C	‘Ceithri coimperta caemha’. On procreation.
47 ^{vb} 64	C (catchword (to fol. 48 ^{ra} 1) by C).	‘Neac genes in Domnach bidh suthain bidh soenmeach [...]’. On the fortunes of those born on the several days of the week.
Gathering 10		
48 ^{ra} 1	F	<i>Adam primus pater</i> . Synchronisms of the world-kingsdoms with Irish history, including the kings of Ireland.
49 ^{va} 1	F	‘Abrathamh et Nachor tugsad da mnai [...]’. Tract on the mothers of characters from biblical and classical history.
49 ^{vb} 7	F	‘Scota ingean Fhoraind bean Niuil máthair Gaeidil Glais [...]’. Tract on the mothers of characters from Irish history.
50 ^{ra} 38	F	Pedigrees of Christ, Mary, Samuel, and other biblical personages.
50 ^{rb} 30	F (catchword (to fol. 76 ^{ra} 1) by C).	<i>Senchas Naem Érenn</i> . Saints’ genealogies, litanies etc.
Gathering 11 (to fol. 56^{rb}20)		
–	C (?)	Missing folio.
56 ^{ra} 1	C	‘Scela cluana na clog mbind’. Incomplete; on St Tigernach (?).
56 ^{ra} 27	C	‘Aenach Teamra na n-ocht n-ech’. Flann and Máel Sechnaill’s dialogue on biblical apocrypha.
Gathering 11–15		
56 ^{rb} 20	C (and later hands)	Religious poetry and prose.
Gathering 16		
76 ^{ra} 1	G1	<i>Lebor na Cert</i> .

⁴¹ Mulchrone, *RIA Cat.*, fasc. 26, pp. 3314–56; O’Sullivan, ‘Book’.

Appendix 23: Poems attributed to Flann in <i>LGÉ d</i>	
See: 5:2.1.1	
RIA 23.M.70	
Scribe: Míchéal Ó Cléirigh	
‘Éistid a eolchu cen ón’	
fol. 29 ^f 10	D aitibh Tuaithe De Danann da rinne Flann Mainistrech (‘on the deaths of the Túatha Dé Danann, that Flann wrought’).
‘Toisich na llongse tar ller’	
fol. 44 ^{fb} 7	As do cuimhniuccudh anmann na ttoisech so do raidedh (‘It is to memorialise the names of those leaders that it was pronounced’).
‘Ríg Themra dia tesbann tnú’	
fol. 97 ^f 13–14	As d aitibh na riogh so 7 da n-anmannaib a Eochaid Feidlech go Dati cona n-athgabhail dibh airmhe [...?] (‘It is on those kings’ deaths and on their names from Eochaid Feidlech to Nath Í, with their enumeration [...?]’).
‘Suibne go sloghadh dia soí’	
[Physical lacuna]	–
‘Ríg Themra toebaige iar ttain’	
[Physical lacuna]	–
RIA D.iii.3	
Scribe: Eochaidh Ua hEodhusuidhe	
‘Éistid a eolchu cen ón’	
p. 27.4	D aitibh Thuaithe De Dhanann do rinne Flann Mainistreach (‘On the deaths of the Túatha Dé Danann, Flann Mainistrech wrought’).
‘Toisich na llongse tar ller’	
p. 40.21–22	As do cuimhniugh anmann na ttoisech so ro raidedh (‘It is to memorialise the names of those leaders that this was pronounced’).
‘Ríg Themra dia tesbann tnú’	
p. 87.12–14	As d aithibh na riogh so 7 da n-anmannaibh o Eochaidh Feidhleach go Dathi cona n-athgabhail dibh lionaibh ina ccomhairiomh do rinne Flann Mainistreach an duansa. FLANN MAINISTREACH CECINIT (‘It is on the deaths of those kings and on their names from Eochaid Feidlech to Nath Í, with the number of their full computation, that Flann Mainistrech wrought this poem. Flann Mainistrech sang’).
‘Suibne go sloghadh dia soí’	
[Omitted]	–
‘Ríg Themra toebaige iar ttain’	
p. 99.11–14	As d aithbh 7 d anmannoibh na Riogh so do raidhedh (o Dathi mac Fiachrach go Maoil Seachloinn Mór mac Domhnaill 7 righne an t-ughdar oirrderc Flann fer leighinn Mainistreach Baoitte) saoi ecna croinice 7 flidechta Gaoidheal na aimsir. AN DUAN SO [...] (‘It is on the deaths and on these names of those kings that this was pronounced, from Nath Í mac Fiachrach to Máel Sechnaill Mór mac

	Domnaill, and the famous authority, Flann, <i>fer léiginn</i> of Monasterboice, the Gaídil's master-scholar of chronicling and of poetics in his time, wrought this poem [...]').
RIA 23.K.32	
Scribe: Cú Cóigcríche Ó Cléirigh	
'Éistid a eolchu cen ón'	
p. 51.7–8	As d aitibh Thuaithe Dé Donann, amail ro chan Flann Mainistrech ('It is on the deaths of the Túatha Dé Danann that Flann sang thus').
'Toisich na llongse tar ller'	
pp. 70 ^d 27–71.1	As do cuimniughadh anmann na ttoisech 7 na n-airech sin ró raideid innso. Flann ro chachain ('It is to memorialise the names of the leaders and those chiefs this here was pronounced. Flann sang').
'Ríg Themra dia tesbann tnú'	
p. 176.27–28	As d aitibh na rígh et da n-anmandaibh o Eochaid Feidhleach co Dáthi co na n-athghabail ina n-airim do righne Flann Mainistreach an duan so ('It is on the deaths of the kings and on their names from Eochaid Feidhleach to Nath Í, with their enumeration, that Flann Mainistrech wrought this poem').
'Suibne go sloghadh dia sói'	
p. 189.21	[...] díandebairt Flann Mainistreach ('on which Flann Mainistrech said').
'Ríg Themra toebaige iar ttain'	
p. 225.11–15	As dona ríoghaibh sin ro ghab Erinn ó Dathí mac Fiachrach go Maolseachlainn Mór mac Domhnaill, dia n-anmannaibh et dia n-oidibh do righne an t-ughdar oirrdere Flann fear leiginn Mainistreach Buite saoi eagna 7 cronice 7 filidechtae Gaedel na aimsir an duan so sios ('It is on those kings who held Ireland from Nath Í mac Fiachrach to Máel Sechnaill mac Domnaill, on their names and on their deaths, that the famous authority, Flann, <i>fer léiginn</i> of Monasterboice, the Gaídil's master of study and of chronicling and of poetics in his time, wrought this poem below').
RIA C.iv.3	
Scribe: Dabhidhe Ó Dubhgeannáin	
'Éistid a eolchu cen ón'	
fol. 19 ^v 8–9	D ÁITHBH TÚATH DÉ DANANN AMAIL RO CHAN FLANN MAINISTREACH ('On the deaths of the Túatha Dé Danann, Flann sang thus').
'Toisich na llongse tar ller'	
fol. 28 ^{vb} 7–19	As do <u>choimhniugudh anmann</u> na ttoisech. 7 na n-aireach sin ro raideidh ann so. Flann ro chachain. (‘It is to memorialise the names of the leaders and those chiefs, that this was pronounced. Flann sang’)
'Ríg Themra dia tesbann tnú'	
fol. 81 ^v 12–14	As d áitaihbh na rgh, et da n-anmandaibh ó Eochaidh Feidhleach co Dathí cona n-athgabail in n-airemh do righne Flann Mainistreach an dúan so ('It is on the deaths of the kings, and on their names, from Eochaid Feidhleach to Nath Í together with their enumeration that Flann Mainistrech wrought this poem').
'Suibne go sloghadh dia sói'	
fol. 87 ^v 11	[...] dia ndebairt Flann Mainistreach ('on which Flann Mainistrech said').

'Ríg Themra toebaige iar ttain'	
fol. 108 ^v 1–5	As dona rioghaibh sin ro ghabh Eirinn o Dháthí mac Fíacrach co Maeleachlaind Mor mac Domhnaill, dia n-anmannuibh, 7 da n-oidedaibh, do righne an t-ughdur oirrderc .i. Flann fer leighinn Mainistreach Buite, saoi eagna, croinice, filidhechta Gaoidheal ina aimsir an duain shenchusa so sios ('It is on those kings who took Ireland, from Nath Í mac Fiachrach to Máel Sechnaill Mór mac Domnaill, on their names and on their deaths, that the famous authority, Flann, <i>fer léiginn</i> of Monasterboice, the Gaídil's master of studies, of chronicling, and of poetics in his time wrought this historical poem below').
The preface to 'Ríg Themra toebaige iar ttain' beyond <i>LGÉ d</i>	
UCD A.33	
Scribe: Míchéal Ó Cléirigh	
See also Edinburgh, NLS Adv., MS 72.3.1, <i>saec.</i> XVIII, p. 294. ⁴²	
p. 66.11–14	As d ainm et do bas gach righ da ndubhramar o Dháthí mac Fíacrach go Mael Seachlainn Mór mac Domhnaill do rinne an t-ughdar oirdeirc Flann fear leighinn Mainistreach Buite, saoi eagna, chroinice et fhilidheachta na nGaoidheal ria aimsir an duanso siosa. ('It is of the name and the death of each king we have mentioned, from Nath Í mac Fiachrach to Máel Sechnaill Mór mac Domnaill, that the famous authority, Flann, <i>fer léiginn</i> of Monasterboice, the Gaídil's master of studies and chronicling and poetry in his time, wrought this poem below').

⁴² McKechnie, *Catalogue*, I, 250.

Appendix 24: ‘Pádraig abb Érenn uili’ and ‘Naemsenchas naem Insi Fáil’		
See: 5:2.1.2		
‘Pádraig abb Érenn uili’		‘Naemsenchas naem Insi Fáil’: qq. 8–11
RIA C.iii.3, fol. 218 ^v 14–22 (Henry Burc’s addition).		The extract below, like all published editions of ‘Naemsenchas naem Insi Fáil’, is from Cú Cóigriche Ó Cléirigh’s Recension. ⁴³ The minor variants in the <i>BB</i> and <i>Lec.</i> texts of the poem do not affect the present comparison.
1	Pádrúig, ab Eireann uile mac Calprainn, mic Fotaide mic Deisse, nar dóigh do liudh mic Cormuic Mhóir, mic Leibriuth	Patraicc mac Calpruinn, ar tus, mic Fodáidhe, as caomhrús, mic Odis mic Cornil aird mic Liber mic Meirc morgaircc
2	mic Ota, mic Orric Mhaith mic Moiric, mic Leo in lan raith mic Maximi, mairg na sloinn mic Encretta aird alaind	Mic Oda mic Oric moill mic Muiricc mic Oirc luathloind mic Leo mic Maxim aird mic Otraig uallaigh iomgaircc
3	Mic Pílist is ferr ar aig cach, mic Fereni gan ansath mic Brittain, dobhra in mara, o tait Britain bruthmhara.	Mic Eris mic Pelist luinn mic Ferine na bferglond mic Briotain Mail, maith fir, mic Ferrchusa mic Neimhidh
4	Cochnias a mhathair malla Nemthor a bhaile bagha don Mumhain ní cael a chuid ro saor ar phuthair Pádraig.	Do shiol an Neimhidh sin tra Cruithnigh is Brethnaigh Cluada, senathair Gailian nar gann, Fer mBolcc is Tuat De Danann.
5	–	As da shiol Patraicc ro fes dlecchar dhín a shaóirshencus gen gob do shiol mac Milidh ngle, leis do naomadh ar naoimne.
Translations of qq. 4–5		
4	Cochnias was his modest mother; Nemthor his native town; of Munster not small his share, which Patrick redeemed from sorrow.	Of the seed of that Nemed, indeed, are the Cruithni and the Britons of the Clyde, grandfather of the Leinstermen who do not begrudge, of the Fir Bolg and of the Túatha Dé Danann.
5	–	It is of the seed of Patrick, it was known, it is owed by the noble history, the birth that was for the bright sons of Míl, by it was sanctified our saints.

⁴³ *CGSH*, §§662.1–642.242 (pp. 79–108) (§662.8–12 (p. 80)).

Appendix 25: *Catha Cenél Éogain*: sample entry

See: **2:4.2.1.2; 4:2.1.2; 5:2.1.3**

***BB*, fol. 48^{va}30**

Níall Caille mac Aeda Ordnite .uii. catha lais i cosnam Erenn .i. Cath Dairi Calgaidh for Gollu Cath Muighe Itha for Gollu Cath Lethe in Chaim for Ulltu agus ar na Colla dar ro tuit Cumascach agus Cellach Sluaiged la Níall co ILaigniu co tug rige do Bran mac Faelain. INdradh Midhi la Níall cetna cor loisc co Tech Maeldhog Righdhail mór i Cluain Conaire Tomain re Feidlimid mac Crimthainn ri Caisil agus Níall Caille ri Erenn Argain Fher Ceall agus Delbna Beathra la Níall cetna bathadh Neill i Callaind unde Níall Caille dicitur

Borb a talland isin tir
 olc a dhil i Callaind cruaidh
 tainic barrfind asin tsheib
 do marbadh Neill ra duinn ruaidh

Translation

Níall Caille, son of Áed Oirdnide, eight battles by him contending for Ireland i.e. the Battle of Daire Calgaid against the foreigners, the Battle of Mag Itha against the foreigners, the Battle of Leth Cam against the Ulaid and against the Collas [= the Airgialla] in which fell Cumuscach and Cellach. A hosting by Níall against the Laigin so that he gave the kingship to Bran mac Faeláin. Mide's devastation by that same Níall, so that he burned as far as Tech Máel Maedoc. A great royal conference in Clúain Conairi Tomain between Feidlimid mac Crimthainn, king of Cashel, and that Níall Caille. Níall's destruction of the Fir Cell and the Delbna Bethra. Níall's drowning in the River Caille, whence Níall Caille, as it is said:

Fierce the disgrace in the land,
 evil his end in the harsh Caille;
 the bright-cap fell from the mountain
 when dashing, swarthy, ruddy Níall was slain.

***Lec.*, fol. 59^{ra}13**

Níall Cailli mac Aeda Oirnidí .uii. catha leis i cosnam Erenn .i. Cath Dairi Calgaig for Gallu agus Cath Muigi Itha for Gullu agus Cath Lethi in Chaim for Ulltu agus arna Colla dar thuit Cumascach agus Cellach Sluaiged la Níall co ILaigniu co tug rigi do Bran mac Faelain INdrud Midi la Níall cetna cor loisc co Tech Mael Maedoc agus Chonog Rigdail mor i Cluain Conaire Tomain iter Feidlimid mac Crimthainn ri Caisil agus Níall Cailli cetna Orgain Fer Cell agus Delbna Bethra la Níall cetna Bathad Neill i Callaind unde Níall Cailli dicitur

Borb a tharand isin tir
 olc a chem a Callaind cruaid
 tanic baruind asin tleib
 do marbad Neill ra duind ruaid

RIA 23.D.17: *Ó Cléirgh Book of Genealogies*, §§430–31 (Pender (ed.))

Níall caille dano, mac uasal Aedha, et a comarba iartain. Ro mebaidset .uii. cata roime ac cosnamh Erenn .i. cath Doire calgaigh for Gallu; cath muighe h-Ithe for Gallu ; cat Leithe an Caim ar Ulltu ocus ar na Colla, du in ro tuit Cumuscach et Ceallach. Sluaiged la Níall co Laignib co tug righe do Bran mac Faelain. INdradh Mide la Níall cetna co ro loisc co tech Mael conoig. Righdal mor lais i cluain Conaire. Tomaidm eidir Feidlimid mac Crimtaind, ri Caisil, et Níall caille, ri Erenn. Orgain fer Ceall ocus Delbna ethra la Níall cetna. Bathad Neill a Calainn unde Níall caille dicitur:

Borb a tallann isin tir

olc a dil a Callainn cruaidh
tainic barainn isin tsleibh
do marbad Nell raduinn ruaidh

Ui. mic Neill caille .i. Aedh finnliath ri Erenn, Duibindrechtach (o ta clann Duibindrechtach), et Aenghus (o ta clann Aenghusa), Baedan, Muircertach (o ta clann Muircertaigh .i. Eogan mac Muiredaigh o ta clann Conghalaigh .h. Ualgartaigh), et Braenan (o ta clann Braenain muighe h-ithe), amail as-bert

Se mic ag Niall caille cain
Aedh finnliat, Aenghus arnaidh
Muircertach, Duibindrecht deach
Baedan, Braenan, Flaithbertach.

Translation of Additional Material

Six sons of Níall Caille i.e. Áed Findliath, king of Ireland, Dubindrechtach (whence Clann Duibindrechtach), and Áengus (whence Clann Áengusa), Báetán, Muirchertach (whence Clann Muirchertaigh i.e. Éogan mac Muiredaigh, from which is Clann Conghalaigh uí Mhuirchertaigh) and Braenan (whence Clann Braenain of Mag Itha), as it is said.

Six sons of good Níall Caille:
Áed Findliath, cruel Áengus,
Muirchertach, good Dubindrecht,
Baetán, Braenan, Flaithbertach.

Appendix 26: NLI G.131's superscription to 'Conall cuingid clainne Néill'

See: **5:3.1**

NLI G.131, p. 108.20–25

Scribe: Cú Cóigriche Ó Cléirigh.

Flann abb Mainistreach Buite mic Brónaigh do chum an dúansa in ro chuimhnigh gabhaltus Conaill Gulban mic Neill i ccoigeadh Uladh, et na catha ro chuir ag dioghail a oide, et amail do rann a fearonn for a braithribh Eoghan, Cairpre et Énna. As for an fFlann sin tuccadh an teistsi:

Flann a primchill Buiti binn
rinn ruiscc a mhinchinn as mall
miudhsai sidhe suighes lind
tiughsai tire tri fFind Flann.

[Later hand (?):] Aois Christ an tan at bath 1056.⁴⁴

Flann, abbot [*sic*] of the monastery of Buite son of Brónach [= Monasterboice], wrought this poem to preserve the memory of the conquests of Conall Gulbán mac Néill in the fifth of the Ulaid and of the battles that he fought to avenge his tutor and how he divided the land among his brothers, Éoghan, Cairpre and Énna. It is concerning this Flann that this evidence is given:

Flann, from the famous church of sweet-voiced Buite,
slow the glance of the eye in his gentle head.
He is a wondrous mead-scholar who imbibes ale.
Final scholar of the three Finns' land is Flann.

[Later hand (?):] The age of Christ when he died: 1056.

⁴⁴ Ní Shéaghda (ed.), *NLI Cat.*, fasc. IV, 54 (my translation). For issues surrounding the interpretation and translation of 'Flann a primchill Buiti binn', see **1:3** and **Appendix 4**.

Appendix 27: Other poets in RIA 23.K.32's <i>réim rígraide</i>
See: 5:3.1
‘Ériu óg, inis na naem’ Attr. Gilla Mo Dutu
RIA 23.K.32, p. 230.11–14 cf. LGÉ, V, §664 (pp. 412–13)
As do <u>foraithmett</u> na ríogh ro ghabsat Ére iar ccreidemh ro chan an tsaoi-senchaidh na hebraidh gaoi an duan so sios .i. Giolla Mo Duda <u>agus</u> ba habb eisidhe in Ard Breccain.
‘Ére ogh inis na naomh’
It is in remembrance of the kings that took Ireland after the coming of the Faith that the master-historian, who would not speak falsehood, chanted this poem .i. Gilla Mo Dutu and he himself was abbot of Ardraccan.
‘Young Ireland, isle of saints’
‘Ata sunn forbha feasa’ Attr. Gilla Cóemáin
RIA 23.K.32, p. 236.1–2
Giolla Caemain rochan <u>indso</u> dona rioghaibh cétna si sin. Ro gabsat righe Ereann ier ccreidiumh
‘Ata sunn forbha feasa’
Gilla Cóemáin sang here concerning the same kings. They took the kingship of Ireland after the coming of the Faith.
‘Here is the apex of knowledge’
‘Atá sunn seanchas riogh Ereann’ Attr. Seán Úa Dubhagáin
RIA 23.K.32, p. 238.13–15
Úa Dubhagáin Seán, ollam Úa Maine do chum <u>senchus</u> rioghreime Ereann isin duain si. Aois <u>Crist</u> an <u>tan</u> tathaim an tUa Dubhagáin sin 1372.
‘Atá sunn seanchas riogh Ereann’
Úa Dubhagáin, Seán, <i>ollam</i> of Uí Maine, who compiled the history of the kings of Ireland in this poem. The age of Christ when that Úa Dubhagáin died was 1372.
‘Here is the history of the kings of Ireland’

Appendix 28: <i>LGÉ d</i> : glossing on poetry attributed to Flann	
See: 5:3.3	
‘Ríg Themra dia tesbann tnú’	
RIA 23.M.70 , fol. 97 ^v 4–5 Scribe: Míchéal Ó Cléirigh	RIA 23.K.32 , p. 177.4–5 Scribe: Cú Cóigcríche Ó Cléirigh
Eochaid Airemh eraim ndaith ¹ ort a bFreainn an fíorflaith ba tiughbann ² dia righe rá la Sioghmall Sídhí Nenntá	Eochaid Airemh eraim ndaith ¹ ort i Freainn an fíorflaith ba tiughbann ² dia righe ra la Sioghmall Síde Nennta
¹ .i. bá daith no ésccaidh a érim. ² .i. bá dédhionbhann do remniugadh a ríghi.	¹ .i. ba luath nó escaid a eraim no a imrim. ² .i. ba bann deidhenach do reimniugadh a righe.
Eochaid Airem, a swift journey, ¹ the true lord died in Freman, it was the last exploit ² of his glorious reign, by Sigmall of Sídh Nennta.	Eochaid Airem, a swift journey, ¹ the true lord died in Freman, it was the last exploit ² of his glorious reign, by Sigmall of Sídh Nennta.
¹ .i. his journey was swift, or impetuous. ² .i. it was the final exploit that defined his kingship.	¹ .i. his journey, or his voyage, was fast, or impetuous. ² .i. it was the final exploit that defined his kingship.
Relevant lemmata from Míchéal Ó Cléirigh’s <i>Foclóir no Sanasan Núa</i> (1643)⁴⁵ [‘Dictionary or modern small glossary’].	
Daith .i. ésgaidh, no tapaídh no luath (‘impetuous, or quick, or fast’).	
Ra .i. réimniughadh, no ceimniughadh (‘proceeding, or gradating’). ⁴⁶	
Tiugh .i. deireadh, no deigeanach, amhail atá tiug laithe .i. laithe .i. laithe deigheanach 7 tiughchodladh .i. codladh deigheanach (‘the end, or final, as in <i>tiuglaith</i> , that is, day, that is, the final day and <i>tiughchodladh</i> , that is, the final sleep’).	
‘Éstid a eolchu cen ón’	
RIA 23.M.70 , fol. 30 ^v 15–16 Scribe: Míchéal Ó Cléirigh	RIA 23.K.32 , p. 53.23–14 Scribe: Cú Cóigcríche Ó Cléirigh
Fodla la hEttan go n-uaille la Caicher Banbha go mbúaidh cía ¹ baile a ffad as iad sin aidhedha na n-ócc esttidh. EST.	Fodla la Ettan co n-uaille la Caicer Banba co mbuaidh cía baili i ffod ¹ as iatt sin oidedha na n-ócc éistidh
¹ .i. as íad sin a mbáis, gibé hionad i bfáoiidh no ina ccomhnaighid anos, no gi bé gá mbeth fuireachrus ríu d’ecsibh	¹ .i. i ffáoiit, no i ccomnaighit, nó ci be ga mbeith fuireachrus ríu.
Fodla, by Etan with pride; by Caicher, Banba with victory; whatever ¹ place they	Fodla, by Etan with pride; by Caicher, Banba with victory; whatever place ¹ they

⁴⁵ Miller (ed. and trans.), ‘*Foclóir* [1]’; ‘*Foclóir* [2]’.

⁴⁶ *Rá* has at least two meanings (*eDIL*, s.v. rá). From *rán*, after poetic syncope of the final letter, it can mean ‘glorious’. It can also mean ‘voyage’, possibly based on an inference from *ráid* (‘rows, sails’).

<p>may sleep, those are the deaths of the heroes, hear ye.</p> <p>¹ .i. those are their deaths, whatever the place in which they are, or where they remain now, or wherever they are to be expected by scholars.</p>	<p>may sleep, those are the deaths of the heroes, hear ye.⁴⁷</p> <p>¹ .i. in the place, or in which they remain, or wherever it is at which they are to be expected.</p>
Relevant lemmata from <i>Foclóir</i>	
<p>Fót .i. faiteach ('cautious').</p> <p>Fót .i. fúireachais ('keeping look-out').</p> <p>Óc .i. fili ('poet').</p>	
'Toisich na llongse tar ller'	
RIA 23.M.70 , fol. 44 ^v 7–14 Scribe: Míchéal Ó Cléirigh	RIA 23.K.32 , p. 71.1–4 Scribe: Cú Cóigcriche Ó Cléirigh
<p>TOISIGH na loingsi tar ler dia ttangattar meic <u>Mhiledh</u> ad meamra liomsa rem la a n-anmanna gan iomarba.¹</p> <p>Donn, Ereamhon, Ébir án Ír Aimhirgin gan cleth^hrann² Colptha Airech Feabra feigh Erannan Muimne maoith^hreth</p> <p>¹ .i. gan brécc ² .i. gan claoine no gan le^htrom</p>	<p>Tóisicich na loingsi tar lear dia ttangatar meic Mileadh at memra liomsa rem la a n-anmanna gan iomarbá.¹</p> <p>Donn Eremón Eber an Ir Aimhirgin gan cleth^hrann² Colptha Airech Feabra a f^heig Erannan Muimne minreid^h</p> <p>¹ .i. cen bréicc ² .i. gan claoini no le^htrom ina breithemⁿus</p>
<p>The chiefs of the voyage over sea by which the sons of Míl came I have in recollection, during my life, their names without lie.¹</p> <p>Donn, Érimón, noble Éber, Ír, Amairgen without partiality² Colptha, Airech Feabra the keen, Erannán, Muimne of the smooth course.</p> <p>¹ .i. without deceit. ² .i. without perversion or without one-sidedness.</p>	<p>The chiefs of the voyage over sea by which the sons of Míl came I have in recollection, during my life, their names without lie.¹</p> <p>Donn, Érimón, noble Éber, Ír, Amairgen without partiality² Colptha, Airech Feabra the keen, Erannán, Muimne fine and smooth.⁴⁸</p> <p>¹ .i. without deceit. ² .i. without perversion or without one-sidedness in their judgement.</p>
Relevant lemmata from <i>Foclóir</i>	
<p>Iomarbha .i. brég ('deceit').</p> <p>Cleathramh .i. cláoine ('perversion').</p>	

⁴⁷ MacNeill and Macalister (ed. and trans.), *Leabhar Gabhála*, pp. 188–89.

⁴⁸ MacNeill and Macalister (ed. and trans.), *Leabhar Gabhála*, pp. 246–48.

Appendix 29: References to the ‘Synchronisms of Flann’ in early print and selected post-medieval manuscripts
See: LR:2.2, 6:3.1
Identifiable Citations of the ‘Synchronisms’
<i>Adam primus pater</i> (Schmidt’s S-BB and S-UM)
<p>1685: O’Flaherty, <i>Ogygia</i> [Sharpe (<i>Letters</i>, p. 412) provides a full annotated list of citations by O’Flaherty. One of O’Flaherty’s citations (<i>Ogygia</i>, p. 129), interpreted by Sharpe as relating to <i>Adam primus pater</i>, seems rather to relate to Giolla Íosa Mac Fírbisigh’s ‘Réidig dam, a Dé, do nim’ (6:2). Similarly, the citation (<i>Ogygia</i>, p. 139) of ‘Codex Lecan. fol.179a’ relates not to <i>Adam primus pater</i> but to a text I am terming the <i>Assyrian Synchronisms</i> (6:3.1.2). Sharpe omits to mention the version of <i>Adam primus pater</i> in <i>BB</i>, fols 6^{ra}1–7^{va}5, and the abridged version in <i>NLI G.6</i> (6:3.1.1).]</p> <p>1753: O’Conor [I], <i>Dissertations</i>, p. 52. O’Conor I also adds the heading ‘Leabhar Comhaimsireachda Flainn Mainistreach Synchronism of Flann’ to <i>Adam Primus Pater</i> in <i>BB</i> (fol. 6^{ra}1) (6:3.1.1).</p> <p>1814–1826: O’Conor [III], <i>Rerum Hibernicarum</i>. [<i>Adam primus pater</i> is cited too frequently in this work for a full list to be practical; some of the more detailed citations are at II, 9–11, 31 (n. 19); III, 67 (n. 1); IV, 11].</p> <p>1827: D’Alton, ‘Essay’, p. 43.</p> <p>1835: Moore, <i>History of Ireland</i>, I, 134–35 (?).</p> <p>1848: O’Donovan, <i>AFM</i>, I. [Again, the more detailed citations (of many) are at I, 74 (n. z), 80 (n. o), 84 (n. a), 105–06 (n. s)].</p> <p>1857: McLauchlan, <i>Celtic Gleanings</i>, p. 93.</p> <p>1861: O’Curry, <i>Manuscript Materials</i>, pp. 53–56, 509.</p> <p>1887: Zimmer, ‘Über den compilatorischen Charakter’, p. 681 n. 1 [via O’Curry].</p> <p>1899: Hyde, <i>Literary History</i>, p. 445.</p> <p>1914 Dineen, <i>History of Ireland by Geoffrey Keating</i>, IV, p. 346.</p>
<i>Assyrian Synchronisms</i> (= ‘Comaimser rig Asar re rigaib Erind’; Schmidt’s S-Lc)
<p>1685: O’Flaherty, <i>Ogygia</i>, pp. 129 [via Giolla Íosa Mac Fírbisigh’s ‘Réidig dam, a Dé, do nim’], 139.</p>
<i>Invasion Synchronisms</i> (= ‘Comaimserad rig in domain ocus Gabál nÉrenn’; Scowcroft’s s/Tract IV; Schmidt’s S-LG-A)
<p>1814–1826: O’Conor [III], <i>Rerum Hibernicarum</i>, IV, 86; <i>Bibliotheca</i>, I, 36.</p> <p>1835: Moore, <i>History of Ireland</i>, I, 134–35 (?).</p> <p>1861: O’Curry, <i>Manuscript Materials</i>, pp. 53–56; <i>Manners</i>, II, 168.</p> <p>1872: Skene, <i>John of Fordun’s Chronicle</i>, p. xxxi.</p> <p>1899: Hyde, <i>Literary History</i>, p. 445.</p>
<i>Provincial Synchronisms</i> (= ‘Comaimserad rig n-Erenn 7 rig na coiced’)
<p>1814–1826: O’Conor [III], <i>Rerum Hibernicarum</i>, II, 103 (n. 31), 117; III, 127, 136–37; IV, 85–86; <i>Bibliotheca</i>, I, p. 36.</p> <p>1857: McLauchlan, <i>Celtic Gleanings</i>, p. 93.</p> <p>1861: O’Curry, <i>Manuscript Materials</i>, pp. 53–56.</p> <p>1867–1872: Skene, <i>Chronicles</i>, p. xxxi; <i>John of Fordun’s Chronicle</i>, pp. xxx–xxxii.</p> <p>1922: A. O. Anderson, <i>Early Sources</i>, I, lvi.</p>

Other Citations

Non-specific or unidentifiable citations of the ‘Synchronisms of Flann’

1685: Stillingfleet, *Origines Britannicae*, p. xlvii.

1729: Innes, *A Critical Essay*, II, p. 685.

1753: O’Conor [I], *Dissertations*, p. 146.

1814–1826: O’Conor [II], *Rerum Hibernicarum*, II, 90 (n. 87), III, 119 (n. 3);

Bibliotheca, I, 35–36.

1861: O’Curry, *Manuscript Materials*, pp. 53–56; *Manners*, II, 168.

Provincial Synchronisms (without a named author)

1639: Ussher, *Brittanicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, pp. 1028–29.

1662: Ward, *Sancti Rumoldi*, p. 363.

1664: Mac Fírhisigh, *LMG* [See Ó Muraíle, *Celebrated Antiquary*, p. 237].

1685: O’Flaherty, *Ogygia* [Sharpe (*Letters*, p. 412) tacitly implies that O’Flaherty cites the *Provincial Synchronisms* as Flann’s work; I have found no such citation].

Appendix 30: The Donegal Series: post-medieval manuscripts and early print			
See: 6:4.2			
Poem	O'Reilly's Attribution ('Chronological Account')	O'Curry's Attribution (<i>Manners</i> , II)	
'Conall cuingid clainne Néill'	Flann Mainistrech/Flann mac Lonáin	Flann Mainistrech	
'A liubair atá ar do lár'	Flann Mainistrech	Flann Mainistrech	
'Atá sund senchas nach suaill'	Flann Mainistrech	Flann Mainistrech	
'Cairbre, Eógan, Énna éim'	Flann Mainistrech	Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe	
'Enna, dalta Cairpri cruaid'	Flann Mainistrech	Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe	
'Eistigh re Conaill calma'	Flann Mainistrech	Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe	
'A eólcha Chonaill cheólaigh'	Flann Mainistrech	Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe	
'Idir gach obair sgríobas'	Flann Mainistrech	Éogan Ruad Mac An Bhaird	
'Atá sund rolla na rígh'	Flann Mainistrech	[None]	
'Conall cuingid clainne Néill'			
Edition: Hennessy and Kelly (ed. and trans. [from <i>Fen.</i>]), <i>Book of Fenagh</i> , pp. 312–31.			
Printed attributions: Attr. to Flann Mainistrech or Flann mac Lonáin by O'Reilly, 'Chronological account', pp. lx, lxxvii; attr. to Flann Mainistrech by O'Curry, <i>Manners and Customs</i> , II, 161.			
Manuscript	Scribe/region	ref. (beg.)	Attribution
CUL Add. 3084, <i>saec.</i> XVII	[Donegal]	p. 144	[None]
<i>BOCD</i> , <i>saec.</i> XVII	Aodh Ó Dochartaigh	fol. 57 ^r 18	'Flann Mainistrech' [contradicted by O'Conor I]
NLI G.131, <i>saec.</i> XVII	Cú Chóigriche Ó Cléirigh	p. 108.20–25	'[...] Flann abb Mainistrech Buíte mic Brónaigh [...]' ⁴⁹
RIA B.iv.2, <i>saec.</i> XVII.	Míchéal Ó Cléirigh	fol. 53 ^[r]	'Flann Mainistrech' [contradicted by O'Conor I ⁵⁰]
RIA 24.P.27, <i>saec.</i> XVII	?	p. 25	'Flann Mac Lonáin'
NLI G.167, <i>saec.</i> XVIII	Semus Mhaguidhir	p. 41	'Flann mac Lonain' [altered by O'Curry to 'Mainistrech' ⁵¹]
Dublin, TCD, MS 1411 (<i>olim</i> H.6.7), <i>saec.</i> XVIII	Donnchadh Ó Conaill	p. 536	[None]
Dublin, RIA F.vi.2 (253), <i>saec.</i> XVIII	Micheál Óg Ó Longáin	p. 302	'File d Aoibh Néill cct. ag foillsiogha mórdhachta Chlainne Néill 7 créad rug go

⁴⁹ Appendix 26.

⁵⁰ Fitzpatrick, *RIA Cat.*, fasc. XXIV, 3024; 6:4.3.

⁵¹ Ní Shéaghdha, *NLI Cat.*, fasc. V, 9.

			cóige Uladh iad' (5:3.1)
Dublin, RIA, MS 23.G.24 (257), <i>saec.</i> XIX	Michéal Óg Ó Longáin	p. 299	[None]
London, BL, MS Egerton 163, <i>saec.</i> XIX	[?]	fol. 55 ^{r1}	[None?]
RIA 23.N.26.	Edward O'Reilly	p. 1	'Flann mac Lonain'
RIA 3.C.12 [Transcript of the <i>BOCD</i>]	Eugene O'Curry	p. 146	'Flann Mainistreach'
'A liubair atá ar do lár'			
Editions: Hennessy and Kelly (ed. and trans. [from <i>Fen.</i>]), <i>Book of Fenagh</i> , pp. 358–65. Attributions: Attr. to Flann Mainistrech by O'Reilly, 'Chronological account', pp. lxxvi–lxxvii; attr. to Flann Mainistrech by O'Curry, <i>Manners</i> , II, 160–61.			
CUL Add. 3084, <i>saec.</i> XVII	[Donegal]	p. 69	[None]
<i>BOCD</i> , <i>saec.</i> XVII	Áodh Ó Dochartaigh	fol. 156 ^f	[later hand: 'Flann file']
NLI G.131, <i>saec.</i> XVII	Cú Chóigriche Ó Cléirigh	p. 123	[None]
RIA B.iv.2, <i>saec.</i> XVII	Mícheál Ó Cléirigh	fol. 60 ^{r1}	[None]
RIA 24.P.27, <i>saec.</i> XVII	[?]	p. 33	[O'Reilly's hand: 'Flann Mainisdreach' ⁵²]
NLI G.167, <i>saec.</i> XVIII	Semus Mhaguidhir	p. 49	[O'Curry's hand: 'Flann' ⁵³]
Dublin, RIA, MS 23.C.33 (727), <i>saec.</i> XIX	Micheál Óg Ó Longáin	p. 178	[None]
Dublin, RIA, MS 23.Q.1 (570), <i>saec.</i> XVIII/XIX	Edward O'Reilly	p. 21	'Flann Mainisdreach'
Dublin, RIA 23.N.26 (564), <i>saec.</i> XIX	Edward O'Reilly	p. 10	'Flann Mainisdreach'
RIA 3.C.12, <i>saec.</i> XIX [Transcript of the <i>BOCD</i>]	Eugene O'Curry	p. 139	'Flann file'
'Atá sund senechas nach suail'			
Editions: Hennessy and Kelly (ed. and trans. [from <i>Fen.</i>]), <i>Book of Fenagh</i> , pp. 354–59; K. Meyer (ed. [from RIA B.iv.2]), 'Der Tribut'. Attributions: Attr. to Flann Mainistrech by O'Reilly, 'Chronological account', p. lxxvi; attr. to Flann Mainistrech by O'Curry, <i>Manners</i> , II, 160.			
CUL Add. 3084, <i>saec.</i> XVII	[Donegal]	p. 68	[None]
<i>BOCD</i> , <i>saec.</i> XVII	Aodh Ó Dochartaigh	fol. 156 ^v	[None]
NLI G.131, <i>saec.</i> XVII	Cú Chóigriche Ó Cléirigh	p. 124	[None]
RIA B.iv.2, <i>saec.</i> XVII	Mícheál Ó Cléirigh	fol. 60 ^v	[None]
NLI G.167, <i>saec.</i> XVIII	Semus Mhaguidhir	p. 395	'[...] file [...]'
RIA 23.Q.1, <i>saec.</i> XVIII/XIX	Edward O'Reilly	p. 20	'Flann Mainisdreach'

⁵² O'Rahilly, *RIA Cat.*, fasc. I, 28 (O'Reilly's hand is identified on p. 27).

⁵³ Ní Shéaghdha, *NLI Cat.*, fasc. V, 9.

RIA 3.C.12, <i>saec.</i> XIX [Transcript of <i>BOCD</i>]	Eugene O'Curry	p. 142	[None]
'Cairbre, Eógan, Énna éim'			
Editions: Hennessy (ed. and trans. [from <i>Fen.</i>]), <i>Book of Fenagh</i> , pp. 394–99. Attributions: attr. to Flann Mainistrech by O'Reilly, 'Chronological account', p. lxxvii; attributed to Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe by O'Curry, <i>Manners</i> , II, 162–64.			
CUL Add. 3084, <i>saec.</i> XVII	[Donegal]	p. 71	[None]
<i>BOCD</i> , <i>saec.</i> XVII	Áodh Ó Dochartaigh	fol. 161 ^v	'In fear ceadna .cc.' [i.e. Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe]
RIA 24.P.27, <i>saec.</i> XVII	[?]	p. 34	'Giollabrighe' [Mac Con Midhe]
RIA B.iv.2, <i>saec.</i> XVII	Míchéal Ó Cléirigh	fol. 58 ^v	[None]
NLI G.167, <i>saec.</i> XVIII	Semus Mhaguidhir	p. 50	'Giolla Brighde'
RIA 23.N.26, <i>saec.</i> XIX	Edward O'Reilly	p. 12	'Giolla Brighde' [Mac Con Midhe]
Egerton 163, <i>saec.</i> XIX	[?]	fol. 52 ^[r]	[O'Grady (<i>BL Cat.</i>): 'Poem by Flann of Monasterboice [...]'] ⁵⁴
RIA 3.C.12, <i>saec.</i> XIX [Transcript of the <i>BOCD</i>]	Eugene O'Curry	p. 171	'Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe'
'Enna, dalta Cairpri crúaidh'			
Editions: Hennessy and Kelly (ed. and trans. [from <i>Fen.</i>]), <i>Book of Fenagh</i> , pp. 330–45. Attributions: Attr. to Flann Mainistrech by O'Reilly, 'Chronological account', p. lxxviii; attr. to Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe by O'Curry, <i>Manners</i> , II, 164.			
<i>BOCD</i> , <i>saec.</i> XVII	Áodh Ó Dochartaigh	fol. 163 ^t	[None]
NLI G.131, <i>saec.</i> XVII	Cú Chóigcríche Ó Cléirigh	p. 115	[None]
RIA 24.P.27, <i>saec.</i> XVII	?	p. 41	'Giollabrighe' [Mac Con Midhe]
RIA B.iv.2, <i>saec.</i> XVII	Míchéal Ó Cléirigh	fol. 56 ^[r]	[None]
NLI G.167, <i>saec.</i> XVIII	Semus Mhaguidhir	p. 56	'An Giolla Brigde ceadna' [i.e. Mac Con Midhe]
London, BL, MS Egerton 112, <i>saec.</i> XVIII	Maurice O'Conor	fol. 475 ^t	'Lochlainn mac Taidhg óig Uí Dhálaigh' ⁵⁵
TCD 1411, <i>saec.</i> XVIII	Donnchadh Ó Conaill	p. 532	[None]
Dublin, RIA, MS 24.A.17 (74), <i>saec.</i> XIX	Peadar Ó Longáin	p. 285	'Giolla Caomháin'
RIA 23.G.24, <i>saec.</i> XIX	Micheál Óg Ó Longáin	p. 297	[None]
RIA 23.N.26, <i>saec.</i> XIX	Edward O'Reilly	p. 18	'Giolla Brighde' [Mac Conmidhe]
RIA 3.C.12, <i>saec.</i> XIX [Transcript of <i>BOCD</i>]	Eugene O'Curry	p. 180	[None]

⁵⁴ O'Grady, *BL Cat.*, I, 68.

⁵⁵ *fl.* 1596x1630 ('A poem on the downfall of the Gaoidhil', ed. and trans. by William Gillies, *Éigse*, 13 (1969–70), 204–10 (p. 204 (n. 1))).

‘Eistigh re Conaill calma’			
Edition: Hennessy and Kelly (ed. and trans. [from <i>Fen.</i>]), <i>Book of Fenagh</i> , pp. 398–405.			
Attributions: Attr. to Flann Mainistrech by O’Reilly, ‘Chronological account’, p. lxxviii; attr. to Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe by O’Curry, <i>Manners</i> , II, 164–65.			
<i>BOCD</i> , saec. XVII	Aodh Ó Dochartaigh	fol. 162 ^r	[None]
NLI G.131, saec. XVII	Cú Chóigcríche Ó Cléirigh	p. 118	[None]
RIA 24.P.27, saec. XVII	[?]	p. 35	‘Giollabhrighde’ [Mac Conmidhe]
RIA B.iv.2, saec. XVII	Míchél Ó Cléirigh	fol. 57 ^v	[None]
NLI G.167, saec. XVIII	Semus Mhaguidhir	p. 51	‘Giolla Brighde’
Egerton 163, saec. XIX	[?]	fol. 53 ^{ri}	[None]
RIA 23.N.26, saec. XIX	Edward O’Reilly	p. 13	‘Giollabhrighde’ [Mac Conmidhe]
RIA 3.C.12, saec. XIX [Transcript of <i>BOCD</i>]	Eugene O’Curry	p. 167	[None]
‘A éolcha Chonaill cheólaigh’			
Editions: Hennessy and Kelly (ed. and trans. [from <i>Fen.</i>]), <i>Book of Fenagh</i> , pp. 344–55.			
Attributions: Attr. to Flann Mainistrech by O’Reilly, ‘Chronological account’, p. lxxvii; attr. to Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe by O’Curry, <i>Manners</i> , II, 162–63.			
CUL Add. 3084, saec. XVII	[Donegal]	p. 83	[None]
<i>BOCD</i> , saec. XVII	Aodh Ó Dochartaigh	fol. 162 ^r	[None]
NLI G.131, saec. XVII	Cú Chóigcríche Ó Cléirigh	p. 120	[None]
RIA B.iv.2, saec. XVII	Míchél Ó Cléirigh	fol. 59 ^{ri}	[None]
RIA 24.P.27, saec. XVII	[?]	p. 29	[O’Reilly’s hand: ‘Flann Mainisdreach’ ⁵⁶]
NLI G.167, saec. XVIII	Semus Mhaguidhir	p. 45	[None]
RIA 23.N.26, saec. XIX	Edward O’Reilly	p. 6	‘Flann Mainisdreach cc. fuar bás A.C. 1056’
RIA 23.C.33, saec. XIX	Micheál Óg Ó Longáin	p. 173	‘Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe’
RIA 3.C.12, saec. XIX [Transcript of <i>BOCD</i>]	Eugene O’Curry	p. 174	[None]
‘Idir gach obair sgríobas’			
Editions: <i>Duanta Eoghain Ruaidh Mhic an Bhaird: The Bardic Poems of Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird</i> , ed. and trans. by Tomás Ó Raghallaigh (Galway: Teach na Cloidreachta, 1930), pp. 130–35, 338–39.			
Attributions: Attr. to Flann Mainistrech by O’Reilly, ‘Chronological account’, p. lxxviii; attr. to Éoghan Ruadh Mac An Bhaird by O’Curry, <i>Manners</i> , II, 165.			
RIA 24.P.27 saec. XVII	[?]	p. 31	‘An ti idem’ [i.e. either the author of ‘A éolcha Chonaill cheólaigh’ (unnamed by the original scribe) or Flann mac Lonáin, the last author named by the original scribe]

⁵⁶ O’Rahilly, *RIA Cat.*, fasc. I, 28.

NLI G.167, <i>saec.</i> XVIII	Semus Mhaguidhir	p. 48	‘An tí idem’ [i.e. either the author of ‘A eólcha Chonaill cheólaigh’ (unnamed by original scribe) or Flann mac Lonáin, the last author named by the original idea; this superscription has been altered by Eugene O’Curry to ‘Eoghan Ruadh mac an Bháird cc.’]
NLI G.167, <i>saec.</i> XVIII	Semus Mhaguidhir	p. 302	‘Eoghan Ruadh’
RIA 23.N.26, <i>saec.</i> XIX	Edward O’Reilly	p. 9	‘An ti idem’ [i.e. Flann Mainistrech]
RIA 23.C.33, <i>saec.</i> XIX	Micheál Óg Ó Longáin	p. 177	‘Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe’
‘Atá sund rolla na rígh’			
Editions: McManus and Ó Raghallaigh (ed.), <i>Bardic Miscellany</i> , §55 (pp. 57–59).			
Attributions: Attr. to Flann Mainistrech by O’Reilly, ‘Chronological account’, p. lxxviii; O’Curry (<i>Manners</i> , II, 165) claims never to have seen it (however, see RIA 3.C.12, below).			
CUL Add. 3084, <i>saec.</i> XVII	[Donegal]	p. 124	[None]
<i>BOCD</i> , <i>saec.</i> XVII	Aodh Ó Dochartaigh	fol. 155 ^r	[None]
NLI G.131, <i>saec.</i> XVII	Cú Chóigriche Ó Cléirigh	p. 113	[None]
RIA B.iv.2, <i>saec.</i> XVII	Míchél Ó Cléirigh	fol. 55 ^[r]	[None; attr. to Flann Mainistrech contradicted by O’Conor I anyway]
NLI G.167, <i>saec.</i> XVIII	Semus Mhaguidhir	p. 392	‘[...] file éigin nach feas a inm [...]’
TCD 1411, <i>saec.</i> XVIII	Donnchadh Ó Conaill	p. 540	[None]
RIA F.vi.2, <i>saec.</i> XVIII	Micheál Óg Ó Longáin	p. 307	[‘Idem.’ ⁵⁷]
RIA 24.A.17, <i>saec.</i> XIX	Peadar Ó Longáin	p. 295	‘Caílte mac Ronáin’
RIA 23.G.24, <i>saec.</i> XIX	Micheál Óg Ó Longáin	p. 303	[None]
RIA 3.C.12, <i>saec.</i> XIX [Transcript of the <i>BOCD</i>]	Eugene O’Curry	p. 132	‘Flann Mainistrech’ [in pencil]
Maynooth, Russell Library MS. M.3, <i>saec.</i> XIX	Peadar Ó Longáin	p. 250	[None]/Donnchad Mór Ó Dalaigh ⁵⁸

⁵⁷ This is what appears in Mulchrone’s catalogue entry (*RIA Cat.*, VI, 659). The poem follows ‘Conall cuingid clainne Néill’ (see above). It is not clear whether Mulchrone means that a similar inscription is made here or that the scribe wrote ‘idem.’ or equivalent.

⁵⁸ According to Simms (*Bardic Poetry Database* (Poem 268)) and McManus and Ó Raghallaigh (*Bardic Miscellany*, p. vii), this poem is ascribed to Donnchadh Mór Ó Dalaigh (*ob.* 1244) in Maynooth M.3. However, no author is listed in the manuscript catalogue (Paul Walsh, *Lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge Choláiste Phádraig Má nuad: Clár: Fascúl 1* (Maynooth: An Sagart, 1980), p. 20) and I have been unable to ascertain the situation by consulting the manuscript myself.

Appendix 31: The Donegal Series: structure in selected manuscripts			
See: LR:2.2; 6:4.2			
Superscriptions by the manuscripts' original scribes are printed in bold. For O'Conor I's interventions in RIA B.iv.2 and <i>BOCD</i> , see 6:4.3 and Appendix 30 .			
Rawl.B.514: fols 1 ^r 1–3 ^v 14	RIA B.iv.2: fols 53 ^[r] –60 ^v	NLI G.131: pp. 108–24	BOCD: fols 156 ^r 1–164 ^v 28
Fland Mainistrech cecinit: 'Conall cuingid clainne Néill'	Flann Mainistrech cecinit: 'Conall cuingid clainne Néill'	Flann Mainistrech cecinit: 'Conall cuingid clainne Néill'	'Atá sund rolla na rígh'
'Atá sund rolla na rígh'	'Atá sund rolla na rígh'	'Atá sund rolla na rígh'	Flann file cecinit: 'A liubair atá ar do lár'
'A eólcha Chonaill cheólaigh'	'Enna, dalta Cairpri cruaid'	'Enna, dalta Cairpri cruaid'	'Atá sund senchas nach suaill'
'Enna, dalta Cairpri cruaid'	'Eistigh re Conaill calma'	'Eistigh re Conaill calma'	Flann Mainistrech cecinit: 'Conall cuingid clainne Néill'
Slicht seinliubair Caillín andso: 'Cairbre, Eógan, Énna éim'	'Cairbre, Eógan, Énna éim'	'Cairbre, Eógan, Énna éim'	Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe cecinit: 'Rogha na cloinne Conall'
Slicht an tseinliubair cedna an duansa: 'Eistigh re Conaill calma'	'A eólcha Chonaill cheólaigh'	'A eólcha Chonaill cheólaigh'	Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe cecinit: 'Eistigh re Conaill calma'
'A liubair atá ar do lár'	'A liubair atá ar do lár'	'A liubair atá ar do lár'	Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe cecinit: 'Cairbre, Eógan, Énna éim'
'Atá sund senchas nach suaill'		'Atá sund senchas nach suaill'	'A eólcha Chonaill cheólaigh'
			'Enna, dalta Cairpri cruaid'

Appendix 32:

Eystein Thanisch, 'Flann Mainistrech's
Götterdämmerung as a Junction within *Lebor Gabála
Érenn*', *Quaestio Insularis*, 13 (2012), 69–93

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Flann Mainistrech's *Götterdämmerung* as a Junction within *Lebor Gabála Érenn*¹

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Lebor Gabála Érenn ('The Book of the Invasion of Ireland') is the conventional title for a lengthy Irish pseudo-historical text extant in multiple recensions probably compiled during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.² The text comprises a history of the Gaídil ('Gaels') within the context of a universal history derived from the Bible and from classical historiography.³ *Lebor Gabála* traces the ancestry of the Gaídil back to Noah and follows their tortuous migrations, spanning many generations, from the Tower of Babel to Ireland via Spain. Here, the narrative breaks off to cover the origins, history and demise of the peoples who had inhabited Ireland prior to the arrival of the Gaídil. Then, resuming its account of the Gaídil themselves, *Lebor Gabála* gives an account of their conquest of Ireland and their history thereafter, mainly in the form of a king-list, down to roughly the time of the text's compilation.

¹ I am very grateful to David Alexander and my supervisor, Abigail Burnyeat, for discussing this paper with me, as well as to various delegates at the Cambridge Colloquium in Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic 2012 for their questions and suggestions.

² *Lebor Gabála Érenn: The Book of the Taking of Ireland*, ed. and trans. R. A. S. Macalister, 5 vols., Irish Texts Society Main Series 34–35, 39, 41, 44 (Dublin, 1938–56), although see below, p. 59. For a general introduction, see J. Carey, 'Lebor Gabála and the Legendary History of Ireland', in *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society*, ed. H. Fulton (Dublin, 2005), pp. 32–48.

³ For an overview, see M. I. Allen, 'Universal History 300–1000: Origins and Western Developments', in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. M. Deliyannis (Leiden, 2003), pp. 17–42.

The compilation has a somewhat formidable reputation for complexity. It includes both prose and verse. Its narratives are supported by a wide range of scholarly techniques and genres, including etymology, genealogy and synchronistic scholarship, as well as detailed knowledge and exegesis of the Bible and various historical authorities, its purpose being partially to relate the Gaídil typologically to the children of Israel.⁴

LEBOR GABÁLA ÉRENN: TEXTUAL HISTORY AND CRITICISM

One of the most troublesome—but also one of the most interesting—aspects of *Lebor Gabála* is the significant variance in content, structure and doctrine between its thirteen manuscript texts, which are generally grouped into four recensions.⁵ Since Robert Macalister's edition of *Lebor Gabála*, R. M. Scowcroft has offered another response to the text, as well as to various attempts to describe its textual history.⁶ He has argued that, rather than being derived from an authorial archetype, much of the material in the extant compilation is derived from subsequent commentary and supplementary material, as well as fundamental re-working in subsequent redactions and conflation of material from different versions.⁷ Any original with which the tradition began is no longer extant and Scowcroft does not believe it is possible to reconstruct it definitively.⁸ Therefore, 'the very quest for an "original" [*Lebor Gabála*] ... is misguided'.⁹

⁴ R. M. Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Érenn Part II: The Growth of the Tradition', *Ériu* 39 (1988), 1–66, at pp. 21–6.

⁵ R. M. Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Érenn Part I: The Growth of the Text', *Ériu* 38 (1987), 81–142, at pp. 85–7.

⁶ For previous studies of the textual history of *Lebor Gabála*, see R. Thurneysen, 'Zum Lebor Gabála', *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 10 (1915), 384–95 and A. G. Van Hamel, 'On Lebor Gabála', *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 10 (1915), 97–197; Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Érenn* I, ix–xxxiv.

⁷ Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part I', pp. 87–92.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 94–5.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 88.

While the resulting idiosyncratic nature of each extant version may frustrate textual critics and editors, it also provides a useful opportunity for insight into concepts of authority in medieval Irish textual culture and the self-perception of the personnel involved in it. Whether innovative or based on another strand of the tradition, the distinctiveness of each manuscript version suggests a complex and nuanced attitude to the authority of texts and to an extent, a sense of authorial empowerment on the part of those involved in redacting and compiling each version.¹⁰

Poetry in Lebor Gabála Éirenn

In this paper, I illustrate and explore this aspect of the *Lebor Gabála* tradition through the treatment of one poem found in different versions of the compilation. The poem itself changes in only a few meaningful respects but its context, which is—at least partially—the domain of the compiler, varies markedly.

Éstid a eolchu cen ón (‘Listen, scholars without flaw’) appears in several versions of *Lebor Gabála* and is part of a considerable corpus of lengthy metrical histories found in the compilation.¹¹ It is attributed to the poet and historian, Flann Mainistrech (ob. 1056).¹² Studies of the frequently occurring genre of prosimetrum in medieval Irish literature have generally concluded that the function of the verse

¹⁰ For the medieval practice of *compilatio*, see N. Hathaway, ‘Compilatio: from Plagiarism to Compiling’, *Viator* 20 (1989), 19–44.

¹¹ *Lebor Gabála* IV, ll. 1909–2076, pp. 224–41. Hereafter *Éstid a eolchu...* will be referenced from Macalister’s edition, in this format. A reference will also be included, where appropriate, to the text in the diplomatic edition of the *Book of Leinster: Book of Leinster, formerly Lebar na Núachongbála*, ed. R. I. Best, O. Bergin and M. A. O’Brien, 5 vols. (Dublin, 1954–1967), I, ll. 1307–455, pp. 41–6. The diplomatic edition is cited hereafter as *LL*. For other editions and translations of *Éstid a eolchu...* see below, p. 61.

¹² J. Carey, ‘Flann Mainistrech (d. 1056)’, in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. L. Goldman (Oxford, 2004)

<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9672>>, accessed 15 October 2011.

component is to support the prose either through marking moments of heightened pathos and drama or as evidence for statements made in prose. The evidential quality of a poem is derived from identifying it as the words either of an eyewitness or of a known scholar.¹³ Usually, poetry in *Lebor Gabála* is neither concerned with heightened emotion nor found in the mouths of characters involved in the action. It tends, in general, to be very similar to the accompanying prose in terms of content and doctrine. While much is anonymous, the longer poems tend to be attributed to scholars of the Middle Irish period, such as Flann Mainistrech, who worked shortly before or during the period in which *Lebor Gabála* was compiled.¹⁴

Macalister, Scowcroft and John Carey view much of the poetry as having been originally composed independently, before subsequently becoming extremely influential in the development of the prosimetric compilation. Thus, many are cited *in extenso* as direct sources, rather than supporting evidence.¹⁵ Scowcroft regards the original document behind the extant *Lebor Gabála* as having been written entirely in prose, with subsequent redactors adding and integrating poems into the prose.¹⁶ Macalister has described the verse in *Lebor Gabála* as an ‘unmitigated nuisance’ and, conceiving it to be independent from the prose, edits and prints it separately.¹⁷ However, both Carey and Scowcroft, while understanding the prose as being derived from the

¹³ P. Mac Cana, ‘Prosimetrum in Insular Celtic Literature’, in *Prosimetrum: Cross Cultural Perspectives on Narrative in Prose and Verse*, ed. J. Harris and K. Reichl (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 99–130; G. Toner, ‘Authority, Verse and the Transmission of Senchas’, *Ériu* 55 (2005), 59–84.

¹⁴ Carey, ‘Legendary History’, p. 44; R. M. Scowcroft, ‘Medieval Recensions of the Lebor Gabála’, in *Lebor Gabála Éirenn: Textual History and Pseudohistory*, ed. J. Carey, Irish Texts Society Subsidiary Series 20 (Dublin, 2009), 1–19, at pp. 8–9.

¹⁵ Macalister, *Lebor Gabála* I, x; J. Carey, *The Irish National Origin Legend: Synthetic Pseudohistory*, Quiggin Pamphlets on the Sources of Medieval Gaelic History 1 (Cambridge, 1994), 19.

¹⁶ Scowcroft, ‘Leabhar Gabhála Part I’, p. 87; Scowcroft, ‘Medieval Recensions’, p. 7.

¹⁷ Macalister, *Lebor Gabála* I, x.

verse, also stress how both forms function integrally within the extant compilation, viewing the result in terms of the well-known medieval literary form, the *opus geminatum*.¹⁸ Scowcroft's analysis is particularly interesting for this study. He suggests that, in *Lebor Gabála*, authoritative verse is not simply invoked in support of prose but, instead, the latent authority of the cited verse is in a dialogic relationship with other poems and within a wider, composite and more complex exposition by the compiler of the recension:

The poetry remains more or less immutable—the voice of named authorities—while the prose, anonymous and adaptable, expounds and integrates their testimony, consolidating its allusive treatment of action and wealth of non-narrative detail into a full narrative line. This prose ‘explanation’ of poetic authority comes therefore to function as a theatre for the historian’s own work as compiler and critic.¹⁹

In the case study presented in this article, the relationship of the ‘historian’s own work’ with the poetic authority is examined through the treatment by different compilers of *Éstid a eolchu...* in the context of their own versions of *Lebor Gabála*. I thus hope to expand upon and stimulate further interest in the dynamic identified by Scowcroft in the development of the compilation.

Editions and Citations

When citing *Lebor Gabála*, one is faced with a dilemma. Macalister’s edition has been heavily criticized in terms of text, translation and editorial strategy, to the extent that Daniel Binchy recommended that studies of the compilation continue to be based on the original manuscripts.²⁰ Conveniently, most of the relevant manuscripts are

¹⁸ Carey, *National Origin Legend*, p. 22; Scowcroft, ‘Medieval Recensions’, p. 7.

¹⁹ Scowcroft, ‘Leabhar Gabhála Part I’, p. 91. For examples of poems in *Lebor Gabála* that Scowcroft believes to be based on existing prose, see ‘Leabhar Gabhála Part I’, p. 90 and ‘Leabhar Gabhála Part II’, p. 5.

²⁰ D. A. Binchy, ‘Review of *Lebor Gabála Éirenn: the Book of the Taking of Ireland. Part 4*’, *Celtica* 2 (1952), 195–209, esp. p. 196; M. Dillon, ‘*Lebor Gabála*

now much more accessible thanks to digitisation but they are still only available to those with the relevant expertise. For various reasons, Scowcroft has, albeit reluctantly, recommended that Macalister's edition continue to be used.²¹ Other options include the text of *Lebor Gabála* in the *Book of Leinster*, which can be found in the diplomatic edition of that manuscript.²² Carey's unpublished edition of what he analyses as 'Recension 1' of *Lebor Gabála* also includes the *Book of Leinster* text.²³ However, both of these editions, while more reliable than Macalister's, are restricted to one branch of the tradition, which Scowcroft has warned is not particularly representative.²⁴ Macalister's edition is, at least, representative. It includes the majority of variants from almost all the extant manuscripts and generally indicates the structural differences between their texts.

It is for this reason that citations of *Lebor Gabála* in this study will be from Macalister's edition, checked against the diplomatic edition of the *Book of Leinster* where appropriate. Quoted text from other versions has been checked against the original manuscripts and I have revised some of Macalister's translations. Mostly, however, this study is concerned with ordering of material, rather than with close reading, so the shortcomings of Macalister's edition, while worth noting, are not relevant to it.

ÉSTID A EOLCHU... IN CONTEXT

Éstid a eolchu... is a rather bleak collection of terse accounts of how seventy individuals of the Túatha Dé Danann ('People of the goddess

Érenn', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 86: 1 (1956), 62–72, at pp. 71–2; Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part I', pp. 82–3.

²¹ Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part I', p. 83.

²² *LL* I, ll. 1–1800, pp. 1–56.

²³ 'Leabar Gabála: Recension 1', ed. and trans. J. Carey, (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Harvard Univ., 1983). A translation of this recension is found in, *The Celtic Heroic Age: Literary Sources for Ancient Celtic Europe and Early Ireland and Wales*, ed. J. T. Koch and J. Carey, Celtic Studies Publications 1, 4th ed. (Andover, MA, 2003), 226–72.

²⁴ Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part I', p. 83.

Danu') died; the deaths, when not the result of violence or malevolent magic, tend to be the result of sorrow over earlier deaths.²⁵ The Túatha Dé Danann are broadly presented by *Lebor Gabála* as human descendants of Noah and the last people to occupy Ireland before the arrival of the Gáidil.²⁶ Their identity does not appear to have been so straightforward, however; many versions of the compilation also include some discussion as to whether they were, in fact, demons. Some modern scholars have interpreted material concerning the Túatha Dé Danann as pre-Christian mythology and the Túatha Dé Danann themselves as a kind of pantheon, preserved in euhemerized or demonized form in the Middle Ages.²⁷ Medieval sources do indeed, on occasion, describe the Túatha Dé Danann as gods.²⁸ However, a complex range of conceptions, both of them and of the religion of the pre-Christian past, has been identified within medieval Irish literature, possibly based on Patristic models, and further study of this topic is certainly desirable.²⁹

Éstid a eolchu..., with one late exception, is always found as part of *Lebor Gabála*.³⁰ It appears in the following manuscripts.³¹

²⁵ This is the customary translation of their name but see J. Carey 'The Name "Tuatha Dé Danann"', *Éigse* 18 (1980–1981), 291–4.

²⁶ *Lebor Gabála* IV, §§ 304–77, pp. 91–342; *LL* I, ll. 1049–456, pp. 33–46.

²⁷ Van Hamel, 'Lebor Gabála', pp. 190–1; *Lebor Gabála* IV, pp. 97–105; Dillon, 'Lebor Gabála', p. 67. For further references, see Scowcroft 'Leabhar Gabhála Part I', p. 82, n. 1.

²⁸ For example, both *Éstid a eolchu...* and the poem *Éstid in senchas sluagach* ('Hear the history of hosts'), also found in *Lebor Gabála*, refer to the Túatha Dé Danann as *dee* ('gods'): *Lebor Gabála* IV, l. 1982, pp. 232–3; *LL* I, l. 1377, p. 43; *Lebor Gabála* IV, ll. 2497–505, pp. 282–91.

²⁹ Carey, 'The Name'; J. Borsje, 'Omens, Ordeals and Oracles: on Demons and Weapons in Early Irish Texts', *Peritia* 13 (1999), 224–48; J. Carey, *A Single Ray of the Sun: Religious Speculation in Early Ireland*, Celtic Studies Publications 3, 2nd ed. (Aberystwyth, 2011), 1–38, see esp. p. 21, n. 30.

³⁰ Cambridge, University Library, MS. Add. 4207 (s. xix), fols. 44v–45r.

³¹ The sigla used hereafter are those used in Scowcroft, 'Medieval Recensions', pp. 3–5. For more details concerning the manuscripts and for a guide to how

Recension *m*

- *Lbm* (Book of Lecan): Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 23 P 2 cat. 535 (Connacht s. xv), 19ra3–19rb36.
- *Ym*: Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, D i 3 cat. 539 (s. xiv), 1vb28–2rb7.
- *Rm*: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 512 (Connacht? s.xv/xvi), 93va24–93va26 (first quatrain only).

Recension *a*

- *N* (Book of Leinster): Dublin, Trinity College, H 2 18 cat. 1339 (s. xii), 11ra18–11rb40.³²
- *F* (Book of Fermoy): Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, Stowe D iii 1 cat. 671 (Munster? s. xv), 11vb21–12ra39.³³

Recension *c*

- *B* (Book of Ballymote): Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 23 P 12 cat. 536 (Connacht s. xiv), 19ra37–19va11.
- *Lc* (Book of Lecan): Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 23 P 2 cat. 535 (Connacht s. xv), 281va14–281vb50.

Éstid a eolchu... is not found in recension *b*. In terms of Scowcroft's account of *Lebor Gabála*'s textual history, this associates it with μ .³⁴

they relate to Macalister's edition, see Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part I', pp. 84–6, 139–42.

³² *LL* I, ll. 1308–1455, pp. 41–46; D. Pósdör, 'Twelve Poems Attributed to Fland Mainistrech from the Book of Leinster', 2 vols. (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Trinity College Dublin, 1999), I, 233–62.

³³ This manuscript consists of folios which have become detached from the *Book of Fermoy* proper, which is bound as Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 23 E 29 cat. 1134 (Munster? s. xv).

Scowcroft envisages a terse, original document (ω) being adapted and expanded twice, producing two main traditions (α and μ), each influenced by distinct interests and methodologies. Broadly, m is derived from μ while b is derived from α , a being an attempt to reconcile α and μ .³⁵

A genealogical context within m and N

In Scowcroft's account of the textual tradition, m and N are the earliest in terms of the development of the compilation. *Éstid a eolchu...* is one of only two poems on the Túatha Dé Danann in m , following a body of genealogies which traces them back to Noah.³⁶ It is then followed by a poem and two short anecdotes which focus on a particular character, Tuirill Biccreeo.³⁷ The coverage of the Túatha Dé Danann in m is then complete. If we read poems in *Lebor Gabála* and elsewhere as working in conjunction with accompanying prose, *Éstid a eolchu...* appears to support the genealogies in some way, although m does not make its role explicit.

The prose coverage of the Túatha Dé Danann in N concludes with cognate genealogies, the material on Tuirill Biccreeo being absent.³⁸ *Éstid a eolchu...* is the third of three poems which follow N's prose, each, like *Éstid a eolchu...*, apparently the work of an eleventh-century scholar. *Eriu co n-úaill co n-idnaib* ('Ireland, with pride, with weapons'), is attributed elsewhere to Eochaid Ua Flainn and focuses on the arrival of the Túatha Dé Danann and the reigns of their kings.³⁹ *Túatha Dé Danann fo diamair* ('The Túatha Dé Danann under

³⁴ Scowcroft describes *Éstid a eolchu...* as a 'later addition' to μ but does not elaborate: 'Leabhar Gabhála Part II', p. 5.

³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 2; Scowcroft, 'Medieval Recensions', pp. 4–6.

³⁶ *Lebor Gabála* IV, §§ 316 (N) and 316a (m), pp. 126–33; *LL* I, ll. 1130–89, pp. 35–7. The other poem is *Éstid in senchas sluagach*, see above, p. 75, n. 28.

³⁷ *Lebor Gabála* IV, § 319, pp. 134–7.

³⁸ *Ibid.* § 316, pp. 126–31; *LL* I, ll. 1130–86, pp. 35–7.

³⁹ *Lebor Gabála* IV, ll. 1789–860, pp. 212–9; *LL* I, ll. 1190–261, pp. 37–9; the attribution to Eochaid is found at *Lebor Gabála* IV, § 366, pp. 182–3. See J. Carey, 'Eochaid ua Flannucáin (d. 1004)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National*

obscurity'), attributed to 'Tanaide', lists their major figures and their particular skills.⁴⁰ N is peculiar, in that it does tend to group poems together where other versions intersperse them more regularly with the prose.⁴¹ However, the implication is that the scribe of N does not interpret *Éstid a eolchu...* as directly supporting the genealogies, as the poem is separated from them by seventy lines of manuscript text in N (10vb3–11ra17). These complementary poems can thus almost be read as a verse account of the Túatha Dé Danann in Ireland entirely discrete from the prose.

The general character of *m* and N, however, may provide insights into the role *Éstid a eolchu...* plays in these versions. Both are derived from μ , the focus of which is, Scowcroft argues, on tracing the various settlers in Ireland genealogically back to Noah, establishing a continuous line of its kings and associating them with Tara.⁴² With a few exceptions, *m* does not tend to deviate extensively from these topics. N keeps the structure of μ and interpolates content from α , resulting in a version similar in character to *m*.⁴³

The genealogies of the Túatha Dé Danann appear to have something of a pedigree within the textual tradition of *Lebor Gabála*. First, versions of the genealogies cognate with those in *m* and N appear across the extant versions of the compilation.⁴⁴ Each places twenty-three generations between Noah and Nuadu Argetlám, first king of the Túatha Dé Danann in Ireland. In terms of biblical chronology, twenty-three generations from Noah reaches Obed,

Biography <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/50109>>, accessed 15 October 2011.

⁴⁰ *Lebor Gabála* IV, ll. 1861–904, pp. 220–5; *LL* I, ll. 1263–306, pp. 40–1; and for the attribution to Tanaide, see *Lebor Gabála* IV, § 366, pp. 184–5. This more obscure poet is thought to have lived during the eleventh century: Carey, 'Legendary History', p. 44.

⁴¹ Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part I', p. 91.

⁴² Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part II', pp. 7, 32. For the kingship of Tara, see B. Jaski, *Early Irish Kingship and Succession* (Dublin, 2000), pp. 214–25.

⁴³ Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part I', p. 97.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 112.

father of Jesse, father of King David.⁴⁵ This suggests that these genealogies of the Túatha Dé Danann were derived from a chronological scheme which synchronised the arrival of the Gaídil in Ireland with the kingdom of David. Scowcroft has demonstrated that such a scheme underlies the earliest versions of *Lebor Gabála* that it is possible to reconstruct.⁴⁶ The scheme which predominates in later versions generally ascribes the events a much later date, synchronising the overthrow of the Túatha Dé Danann by the Gaídil with Alexander the Great's defeat of the Persians.⁴⁷ The core interest in N and *m* is thus genealogical and regnal history. The poem need not relate directly to these topics but, as I shall argue presently, compilations of death-tales are a well-attested feature in medieval Irish historical writing and the poem can thus be read as an integral part of these two versions of the compilation.

One distinctive feature of *Éstid a eolchu...* in *m* is the inclusion of four additional quatrains at the end of the poem, which are also found in Lc.⁴⁸ These quatrains reject the idea that the Túatha Dé Danann are still alive and living in the *síd* or in Tír Tairngire; instead, they are in Hell.⁴⁹ Carey doubts that these quatrains were part of the poem as originally composed.⁵⁰ However, if they are later additions, it is not clear whether they were added by the compiler of *m* or in an earlier version of the poem. They do not fit comfortably with the rest of *m* or N. The Túatha Dé Danann retreat to the *síd*—a kind of underground world—after the arrival of the Gaídil in Mesca Ulad ('The Intoxication of the Ulstermen') and De Gabáil in tSída ('Concerning the Seizure of the Fairy Mound'), but this does not

⁴⁵ Luke III:23–38; Matt. I:1–17.

⁴⁶ Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part II', p. 31; Scowcroft, 'Medieval Recensions', p. 11.

⁴⁷ Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part II', pp. 29–31.

⁴⁸ *Lebor Gabála* IV, ll. 2061–76, pp. 240–1.

⁴⁹ *Lebor Gabála* IV, ll. 2064, 2068 and 2074, pp. 240–1.

⁵⁰ Carey, *A Single Ray*, p. 18, n. 25.

happen in any version of *Lebor Gabála*.⁵¹ The term *Tír Tairngire* has been shown by James Carney to be a translation of *terra repromissionis* ('promised land') and generally refers to a Christian paradise.⁵² Only in a few late Middle Irish texts is a place with that name inhabited by the *Túatha Dé Danann*.⁵³

Within this article, these interesting quatrains must receive less attention than they merit. Suffice to say, while they are clearly of relevance to *Éstid a eolchu...*, they appear to attack a viewpoint not expressed anywhere else in the *Lebor Gabála* tradition, perhaps suggesting that the poem as it appears in *m* was intended for another context. If they are a later addition to the poem, they constitute an interpretation of it akin to those to which we shall now turn.

Gods, demons or humans? F and c

F is generally regarded as a version of recension *a* along with N, although it is the result of a more extensive process of interpolation.⁵⁴ Recension *c* is an attempt to reconcile recensions *a* and *b*. In F and *c*, *Éstid a eolchu...* is found in a similar location towards the end of both recensions' coverage of the *Túatha Dé Danann* and following a corresponding, although independently expanded, body of genealogies.⁵⁵ It is also preceded by a somewhat opaque passage that is not found in *m*, which discusses the 'gods' (*dei*) and 'un-gods' (*andei*) among the *Túatha Dé Danann*.⁵⁶ Carey sees some of this material as

⁵¹ *Mesca Ulad*, ed. J. Carmichael-Watson, Medieval and Modern Irish Series 13 (Dublin, 1941), ll. 1–16, 1; 'De Gabáil in t-Shída (Concerning the Seizure of the Fairy Mound)', ed. and trans. V. Hull, *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 39 (1933), 53–8.

⁵² J. Carney, 'Review of *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, Edited with Introduction and Notes by Carl Selmer', in *The Otherworld Voyage in Early Irish Literature: an Anthology of Criticism*, ed. J. M. Wooding (Dublin, 2000), pp. 42–51, at p. 47.

⁵³ J. Carey, 'The Location of the Otherworld in Irish Tradition', in *The Otherworld Voyage*, ed. Wooding, pp. 113–19, at p. 117, n. 21.

⁵⁴ Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part I', pp. 97–8.

⁵⁵ *Lebor Gabála* IV, §§ 316–17, pp. 126–35, § 368, pp. 186–97.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* § 317, pp. 134–35; *LL* I, ll. 1058–66, p. 34.

being derived from an independent tract, which he has reconstructed.⁵⁷

There follows a list of trios who fulfilled certain roles among the Túatha Dé Danann. F then contains a passage, not found in Carey's tract, which introduces *Éstid a eolchu...*:

Atbert tra **araile** beittid demna so, arro fetattatair curpu daenna impu o lo, din as firu; ar mairchetar a ngenelacha for culu, 7 do raebattar la tiachtain creitmi. Conad dia n-aidedaib ro chan Flann Mainistreach in duan-sa sis ga foirgeall.⁵⁸

The argument seems to be that the Túatha Dé Danann were demons and their apparent humanity is an illusion of their own making. An intriguing but obscure passage unique to recension *b* is also concerned with the ability of the Túatha Dé Danann to manufacture human bodies, although their relationship with demons there is more complex.⁵⁹ The formula *atbert araille* implies that the passage in F is countering something else, such as the unqualified description of them as 'gods' in § 317. Indeed, while Macalister prints § 318 as a separate paragraph, it is not separated visually from § 317 in the manuscript.

If their human bodies are illusory, the illusion has depth, as the bodies seem to have genealogies. Alternatively, this passage could suggest that the Túatha Dé Danann have genealogies despite not being human. The reference to them existing at the coming of Christianity is also obscure; in *Lebor Gabála*, the Túatha Dé Danann are placed well before the Christian era and are apparently destroyed by the as yet non-Christian Gaídil, although one manuscript of

⁵⁷ 'A Túath Dé Miscellany', ed. J. Carey, *BBCS* 39 (1992), 24–45. I am grateful to Răzvan Stanciu for this reference.

⁵⁸ *Lebor Gabála* IV, § 318, pp. 134–5: '**Others say**, indeed, that they are demons, since they knew that [they took] human bodies around them by day, which is more true; for their genealogies endure backward and they existed at the time of the coming of [the] faith. So it is in testimony to their deaths that Flann Mainistreach chanted this poem', author's own translation.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* §§ 320–1, pp. 138–41.

recension *c* does attribute the victory of the Gaídil to their precocious faith.⁶⁰ Otherwise, the late Middle Irish *Acallam na Senórach* (‘Colloquy of the Elders’) depicts familiar members of the Túatha Dé Danann interacting with St Patrick.⁶¹ It is perhaps an illustration of the dynamic nature of *Lebor Gabála* that, like the additional quatrains in *Éstid a eolchu...* in *m* and *Lc*, this passage appears to relate to material outwith its own version of *Lebor Gabála*.

Éstid a eolchu... alone does not support the idea that the Túatha Dé Danann existed until the arrival of Christianity, unless that may be implied from the arrival of the Gaídil, who are mentioned in the poem.⁶² However, by exhaustively citing how the Túatha Dé Danann died and by often including illness or physical violence as a cause, the poem can be understood as showing them to have had human bodies. The poem is clearly thought of as relevant to the discussion of the origin of the Túatha Dé Danann, as *F* is particularly explicit in citing it as evidence, the word *foirgeall* (‘authoritative testimony’; OIr *forgeall*) implying that it carries distinct insight or authority.⁶³

In *Lc* and *B*, *Éstid a eolchu...* is cited in the context of the same issue but apparently supporting the other side of the argument:

Ocus ciatberaid araile gomdis demna Tuatha De Danann, ar thiachtain in nErinn gan airigudh, 7 adubradar fein is a nellaibh dorchaidhi thangadar, 7 ar imad a fheasa 7 a n-eolais 7 ar doilghe a ngeinealaigh do breadh iar cul; acht cheana ro fhoghlaimsead eolas 7 filidhecht. Ar gach ndiamair n-dana 7 ar gach lere leighis 7 gach amaindsi eladhna fuil an Erinn, is o Tuatha De Danann ata a bhunadh; 7 ge thainig creideamh an Erinn, ní ro dichuirtea na dana sin, daigh at mhaithe iad. Ocus is follus nach do deamhnaib na dho sidhaibh doibh, **ar ro fheadar cach gur gabhsad cuirp daenna umpu o lo dinas firu 7 airimhthear in geinelach for culu 7 do raebadar la tiachtain**

⁶⁰ *Lebor Gabála* III, § 268, pp. 154–5.

⁶¹ See for example, ‘Acallamh na Senórach’, ed. W. Stokes, in *Irische Texte* 4: 1, ed. W. Stokes and E. Windisch (Leipzig, 1900), ll. 5371–88, pp. 147–8; trans, A Dooley and H. Roe, *Tales of the Elders of Ireland* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 149–50.

⁶² *Lebor Gabála* IV, ll. 2053–6, pp. 238–9; *LL* I, ll. 1448–51, p. 46.

⁶³ *Dictionary of the Irish Language: Compact Edition* (Dublin, 1983), *s.v.* forgeall.

credme. Conadh dia n-aigheadhaibh ro chan Fland
Maineisdreach in duan-sa sis.⁶⁴

The emphasised text closely resembles part of the passage we have cited from F, while the rest of the passage similarly resembles a passage in *b*, which also argues that the Túatha Dé Danann were not demons.⁶⁵ The passage in *c* thus appears to be constructed out of pre-existing material although its arrangement in *c* gives the material from F new meaning. The overall sense of the passage in *c* seems to be that the Túatha Dé Danann are not demons but the passage includes the idea that they only had human bodies by day. Macalister regards this phrase as out of place, describing it as a ‘gloss’ when it occurs in *c*.⁶⁶ However, the phrase is presented as part of the main text in both *c* and F. The rest of the passage from F effectively argues that they are human and cites *Éstid a eolchu...* in support of this view.

Recension *c* is not quite as firm as F in citing the support of *Éstid a eolchu...* but the wording makes a connection clear. Also, across the three manuscripts, the attribution to Flann Mainistrech is worded with sufficient differences to suggest that the attribution is not simply fossilised within the tradition but was re-expressed by the scribes

⁶⁴ *Lebor Gabála* IV, § 371, pp. 200–3: ‘And though some say that the Túatha Dé Danann were demons—for they came into Ireland without being perceived, and they themselves said they came in dark clouds, it is on account of their excessive knowledge and their learning and on account of the difficulty of following their genealogies back—but, in truth, they pursued knowledge and powers of vision, for in Ireland, all obscurity in art, all clarity in reading and every exactitude in craft, their origin is thus with the Túatha Dé Danann and, although the Faith came to Ireland, these arts were not discarded, for they are good. **For all know that they took human bodies around them by day, which is more true. And (their) genealogy can be traced back and they existed at the time of the coming of the Faith, so that of their deaths, Flann Mainistrech chanted this poem**’, author’s own translation and emphasis.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* § 353, pp. 164–5.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p. 203, n. A.

handling it.⁶⁷ This might be said to be evidence of a continued, active interest in linking the poem to the prose.

Lc is the only manuscript outwith *m* to include the four additional quatrains.⁶⁸ The prose in *c* also specifies that the Túatha Dé Danann are not of the *síd*, which could be inspired by these quatrains or, conversely, could have led to their inclusion. The additional quatrains never explicitly state that the Túatha Dé Danann are human, however.

ANALYSIS

Éstid a eolchu... thus appears in two contexts: as part of a genealogical and regnal account of the Túatha Dé Danann and as part of the discussion concerning their identity. Within the latter context, it appears to be cited in *F* as evidence for identifying them as demons and in *c* for identifying them as human. As I will now show, these contexts are cogent uses for the poem paralleled elsewhere both in the *Lebor Gabála* tradition and in medieval Gaelic literature more widely.

Genealogies, death-tales and historical writing

Within medieval Gaelic historical poetry, lists of the death-tales of prominent figures of a dynasty or particular group are a recognized genre. Peter Smith has categorized them as ‘Versified Battle-lists and Death-tales of the Kings’ in his taxonomy of historical poetry. He draws examples from the seventh to the twelfth century, including *Éstid a eolchu...* but observes that verse compilations of the death-tales of an entire dynasty only begin to appear in the ninth century.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ *Lebor Gabála* IV, p. 202, n. 19.

⁶⁸ See above, pp. 76–7.

⁶⁹ P. Smith, ‘Early Irish Historical Verse: the Development of a Genre’, in *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Text and Transmission*, ed. P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (Dublin, 2002), pp. 326–41, at pp. 328, 332.

Indeed, death-tale poetry appears with particular frequency among the works of eleventh-century scholars associated with or cited in *Lebor Gabála*. For example, two poems in *Lebor Gabála* record the deaths of the leaders of the Fir Bolg and Gáidil respectively.⁷⁰ In addition, several examples of death-tale poetry occur among the other purported works of Flann Mainistrech. For instance, *Ríg Themra dia tesbann tnú* ('The kings of Tara who lack envy') and *Ríg Themra toebaige iar tain* ('The kings of Tara of the slopes, after that') together list the deaths of the kings of Tara from Eochu Feidlech to Mael Sechnaill mac Domnaill (ob. 1022).⁷¹ Sporadically, cause of death is also supplied in Flann's poem on world kingship, *Réidig dam, a Dé, do nim* ('Unravel for me, O God, your heaven').⁷² An early example from outside *Lebor Gabála* is *Fianna bátar i nEmain* ('Warriors that were in Emain'), which is attributed to the tenth-century poet Cinaed Ua hArtacáin (ob. 975) and recounts the deaths of characters familiar from a wide range of texts and cycles.⁷³

⁷⁰ These poems are *Fir Bolg batar sunna sel* ('The Fir Bolg were here for a season') and *Gáedel Glas ótat Gáedil* ('Gáedel Glas, of whom are the Gáedil'): *Lebor Gabála* IV, ll. 1493–544, pp. 46–53; *LL* I, ll. 893–940, pp. 28–30; *Lebor Gabála* II, ll. 339–510, 347–350, 371–98, 415–8, pp. 90–107, 90–1, 92–7, 98–9; *LL* I, ll. 244–387, pp. 8–13, at ll. 260, 280–91, 304–7. The former is attributed to Tanaide, for whom see above, p. 78, n. 40; the latter is attributed to Gilla Cóemáin (fl. 1072), see *LL* I, §§ 117, 165, pp. 30–3, 78–9; P. J. Smith, *Three Historical Poems Ascribed to Gilla Cóemáin*, *Studien und Texte zur Keltologie* 8 (Münster, 2007), 25–32.

⁷¹ Pódró, 'Twelve Poems' I, pp. 279–303; *LL* III, ll. 15,640–780 and 15,782–989, pp. 504–8 and 509–15;

⁷² S. Mac Airt, 'A Middle Irish Poem on World Kingship', *Études Celtiques* 6 (1953–54), 255–80; 'A Middle Irish Poem on World Kingship cont.', *Études Celtiques* 7 (1955–56), 18–45; 'A Middle Irish Poem on World Kingship cont.', *Études Celtiques* 8 (1958–59), 99–119, 284–97. The edition ends unfinished.

⁷³ W. Stokes, 'On the Deaths of Some Irish Heroes', *Revue Celtique* 23 (1902), 303–48; J. Carey, 'Cináed ua hArtacáin [Cineth O'Hartagain] (d. 975)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

Examples of death-tale poetry are thus found relating to individuals from the Christian and pre-Christian era, to Gaídil and non-Gaídil and to characters from a variety of literary sources. No example other than *Éstid a eolchu...* relates to individuals whose humanity is noticeably in doubt. Therefore, there seems no *prima facie* reason for interpreting the poem in itself as addressing the question of the Túatha Dé Danann's identity. On the contrary, complementing a regnal and genealogical history is a perfectly appropriate role for this sort of poem. However, this raises the question of the role death-tale poetry played in historical writing and thus exactly how *Éstid a eolchu...* might complement *m* and *N*.

The account of an historical character's death could be useful in constructing chronology: the death of a person cannot happen more than once, it removes the character from subsequent proceedings and, if a killer is involved, it provides a *terminus post quem* for his own disappearance from the record. *Éstid a eolchu...* does not deal with a line of kings or a dynasty with a clear order by generation or succession but with a more complex group, some of whom are contemporary with one another. However, the individual narratives in the poem appear to be in chronological order when compared with the genealogies and with the accounts of their deaths which occur in prose in the *Lebor Gabála* tradition. Carey—without giving reasons—has given 1056, Flann Mainistrech's death-date, as the latest possible date for the production of *Lebor Gabála's* coverage of the Túatha Dé Danann in its extant form, presumably because he sees the structure of *Éstid a eolchu...* as closely following the structure of its account as a whole.⁷⁴ While both prose and poetry could have influenced each other, the point is that a collection of death-tales can play an important role in structuring time and is thus worth citing in an historical compilation.

<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/50109>>, accessed 15 October 2011.

⁷⁴ Carey, *National Origin Legend*, p. 17.

I am aware of three specific examples where *Éstid a eolchu...* is potentially being used in this context elsewhere. Accounts of the deaths of the kings of the Túatha Dé Danann who ruled Ireland appear in a king-list in the *Book of Leinster*, which cites *Lebor Gabála*.⁷⁵ Some deaths of individuals of the Túatha Dé Danann appear in a body of synchronisms interpolated into *Lc* and in a text known as *Leabhar Comhaimsireachda Flainn Mainistreach* ('Flann Mainistreach's Book of Synchronisms'), found independently in the *Book of Ballymote*.⁷⁶ Scowcroft believes that these latter texts share a common source.⁷⁷ The date and history of the *LL* king-list is uncertain.

In the *LL* king-list and *Éstid a eolchu...* the deaths mentioned occur in the same order. The accounts in the *LL* king-list are a lot terser but what details it gives are the same. Specifically, its account of the death of Bres mac Eladan closely follows the wording in the poem: 'Bress mac Eladan meic Néit .uiii. mbliadna d'ól rota i richt lomma ros marb';⁷⁸ '... ropo domna trota tra / ól rota i rricht ind lomma.'⁷⁹ Also, the *LL* king-list's description of the death of the Dagda (Eochu Ollathair) uses the same distinctive phrase as the poem: 'Eochu Ollathair .lxxx. marb de gae chró';⁸⁰ 'Marb in Dagda do gái chró / isin Bruig, ní himmargó'.⁸¹

⁷⁵ *LL* I, ll. 5360–402 and 5400, pp. 180–1.

⁷⁶ *Lebor Gabála* IV, §§ 376–7, pp. 208–11; *The Codex Palatino-Vaticanus No. 830: Texts, Translations and Indexes*, ed. and trans. B. MacCarthy (Dublin, 1892), pp. 286–317. The attribution to Flann Mainistreach in an eighteenth-century hand is unlikely to be correct, see Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part I', p. 128, n. 135.

⁷⁷ Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part I', pp. 128–9.

⁷⁸ *LL* I, l. 5384, p. 180: 'Bres son of Elada son of Nét, seven years. He was killed after drinking bog-water disguised as milk', author's own translation.

⁷⁹ *Lebor Gabála* IV ll. 1951–2, pp. 228–9: 'for him it was a cause of quarrel indeed, / drinking bog-stuff in the guise of milk'; *LL* I, ll. 1350–1.

⁸⁰ *LL* I, l. 5386, p. 180: 'Eochu Ollathair, fifty-three years; he died of a spear of gore', author's own translation.

⁸¹ *Lebor Gabála* IV, ll. 2033–4, pp. 236–7: 'The Dagda died of a dart of gore / in the Brug—it is no falsehood', *LL* I, ll. 1428–9, p. 45.

The synchronistic tracts cite the deaths of individuals—although rarely the causes of the deaths—and the accession of new kings among the Túatha Dé Danann using the reigns of the Assyrian kings as a framework. The *Leabhar Comhaimsireachda* goes further and specifies the Assyrian regnal year in which each event occurs. The order of events in *Éstid a eolchu...* and in these tracts is similar, although with some divergences. There are several examples of individuals appearing in the same or adjacent quatrains in the poem and dying during the reign of the same Assyrian king in the tracts. For instance, in Lamprides' reign Cermad mac in Dagda, Corpre File, Etan, Cian, Elloth and Donand died.⁸² These appear in three adjacent quatrains in the poem.⁸³ Once more, *Leabhar Comhaimsireachda* possibly references *Éstid a eolchu...*: two deaths are described as follows: 'ocus isin coiced bliadain deg iar sin, bas Cairbri filed do gae grene ocus bas Eadaine...'.⁸⁴ Meanwhile, in the poem we find 'Marb de gai grene glaine / Corpre mór mac Étaíne...'.⁸⁵

The three texts discussed briefly here employ more advanced chronological devices than *Éstid a eolchu...* does. The first gives lengths of reign and the two synchronistic tracts use the world-kingship to establish a single chronology for the material.⁸⁶ *Éstid a eolchu...*, however, does appear to have been used in their production. Its usefulness may be derived from the potential of this type of poem to provide a relative chronology, as mentioned above. If *Éstid a eolchu...* was also used in the production of synchronistic texts, this would provide a parallel for its role in *m* and *N*, where it complements

⁸² *Lebor Gabála* IV, § 376, pp. 208–11; *Palatino-Vaticanus*, p. 292.

⁸³ *Palatino-Vaticanus*, ll. 1921–32, pp. 226–7; *LL* I, ll. 1432–44, p. 45.

⁸⁴ *Palatino-Vaticanus*, p. 292: 'and in the fifteenth year after that, Cairpre died by a beam of the sun and Étaín died', author's own translation.

⁸⁵ *Lebor Gabála*, IV ll. 1929–30, pp. 226–7: 'of a beam of the pure sun / died Cairpre the great, son of Étaín', author's own translation; *LL* I, l. 1328–9, p. 42. The expected genitive of Étaín would be *Étaíne*.

⁸⁶ Smith suggests that this sort of apparatus developed after the work of Flann Mainistrech and was perhaps based on it: 'Historical Poetry', p. 341.

versions in *Lebor Gabála* that are focused on regnal and genealogical history.

The identity of the Túatha Dé Danann

Both F and *c* are reasonably explicit about why they are citing *Éstid a eolchu...* and attestations elsewhere in the extant literature of the issues and concepts involved have previously been mentioned. If we consider the additional quatrains in *m* and *Lc* to be a later addition to the poem, this would provide a further instance in which *Éstid a eolchu...* might be seen in light of uncertainty as to the identity of the Túatha Dé Danann.

It is not clear if the use of *Éstid a eolchu...* in this context is actually a later development subsequent to the reading evidenced in *m* and N. Indeed, the additional quatrains in *m* demonstrate that such an interpretation had been made by someone at the time of *m*'s compilation. On the other hand, both F and *c* are derived from a lost version or group of versions, termed *U by Scowcroft, which did not influence *m* or N.⁸⁷ The interpretation of *Éstid a eolchu...* in F and *c* could thus be derived from an innovation at that stage.

It is also possible that a general uncertainty concerning the Túatha Dé Danann fluctuated over time or was particular to certain circles of scholars, although both these factors are unfortunately difficult to measure. The compilatory character of *Lebor Gabála* means that inconsistencies in the treatment of certain subjects are to be expected. Indeed, Scowcroft has suggested that the compilation purposefully brings different types of material and different viewpoints together.⁸⁸ For example, as we have seen, F appears to conclude that the Túatha Dé Danann were demons but also includes genealogies tracing them back to Noah; F's remark 'ni fes bunadhus doibh' may represent the compiler's own view, although even that sentence closely echoes the ninth-century text, *Scél Túain maic Chairrill*

⁸⁷ Scowcroft, 'Medieval Recensions', pp. 4–5.

⁸⁸ Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part I', p. 91.

(‘The Tale of Túan mac Cairril’).⁸⁹ In contrast, N does not mention the possibility that the Túatha Dé Danann are demons and similarly includes their genealogies; nonetheless, N remarks cryptically that they initially came to Ireland in dark clouds.⁹⁰ Integrating a range of authoritative sources seems to have been at least as much of a priority in *Lebor Gabála* as propagating particular interpretations was; this seems starkly evidenced by the way *c* constructs a discussion of the Túatha Dé Danann entirely out of material from *a* and *b*.⁹¹

The interpretation of *Éstid a eolchu...* in F and L*c* could thus be derived from an attempt to reconcile it with other material in the tradition. Rather than taking a cavalier approach to the *intentio auctoris* of the poem and use it to propagate their own views, the redactors of *Lebor Gabála* can be understood as questioning and engaging with the poem in the context of other early material in the tradition. For example, *b* does not include *Éstid a eolchu...* but it does cite the deaths of the Túatha Dé Danann as a reason for regarding them as human.⁹² Both this passage and the corresponding section of *c* cite their knowledge and skills as an argument that they are not only human but also good.⁹³ The difficulty of tracing their genealogies is cited as key to the debate about whether they are human, as it is in the passages introducing *Éstid a eolchu...* in F and *c*.⁹⁴

In *m* and N, *Éstid a eolchu...* follows on from genealogies. In F, it follows both genealogies and material on the knowledge and skills of the Túatha Dé Danann. There is, therefore, considerable overlap between the topics of the debate on their identity in *b*, F and *c* and the poem’s wider context in N and *m*. If N or *m* were read in light of the debates found in *b*, their human ancestors, their deaths and the

⁸⁹ *Lebor Gabála* IV, § 306, pp. 106–9: ‘their origin is uncertain’, author’s own translation; ‘Scél Túain maic Chairril’, ed. and trans. J. Carey, *Ériu* 35 (1984), 93–111, at l. 57.

⁹⁰ *Lebor Gabála* IV, § 306, pp. 106–9; *LL* I, ll. 1054, p. 33.

⁹¹ See above, p. 76.

⁹² *Lebor Gabála* IV, § 353, pp. 164–5.

⁹³ *Ibid.* § 371, pp. 200–3.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* § 353, pp. 164–5.

broadly realistic reign-lengths of their kings in these versions could easily be re-analysed as arguments that they are human, whatever the original purpose of such material.⁹⁵ Indeed, it has been suggested by both Carey and Myles Dillon that the original purpose of locating the Túatha Dé Danann in the historical scheme set out in *Lebor Gabála* was to render them human beings and thus euhemerize them.⁹⁶ This may also explain the presence of the additional quatrains in the texts of *Éstid a eolchu...* in *m*. The later versions may thus be interpreting the intention behind the material more accurately than the earliest extant versions.

Specifically, suspicion concerning the ancestry of the Túatha Dé Danann could be due to the archaic nature of these genealogies within the *Lebor Gabála* tradition. As discussed above, these genealogies are based on synchronising the arrival of the Gaídil with King David, while subsequent versions of the compilation date the same event much later.⁹⁷ Such a discrepancy may be behind the suggestion in *b* that the genealogies of the Túatha Dé Danann cannot be reckoned back.⁹⁸

The interpretation of *Éstid a eolchu...* in *F* and *Lc* could be regarded as rhetorical invention reflecting a new agenda of the compilers, comparable with the treatment of *intentio auctoris* in medieval commentary tradition, as analysed by Rita Copeland.⁹⁹ There were undoubtedly wider cultural and intellectual anxieties that influenced the treatment of the Túatha Dé Danann in texts like *Lebor Gabála*. However, the debate concerning them, into which *Éstid a eolchu...* is explicitly drawn in *F* and *c*, very often concerns material already contained within the *Lebor Gabála* tradition. The debate may thus be an expression of perceived tensions and disagreements arising from

⁹⁵ For the use of genealogies of gods in refuting paganism elsewhere, see T. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 201.

⁹⁶ Dillon, 'Lebor Gabála', p. 62; Carey, *A Single Ray*, p. 16.

⁹⁷ See above, p. 75.

⁹⁸ *Lebor Gabála* IV, § 353, pp. 164–5.

⁹⁹ R. Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 186–220.

attempts to reconcile the different versions of the compilation and not the conscious imposition of an entirely new interest on the material. There are problems with this interpretation, however. For example, it assumes a detailed, general knowledge of the entire tradition on the part of the scribes and compilers. This is not at all impossible but it is not evidenced in the texts they actually produced, which have been shown to have definite affiliations.¹⁰⁰

CONCLUSION

Éstid a eolchu... is a junction for some of the key concepts and methodologies within the *Lebor Gabála* tradition. Its various interpretations and uses give the impression that the meaning of an ‘authoritative’ poem could, in fact, be manipulated by later compilers or continuators, with interesting implications for the nature of its authority. However, this manipulation should not necessarily be understood as conscious deception. The treatment of the Túatha Dé Danann as an historical people and the discussion of whether they are human, while differing in presentation, have been shown to be potentially interlinked conceptually and based on the same material. The different uses of *Éstid a eolchu...* may thus be the product of the developing understanding and discussion of that material in the course of the *Lebor Gabála* project, rather than the imposition of new readings upon it. The poem was considered authoritative but its meaning was derived from a wide-ranging consideration of the *Lebor Gabála* tradition and perhaps other texts as well. Indeed, the frequency of references in the treatment of this poem to ideas not expressed in *Lebor Gabála* itself in or around *Éstid a eolchu...* adds a new dimension to the poem’s treatment; these include the existence of the Túatha Dé Danann at the coming of Christianity or their repose in *Tír Tairngire*. These remind us that even a text with the scope of *Lebor Gabála* was composed, compiled and intended to be read in a wider literary and cultural context which may also have been

¹⁰⁰ Scowcroft, ‘Medieval Recensions’, p. 18.

authoritative and influenced the treatment of material within the compilation.

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