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POEMS BY FLANN MAINISTRECH ON THE DYNASTIES OF AILECH, MIDE AND BREGA

THE Book of Leinster contains a series of poems on the history of the Ui Neill, occupying, in the "facsimile," pages 181-185 and ten lines of page 186. The series is divided by the scribe into seven separate poems, which I have numbered I. to VII. The opening lines are as follows:—

- I. *Cia triallaid nech aiséis senchais Ailig eltaig.*
- II. *Cind cethri ndini iar Frigrind forraig gleagal.*
- III. *Ascnam ní seol sadal iarsain slicht cen breobail.*
- IV. *Aní do ronsat do chalmu clanna Eogain.*
- V. *A ngluind a n-echta a n-orgni batar infr.*
- VI. *Mide magén clainne Cuind forod clainne Neill nertluind.*
- VII. *Síl Aeda Sláne na sleg dia sásar mór ríag ríagel.*

The scribe gives the authorship of I., VI., and VII. thus: I., "*Fland M[anistrech] cc.*"; VI., "*Fland cc.*"; VII., "*Fland Manistrech cc.*" The ascription of authorship in the case of I. is probably intended to cover the series I. to V. In the concluding stanza of V., the author states himself to be "*Fland fer legind ó Manistir,*" Flann the Lector from Monasterboice, who died in 1056.

The seven poems have this in common, that they deal with the history of the chief dynasties of the Ui Néill, descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages. To these dynasties, of Ailech, Mide, and Brega,¹ the petty kingdoms ruled by kings

¹ The kingdom of Ailech, or of the Fochla, comprised all the states of the Northern Ui Neill. In the 5th century, it was about coextensive with Co. Donegal; in the 9th, it comprised also the counties of Londonderry and Tyrone. The barony of Carbury, Co. Sligo, was also in theory under the king of Ailech. Mide = Westmeath, Co. Longford, and most of King's County. Its kings were also called kings of Uisnech. Brega = Meath and the adjoining seaboard from Dublin to Ardee. Each of these kingdoms included a number of petty kingdoms.

of the race of Niall were all, at least in theory, subordinate. In the political doctrine of the Book of Rights, the superior dynasties are only two, of Ailech and of Temair. The annals, however, between the early part of the seventh and the close of the eleventh century, recognise over-kings of Brega who are quite distinct from the over-kings of Mide. They give the title of "king of Temair" to such kings only as were monarchs of Ireland, until the middle of the eleventh century, when the kings of Mide begin to be called kings of Temair. It will be seen from the note on stanza 35, poem VII., that by that time the over-kinship of Brega, inherent in the line of Aed Sláne, had come to an end. While it lasted, the kings of Mide could not well have assumed a title from Temair, the traditional seat of authority in Brega, without giving grave cause of offence to powerful neighbours.

A rearrangement of the seven poems will be found desirable. Poems I., II., IV. and V. form in fact a single poem in four sections, its subject being the dynasty of Ailech. Section I. contains the *dinnsenchus* or place-name-legend of Ailech; and the poet begins by making a graceful excuse for trespassing on ground already occupied by a brother poet, Eochaid. He alludes, no doubt, to the other *dinnsenchus* poem on Ailech, LL. 164A, and to the poet Eochaid Ua Flainn. Flann's poem (I.) on the legend of Ailech has already been printed and translated by Edward Gwynn in the *Metrical Dinnsenchus*, and as its contents are not historical matter, I am relieved from any need to deal with its text. Section II. begins with a reference to the closing part of section I., and the first word of II., *Cind*, alliterates with the last word of the stanza which precedes it, *cia*. Such alliteration of last and first words, from stanza to stanza, is a normal feature of the metre employed. Section II. is a versified regnal list of the kings of Ailech. It ends with the word *cia*, with which I. begins. Section III., as will be seen, does not belong to the series. The opening of IV. does not furnish the expected alliteration with the closing word of II., *cia*, unless we go so far as to trace the alliterative

link in *chalmu*; but possibly the line now second originally came first—*Cia 'me ráidid*, &c. The closing stanzas found in IV. are shown in the notes to have been added after Flann's time. The subject of IV. is the victories of Cénel nEogain, the sept of the kings of Ailech. Section V. recites the personal exploits of these kings. It ends, not with its own opening word, but with the opening word of I. Sections I., II., IV. and V. are all in the same metre, *snédbairdne*, one of the most intricate and interesting of Irish metrical forms, described in Meyer's "Primer of Irish Metric," No. 34, p. 19; the variations there also described, which are distinguished by the names *ollbairdne Rúaminn* and *dechnad cummaisc*, are freely introduced. In the last stanza of V., Flann declares his authorship. There is no previous ascription to him at the head of any section except the first. Beyond doubt, then, these four sections are parts of one continuous poem.

Section III. is not part of this poem. Its stanzas 1 to 17 are in a quite distinct metre, *rindaird* or *leth-dechnach* (No. 7, p. 14, in Meyer's Primer). Stanzas 18 to 23 vary the form by adding a syllable to each line of the quatrain, thus passing into the heptasyllabic metre called *rannaigeacht recomarcach*. The poem has an abrupt and unfinished ending. Its contents combine, as far as it goes, the subjects dealt with in IV. and V., and passages have been transferred from one poem to the other with no greater changes than the change of metre required. Two alternative views of III. occur to me. It may be a fragment of an older poem used by Flann in the composition of IV. and V., and may have been found, after Flann's death, along with his MS. of I.-V., perhaps in the relative position which it now occupies in LL. But I rather incline to the view that III. also is Flann's work. This implies that Flann first wrote a poem, complete in itself, which is now contained in I. and II.; that he then began another poem, III., on the achievements of the kings,—battles and personal feats together; that after finishing stanza 17, he became dissatisfied with the metrical form, and adopted a new form, in which the longer

line gave greater freedom ; and that he broke off after stanza 23, deciding to treat the matter of III. under two separate heads and in continuation of I. and II. ; in short, that III. is an abandoned experiment by Flann.

Sections VI. and VII. are two distinct poems. The metre of both is *debide*. They are versified regnal lists, VI. of the dynasty of Mide, VII. of the dynasty of Brega. In VI., stanzas 49 and 50 have been added after Flann's death, to bring in the reign of Murchad. Stanza 51 shows plainly that the poem originally ended in the reign of Conchobor, who outlived Flann.

The longer poem I.-V. (omitting III. and other additions already noted) dates between 1047 and 1056 (see note on V. 66) ; VI. between 1030 and 1056 ; VII. before 1056. The language of the poems, having regard to their date, may be found worthy of special study, but it must suffice for me to point out that Flann freely chooses between earlier and later word-forms to suit his metre, and that, like most writers who use this freedom, he may be expected to employ occasional pseudo-archaisms. His use of the metre *snédbairdne* will be seen to furnish a whole crop of exemplifications of the metrical law of "quantitative assonance" announced by Meyer in "Eriu," Vol. 6, Parts 1 and 2. The date and authorship of these poems having been established, their chief importance consists in their relations to the historical record otherwise known. The poems deal with the documentary period, as we may call it, of Irish history, the period for which contemporary written records exist, or are ascertained to have existed. The ascertained contemporary records of Ireland begin, as is known, with the authentic writings of Saint Patrick, so that the documentary period of Irish history is practically the same as the period of fully organized Christianity. The poems, then, are a compact mass of statements on matters of history, and are the work of a man of great repute as a medieval Irish historian. I do not argue that their statements belong to the best class of historical evidence, except for the period in which Flann Mainistrech was a living witness or was in touch with

living witnesses—let us say the century 950–1050. For earlier events, Flann, like ourselves, was dependent on the testimony of irrevocable absentees, the dead; but we must consider the question, how much more abundant, and drawn from how many more independent sources, such testimony was likely to have been in his time than in ours. Apart from the contemporary history contributed by Flann himself, let us consider what sources he was likely to have consulted. I am not raising the question of the value which, from the point of view of the modern student of history, such statements as form the matter of these poems may possess. It may be enough on that point to say that every fully established fact of history has an incalculable value. Flann's non-contemporary sources, then, are likely to have been of the following kinds:—

I. Annals.

II. Regnal lists. It was the fashion of such lists in medieval Ireland, to give the name of each king, the length of his reign, and the manner of his death. Usually, but not always, his father's name was given, and sometimes his pedigree was traced one or more stages further. Occasionally some important event of his reign was added. In fact, the particulars supplied were similar to those embodied in these poems. The plan may be traced in the Irish synchronisms, which are modelled, with abridgement, on the Eusebian chronicle.

III. Genealogies. These supplement the annals, and help greatly to explain them. They also contain many statements of events not recorded in the extant annals.

IV. Miscellaneous literature, such as poems on the dynastic families and their doings, hagiology, and sagas arising out of historical events.

V. We may add, detached memoranda entered in monastic calendars, or in the blank spaces of manuscripts. Such memoranda appear to have supplied much material to the annalists.

Flann does not seem to have gone much in search of material to sources other than the annals and regnal lists. These provided just the sort of record that he desired. His work was mainly to abstract from them, and to supply the

“thread of poetry.” Though a bare list of names, regnal years, and events, is bad stuff for poetry, it is remarkable how Flann and other poets like him could carry themselves through such a task, and through the additional difficulties of complex metre, with unfailing grace and distinction.

The dates supplied in annotation will enable comparison to be made between Flann’s record and the record of the extant annals. To have quoted the words of the annals in each instance would have swelled this paper to an unwieldy bulk, but the reader who follows up the references will find two conclusions amply justified:—

1. Flann had access to the selfsame ancient chronicle which forms the common ground, *verbatim*, of the “Annals of Ulster” and the “Annals of Tigernach” down to the lacuna 767–973 in Tigernach.

2. For the period covered by that chronicle, Flann had not access to any other and independent chronicle.

The second conclusion is of great importance, for it implies that Flann at Monasterboice in the middle of the eleventh century, Tigernach at Clonmacnois in the next generation, and the chronicler or chroniclers whose work parted company with Tigernach’s before the year 974, and has been preserved in the “Annals of Ulster,” knew only one Irish chronicle for the period 432–767, and probably, as we shall see, for a century or so later. The only evidence to be found on this last thesis is the point at which Flann ceases to depend on the material contained in the “Annals of Ulster.” When Tigernach’s chronicle resumes after the lacuna, all three records are independent; there is no longer any close parallelism between him and the “Annals of Ulster,” and Flann has living testimony to consult for every statement.¹

The notes on II. show that Flann keeps close to the record in the “Annals of Ulster,” so close that he is sometimes

¹ Since this was written, I have come to the conclusion, for reasons which I hope to publish soon, that Tigernach’s authorship of the chronicle named from him since the time of Sir James Ware cannot be sustained, except in respect of the entries of events contemporary with Tigernach’s time of writing, a short series of years ending in 1088.

misled by superficial appearances, until the middle of the ninth century. In stanza 16, in the reigns of Mael Dúin son of Aed, and of Aed Findliath—*i.e.*, between 846 and 879—Flann begins to part company with this record and to follow other evidences.

In IV., dealing with the victories of the kings of Ailech, Flann is less dependent on the extant chronicle. No doubt, he had access to poems such as are occasionally quoted in the early annals, giving accounts and sometimes lists of battles, with various details. Some of the entries in the annals themselves appear to be founded in part on similar material.

Section V. deals with somewhat the same class of events as IV. As in IV., Flann uses sources independent of the extant chronicle, but he uses the chronicle also, and shows a close parallelism to it in many of his statements until the middle of the ninth century is reached.

For VI. Flann has two chief authorities, the extant chronicle, and a regnal list which seems to be also the source of the list preserved and continued in LL. 42, col. 1; but he adds various particulars from other sources. Again Flann becomes independent of the extant chronicle from about the middle of the ninth century. In VII., which deals with the dynasty of Brega, Flann is in his own district, and does not depend on our chronicle, indeed is often remarkably at variance with it. No doubt the manuscripts of Monasterboice afforded plenty of data, authentic and otherwise, about the kings of Brega.

Especially noteworthy in IV. is the lacuna of events between 868 and 913, and the chronological disorder of the events that follow—933, 926, 973, 967, 974 (AU dating corrected). A similar blank of events is found in the parallel section V., from 866 to 914 (AU does not record the event stated in stanza 37, and does not name *Mael Dúin ardrí Airgiall*, nor is his name found in the list of *ardrig Airgiall* in BB. 117a); and this blank is followed by a similar disorder of dates—915, 921 ? 927, 941, 926, 933, 932, 927, 932 973.

Now within the blank period 868-913 the "Annals of Ulster" record a series of achievements by the kings of Ailech, events exactly of the kind commemorated by Flann in IV. and V.:

869 (=870). "Leinster overrun by Aed son of Niall from Ath Cliath to Gabruan."

870 (=871). "Cathalan son of Indrechtach, half-king of the Ulaid, jugulatus est dolose consilio Aedo."

"Expugnatio Duin Sobairce, quod antea non perfectum est. The Foreigners joined Cenél nEogain in it."

873 (=874). "Expedition by Aed son of Niall against Leinster," &c.

888 (=889). "Expedition by Domnall son of Aed with the Men of the North of Ireland and the Foreigners against the Southern Ui Néill."

907 (=908). "Expedition by Cenél nEogain under Domnall and Niall, sons of Aed, so that Tlachtga was burned by them."

911 (=912). "Cernachan son of Duilgen, eligible prince of the Airthir, occisus est in lacu crudeli by Niall son of Aed."

913 (=914). Victory by Niall son of Aed over Dál Araidi at Fregabal.

Flann's omission of these events, taken together with what has been said as to the relations of his poem to the extant annals, shows that the version of the extant chronicle to which he had access came down to about the year 868 and no further. Perhaps this chronicle was compiled by Dublittir, abbot of Clones and Tyfarnham, the "illustrious historian" whose obit is given in AU at 879 = 880. At all events, it seems evident that only one continuous and detailed chronicle of Ireland survived the main time of the Norse ravages, the time of Turges (+ 845), of Imar, "rex Nordmannorum totius Hiberniae et Britanniae" (+ 847), and of his comrade Amlaib who sacked Armagh in 869. The blank in Flann's record of events corresponds almost precisely to a period for which the annals note a symptom of great social confusion. In 873, the

Assembly of Tailtiu, for the first time in history, was abandoned “sine causa iusta et digna, quod non audiuius ab antiquis temporibus cecidisse.” Again in 876, 878, 888, and 889, the omission to hold the assembly is recorded. Niall Glúndubh, in the year of his accession to the monarchy, 916, revived this national institution, “quod multis temporibus praetermissum est.”

In sum, it appears likely that we still possess the only collection of Irish annals that survived the disasters of the ninth century.

The use of Flann’s poems by the Four Masters to supplement the annals is exemplified in some of the notes. This suggests a precaution, sometimes forgotten, against taking for corroboration what may be mere repetition.

The genealogical trees of the three dynasties have been drawn up from Flann’s poems, the annals, and the genealogies.¹ They give a graphic view of the course of succession. In general, I think that, apart from cases of violent intrusion, the law or custom of succession had in view a dynastic *derbfine* or family of three generations descended from a king, so that a *rigdamna* or eligible prince should be the son, grandson, or great-grandson of a king. In that view, any branch of the royal line which failed to secure the kingship within three generations would become excluded from the succession. The view that lawful succession was limited to four generations, a recognised king, his sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons, seems to find expression in the proverb *cúig glúine ó rígh go rámbainn*, “five generations from king to spade.” A man of the fifth generation was outside of the royal family, and was not recognised to be *rigdamna*.

It is evident that, under such a law of eligibility, a dynasty might be continued in more than one line, so long as each line could secure the kingship without a break of three generations.

¹ To make the annals intelligible, nothing is more urgently needed than the publication of the genealogies, which contain much of the history of ancient Ireland.

This is exemplified in the Ailech dynasty. The succession was held for three centuries in the two lines of Niall Glúndubh (+ 919) and of his brother Domnall (+ 915). This law of succession, while it ostensibly allowed election of "the best man" of those eligible, was the worst element in the Irish polity, leading to endless rivalries, and was the most frequent cause of domestic war. After much strife between the two royal lines of Ailech, the succession in the MacLochlainn family, descended from Domnall, was brought to an end by Brian Ua Néill, descendant of Niall Glúndubh, in the battle of Caimeirghe, 1241, when "Domnall MacLochlainn, king of Tír Eogain, and ten of his own *derbfine* around him, and all the chiefs of Cenél Eogain [that supported him] were slain."¹

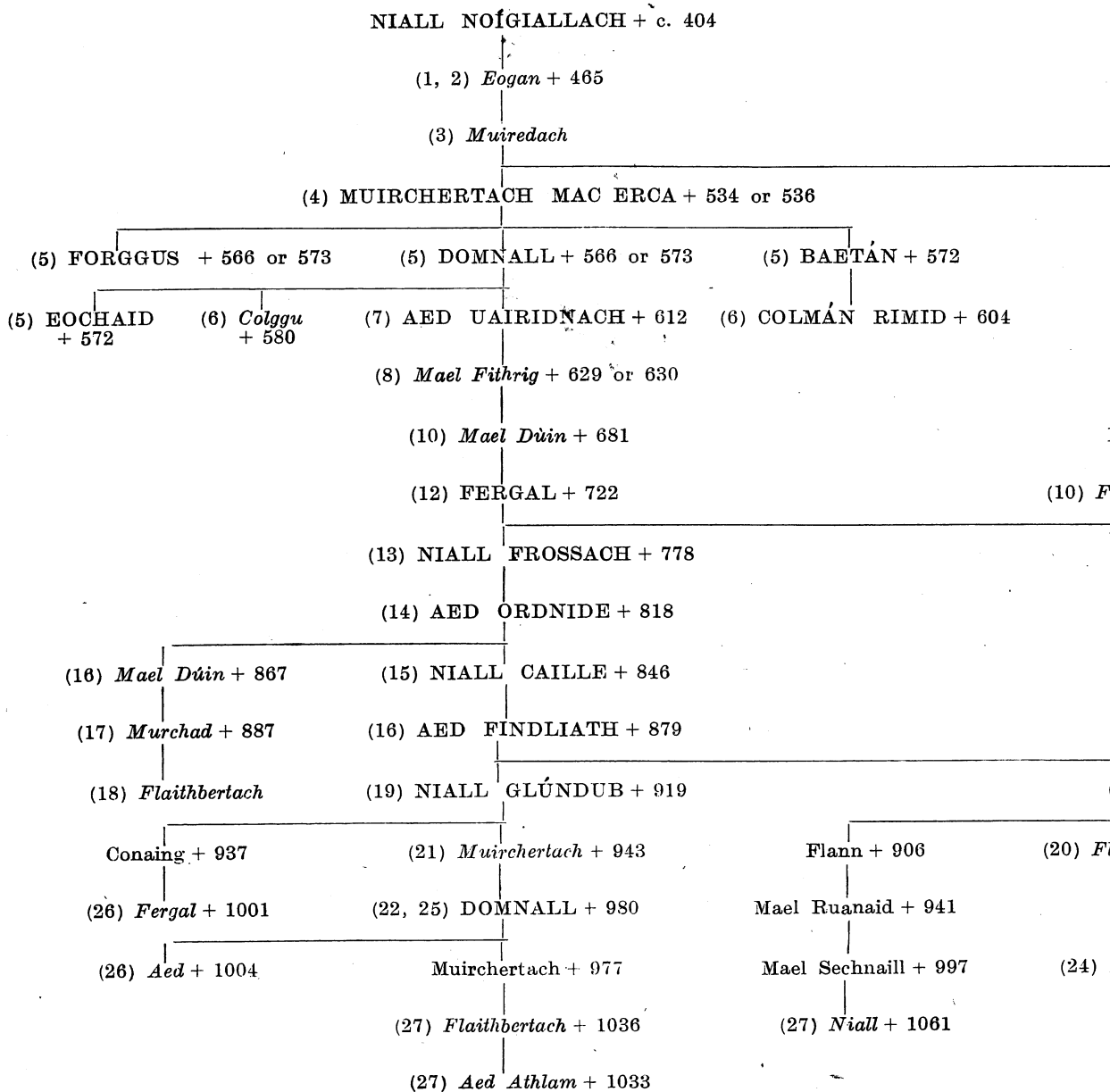
In this view, Congalach's reign as high king (vii 33) was by usurpation, and may have led to the overthrow of his line, the dynasty of Brega, by Mael Sechnaill. Donnchad (+1017), son of Donnchad whom Mael Sechnaill put to death (+991, vii 35), son of Domnall (+ 976 vii 34), son of Congalach, belonged thus to the *derbfine* of a high king, and is entitled (AU 1017) *rigdamna Érenn*.

The pedigrees corroborate Flann in the main, and correct him in a few instances. They also serve to show how full and accurate on the whole is the extant record of the chief kings of the Northern and Southern Ui Néill. A certain degree of confusion as to dates, sometimes amounting to discrepancies of seven or eight years, may be noted in the period before A.D. 600. The article in "Eriu," vol. 3, part 2, by Anscombe, on the Exordium of the *Annales Cambriae*, contains a suggestion by which the existence of this confusion may well be explained. Early in the seventh century, the Irish began to

¹ AU 1241. The editor translates *derbfine* by "tribe"; but the term is used, I think, to cover only the eligible members of the royal line. It extended to grandsons and great-grandsons of a lawful possessor. See "O'Donovan's Suppl. to O'Reilly's Dict.," s.v. *derbhfine*. See also Meyer's edition of a law-tract in "Eriu," Vol. I., Part II., where the *derbfine* comprises a man, his son, his father, and his grandfather, and the grandfather's descendants.

GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF AILECH (*i.e.*,

(The numbers in brackets refer to the stanzas of poem II. Italics denote kings of Ailech.)



OGY OF THE KINGS OF AILECH (*i.e.*, of Cenél nEogain)

the stanzas of poem II. Italics denote kings of Ailech ; capitals, kings also of Ireland).

CH + c. 404

5

ERCA + 534 or 536

6 or 573

(5) BAETÁN + 572

CH + 612

(6) COLMÁN RIMID + 604

or 630

681

22

CH + 778

E + 818

E + 846

CH + 879

UB + 919

- 943

980

77

1036

1033

Feradach

Fergna

(8) *Ernaine* + 636

(7) SUIBNE MENN + 628

(9) *Crunnmael*

Mael Tuile

(9) *Fergus* + 671

?

(10) *Flann Find* + 700

(11) *Aurthuile*
deposed, 700

(12) AED ALLÁN + 743

(13) *Mael Duin* + 788

(14) *Murchad*, deposed, 823

(18) *Domnall* + 915

Flann + 906

(20) *Flaithbertach* + 919

Conchobor + 935

(21) *Fergal* + 938

Mael Ruanaid + 941

?

Flaithbertach
Tadc
Conn

(23) + 962

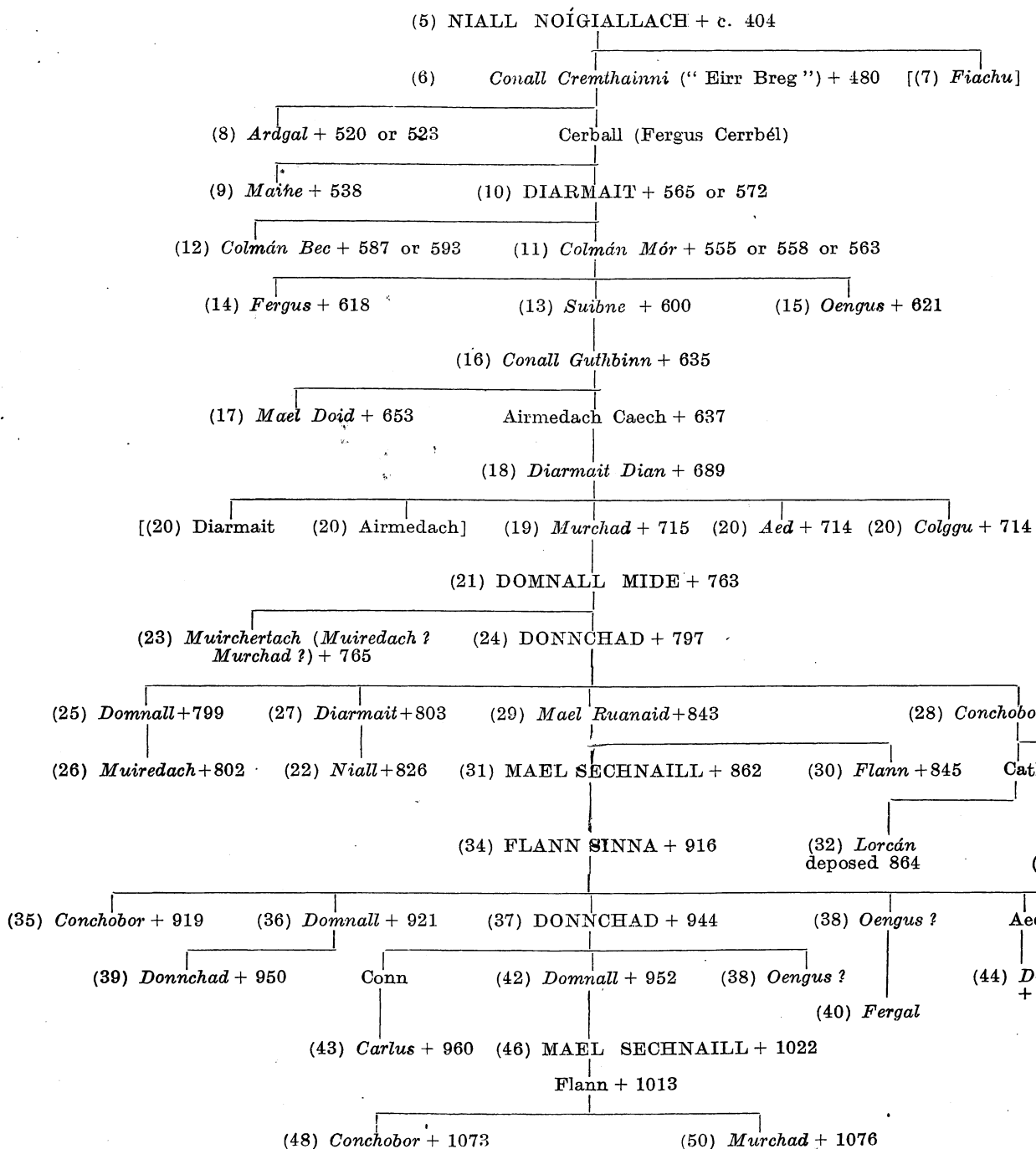
Mael Sechnaill + 997

(24) *Murchad* + 974

(27) *Niall* + 1061

GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF MEATH.

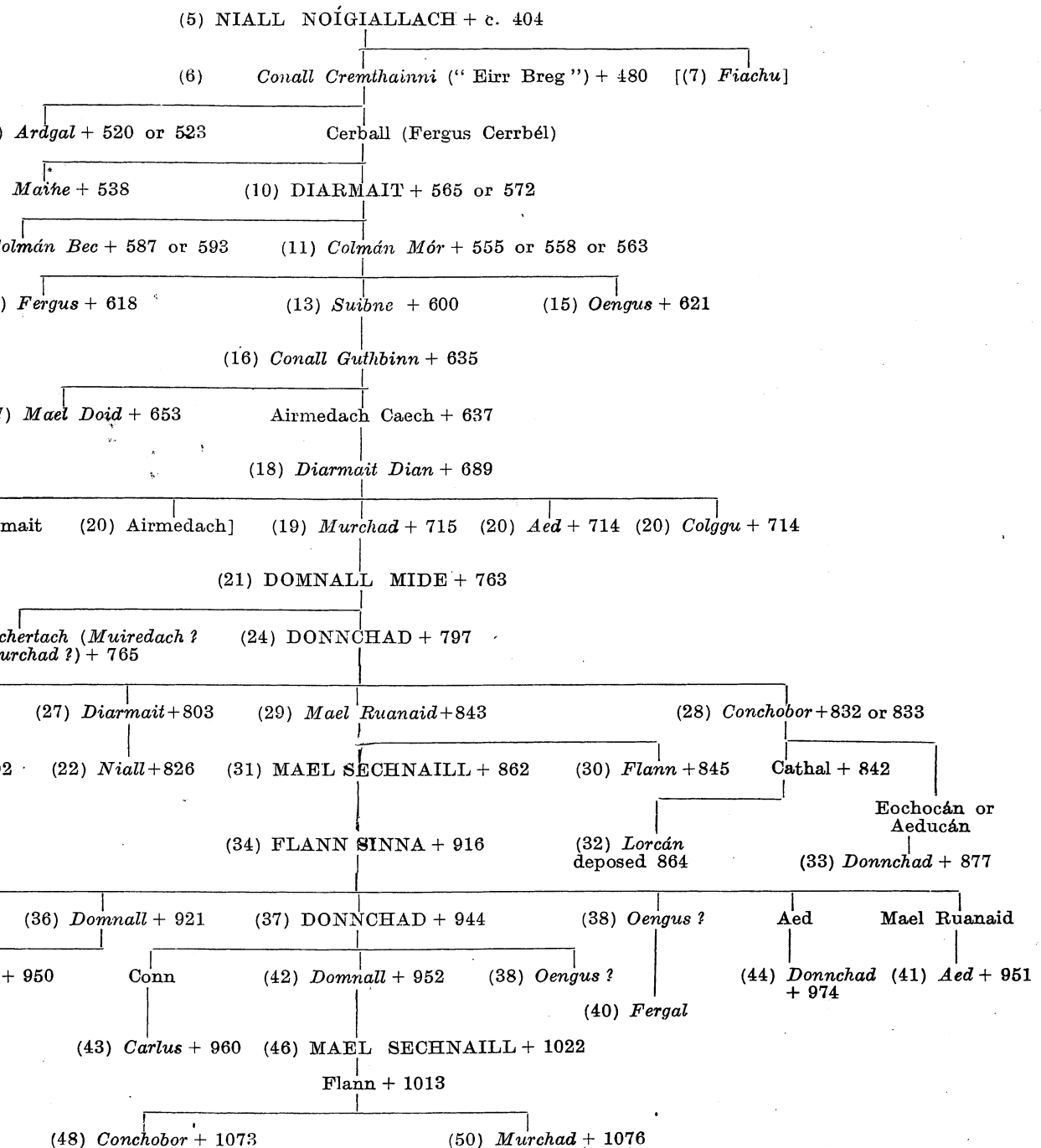
(The numbers in brackets refer to the stanzas of poem VI. Italics denote kings of Meath; capitals, k



[I have not found the pedigrees of *Mael Sechnaill Got* (47) + 1025, *Roen* (47) + 1027, and *Domnall*

GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF MEATH.

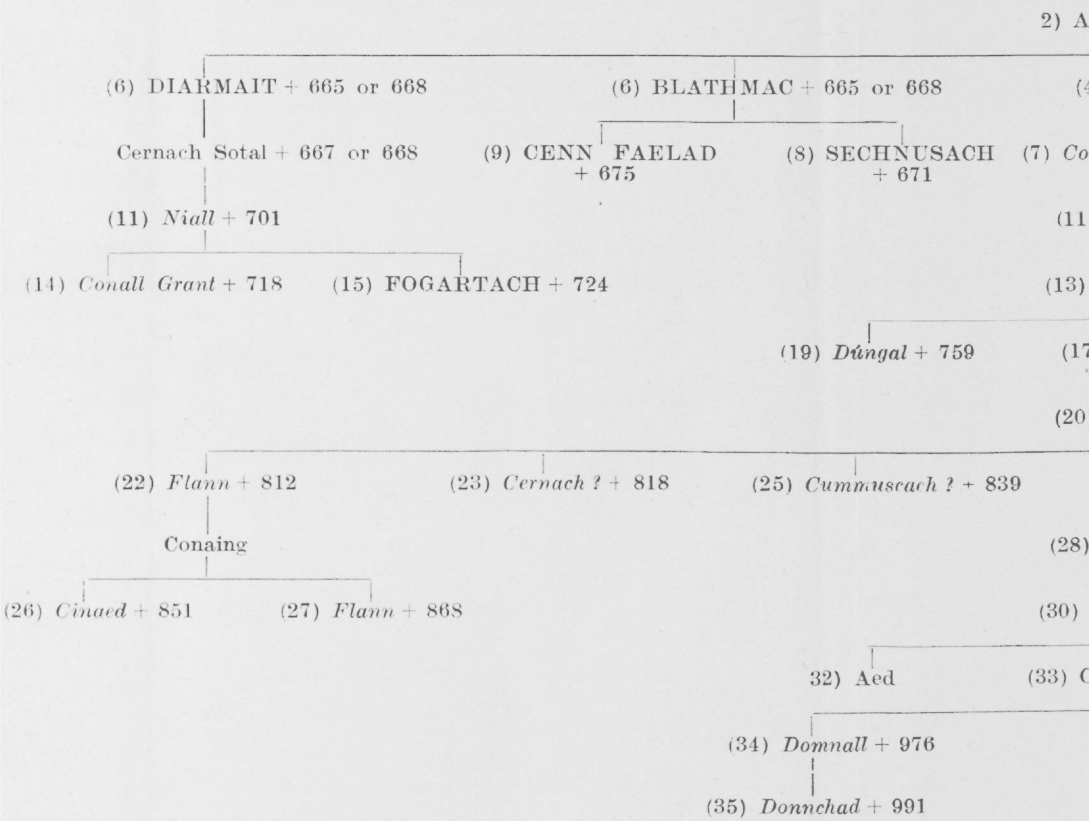
brackets refer to the stanzas of poem VI. Italics denote kings of Meath; capitals, kings also of Ireland).



and the pedigrees of *Mael Sechnaill Got* (47) + 1025, *Roén* (47) + 1027, and *Domnall Got* (48) + 1030.]

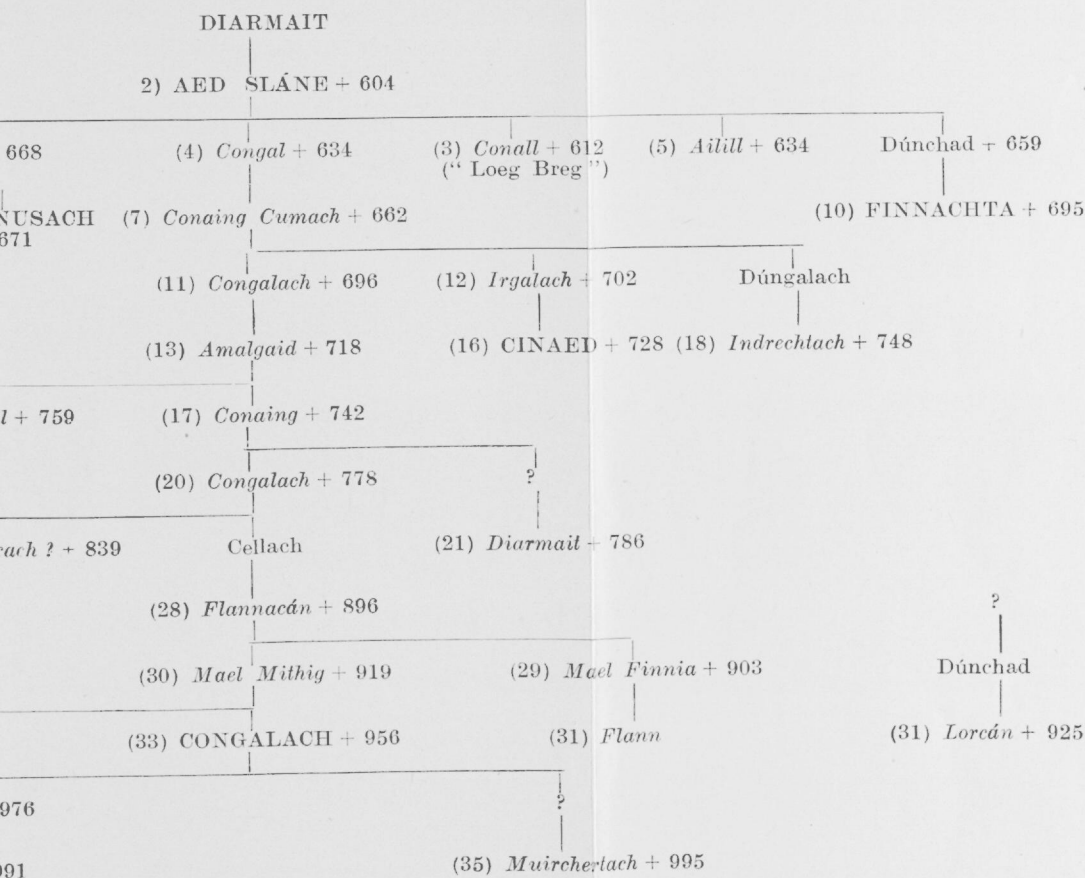
GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF BREGA, FROM DIARMAIT (+ 565 or

(The numbers in brackets refer to the stanzas of poem VII. Italics den



IT (+ 565 or 572) IN THE GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF MIDE.

VII. Italics denote kings of Bregha; capitals, kings also of Ireland).



reform their system or systems of chronography in conformity with the system then employed by the Holy See. The change took about a century to effect throughout the whole of Ireland, and involved, as is known, a fierce and stubborn controversy. The Catholic orthodoxy of those who stood out for the old computistic methods was impugned. In these circumstances, it is not to be wondered that records, so far as their chronography followed the old lines, should have become obnoxious, and that in many cases the dates should have been expunged, or the heterodox dating criteria omitted in transcription; and so it would become difficult at a later time to ascertain the true dates. Thus in the "Annals of Ulster" we find often two and sometimes three dates assigned for important events of the fifth and sixth centuries, and the uncertainty remains in evidence to some extent beyond the middle of the seventh century; *e.g.*, where the deaths of the high kings Diarmait and Blathmac, and of Saint Féichín of Fobhar, in the yellow plague, are recorded under the year 664, and again, "*secundum alium librum*," under 667. These doubts, however, indicate that several distinct Irish chronicles were in existence in the seventh century.

JOHN MACNEILL.

LL. 181b-13.

II.

1. Cind cethri ndíni iar Frigrind forraig gleōgal
Ailech ágmar ro gab ānrath airech Eōgan.
2. Eōgan *mac* Néill ro rīgad i n-Ailiuch iaram
ūaig ar rálad rī ré da fichet būan bliadan
3. Báí Muridach and dia éis ō dún nī dichet
fīalglan fethet rī ré cethri mbliadan fichet.
4. Fichi fa dí do Murchertach mór *Mac* Erca
clethail chachta *ocus* a cethair co certa.
5. Cert-fichi a trí do Fergus¹ do Domnall cen deochaid
a *secht* do Baetán co mbrethaib *ocus* d'Eochaid.
6. Ōen-ocht mbliadan do Cholgain *mac* Domnaill dírig
cobrad n-eōlaig la trí secht do Cholmán Rímid.
7. Ōen-ocht mbliadan² do Āed Ollán *mac* Domnaill ōs iathbla
da secht do Subni Mind móortha *mac* find Fīachna.
8. Féig a dó do Máel find Fithrig iar n-a iaram
Ernain[e] *mac* Fīachnai in fénnid ré sē bliadnaib.
9. A sé fo chethair do Chrundmáel *mac* sāer Subni
cen locht do Fergus co foibdi a *bocht* umli.
10. A deich do Māel Dūin *mac* Māel Fithrig mar ro fāemad³
Fland let os lind a *bocht dec* do *mac* Cind Fāelad.
11. Sé mīs do Erthaile ō Chrundmāel cetaib cure⁴
gáine gaile sé mīs do *mac* Máile Tuile.
12. Trí secht mbliadan do *mac* Máile Dūin do Fergal
clandad chomram trí *secht* do Aed Alláin na n-ergal.
13. Erbb úait *secht* cóic do Níall Frossach cia fuair forrán
a *deich* dāena do Māel Dūin *mac* Aeda Alláin.
14. Ōen ar trichait do Āed Ordride na ro fubthad
da dó cen rúin do *mac* Māele Dūin do Murchad.
15. Mad Níall Caille *mac* Aeda Orddride airig
fichi a trí os lāechmaig Lí ba rí Ailig.
16. A cóic fa thrí do Māel Dūin do *mac* Aeda ind orddain⁵
a trí da secht do Āed Findliath fecht nī *terc* torcaib.

¹ Read *d'Forgus*.² To alliterate with the closing word of the preceding couplet, read *Ré ocht mbliadan* or *Rím ocht mbladna*. The noun *bladain*, usually contracted in the MS., seems to vary in inflexion between earlier and later usage. Two syll. in excess; omit *Ollán*, which is probably a gloss.³ One syll. in excess; omit *do*, or read *A deich do mac Máile Fithrig mar ro faemad*.⁴ *Curé* in facs.⁵ Two syll. in excess. Omit the second *do*, and count the final vowel of *Aeda* as elided.

17. Triallais Murchad *macc* Mael Dūin ré *secht* mblíadan ¹
réil.ro rélad ōna gēbad acht a gīallad.
18. Gabais a *macc* Flathbertach fri ré *noi* mblíadan
comrand cāemfer malle ocus Domnall dīanglan.
19. Domnall iar sin fria *noi* [mblíadna] déc fri dúrdul
fīal in fāelur malle ocus Níall Glūdub.²
20. Gabais Níall *for* Temraig tīrig ríge rīarglain
Flaithbertach i n-Ailiuch Eōgain teora ³ bliadnaib.
21. Núi mblíadna déc do Fergal *macc* Domnail[1] dela
a *coic* iar cét ⁴ do Murchertach *macc* Néil nela.
22. Teora bliadna déc do Domnall cona degblaid
i ríge Ailig co hernaíd rīasin Témraig.⁵
23. Tarraid Flaithbertach is Chond is Tadc co taigib
re ré *coic* mblíadan co mbladaib ar mag Ailig.
24. Ōen-bliadain déc do Murchad Glún-i-llár lainech
iar ngréis galach cen anad ro po leis Ailech.
25. A hocht do do Domnall ú Néill i n-Aliuch ergnaid
fīru fodlaib iar mbeith i rīgu *for* Temraig.
26. A trí fó thrí do Fergal i ríge Ailig
trī cóic la hóen eret ro gab Aed ind ainig.
27. Trícha bliadan do Flathbertach hu Néill nemthruim
Aed and ro thríall malle *is* Níall *macc* Mael Sechnuill.
28. Sé rīg déc dīb ro gabsat *for* Hērinn ule
na rīg aile fūaratar bríg o *cech* dune.
29. Dīb Murchertach *ocus* Domnall Fergus ⁶ firdil
Bāetán na ndám Eochaid *is* Cholmán Rímid.⁷
30. Rím Aed Uaridnāch Subne Mend *is* Fergal fossad ⁸
Aed Ollān rīam *ocus* a brāthair Níall Frossach.

¹ One syll. wanting. Read *macc Máile Dūin*.

² One syll. wanting. Read *immalle* or in *Glūdub*.

³ Read *teoraib*.

⁴ Read *céin*.

⁵ The mark of length is not necessarily a scribal error. It may denote the resonant or half-long quality acquired by short vowels before certain consonant-groups. For other instances, see Thurneysen's Grammar, section 43.

182a I.

⁶ Read *Forggus*.

⁷ One syll. wanting. Read *n-olldám* (: *Cholmán*) instead of *ndám*?

⁸ One syll. in excess. Omit *is*? 34. For *dréch* read *drech*. *Bia, cia* are artificially made disyllables. So with *dia* : *cia* in the closing couplet of I. and of V. I take *ré ar bia* to mean "the time that will follow." Cp. J. H. Lloyd's explanation of the modern phrases *aru indé*, &c.

31. Féig Áed Ordnide is Níall *Caille* cētaib comland
Áed Findliath fíal in Glündub Níall ocus Domnall.
32. Derb ro sechnus drem na llethríg ciabtar lānfir
ardgus n-eōlaig connachas tarddus i n-ārim.
33. A cóic cethrachat do rígaib ro gab Ailech
ó Éógan fíal co toracht Níall na ndiall ngraiagech.
34. Gébas Ailech armothá i rré ar bia
acht dréch ros foid nī fitir nech coich na cia.

II.

1. At the end of four generations after Frigriu,
Eogan, a leader of lords, took warlike Ailech.
2. Eogan son of Niall was made king in Ailech thereafter,
. . . for the space of two long scores of years.
3. After him reigned Muredach—from his fortress they depart not,
they attend the illustrious man—during twenty-four years.
4. Twice twenty reigned great Murchertach Macc Erca,
war-rock of mastery, and four years for certain.
5. Just twenty-three reigned Forggus and Domnall without
seven reigned Báetán with judgments, and with him Eochaid;
6. Eight years reigned Colggu, son of Domnall the severe;
thrice seven reigned Colmán Rímid, learned man's shield.
7. Eight years reigned Aed Ollán, son of Domnall, over the meadowy land;
twice seven Suibne Menn whom ye praise, fair son of Fiachna.
8. Behold two years reigned by Mael Fithrig, having been sought out;
Fiachna's son Ernaine, the warrior, during six years.

1. According to section I. (LL181 b2), Frigriu was contemporary with Fiachu Sroptine, king of Ireland. In the genealogies, Eogan is fourth in descent from Fiachu—Eogan son of Niall s.o. Eochu s.o. Muredach s.o. Fiachu. 2. Eogan + 465 AU. 4. Murchertach + 533 or 535 AU. The date 533 corresponds with the reckoning in the poem and the date of Eogan's death in AU: 465 + 24 + 44 = 533. This would give 489 as the date of Muredach's death, but already before that date Murchertach appears at the head of the Northern Ui Néill, v. AU 482, 483, 485, 486. The succession of kings from father to son, here as in other reconstructions of the earlier history, is probably based on no better evidence than the pedigree. At this period the Northern Ui Néill were but a small family, of which all the branches must have been in the line of succession to the kingship. Murchertach's career of victories, followed up by his sons Domnall and Forggus, established the power of his sept, Cenél nEogain; yet, as late as the eighth century, the overkingship of the Fochla, the North-west, was shared by Cenél Conaill. 5. Forggus and Domnall, sons of Murchertach, became joint kings of Ireland, 565. Domnall + 566 or 573. Baetán and Eochaid are usually given

9. Four times six reigned Crunnmael, noble son of Suibne
without fault, Fergus with , eight years of homage.
10. Ten reigned Mael Dúin, Mael Fithrig's son, as has been granted ;
thou hast Flann over the lake, son of Cenn Faelad, for eighteen.
11. Six months for Erthaile, grandson of Crunnmael, with hundreds of
bands ;
six months for the son of Mael Tuile, sport of valour.
12. Thrice seven years for Mael Dúin's son, for Fergal ;
thrice seven for Aed Allán of the combats who established glory.
13. Grant thou seven fives to Niall Frossach, though he suffered stress ;
ten . . . for Mael Dúin, son of Aed Allán.
14. Thirty-one for Aed Ordnide who was not assailed ;
twice two without disguise for Mael Dúin's son, for Murchad.
15. As for Niall Caille, son of watchful Aed Ordnide,
twenty-three years over Mag Lí of heroes he was king of Ailech.

as joint kings of Ireland. Baetán Brigi, son of Muirchertach (Tigernach has "son of Muiredach," wrongly), and Eochaid Find, son of Domnall aforesaid, were killed in 572, the third year of their reign over Ireland (not over Cenél nEogain). 6. Colgu s.o. Domnall + 581, not called k. of Ailech by AU or T. Colmán Rímid, k. of Ireland + 604. 7. Aed Uaridnach (s.o. Domnall), k. I. + 612. The epithet Alldán, Allán, Ollán, Ollán, is given to him as well as to Aed + 743, s.o. Fergal. Suibne Menn, k. I. + 628, s.o. Fiachna s.o. Fergna s.o. Feradach s.o. Muiredach s.o. Eogan. Suibne, his brother Ernaire (8), and his son Crunnmael (9), Fergus son of Crunnmael (9), Aurthuile s.o. . . . s.o. Crunnmael (11), and Flann Find s.o. Mael Tuile s.o. Crunnmael (11), belonged to the sub-sept Cenél Feradaig. All the other recorded kings of Cenél nEogain, or of Ailech, after Muirchertach Macc Erca, belonged to his sept, Cenél Maic Erca. 8. Mael Fithrig + 629 or 630, s.o. Aed Uaridnach (7). Ernaire + 636.

9. Crunnmael, see AU 655. The years given by Flann would bring his reign down to 660. Fergus + 671. Perhaps we should read *A secht fo chethair*, "four times seven," in the case of Crunnmael. 10. Mael Dúin + 681. Tigernach and the Four Masters (698) give Flann s.o. Cenn Faelad as k. of Cenél nEogain. But Cenn Faelad s.o. Suibne, slain in the burning of Dún Cethirn by Mael Dúin in 681, was k. of the Cianachta of Glenn Gemin, and Mac Carthy (AU index, s.v. Cenn Faelad) says, I think with reason, that the Flann whose death is recorded in AU 699 = 700 was son of this Cenn Faelad ; though again, s.v. Flann, he says that this Flann was k. of Cenél Eogain, following this time the Four Masters. The genealogy of the Ciannachta of Glenn Gemin, BB 194 b, contains the names of Cenn Faelad and Suibne his father. I think it not unlikely that Flann of Monasterboice, in preparing his list of kings of Ailech, mistook Suibne of the entry in the annals (v. AU 699) for Suibne Menn, k. of Ireland, and has been followed by Tigernach and the Four Masters. I find no son of Suibne Menn except Crunnmael in the genealogies. 11. "Aurthuile (Tigernach has 'Anrothan') nepos Crunnmail

16. Thrice five for Mael Dúin, son of Aed the dignified ;
three and two sevens for Aed Findliath—not seldom he fares
to war.
17. Murchad, son of Mael Dúin held on for seven years,
clearly it was made known, from whom nothing less than
submission was accepted.
18. His son Flaithbertach reigned nine years' space
along with active Domnall, a partnership of goodly men.
19. Domnall afterwards for nineteen years in peace (?),
along with Niall Glúndub, noble wolf-man.
20. Niall took the kingship of a famous ruler over dominant Tara,
Flaithbertach in Ailech of Eogan for three years.
21. Nineteen years for Fergal, son of Domnall the friendly (?);
five, after long delay, for Murchertach son of Niall . . .
22. Thirteen years for Domnall with his renown
in the kingship of Ailech worthily, before [his rule in] Tara.

de regno expulsus in Britanniam pergit," AU 699 = 700. "Flannr. Albus mac Maele Tuile .i. de genere Eugain, nepos Crunnmail (.i. mc. Suibne Mind) moritur," ib., l.c. 12. Fergal + 722, k. of Ireland. Aed Allán + 743, k. of Ireland. 13. Niall Frossach + 778, k. of Ireland. Flann appears to have based his calculation on the date of Niall's death in the annals, ignoring the fact that Niall had abdicated the monarchy some years earlier, probably in 770, and had spent the close of his life in religious retirement in Iona. Mael Dúin + 788, s.o. Aed Allán. He is called "king of the Fochla," i.e., overking of the Northern Ui Néill and their tributaries, AU 787. 14. Aed Ordride + 818, k. of Ireland. "Murchad s.o. Mael Dúin deposed by Niall [Caille] son of Aed and by Cenél nEugain," AU 822 = 823. 15. Niall Caille + 846.

16. "Mael Dúin mc. Aeda, rex Ailig, in clericatu dolore extenso quievit," 867. Aed Findliath + 879, k. of Ireland. Flann seems to date Mael Dúin's retirement into *clericatus* in 861, by the accession of Aed Findliath to the monarchy in 862. But the annals indicate that Aed Findliath was at the head of Cenél nEogain as early as 855. 17. Murchad + 887, s.o. Mael Dúin, is called in AU *rigdomna*, i.e., eligible prince, of the Fochla, and is therefore not likely to have been king. 18. The joint reign of Flaithbertach s.o. Murchad and Domnall s.o. Aed for nine years should bring the reckoning down to 896. Flann's authority for this reign is not reflected in the extant annals. 19. Domnall + 915, "king of Ailech," s.o. Aed Findliath. The annals corroborate in a general way Flann's statement that Niall Glúndub shared the kingship of Ailech with Domnall his brother. 20. Niall became k. of Ireland in 916. He and Flaithbertach s.o. Domnall (*rigdomna* not king of the Fochla, AU 918) were killed in the battle of Dublin, 919. 21. Fergal + 938, "king of Ailech," s.o. Domnall. Muirchertach + 943, "king o Ailech," s.o. Niall. 22. Domnall s.o. Muirchertach became k. of Ireland 956, died 980.

23. Flaithbertach and Conn and Tadg hold sway in their houses
for five years with fame over Ailech's plain.
24. Eleven years for Murchad Glún-i-llár ;
after valiant strife without delay he possessed Ailech.
25. Eight for Domnall, grandson of Niall, in renowned Ailech,
truest of sharings, having been in kingship over Tara.
26. Thrice three for Fergal in the kingship of Ailech ;
thrice five with one the space that Aed of honour ruled.
27. Thirty years for Flaithbertach, grandson of vigorous Niall ;
Aed came in then along with Niall son of Mael Sechnaill.
28. Sixteen kings of them ruled all Ireland,
the other kings won respect from every man.
29. Of those [who ruled Ireland] are Murchertach, Domnall, and
Forggus truly beloved,
Baetán of the companies, Eochaid, and Colmán Rímid.
30. Reckon [with them] Aed Uaridnach, Suibne Menn, and staunch
Fergal,
Aed Ollán beforehand and his brother Niall Frossach.

23, 24, 25. Domnall Ua Néill ("Domhnall of Armagh") + 980. The 24 years commonly assigned to him as king of Ireland are divided into 5 + 11 + 8 in these verses. Hence we may take Flann as implying that, after Domnall's expulsion from Meath in 971, he remained in Ulster and resumed the kingship of Ailech. Murchad's reign would thus have ended in 972. He died in 974. Murchad Glún-i-llár ("Knee-on-the-ground," Glún-re-lár in Tigernach) was grandson of Flaithbertach, the king of Ailech named in stanza 20. I have not found the name of Murchad's father. The years of the joint reign of the three kings of Ailech in stanza 23 should be 956-961. They fell in battle in 962. Their father, Conchobor, was s.o. Domnall (19). 26. Fergal + 1001, "king of Ailech," s.o. Conaing, probably the s.o. Niall Glúndub that died in 937. As Fergal's reign came no doubt within or close to Flann's time, we may take the poem here as authentic, and understand that Fergal reigned 980-989, and was no longer king when he died in 1001, probably at an advanced age. Aed, s.o. Domnall of Armagh, received "the order of king" from Muirecán in 993, but may already have been king. He was killed during or just after his great victory at Craeb Thelcha, 1004, "according to some, in the 29th year of his age, the 10th of his reign" (AU 1003). 27. Flaithbertach the Pilgrim + 1036. He went on pilgrimage to Rome in 1030, and his son, Aed Athlam, seems then to have become king. Aed died, before his father, on St. Andrew's Eve, Nov. 29, 1033 (the translator of AU says wrongly "on the *night* of Andrew's festival"). Niall + 1061 s.o. Mael Sechnaill + 997 s.o. Mael Ruanaid + 941 s.o. Flann + 906 s.o. Domnall k. of Ailech (19) + 915. 30. The meaning is "Aed Ollán, and after him his brother, etc."

VOL. II.

E

31. Behold Aed Ordnide, and Niall Caille with hundreds of combats,
noble Aed Findliath, the "Black-knee" Niall, and Domnall.
32. 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.
33. Forty-five kings have ruled Ailech
from noble Eogan down to Niall of the mounted hostages.
34. 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.

III.

1. Ascnam ní seol sadal iarsain slicht cen breobail
co n-écsem cen dīdail do gnímaib síl Eogain.
2. Ba remib ro mebaid nīr bo debaid tua
cen brath brīathar goa in cath i Slēib Chua.
3. Ba remib ro mebaid cath Segsa for Duaich
ili a ngluind gnoaig daig betis cruaiach
4. Cath crūaid co niurt armach ar búaid tūath líth Luigneach
nīr bo lén in tarrgrach for Eogan mBél mbudnech.
5. *Cath Cūle, cath Uchbath ardd bruthgal bág toche*
cath Dromma, cath Dathe, cath Ache, cath Oche.
6. Im chath Chind chruaid n-aithle Lasnadó cen lethbe
i torchair cain craebdus Oengus ocus Eithne.
7. Im chath i nDún Chethirn lethfeidm laech rod lēni
*cath Roith*¹ nī rād ndétla, *cath Dētna con tēni*.²

32. By *lethrig*, "half-kings," Flann means those who ruled part of Ireland and did not acknowledge another as king of all Ireland, not those who were joint-kings of Ireland, for he has named the joint-kings, Domnall and Forggus, Baetán and Eochaid. 34. This stanza fully corroborates the ascription to Flann, proving that the poem could not have been composed after the reign of Niall (s.o. Mael Sechnaill), who outlived Flann by five years.

2. *tua, goa, Cua*, are disyllables. 3. *Duaich* (dat. of *Dui* or *Dau*, gen. *Duáich*), *gnoaig, cruaiach*, are disyllables. In the last quarter, a syllable is wanting. Read *no betis*? 6. *Lasnadó*, read *Losnado*.

¹ Read *Roth*? "Bellum Roth," AU 636 = Cath Muighe Rath, T.

² Read *co ndēni*.

8. *Cath* i torchair Ailill Inbanna ruad roglach
taccomol glond claidbech Aed Fortamail¹ fodbach.
9. Forlond con Dathi² *cath* Elli nad chlethe
cath Slemna co sithi *cath* Lifi *cath* Lethe.
10. Lotar *secht* cét armach uadib angbaid dulad
tucsat iar triall Lagen cét ngíall a tír Muman.
11. Trēnchath Insi Āne for sluag nAlban n-ulach
i farchbad bét bladach fairend trī chét³ curach.
12. In cath oc. Āth Medóin mīlib glond garg tarbe
lathe mbrātha mbodba *cath* Ātha Da Chairne
13. Gabsat iar troch togairm sodbraind coscair comlaind
i nDruim Ríg rád n-imlaind luid bág for macc nDomnaill.
14. Geguin ōenfer uadib⁴ ard ārim no sechid
fichi deich do flathib⁵ la se deich do dechib.
15. Fer co riab cen sodain do guin ba gargg dune
deorata ngaile⁶ mīl Europa uile.
16. Eol duib an doringni macc Néill Ailig airgnai
Aed Finni⁷ co fodbai i cath Cilli⁸ Ua nDaigri.
17. Deich cétaib co n-ūagai iar sétaib ro síni
don debaid con rūali mebaid for cóic míli.
18. Gabsat rīam ind rīg rogaig⁹ brīg mbladaig bectai n-airig
selad forrán co feraib ria n-Aed n-ard n-Allán n-Ailig.
19. Art athnertach ind uabair Flathbertach dín cech deōraid
do rimmart gairgiu tólaib i n-Insi n-ólaig Eōgain.
20. Ardri Alpan art arand bag barand brúthi bairend
tuc aníar¹⁰ dar srían¹¹ rudach trī chóicait curach Cairell.

¹ Read *Fortobol* with AU 549. T has *Fortamail* as here, postulating an adjective in [s]amail, but the rhyme *taccomol* : *Fortobol* shows the better form.

² The reading of the first quarter is corrupt, being a syllable short. Read *ocon Dathi* ?

³ Read *cét*.

⁴ In margin "[.i]. Mael Umai mac Bāetāin maicc Murchertaig."

⁵ "xx. deich flathib," facs.

⁶ A syll. wanting.

⁷ Read *Finne*.

⁸ Read *Cille*.

⁹ Here and in the following part of the poem the metre changes, having seven instead of six syllables in each quarter.

¹⁰ Read *anair* "from the east" ? The scribe may have altered the word to make it rhyme with (s)rian, but other verses above show that the one internal rhyme *rudach* : *curach* is sufficient.

¹¹ Read *rian*.

21. Cechaing Aed aidchi noraig *foraib* ba saér im rulaid
 ros marb fri Fergna fairend *acht* Cairell lucht a churaig.
 22. Cath aile i n-Oscur ùallach ba broscur bladach bágach.
for Fland nGoan ro rained ro máided arna bārach.
 23. Reraig roí rorig ringthi *for macc* Longsig luaith laimthi
 ba clói dia icimuáill¹ chaidchi di airdi òenúair aidchi C.²

III.

1. Let us proceed—it is no easy undertaking—according to sequence,³
 without flaw (?),
 till we tell, without detriment, of the deeds of Eogan's race.
2. Before them broke—it was no silent struggle—
 without meditating words of falsehood—the battle on Sliab Cua.
3. Before them broke the battle of Segais against Dui;
 many are their successful (?) feats, so that they would be gory.
4. A hard battle with power of armed men to master the festive
 lordships of the Luigni;
 the onset (?) was not disastrous against Eogan Bél, leader of
 troops.
5. The battle of Cúil, the battle of "Groans," high fury, a strife
 for rights (?),
 the battle of Druimm, the battle of Dathe, the battle of Ache,
 the battle of Oche.
6. The battle, of stern consequences, of Cenn Losnado without
 sparing (?),
 in which fell, fair branching tree, Oengus and Eithne.

2. See IV. 2. 3. IV. 8. 4. IV. 14. 5. IV. 9 takes "the battle of Cúil" probably from this poem. It may be the same as the battle named in IV. 15 or in IV. 16. "The b. of Groans," IV. 33. B. of Druimm, IV. 9. 5. IV. omits the b. of Dathe, probably because the annals (AU 586, bellum Daethe) ascribed the victory to Aed son of Anmeri, who was of Cenél Conaill. But T., calling it the b. of Belach nDathi, quotes verses to the effect that Conall and Eogan—i.e., their descendants—were the victors. B. of Ache, not traced. B. of Oche, IV. 3. 6. IV. 5.

¹ Read *dia chóemúail* (: *óenúair*).

² The scribe adds *C[ia]* as if to indicate that the final syllable *-chi* echoes the opening word *Cia* of Flann's poem I. But it is quite clear that III. is an independent composition.

³ Or "following authority." *Slicht* is often used in the sense of *sequentia* in phrases like *sequentia sancti Evangelii secundum Joannem*.

7. With a battle at Dún Cethirn—half-effort of heroes . . .
the battle of Rotha, no rash saying; the battle of Détna with
fierceness (?).
8. The battle in which fell Ailill Inbanda, strong and valorous,
a union of feats of the sword, Aed Fortobol of the trophies.
9. The struggle at (?) Dathe, the battle of Elle that ye do not hide,
the battle of Slemain lasting long, the battle of Lifë, the battle
of Leth.
10. Seven hundred armed men of them went on a valiant enterprise,
they brought, after traversing Leinster, a hundred hostages
from Munster's land.
11. The stout battle of Inis Ane against the bearded (?) host of Alba,
when there was left, famous exploit, the manning of three
hundred boats.
12. The battle at Ath Medóin with thousands of feats, a fierce success,
a doomsday of warfare, the battle of Ath Da Chairne.
13. They took . . .
in Druim Rig, a saying of . . . , the contest went
against Domnall's son.
14. One man of them slew—a great reckoning ye follow—
twenty tens of lords, with six tens of tens.

7. Dún Cethirn, AU 628. IV, perhaps in view of another event, AU 680, V. 16, does not count this battle, and omits the b. of Roth or Mag Rath, because the victor, Domnall s.o. Aed, was of Cenél Conaill. Indeed, it appears that Cenél nEogain favoured the losing side, seeing that they were defeated on the same day by Domnall's kinsman Conall Coel in the b. of Saitire (AU 636). A J has: "Conall Coel . . . victor erat de genere Euagain," "was victorious over Cenél nEogain." Hennessy translates "Conall Coel, . . . of the Cinel-Eogain, was victor." Conall was son of Mael Chobo, brother of Domnall, s.o. Aed s.o. Anneri s.o. Sétne s.o. Fergus s.o. Conall Gulban a quo Cenél Conaill. B. of Détna, IV. 11. 8. IV. 15. 9. B. of Elle, perhaps identical with the b. of Móin Daire Lothair, IV. 17. Elle was a district to the east of the lower Bann. As a result of the last named b. the Picts lost territory to the west of the river. Slemain, IV. 19. Lifë, IV. 18. Leth, IV. 43. 10. V. 22, where Flann copies and amplifies. 11. Closely imitated in IV. 31. 12. Áth Medóin, Áth Da Chairne, IV. 34.

13. IV. 37. 14, 15. Mael Umai, named in the gloss as the person who did these exploits, was a grandson of Muirchertach Macc Erca, king of Ireland, and a noted leader of *fiana*. The poem no doubt refers to some story of his career. Flann imitates 15 in V. 11, but seems to understand the reference to be to Macc Erca, not to Mael Umai. 16, 17, IV. 49. 18. Referring to the wars of Aed Allán, k. of Ireland, 734–743.

15. The "Man with the stripe" besides he slew, a fierce wight he was,
an outlander with valour, the champion of all Europe.
16. Ye know what the son of Niall of Ailech of note has done,
Aed the Fair with trophies, in the battle of Cell Ua nDaigri.
17. With ten hundred, all told, along pathways he has pushed;
to the contest he journeyed, he routed five thousand.
18. Before him the choice kings . . .
defeat with men was inflicted by tall Aed Allán of Ailech.
19. The vigorous bear of pride, Flaithbertach, shelter of every outcast,
he punished him, fiercest of floods, in festive Inis Eogain.
20. Alba's high-king, wrathful challenge, setting rocks aglow (?),
brought from the west over the . . . sea, Cairell, thrice
fifty boats.
21. Aed set out on a night . . . , against them nobly he advanced,
he slew . . . a company, except Cairell and the crew of
his ship.
22. Another battle in Oscan of laments, it was a famous warlike over-
throw,
Flann Goan was defeated, it was vaunted the next day.
23. He fought a field, where great kings were mangled, against the son
of active Loingsech
his fine pride was crushed for ever . . . in one hour of
night.

182b 12.

IV.

1. Aní do rōnsat do chalmu clanna Eogain
cia 'me rādíd ní ētat a ārim eolaig.
2. In n-eol dúib cath Slēbe Cua¹ clú co certa
mebaid cen brón ria Murchertach mór Macc Erca.
3. Ocus cath Ocha for Ailill Molt is mó gessib²
triathach tossach i torchair Hua Fiachrach fessin

19. Flaithbertach s.o. Loingsech, k. of Ireland, was defeated by Aed Allán in 734. He ceded the monarchy to Aed, and was the last high-king from Cenél Conaill. 20, 21. I cannot trace this event in the annals. As it is told among the achievements of Aed Allán, it probably belongs to some story of his career. Flann omits it in IV. 22. IV. 28. 23. See note on 19. Here is further indication that this poem was an unfinished experiment. Some of the battles named in it are omitted in IV. by Flann, who perhaps could not find sufficient details about them.

¹ *Cua*, two syllables, as in III., stanza 2.

² One syllable in excess. Read *is* for *ocus*, or omit *Molt* which may be a gloss, or omit *is*.

4. Ocus cath Gránne for Findchath fēgait eolaig
ria Murchertach co clú cāemfir ria n-ú n-Eogain.
5. Cath Cell Osnaid for slūago Muman is mó sechme ¹
i torchair Ōengus co n-achri ocus Eithne.
6. Ocus cath Inde for Illaind i mbíth glanfer
frāech for feraib isin debaid fri lāech Lagen.
7. Is cath Delgga cath Mucrama ba mór glondalt
cath i Tūaim Drubi dia ndrengat for slúag Connacht.
8. Is cath Segsa i torchair Duach ² Tenga Uma
mebaid ria Murchertach Mena ba mór guba.
9. Is cath Cūli cath Dromma trōeta flathi ³
cath i mMaig Airb ocus in cath i n-Ard Machi. ⁴
10. Cath Almaini cath Chind Eich ocus cath Ailbe
ro bris in trīath ocus in cath i n-īath Adni.
11. Is cath Dētna i torchair Ardgall macc Conaill
rīge ferand ⁵ la cath Átha Sīge sonaim
12. Serbchath Slēbe Eblinne for mathe Muman
is for Echaid Sremm i fārcbad ilar cend curad. ⁶
13. Certfichi cath is a dó ro rath rēle rechta ⁷
ro briss cen brón Murchertach mór Macc Erca. ⁸
14. Cath Slicige ria Fergus ⁹ ria nDomnall ndrumnech
ni scél scenmnech i torchair Eogan Bél buidnech
15. Cath Cūli Conairi i Cera ria ñ-a fairind ¹⁰
crāeb chem ¹¹ chrobang i torchair Aed ocus Ailill.
16. Cath Cūle Dremne for Dīarmait demni ¹² scélaib
i torchair tricha cét cáinid dona trēnaib.

¹ One syllable in excess. Read *sluag* for *sluago*.

² The O. I. nom. *Duī* must have been known to Flann. The dative *Duaich*, two syllables, is in III. 3.

³ Read *i trōetta* or *'ma trōetta* (?)

⁴ The alliteration and internal rhyme or assonance regular in the second half of the couplet are not observed here.

⁵ Read *ferainn* (: *Conaill* : *sonaim*).

⁶ One syllable in excess. I suggest *mór* instead of *ilar*, with the same meaning.

⁷ Read *'sa dó*.

⁸ One syll. wanting.

⁹ The name of this king, who reigned jointly with his brother Domnall, is wrongly transcribed in many texts as here, *Fergus* instead of *Forggus* or *Forcus* (*c = g*). In this poem the scribe is at fault, not the poet, who makes the same king's name rhyme with *ollgus* in stanza 18.

¹⁰ *fairind*, with eclipsed *f*.

¹¹ Read *choem*.

¹² = *demniu*.

17. Is *cath* Mōna Daire Lothair co lln Chruthne¹
im Āed mBrecc co mbríg do cersat and secht rí Cruthne.²
18. *Cath* Gabra Lifē for Lagniu immaid chomland
ollgus imgand mebaid ria Fergus³ ria nDomnall.
19. *Cath* Slemna ria Colman Rímid na roroind⁴
and ba dodaing do cheniül Eogain is Chonaill.
20. Is *cath* Slabri for Brandub macc Echach ollguirm
cāem in forrān ro briss Āed Ollān macc Domnuill.
21. *Cath* Slēbe Tuad ria Subne Mend for claind Conaill
toga trebaind i torchair Māel Coba Coraind.
22. *Cath* Rātha Both ria Subne bēos ro sās brōena
ollband ága mebaid for Domnall macc Āeda.
23. *Cath* for Cummascach ria Crundmāel cétaib cumne
for macc Ailella cen anble ria macc Subne.
24. Ocus Conall macc lond Longsig réil a rēimend
ro bo garggním i rrubad macc ardríg Hērenn.
25. *Cath* Slēbe Fúait ria Fergal dos fanair fói
dlúthach nglēe i mbíth Tnúthgal is Cú Rói.⁵
- 183a 1.
26. *Cath* Findabrach for lāechraid Lagen na lūamland
áeb na Hērenn i mbíth Āed macc Cellaig Cūaland.
27. *Cath* i torchair Inrechtach argg Connacht cnedmar
macc Dūnchaid dúir la macc Māel Dúin la Fergal.⁶
28. *Cath* in Oscair ria n-Āed Ollān cosin ollgail
i torchair Fland Goan⁷ co nglanbail macc crón Congail.
29. *Cath* Maige Itha ria n-Āed for clanna Conaill,
foglaid ferainn i rrubad macc Congail Conaing.

¹ *Chruthne*, which also ends the second half of the couplet, is probably wrong here.

² One syll. in excess. Omit *and*.

³ Read *Forggus*. The next stanza is preceded by a special sign. A somewhat similar sign precedes the earlier stanza beginning with *Cath Slícige*. These signs seem to indicate the termination of the lists of victories won (1) by Murchertach Macc Erca, (2) by his sons Forggus and Domnall.

⁴ One syll. wanting. Read *inna roraind*?

⁵ In this couplet, *fói*, *nglēe*, *Rói* count each two syllables.

⁶ One syll. wanting. To preserve the caesura, and since it does not seem likely that a scribe would substitute *Dūnchaid* for the historically correct form *Dūnchada* (= *Dūnchado*), I suggest that *Māele* is to be read instead of *Māel*.

⁷ *Goan* preserves an old spelling but rhymes with *crón*. In III. second last couplet, *Goan* is two syllables.

30. *Cath* for Airgiallo i fich Fiachrach na ro omnus
ba guban ngarb dia rubad oco charn Congus.
31. *Cath* Insi Ane for slūago Alban ulach
ba bēt bladach i fārcbad lucht trí *cet* curach.
32. *Cath* Focharta for cóimu in chóicid nād chromthar
óg in t-anfad i rrubad Aed Rón is Chonchath.
33. Is *cath* Uchbath for lāechraid Lagen lín orggain ¹
Bran and ro bith *ocus* Aed *macc* Colgain.²
34. *Cath* Frāechmaige is cath Ātha Medōin magdai
ba bráth bodbai ced in cath oc Āth Da Charnai.
35. *Cath* Irchara la Māel Dūin nād charad cuindeilg
olband āebda for Domnall *macc* Āeda muindeirgg.
36. *Cath* Clóitige ria n-Aed Ordnide ro ēta
foroll ūacra forsin Domnall crodond ³ cētna.
37. *Cath* Dromma Ríg ria n-Aed for Claind Colmāin comlaind
co n-alt imrind i *torchratar* dā *macc* Domnaill.
38. Diarmait odor *ocus* Fínnachta na fodbrand
glē n-imrall derb roptar é a n-anmand.⁴
39. Ocus Fallamain ⁵ fīal fuiglech ba dían degrach
ropo garggnīm in ro bith *macc* ardrig Temrach.
40. *Cath* Sailtere ria Murchad mūd ba mó grésaib ⁶
crúadach cossair i *torchair* Māel būadach Bresail.
41. *Cath* for Danaru i nDaire Chalggai nād chumthar ⁷
fīal in t-airchel mebaid ria Níall is ria Murchad.
42. *Cath* Maige Itha for Gullo co ngnīm gainne
flaith 'fīal finne' ro das cinne Níal cían Caille.
43. *Cath* Leithe in Chaimm ria Níal *Caille* na slúag saindían
cuman comdian for rīg n-Ulad for rīg n-Airgiall.
44. At rullai ass rí Ulad *macc* Echach ūamnāch
rīg Airgiall ule i n-árbach *acht* *macc* Rúadrach.

¹ Read *orggan*, gen. pl.

² Read *Colgan*, *Colggan*, gen. of *Colcu*, *Colgu*. The line wants two syllables. Read *Bran ann ro títh*, *Dub Da Crích is Aed macc Colggan*. See AU=737.

³ Note that while *cró* as monosyllable becomes long, it has a short vowel in the compound, *crodonn* : *foroll*.

⁴ Two sylls. wanting.

⁵ Read *Fallaman*, gen. Follamain, AU 796, Ogham gen. *Valamni*.

⁶ Read *gressaib* to rhyme with *Bresail*; *cossair* makes quantitative rhyme.

⁷ The usual caesura after the fourth or eighth syllable is not observed.

45. Ro bítha and trī *maicc* Cathail cētaib cennach
Cummascach Congalach corrach *ocus* Cellach.
46. *Cath* ria n-Aed Findliath *for* Gullo i nGlind Aichle
co rrabatar fó sár theichle iarna aithbe.
47. Amnas cath Locha Febail ria n-Āed arad ¹
cīan bas *cuman* i rrubad da trīan na nDanar.
48. Andso in cath cerbb *for* Conaillib Cerdd co nglanbríg
burbbu borbgnīm mebaid *for* Ultó is *for* Anbīth.
49. Doidngiu in cath i Cill Ua nDaigri anda cech dodaing
cen dīanblait and Dīarmait *ocus* Flann *macc* Conaing.
50. *Cath* Gulbain ² guirt ria Nīall nGlündub ní gnīm sruthe
ríg ³ Connacht cáem dos comart im Māel Cluche.
51. *Cath* Maige Uatha ria Fergal ferad flandbríg
and ro scáil badb dia rrubad Māel Garb *macc* Garbīth.
52. *Cath* ria *macc* Néill i mBairind i mbítha oaic
ríg Gall na ngarglond Aufer Albdon *macc* Roailt.
53. *Cath* ria Murchad *for* Connachtu cen nach cáemna
Cathal Crúachan i mbíth is *macc* ūathmar Āeda.
54. *Cath* Formāili rīam *for* Conall clōen cen chīsu
is *for* slūag Gall ⁴ ngarg i rrubad arg Māel ard Isu.
55. *Cath* Maige Nathrach ria nGlūn-i-llār os lógaill ⁵
nī dál deróil i fárcbad ár Cheneóil Chonaill.
56. *Cath* Maige Glaiss ria n-ú Néill *for* clanda Conaill
fāen *for* ūa baraind ūa cáem Conaing Gilla Colaim.⁶
57. *Cath* i n-iath Ulad ria Murcherdach *macc* Domnaill
i fárgbad slūag Arad ⁷ án iar crád Chomgaill.
58. *Cath* Cráibe Telcha *for* Ultu ria n-Āed arddaig
eochair orddain i torchair Eochaid *macc* Ardgair.
59. Ocus Cū Dūlig a *macc* is Garbīth glondchar
luinde londbarr Dub Tuinne Domnall is Dondchad.

¹ One syll. wanting.

² Read *Gulban*.

³ Read *rīga* to supply the syllable wanting.

⁴ Read *nGall*, unless the preceding *g* has had a euphonic counteraction. The line has a syll. in excess. Unless the vowel of *is*, following *isu*, is elided, we might read *i mbíth* instead of *i rrubad*.

⁵ The mark of length is wrong—*logaill*: *Chonaill*.

⁶ One syll. in excess. The metre indicates the syllable *for*; *faen*: *caem*, *baraind* (assonant): *Conaing* (rhyming): *Colaimm*. Read *fua* = *foa*?

⁷ Read *Araidí* (?) to supply the wanting syllable; or read *ár slūag n-Arad n-án*.

183b 1.

60. Na catha dēdencha dremna a Dé dúlig
i torcbratar fir cena n-árim¹ for a nglúnib.
61. *Cath* Trächta Eothaili ármid céim cen chorracht
ro bris Ardgar² ūa na mallacht for slúag Connacht.
62. *Cath* Maige Lēnai na llürech ria slúag Ailig
crūaid in chomraind for ūair macc Domnaill a aidid
63. *Cath* Corre Cullen na cūanart for claind Conaill
nocor bo thimm ro deligthe a cind ria a colaind.
64. *Cath* Maige Lēnai ro lamad ba leōr derbaid
Domnall co rrath ro briss in cath oc Áth Ergair.
65. *Cath* Craind Crichid ria Feraib na Crāibe at chūala
for Feraib Luirg ro brissed ropo chūaird chūanna.
66. In rūac i mMaig Adar úane ria n-Ua Lachlaind
ní riachtatar chill ro bātar cind iarna n-athraind.³
67. Olc ro bātar Gaill in dūne a Dé demin
nocor b' olc lim a mbeith cind ar chind ros tenid.
68. *Cath* Cind Chorad ria nDomnall macc Ardgar inmain
i torcbratar fir cen anmain isind imguin.
69. *Cath* for Ultó ria macc Maicc Lochlaind ind lacha
Dond Slēbe seng tucad a chend co hArd Macha. A.

IV.

1. What Eogan's race have done of valiant deeds,
though ye bear it in mind, the learned cannot recount.
2. Do ye know the battle of Sliab Cua, certain fame,
that was won without sorrow by great Muirchertach Macc
Erca?
3. And the battle of Ocha over Ailill Molt, greater than spells,
in which fell Fiachra's grandson himself, a lordly chief.
4. And the battle of Gránne over Findchath—the learned regard it—
by Murchertach with a goodly man's renown, by Eogan's
grandson.

2. This battle of Sliab Cua is not in AU or T. 3. AU 481, 482; T.
4. The battles of Grane and Granairret, AU 485, 486, are identical or
confused. 5. perhaps we should read *Cellosnaid* as one word = Cenn
Losnado, AU 489, 490; T.

¹ One syll. in excess. Read *cen árim*, or omit *fir*, which is added above
the line in the MS.

² Read *Ardgar*.

³ One syll. in excess. Omit *ro*?

5. The battle of Cenn Losnado over Munster's army, with greatest outcome, where fell Oengus the keen and Eithne.
6. And the battle of Inde over Illainn, in which a brave man was slain ;
men raged in the strife against the hero of the Lagen.
7. And the battle of Delgg, the battle of Mucrama—it was a great achievement—
the battle in Tuaim Drubi, where they trample on the army
of the Connachta.
8. And the battle of Segais where Dui Tongue of Bronze fell,
it was won by Murchertach of Min, it caused great wailing.
9. And the battle of Cúil, the battle of Druimm where lords were
vanquished,
a battle in Mag Airb, and the battle in Armagh.
10. The battle of Almain, the battle of Cenn Eich, and the battle of
Ailbe,
the [same] chief won, and the battle in the land of Aidni.
11. And the battle of Détna, where fell Ardgall son of Conall ;
kingship of lands I proclaim, won by the battle of Áth Sige.
12. The bitter battle of Sliab Eblinne over the nobles of Munster
and over Echaid Sremm, where many heads of heroes were left.
13. Full twenty battles and two—clearness of record hath ascertained—
great Murchertach Macc Erca won without sorrow.

6. *Bellum Inni Moer*, AU 497. *Cath Inde Mori*, T. Stokes wrongly translates "gained by the Leinstermen over Illand" instead of "gained over Illand with (*i.e.*, and) the Lagen." If Flann wishes to convey that Illann was slain, he is at variance with AU and T, which record Illann's death later (AU 526). 7. These three battles are named in verses in T, ascribed to Cenn Faelad. Flann adds that the third was won against the Connachta. They are not in AU. 8. AU 501, T. Also, with the death of Dui, given in Cenn Faelad's verses. Min. g. Mena, is the river "Main," Co. Antrim, flowing into L. Neagh, but I do not know how it is associated with Muirchertach.

9. B. of Cúil, not in AU or T. B. of Druimm, probably = b. of Druimm Derge (or Dergaide), AU 515, 516, T; but the annals do not ascribe the victory to Murchertach or to Cenél nEogain. The battles of Mag Airb and Armagh are not in AU or T. 10. All in AU 532 and in T. 11. B. of Détna, AU 519, 522, T; b. of Áth Sige, AU 527, 532. 12. AU 532, T. AU 534 has also a battle of Aiblinne won by Murchertach against the Lagen "ut alii uolunt." The particulars of the b. of Sliab Eblinne given by Flann are not in AU or T. 13. BB 77 b 5 says "20 battles," and names the following: Sliab Cua, Ocha, Graine, Cellosnaid, Inde Mor, Delca, Tuaim Dru[b]a, Mucnam, Segais, Mag Ailbe, Aiche, Almain, Cenn Eich, Ailbe, Aidne, Detna, Áth Sigi. 14. AU 546, 547, T. 15. AU 549, T. 16. AU 559, 560, T.

14. The battle of Sligo, won by Forggus and by ringletted Domnall—
no babbling tale—where fell Eogan Bél of the bands.
15. The battle of Cúil Chonairi in Cera, won by their following,
where Aed and Ailill fell, a comely branch of clusters.
16. The battle of Cúil Dremne over Diarmait, most certain of stories,
where fell thirty hundred—bewail them!—of the valiant.
17. And the battle of Móin Daire Lothar, with a multitude of the Picts;
around Aed of honour fell seven kings of the Picts.
18. The battle of Gabair Lifi over the Lakin of many encounters,
a rare achievement, was won by Forggus and Domnall.
19. The battle of Slemain won by Colmán Rimid in his great share;
there the kindred of Eogan and Conall were hard to withstand.
20. And the battle of Slabre over Brandub son of brilliant Eochu,
a brave victory won Aed Ollán son of Domnall.
21. The battle of Sliab Tuad won by Suibne Menn over Conall's race,
where fell Mael Chobo of Corann, a choice tribune (?).
22. The battle of Ráith Both by Suibne also—it sated beaks (?)—
was won over Domnall, son of Aed, great exploit of war.
23. A battle against Cumuscach won by Crunnmael, with hundreds of
memories,
against Ailill's son without excess, by Suibne's son.
24. And Conall, fierce son of Longsech, of renowned career,
it was a fierce deed when the son of Ireland's high-king was slain.
25. The battle of Sliab Fuait, won by Fergal
a close encounter (?), in which were slain Tnúthgal and Cú Rói.

17. AU 561, 562, T. Both have verses ascribed to Cenn Faelad, from which the second line of this couplet is borrowed. 18. AU 564, 565, 572, T. 19. AU 600, 601, T. 20. AU 604, T. 21. AU 614, T. The defeated Mael Chobo, of Cenél Conaill, was king of Ireland. Suibne Menn, the victor, then became high-king. The entry in T, not corrected by Stokes, makes Suibne successor to Rónán, king of Leinster. 22. AU 627, T. AU has "Bellum Both," on which there is an editorial note: "Pronounced *Boh* (!). Not identified." In the absence of other information, it is well at least to be able to pronounce the name. T has "Cath Botha"—"battle of Both" (Stokes). Flann identifies the place as Raphoe. 23. AU 655. T has "Cath Flescaidh." 24. As Loingsech did not become king of Ireland until 696, this couplet seems to be misplaced or erroneous. The interval between the date of the battle in 24 and that in 26 may indicate a lacuna in the poem, but no victory of Cenél nEogain within the time is recorded in AU.

25. AU 710 calls this battle "bellum nepotum Meith" (of the Ui Méith), and for "Tnúthgal" has "Tnuthach," with a variant "Tudach," perhaps influenced by the occurrence of the name "Dluthach" in the same entry. AU does not name the victor. The imperfect entry in T

26. The battle of Findubair over the heroes of the Lagen of active blades, where Aed, son of Cellach Cualann, delight of Ireland, was slain.
27. A battle in which fell Inrechtach, champion of the wound-dealing Connachta,
son of stern Dúinchad, at the hand of Fergal, Mael Dúin's son.
28. The battle of the Oscor, won by Aed Ollán of great valour,
where fell Flann Goan of clear beauty, Congal's swarthy son.
29. The battle of Mag Itha won by Aed over the race of Conall,
where Congal's son Conaing, spoiler of land, was slain.
30. The battle of Inis Ane against the hosts of bearded Scots,
it was a famous feat, where the men of three hundred galleys
were left behind.
31. A battle against the Airgialla in vengeance for Fiachra ;
it was a wild lament when Congus was slain at his cairn.
32. The battle of Fochairt against the warriors of the Fifth that is
not subdued (?),
a tempest outright, where Aed Rón and Conchath were slain.
33. And the "battle of Groans" against the heroes of the Lagen of
of many devastations,
Bran was slain there, [and Dub Da Chrích], and Aed son of
Colggú.
34. The battle of Froechmag and the battle of Āth Medóin of the
plains ;
a doom of slaughter (?) too was the battle at Āth Da Charnai.
35. The battle of Irchair won by Mael Dúin, who loved no rivalry,
over Domnall, son of Aed Redneck, a pleasant overlord (?).
36. The battle of Clóitech by Aed Ordnode was won—
a mighty challenge—over the same gore-stained Domnall.

says "Fergal victor fuit." 26. AU 718 and T have "Congressio apud Lagenenses ubi Aed mac Cellaig cecidit .i. bellum Finnubrach (cath Findabrach T)." In neither is the victory ascribed to Fergal or Cenél nEogain. 27. AU 706 and T record the "occisio" of Indrechtach by Fergal and others, but do not mention a battle. As the site of the battle is not named by Flann, the annals may be more correct. 28. AU 731, not in T. AU does not name the place. The omission in T is peculiar, for T begins the account of the battle of Mag Itha in the following year, as AU does, with the words "Congressio iterum." 29. AU 732, T. 30. See III. 11. Cp. Bellum Inseo, AU 737. 31. I cannot trace this battle or the death of Fiachra in the annals. 32. AU 734, T.

33. AU 737, T. An editorial note in AU says, "*Uchbadh*.—Another name for Ath-Senaigh." I take it to be a common noun. 34. I cannot

37. The battle of Druimm Ríg won by Aed over Cland Cholmáin of combat
with . . . , where the two sons of Domnall fell.
38. Diarmait the sallow and Finnachta, sharer of trophies,—
a clearing of errors,—it is certain, these were their names.
39. And noble Falloman of judgments, who was swift and . . .
it was a fierce deed in which was slain the son of Tara's high-king.
40. The battle of Sailtere, won by stately Murchad, greatest of encounters,
a cruel slaughter, where victorious Mael Bresail fell.
41. A battle against the Danes in Daire Chalggag that is not feigned
noble defence (?), was won by Niall and Murchad.
42. The battle of Mag Itha against the Foreigners with plying of
spearlets (?);
old Niall of the Callann, noble chief of the Finn, overcame them.
43. The battle of Leth in Chaimm, won by Niall Caille of the swift
armies,
with like vigour, we remember, over the king of the Ulaid,
over the king of the Airgialla.
44. From it escaped the king of the Ulaid, terrific son of Eochu;
all the kings of the Airgialla were among the slain, except
the son of Ruadri.
45. There the three sons of Cathal with hundreds of . . . were slain,
Cummuscach, Congalach the unsteady, and Cellach.
46. A battle won by Aed Findliath over the Foreigners in Glenn Aichle
so that they were under . . . having been overthrown.
47. Famous is the battle of Loch Febail won by Aed of the charioteers,
long will it be remembered, in which two-thirds of the Danes
were slain.

trace these battles. 35. AU 786, where the place of battle is not named. 36. AU 788 and note. 37. AU 796. 38. *Ib.* 39. *Ib.*, but AU has "Finsnechta son of Follaman." Folloman, king of Meath, AU 765, but not king of Ireland, nor son of a king of Ireland. Flann seems to have been doubly confused, naming Folloman son of Donnchad, AU 798, 829. 40. AU 818, where the place is not named. For another battle of "Saeltire," also between Cenél nEogain and Cenél Conaill, see AU 636.

41. AU 832. 42. AU 844. 43. "Bellum Leithi Chaim," AU 826. "Airgialla .i. daerghialla .i. Cinel Eogain mic Neill rus cuir fo daerchís iat o chath Beithi Chaim amach," H. 3. 18, p. 580. 44. "Muiredach mac Eachdach," AU. 45. Cellach is not named in AU. 46. AU 855, where the defeated are called "Gallgaeidhil" and the place of battle Glenn Foichle ("Glenelly," Co. Tyrone). 47. AU 866: "240 heads were taken off."

48. Harder was the bloody battle against the Conaille Cerdd of clear
renown ;
fiercest fierce exploit, the Ulaid and Anbith were defeated.
49. Stiffer yet was the battle in Cell Ua nDaigri than any, howso stiff ;
Diarmait and Flann son of Conaing [were left] there without
spreading fame.
50. The battle of harsh [Benn] Gulban won by Niall Glúndub, no elder's
exploit,
the kings of the Connachta, well he smote them, around Mael
Chluiche.
51. The battle of Mag Uatha, won by Fergal who spread red power ;
there he loosed the warsprite,¹ when Mael Garb son of Garbith
was slain.
52. A battle won by Niall's son in Bairenn where youths were slain,
the kings of the Foreigners of fierce deeds, Aufer and Albdon
son of Roalt.
53. A battle won by Murchad against the Connachta without sparing,
wherein Cathal of Cruachu was slain and Aed's formidable son.
54. The battle of Formael he won against crooked Conall, yielding no
tribute,
and against the army of the fierce Foreigners, where a champion
fell, tall Mael Isu.
55. The battle of Mag Nathrach won by Glún-i-llár above Logai'l (?),
no petty encounter, where the slaughter of Cenél Conaill was
left.
56. The battle of Mag Glas won by Niall's grandson over Conall's race,
prostrate under his wrath (?) Conaing's comely grandson
Gilla Coluim.
57. A battle in the land of the Ulaid, won by Murchertach son of
Domnall,
in which the army of the splendid [Dál] Araidi was left,
having offended Comgall.

48. AU 863. 49. AU 867. 50. AU 912, where the place is not
named. 51. AU 932, where the father of Mael Garb is not named.
52. AU 925 gives Cluain na Cruimther as the place, names Alpthann son
of Gothbrith as a leader slain, but no other. 53. AU 972. 54. AU 966,
with no mention of "Foreigners."

¹ Perhaps "there scaldcrow screamed." The verb apparently
should be *scael* (: Mael).

55. See AU 973-4, where the engagement is said to be at Dún Clóitige,
and to result in the death of Murchad. 56. AU 976-7 gives the slaying
of Gilla Coluim Ua Canannán by Domnall Ua Néill, but says nothing of

58. The battle of Craeb Thelcha against the Ulaid, won by Aed of Ardach (?),
in which fell Eochaid, son of Ardgar, key of dignity,
59. And Cú Dúlig his son, and Garbith, lover of brave deeds,
the valour of valorous chiefs, Dub Tuinne, Domnall and Donnchad.
60. The furious battles of late, O God of Creation !
in which men without number have fallen to their knees.
61. The battle of Trácht Eothaili, recount ye ! a step without flinching,
Ardgar won, heir of curses, against the army of the Connachta.
62. The battle of Mag Lénai of breastplates, won by the army of Ailech ;
hard encounter—the son of Domnall met his fate.
63. The battle of Corr Cullen of the houndpacks against Conall's race
was not fainthearted—their heads were parted from their bodies.
64. The battle of Mag Lénai was dared—it was great enough, be assured—
Domnall with success won the battle at Áth Ergair.
65. The battle of Crann Crichid, by Fir na Craibe, thou hast heard,
against the Men of Lorg it was won—it was a visit of throngs.
66. The rout in green Mag Adair before Lochlann's grandson—
they reached not the church[yard] ; heads were hewn asunder,
67. Ill had the Foreigners of the fortress behaved, O God undoubted !
I thought it not ill that they should be face to face . . .

a battle. 57. Not traced. 58, 59. AU 1003-4. 61. AU 1011-12 gives a victory by Cenél nEogain at Tracht Eothaili, under Flaithbertach not Ardgar ; but since this and the following couplets seem to be added to Flann's poem by a continuator, the reference is perhaps to one of Ardgar's expeditions into Connacht, AU 1062, 1063. It is interesting to note that Tigernach, a contemporary annalist and a Connachtman, omits all mention of these expeditions. 62. AU 1078. From the entries under this year in AU and T it would appear that Toirdelbach Ua Briain, king of Ireland, had established as king of Cenél Eogain Conchobar Ua Briain (son of Lorcán, son of Donnchad, son of Brian Bórama, BB 182 b 45). Conchobar was slain in 1078 by Cenél mBinnig, a sept of Cenél nEogain. His brother Cennétig, who succeeded him (AU 1078 note), joined the "Caillech," king of Breifne, in an expedition to Leinster in 1084. Both were defeated by Muirchertach Ua Briain and slain in the battle of Móin Chruinneóice.

63. Not traced. 64. AU 1080, "maidm Atha Ergail." 65. Perhaps the raid mentioned in AU 1099. 66. Perhaps in reference to the invasion of Dál Cais by Domnall Ua Lochlainn, AU 1088, where no fighting is recorded. 67. Probably the burning of Limerick by Domnall Ua

68. The battle of Cenn Corad, won by Domnall, son of beloved Ardgar.
in which men fell lifeless in the strife.
69. A battle against the Ulaid, won by the grandson of Lochlann of
the lake;
lank Donn Slébe—his head was carried to Armagh.

183b 18.

V.

1. A ngluind a n-ēchta a n-orgni batar infir
is lia turim connachas clunid ō filid.
2. Fecht ro búí Muridach *mac* Eogain and i mbaegul¹
ina thālgud ōs in trācht āgmar a oenur.
3. Ba and do lluid Eocho Abratchāin *mac* Ecuind
co mbert in *mac* co tart fo thlacht ina thétluing.
4. Dar trethan trom ro fuc in goll leis in ngilla
na *chrích* cranda fúair gním ngalla ō rí *Chrinna*.
5. Cinged issin sliab co tabrad fiad in dian drechach.²
réitgel triathglan dó ba hēcen biathad Echach.
6. Ingnad in gnīm dōn *mac* cen lín cen choin cēlig
ar lūas a choss tarrachtain oss isna slēbib.
7. Sechtmāin *secht* mís *ocus secht* mbliadna bóí amlaid
darsin lindmuir co tānic inbuid samraid.³
8. Slecht leis iar sein Eocho do rúadgním a roairm
dia beirt bindgil tuc Eirc ingin Loairn.⁴
9. Lán ind Hēriu do gnímaib síl Eogain Ailig
co mbuaid bladaig oc saigid ní suail ro sainig.
10. Slecht *sesca* rí *is* da c[h]ōicait ruirech rathach
brechta brígail *Mac* Erca i ndīgail a athar.

Lochlann, AU 1088. 68. Domnall destroyed Cenn Corad, AU 1088.
69. AU 1091. After stanza 61, all the dates that I have found are later
than the death of Flann Manistrech, 1056. Hence it appears that the
poem was continued by a later writer. Flann's part must have ended
with stanza 60, of which the closing *a nglunib* alliterates with the begin-
ning of the next section of the poem, *a ngluind*. The additions do not
include Domnall's victory over the Ulaid in 1099, or his greatest victory,
gained over a powerful combination under his rival for the monarchy,
Muirchertach Ua Briain, in 1103. We may therefore date the couplets
61–69 between the years 1091 and 1099.

¹ One syll. in excess. Omit *ro*?

² One syll. in excess. Read *sin* for *issin*.

³ One syll. wanting. Read *no co*?

⁴ Two syll. wanting. Add *n-ingil* after Eirc. Cp. LL 181 a, sixth
last line.

11. Im fer co riab nad chloitis catha na cure
gleorgda glaine im mīl Europa ulē.¹
12. Orgain na Cliach ō Lūachair co Cassel Muman²
im iath n-Arad ōn triath ro thogal mag Muman.
13. Mōr gnīm Ainmere macc Setnai nir bo snēdbéim
gledgus glēmín do fuit la Fergus macc Crundmáil.³
14. Nī lugu in scēl Conall Cāel no chanad dubláid
ergnus nīm leir dō ceir la Fergus macc Crundmáil.
15. Cid arg Airgiall Dūnchad macc Ultán na orbbo
Māel Dúin dordmass rodciúir i nDún forglas Forgo.
16. Fecht aile dó do rat for triuno tuath tetchill⁴
ba broscur bríg loscud na rīg i nDún Chethirn.
17. Clothrí Ciannachta Cenn Faelad and ro anmaid
cond Cruthne crích oculus Dūngal macc scíth Scandail.
18. Selaig Fergal flaith féic follnastar for Bregmaig
nī Franc forbbaig acht is Conall Grant ūa Cernaig.
19. Conaing Cnogba macc Amalgada co n-ainiuch
la Áed n-Allán fūair in fāel farrān i n-Ailiuch.
20. Ort leiss Tommaltach macc Dunechda na ndíberg⁵
cen aichniús cuir oculus Flaithgius macc Duib Díberg.
21. Do chuaid Áed síar co Tír Da Glass ba gnīm n-achar
cāem alt i cēin tāeb acht a réir ō Chathul.⁶
22. Cechaing Níall Frossach secht cétaib cian bas cuman
iar triall Lagen co tuc cét [ngíall]⁷ a tír Muman.
184a 1.
23. Mad Áed Ordnide ros cacht fri cōemgrís⁸
sadbrite⁹ in rí ort Lagniu fo tbrí sin ōenmís.

¹ One syll. wanting. Unless the Latin form *Europa* is written instead of the Irish *Eorpa*, the missing syllable must belong to the rhyming word *gleorgda*, which in any case can hardly be correct. The phrases in this couplet, "*fer co riab*" and "*mīl Europa ulē*," are copied from III. 15, where *Europa* rhymes with *deorata*, so that the Latin spelling, through habit, is written where the Irish should have *Eorapa*.

² Read *curad* "of heroes" for *Muman*?

³ For *Crundmáil*, transferred from the following couplet, read *Nélléin*.

⁴ Read *techill*? Cp. *theichle*, IV. 46.

⁵ Usual caesura missing, the metrical rule being relaxed to admit proper names.

⁶ One syll. wanting. Read *cen* after *cēin*?

⁷ *Gíall* is obviously the word omitted.

⁸ Two syll. wanting. Probably *Mide*, after *Ordnide*.

⁹ Read the full form *sadbriu de* (: *Lagniu*).

24. Mór in siriud ó Áth Chlíath co Carn cáem Cornáin
ternam imslán iar n-argain im germaig ¹ Gabráin.
25. Garg in chrech do rat dar Ultu cen nach sēna
ganna grianna ro siacht ó Banna co Brēna.
26. Troethais cū Essa Ruaid co rrogail rolaind ²
marbsat a slóig Rogallach clainne cóir Conaill.
27. Cono ³ clainne Cēin Cummascach macc Tuathail tolgda
la Murchad már do rochair ardrí án orbba.
28. Ardrí Hērenn Níall Caille ra chobair daidbre ⁴
is turim fír ro sudig dā rīg for Laigniu.
29. Lānorggain leis Mide co Bondammair mbechda
ní drend dochla Fer Cell ocus Tethba. ⁵
30. Ro briss Áed Findliath for Gaillu i n-Ithu achar
Alpdu for tuind ro élai a lling a athar.
31. In t-Áed cētna r...folaig ⁶ Gaillu in gormthorc
ros cacht fo cháin is do rat lá[i]m dar a longphort.
32. Lamair Lorcán macc caem Cathail cīar bo bine
ro and ⁷ brónbríg in tan ro dall mōrríg Mide.
33. Mōrarggain Maige [Breg] ocus Mide miduill
trebar ros túir otá Belach nDúin co Sinaind.
34. Slecht leis Flannacān fial feithmech in dian debthach
rí Dáil Araide nos othrad macc án Echdach.
35. Orggsit in Gaill Insi Dargargrend na curchach
ciaptar armtha uile ro marbtha la Murchad.
36. Muridach macc Máele Dūin dīn n-Airther n-æbda
glacc na ngormland ro bith la Domnall macc Áeda.
37. Ardrí Airgiall Mael Dūin macc Fergaile ind forlaind
rothuir na rand do rochair la Fland macc Domnaill.
38. Do chūaid Níall Glūdub co Grellaig Elte i n-Echdruim
leis ar oenlus do rochair Oengus hua Mael Sechnaill. ⁸
39. Slecht la Fergal ár nGall i nGlind Gerg co nglasse
da fichet ⁹ déc ní dām disse i n-ár Asse.

¹ Read *germag* (?): *ternam*.

² One syll. wanting. Read *cuu*, accus. pl. of *cua*, instead of *cū*.

³ Read *Cond* = *Conn*.

⁴ Read *daidbriu*.

⁵ Two syll. wanting. Read *ruc* (or *tuc*) *cethra Fer Cell is Tethba*?

⁶ In "facsimile," *r*; *folaig*, with indication of one or more letters missing before it, is added in the margin.

⁷ For *ro fand*: *ro dall*.

⁸ One syll. in excess. Read *do cer* instead of *do rochair*.

⁹ Read *fichit*.

40. Assin Taltin inbaid oenaig ed ad fédem
dréim dar .firu ro chacht *macc* Néill firu Hērend.¹
41. Ē féin dia n-éis ro chacht i n-ōenuch na n-ollchar
co slán salmchar ar ái cīar bo chrād do Dondchad.
42. Do sein do lluid co firu Fōtla finnu fīalu²
dune as dānu co rragaib ule a ngīallu.
43. Co nos tuc iarum do Dondchad molbthar massib
ellach n-ossaid ro chossain im Chellach Casil.
44. Cathróiniud riam forsna Gaullu co Snám Aigneoh
nīr bo bét and na da chét iar n-a n-airlech.³
45. Ort leis gamandrad Locha Cūan co n-ēchtaib umal⁴
torcaid anad co horgain Arad is Ulad.
46. Ulaid iar n-īr *ocus* na Gaill im gnīm ngretha
ba triān trucha lotar ass sīar co Sliab Betha.
47. Ro briss *macc* Néill forro do léir lith cen chāemna
for Amláib argg is for Matudán *macc* n-ard n-Āeda.⁵
48. Ār da fichet *ocus* da cét cend ro chlune
dīb co Rige isna gabāla ile ule.
49. Ort leis in triāth Torolb ro thriāll *cach* rian rethach
tollais trocha dia mbói i llongais Locha Echach.
50. Oirggis Insi Gall in gargrī ba gnīm nglegrach
nīr bo dograch tuc a forbach i tīr Temrach.
51. Trōethais Ciannacht Glinne Gemin ní gnīm ngoa
Goach do guin is de con tuil *macc* Duib Roa.⁶
52. Ro airgset Gaill glóir Ard Macha mór imma sniib⁷
macc Néill nī bréc ro marb for sēt da cét diib.
53. Dīth leis rīg Lōegaire laindrig līnib ilāeb
nīr bo dogairm in caur diar bo chomainm Cināed.
54. Ba crūaid in céim ruc *macc* Néill Conaing in chumtaig
sar⁸ for sēt seng ār trí *cet* cend leis do Ultaib.
55. Do chūaid Hua Néill i mMide múad mó *cech* dechraind
co clú clothbind co ro dall Hua Mael Sechnaill.

¹ The reading of *firu* twice in this line is questionable.

² One syll. in excess. *Do sein* is perhaps to be read in the contracted form *dīn*.

³ One syll. wanting. Read *cīnd* = *cinn* after *and* or *Gall* after *cét*?

⁴ One syll. in excess. But in words like *gamanrad*, in which a liquid (*n*) is expanded into a syllable, that syllable is sometimes not counted in verse.

⁵ One syll. in excess. Omit *is*.

⁶ Ptolemy's 'Ραυνίου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί?

⁷ One syll. in excess. Read 'ma for *imma*? Read *móir*.

⁸ Read *sair*?

56. Selaíd Murchad mathe fer n-Olnécmacht n-ollalt
míne mennat *ocus* ro gab ríge Connacht.
57. Cāem-hua Cerbaill Laidgnén Locha Uatne *foraill*
in del delbgan do lluid la Fergal *mac* Conaing.
58. Cechaing Āed Ailig *for* creich i mBrefni bladach
leis cid cían cūairt do rochair Niall Ua Rūaire rebach
59. Ro slecht Conaire ocon chēti in caur cētna
Matudán már is and *for* urmi ág n-éca.
184^b 1.
60. Éclond aicme Ēnna Ōengus ardd a chongaib ¹
do cer la síl Eogain ammail ² ciar bo ollam.
61. Ardri cheneoíl Lugdach laindrig lūadit gormraind
ro das brúi síl Eogain n-imrind trī úi Domnaill.
62. Degrí Derluis do thutim im Furadrán ³ fūatlán
Cú Chaille chrúaid *ocus* romacc in ruaid Rūarcán.
63. Rí Hua nDorthaind Maelán do cer leo i rróí chatha
i tessaig thrucha ro bīth flaith Hua mBresail Macha. ⁴
64. Mandrais [Ulu] Flaithbertach fial na ngíall nglacbān
las rubad fāel Cú Ulad is Āed is Artán.
65. Ard-hua Canaínd Cāille Conaill cirrsit claidib
rothbrén reraig coro ndedaig Āed Ailig. ⁵
66. Ānrad aile Mathgamain clainne Céin calma
ba fial fodla do rochair la Niall n-ard n-amra.
67. Árim a crech ní étam nech ní nach ada
cid as aidbli co ro áirmi gainmi in mara.
68. Mēraid co bráth an ad choad do chāch dia nglonnaib
ní ar a n-écnach ní écind cétnad dia nglonnaib. ⁶
69. Fland fer lēgind ó Manistir rod mór Dia
issé dos róna dia n-iarfais nech crōda cia. C.

¹ Read *chongab*.

² Read *ammal* (: *ollam*) ?

³ Read *Furadrán* instead of *im F*.

⁴ One syll. in excess. Perhaps *i* at the beginning of the line does not count, following the final vowel of *catha*.

⁵ One syll. wanting. Read *Aed ard* (or *án*) *Ailig*.

⁶ The repetition must be a scribal error. The last word should alliterate with Flann, which begins the next verse, but I cannot supply it, unless there is a noun *forram*, "reckoning" (*for* + *rím*). Cp. "*forruimhe*, watching or keeping cattle," O'Donovan, Suppt., in the sense of keeping count of the cattle (?).

V.

1. Their deeds, their death-dealings, their devastations that were manly,
their numbering is too great for you to hear them from a poet.
2. Once that Muiredach son of Eogan was exposed to danger
slumbering (?) above the war-beset strand alone—
3. Thither came Eochu Comely-Brow, son of Éconn,
and seized the lad, and took him under covering in his rigged
ship.
4. Over the vast deep the one-eyed carried off the stripling;
in his wooded territory he got valiant service from Crinna's king.
5. The swift fair-faced one used to go upon the moor to fetch a deer;
he was forced to find food for Eochu of the white rigging, a
bright lord.
6. Wonderful feat for the lad, without net, without obedient hound,
by the swiftness of his feet to overtake young deer on the moors.
7. Seven days, seven months, and seven years, he was in this wise
beyond the flowing sea, till one summer's fitting time arrived.
8. Then Eochu was cut down by him with the stout stroke of his great
weapon;
by the charm of his courtship ¹ he won to wife [fair] Erc ²
daughter of Loarn.
9. Ireland is full of the deeds of the race of Eogan of Ailech
with renowned valour striving, nothing petty they have made
their aim.
10. Sixty kings and twice fifty opulent over-kings he cut down
the brilliant and brave Macc Erca in avenging his father.
11. Including the "Man with a Stripe" whom battles or bands could
not subdue,
the champion of all Europe, . . .

¹ Lit. by his melodious-bright action.

² Thus Macc Erca, the cognomen of Muirchertach son of Muiredach, is explained. But Macc Erca, *Maqi Ercias* of the Oghams, with its feminine correlative *Dar Erca*, must have a special significance, and probably denotes affiliation or dedication to a goddess Erca, Erc. Cp. *Ercavicas* (Ogham) = Erc-warrior, *Ercagni* = *Maqi Ercias*, *Erclang*, &c.

11. This stanza is borrowed, in part verbatim, from III. 14. A marginal gloss on III. 13 attributes the achievement to Muirchertach's grandson Mael Umai, the fian-leader. In neither case do I know who the beaten "champion of Europe" may have been. Among those who fell in battle with Muirchertach, the most noted, perhaps, was Oengus king of Munster. Perhaps the allusion is to the battle of Dægsastan, in which

12. The devastation of Cliu from Luachair to Cashel of Munster,
as well as the country of the Arai, by the lord who conquered
Munster's plain.
13. A mighty deed, it was no feeble stroke, Anmeri son of Sétne
fell by the hand of Fergus son of Nélléne, a brilliant feat of arms.
14. A no less famous tale, Conall Coel, singer of a "dark song,"
. . . fell by the hand of Fergus son of Crunnmael.
15. The Airgialla's champion, too, Dúnochad son of Ultán in his homeland
Mael Dúin of the fine deep voice slew him in green Dún Forggó.
16. Mael Dúin at another time brought . . . on the strong men of
the states,
it was a famous destruction, the burning of the kings in Dún
Cethirn.
17. The famed king of the Ciannachta, Cenn Faelad, there he disfigured,
and the head of the territories of the Picts, Dúngal, sad son of
Scannal.
18. Fergal cut down a fierce (?) lord that ruled over the plain of Brega,
not an extorting Frank, but Conall Grant grandson of Cernach.
19. Conaing of Cnogba, son of Amalgaid of dignity,
by Aed Allán the fierce man met overthrow in Ailech.
20. By him (Aed) was slain Tomaltach, son of Duinechaid of the outlaws,
taken unawares and Flaithgius son of Dub Díberg.

Mael Umai slew a Northumbrian prince. See AU 599 and footnote, and the corresponding entry in Tigernach. 12. AU 532. Dr. Hogan, in *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, estimates Cliu to have contained "the eastern half of Co. Limerick plus the barony of Owney and Ara to Killaloe," and goes on to say, "if the extent of Cliu is, perhaps, overstated by me," &c. It is, in fact, understated, as Flann's verse shows. To the localities listed by Dr. Hogan, add Durlus Airthir Chliach. This place cannot be, as (s.v.) Dr. Hogan thinks, Doorlus near Croom, which is in the west, not in the east (*airther*), of the region he describes, and must, I think, be Thurles, Co. Tipperary. The Eoganachta of Durlus Airthir Chliach (BB 174b 19, 39) were an off-shoot of the Eoganachta Caisil. Hence we may, I think, add to the district described by Dr. Hogan all that lies eastward of it as far as the R. Suir. 13. AU 569, 575. 14. Fergus + 671. 15. AU 676, not mentioning Mael Dúin. 16, 17. AU 680.

18. AU 717. 19. AU 741. That Conaing was put to death by Aed is not stated in the annals. 20. AU 731, where Duinechdo is taken in the translation as nominative. The annalist merely says "moritur." The probable pedigree is Duinechaid + 690, s.o. Ordoth + 659, s.o. Sechnusach + 670, k. of Ireland, s.o. Blathmacc + 665 or 668, k. of Ireland, s.o. Aed Sláne + 604, k. of Ireland. Flaithgius was killed in battle, acc. to AU 731. The entry of the death of Tomaltach immediately follows the account of this battle, and Flann was possibly misled

21. Aed went westward to Tír-da-glas, it was a bold deed,
a fair venture afar, receiving not alliance but submission from
Cathal.
22. Niall Frossach fared forth with seven hundred, long it will be
remembered,
till, having traversed Leinster, he took a hundred hostages
from Munster.
23. As for Aed Ordniide, he subdued [Meath ?] by a good harrying ;
the king was enriched, he overran Leinster thrice in one month.
24. Long is the stretch from Ath Cliath to fair Carn Cornáin ;
he returned safe having plundered around Gabrán's fat plain.
25. A fierce raid he made over the Ulaid, without denial,
. . . . it reached from the Bann to Bréna.
26. He overthrew the heroes of Ess Ruaid by the great valour of his
great blade ;
his armies slew Rogallach of the race of upright Conall.
27. The head of the race of Cian, Cummuscach son of stout Tuathal,
by tall Murchad fell the noble high-king of possessions.
28. The high-king of Ireland, Niall Caille, who succoured the poor,
it is a true account, he set up two kings over the Lagin.
29. The thorough ravaging of Meath by him to Bondammair of the bees,
no feeble onset, [he carried off the cattle] of Fir Cell and Tethba.
30. Aed Findliath defeated the Foreigners in keen [Mag] Itha ;
Alpdu escaped over the wave in his father's ship.
31. The same Aed smote (?) the Foreigners, the blue wild boar,
subjected them to tribute and took possession of their encamp-
ment.

by this conjunction. 21. AU 736. The annalist says nothing about Cathal's submission. 22. AU records neither battle nor hosting by Niall Frossach during his reign. 23, 24. See AU 801, 803, 804, 817.

25. AU 808. In the verses quoted there, Bréne is mentioned. 26. AU 814, where the name is Rogallnech. "Of EssRuaid" = "of Tír Conaill." 27. AU 821. Cummuscach was king of the Ciannachta Breg. 28. AU 834, where there is mention of one king only, Bran s.o. Faelán. Bran died three years later, and possibly Niall appointed his successor. 29. AU 834. The "house of Mael Chonóc" there mentioned is placed by the Four Masters at Bodhammar (see note in AU), perhaps on the authority of this poem. See Onom. Goed. for Bodammair, Badammair. There is a townland of Bohammer at Kinsaley, Co. Dublin. AU 839, "indred Cell ocus Beithri la Niall." Perhaps *Bethra* (: *Tethba*) was in the missing part of the line above. 30. Perhaps Aed's victory at Loch Febail, AU 865. Alpdu = Halfdan; Albann, king of

32. He took in hands Lorcán, Cathal's comely son, though he was
noxious ;
he weakened sorrow's force when he blinded the great king
of Meath.
33. The wide devastation of the plain of Brega and of great central Meath
skilfully he searched them from Belach nDúin to Shannon.
34. Flannacán, noble and wary, was cut down by him, the swift man
of encounters,
the king of Dál Araidi who kept men in pay (?),¹ famous son
of Eochaid.
35. The Foreigners wasted Inis Dar Gairgrenn of the boatmen ;
though they were armed, they were all slain by Murchad.
36. Muiredach, Mael Dúin's son, shelter of pleasant Orior,
was slain by Domnall, grasper of blue blades, son of Aed.
37. Oriel's chief king, Mael Dúin, son of Fergal of victory,
great tower of the territories, fell by the hand of Flann son
of Domnall.
38. Niall Glúndub went to Grellach Eilte in Echdruimm ;
by his hand in one fight (?) fell Oengus grandson of Mael
Sechnaill.
39. The slaughter of the Foreigners in green Glenn Gerg was done by Fergal;
two hundred and forty, no trivial company, in the slaughter
of Aisse.

the " Dark Foreigners," AU 874, 876. 31. In 866, Aed Findliath plundered " all the Norse encampments " (*longphortu*) on the north coast. The word *longphort*, which came to mean a camp, was first applied to the strongholds made by the Norse at their landing-places. The earliest instance of its use seems to be in reference to the first stronghold of the Norse at Dublin, 841.

¹ " *othar .i. tuarastal.*"

32. Lorcán was with the Norsemen at the rifling of the prehistoric tombs of the Boyne valley, and at the plundering of Brega in 863. His blinding by the high-king in the following year was an effective sentence of deposition. Flann implies that the punishment was deserved. 33. See AU 860, 861. 34. AU 848, where there is no mention of Aed. Flannacán was slain by Cenél nEogain, whose king at the time, acc. to II. 16, was Mael Dúin. 35. This Murchad, whose father Mael Dúin died in 867, is confused in AU index with an earlier Murchad, son of an earlier Mael Dúin. He was killed in 887. Inis Dar Gairgrenn (Cargrenn) is identified with " Ram's Island " in Lough Neagh. Add this reference to those given in Onom. Goed. Murchad's exploit is not in AU. 36. AU 862. 37. Flann + 906. Mael Dúin is not mentioned in AU. 38. Niall's expedition was in December, 914. Oengus, who

40. Going from Taltiu at the time of assembly—this we relate—
a conquest over men, Niall's son subdued the Men of Ireland.
41. Himself afterwards he made subject in the assembly of the notables (?)
in safety amid psalms of praise, though it was bitter for
Donnchad.
42. Thence he came to the fairhaired noble Men of Fótla,
boldest of men, and took their hostages all.
43. Whom afterwards he gave to Donnchad—it is splendidly praised—
the gathered company that he had won, chief among them
Cellach¹ of Cashel.
44. The battle-rout of the Foreigners before him to Snám Aigneich ;
it was no ill deed there, that the two hundred [heads] were
cut off.
45. By him was wasted the young stock (?) of Loch Cuan, with deaths
of subject folk ;
he is forced to remain till the wasting of the Ulaid and the Araid.
46. The Ulaid in wrath and the Foreigners, on a noisy adventure,—
a third were doomed—set off westward to Sliab Betha.
47. Niall's son defeated them utterly—a festival without mercy—
defeated Olaf the champion and Matudán tall son of Aed.
48. A slaughter of two score and two hundred heads, thou hearest,
of them as far as [Glenn] Rige, and all the many captures.

encountered it, died in February, 915. The statement of the Four Masters that he died of wounds received in the encounter may well be based on Flann's poem. 39. See AU 920, where Glenn Gerg is not named, and the crew of one ship are stated to have been killed by Fergal, king of the Fochla.

40, 41. See AU 926. Flann seems to imply that Muirchertach withdrew, took up arms, and compelled the assembly to submit to him. Donnchad, the high-king, was ready for hostilities, perhaps proclaimed Muirchertach an outlaw. "*Sed Dominus separavit eos sine ulla occisione.*" The clergy, no doubt, intervened, and Muirchertach, as we may gather from the poem, obtained a reluctant amnesty. 42, 43. These stanzas refer to the "Circuit of Ireland" by Muirchertach, fourteen years after the affair at Taltiu. Cormacan's poem on this circuit has been published by the Irish Archaeological Society, and again by Dr. Hogan. The account in the annals (AU 940) seems disproportionate. Flann corroborates Cormacan. 44. AU 925: "*ubi ducenti decollati sunt.*" 45. No doubt with reference to the defeat of the Norsemen of the Loch Cuan fleet, AU 925. The Ulaid were defeated by Conaing, Muirchertach's brother, seven years later, at Ruba Con Congalt, probably in the territory of the Ulaid or of Dál Araidi. 46, 47, 48. AU 932: "*they left 240 heads.*" Flann adds that Olaf led the Norse contingent, apparently Olaf Cuarán.

¹ Commonly called Cellachán.

49. By him was slain the lord Torolb who had crossed every running sea ;
he pierced illfated men when he was in the fleet of Loch Neagh.
50. He harried the Hebrides, the fierce king—it was a deed of acclaim
it was not disastrous—he brought their trophies to the land of
Tara.
51. He vanquished the Ciannacht of Glenn Gemin—it is no false event ;—
Goach he wounded ; that is why Dub Roa's son fell asleep.
52. The loud-voiced Foreigners plundered great Armagh . . .
Niall's son, it is no lie, slew two hundred of them on their way.
53. By him the king of brilliant Loegaire of many varied excellencies
perished,
he was not of ill renown, the hero whose name was Cinaed.
54. It was a hardy step that Niall's son Conaing of protection took
eastward on a narrow path ; he made a slaughter of 300 heads
of the Ulaid.
55. Niall's grandson went into glorious Meath, greatest of all good
territories,
with fame of sweet report, till he blinded the grandson of
Mael Sechnaill.
56. Murchad laid low the nobles of Olnécmacht of great adventures
and took the kingship of the Connachta of smooth domains.

49. AU 931. 50. Not in AU. The genealogy, BB 78 b 16, says that Muirchertach "went to the islands of Scotland and took plunder out of them." The Hebrides were at that time held by the Norsemen. 51. AU 926, where no battle is indicated. *Roa*, genitive, the river "Roe," of which the valley was called Glenn Gemin (Gaimin). 52. AU 920. 53. AU 931 says that Cinaed was slain, but does not say by whom or in what circumstances. The names of the sons of Niall of the Nine Hostages are often used to denote the septs descended from them, *e.g.*, Loeguire (as here), Coirpre, Fiachu, Conall, Eogan. 54. See note on 45. 55. I have not found this event in the annals. 56. AU 972 tells the defeat and death of the king of Connacht, but does not say that Murchad obtained the kingship. The site of the battle is identified in the genealogies BB 102 b 12 : "Tadhg, son of Muirchertach, father of Cú Chenand [*a quo* Ua Con Ceanainn], in the battle of Céis Corainn he was slain, alone with Cathal son of Tadhg, king of Connacht. In the same battle were slain Géibhennach son of Aedh, king of Ui Maini, and Urchadh son of Flann son of Gleidnechán, chief of Clann Murchadha. There fell also Searrach, grandson of Flaithbertach, king of Cenél nEogain, and Donnchadh, son of Domhnall, eligible prince of Cenél nEogain, on the opposing side in that battle ; and all these nobles from north and from south were buried in Cell Espuig Luidhigh between Maelán Cinn Sensléibe [the bare top of the end of Sensliabh "old mountain"] and Corrsliabh Seghsa." For Flaithbertach see II. 18. Murchad, the victor, was his grandson,

57. Cerball's comely grandson, Laidgnén of wide Loch Uaithne,
the shapely sapling, came with [*i.e.*, was cut off by] Fergal
son of Conaing.
58. Aed of Ailech fared on a foray into famous Breifne;
though it was a distant journey, the spritely Niall Ua Ruairc
fell by his hand.
59. The same hero cut down Conaire at the assembly-place;
great Matudán there underwent the end of death.
60. The chief (?) of Enda's sept, Oengus,—high his weapon,—
fell by the race of . . . Eogan, though he was a ruler.
61. The high princes of lustrous Cenél Lugdach, whom glowing (?)
verses praise,
keen (?) Eogan's race trod them down, Domnall's three grand-
sons.
62. The good princes of Derlus fell, around Furudrán who filled a bier
hardy Cú Chaille and the red man's strong son Ruarcán.
63. Maelán, king of Ui Dorthainn, fell by them on the field of battle;
in hot strife (?) of fated men was slain the chief of Ui Bresail Macha.

and Searrach "the Foal" was no doubt a byname for a brother or cousin of Murchad. The church is not identified in Onom. Goed., which says that Sensliab is Céis Corainn, but from the passage quoted one might think rather that it is "Carrowkeel Mountain." See the paper by Macalister, Armstrong & Praeger on "Bronze-Age Cairns on Carrowkeel Mountain, Co. Sligo," R. I. A. Proceedings, 29 C 9, where "the bald top of the end of the mountain" is conspicuous in the photographs. The name Sensliab would have been specially appropriate to this mountain with its ancient settlement and cemetery.

57. AU 987, T. Laidgnén was king of Fernmag. Loch Uaithne "Lough Oony," is about four miles N.E. of Clones, Co. Monaghan. The ancient kingdom of Fernmagh was much more extensive than the modern barony. 58. Perhaps when Aed (s.o. Domnall s.o. Muirchertach na Cocholl Croicinn) raided Connacht, 1002. 59. See AU 995. Instead of *Conaire* we should probably read *Conaille*, of which people Matudán was king. 60. Oengus Ua Lapáin, k. of Cenél nEndai, was slain by Cenél nEogain na hInse (of Inis Eogain) AU 1010-1011. 61. Mael Ruanaid Ua Domnaill, k. of Cenél Lugdach (a subsept of Cenél Conaill), was slain by the Men of Mag Itha (= Cenél Moén or Moáin, a subsept of Cenél nEogain), AU 1010-1011. 62. AU 999-1000: "Domnall Ua Domnallán, king of Derlus, slain by Aed Ua Néill." T has: "Cú Chaille Ua Domnaill, king of Durlas, slain in treachery by Aed Ua Néill" (Stokes incorrectly gives ". . . of Thurles . . . by Aed grandson of Niall"). Derlus or Durlus was a residence of the kings of Ui Tuirtre, a branch of the Airgialla. Formerly located to the W. of Loch Neagh, at the period here in question their territory was N. of Loch Neagh, in Mag Line. 63. AU 1008-9. O'Donovan strangely sought, in *Book of Rights*, p. 151, to connect the names Ui Dorthainn and Bile Tortáin, and has been fol-

64. Noble Flaithbertach of the white-handed hostages harried the Ulaid
he by whom was slain a wolf, Cú Ulad, and Aed and Artán
65. Tall Ua Canainn of Conall's portion that swords carved
boldly stretched forth until Aed of Ailech checked (?) him.
66. Another chief, Mathgamain of the brave race of Cian,
who was generous in sharing, fell by tall renowned Niall.
67. The reckoning of their forays,—we find nothing that is not lawful,—
what is more measureless till thou number the sands of the sea ?
68. What I have told to all of their feats will live till doom ;
it is not in censuring them that I would not tell the hundredth
of their deeds.
69. Flann the Lector from Monaster that God hath magnified,
he hath compiled them, if any brave man ask who.

Fland *cecinit*.

VI.

184b.

1. Mide magen clainne Cuind . forod clainne Néill nertluind
cride na Banba bricce . Mide mag na mór-chipe.
2. Mór rí ro gab for Mide . eter fine is anfine
ó ro gab for Inis Fáil . longas macc Miled Espáin.
3. Ó amsir Hērimoin āin . co hamsir Nūadat Find Fáil
ō amsir Nūadat ille . co amsir n-aird n-Ugaine.
4. Ó Ugaine ule anall . co Echaig Feidlech Fremand
ó Echaig amra inn athach . co Cond calma cēthathach.
5. Ó amsir Chuind co cēt cath . co clannaib Néil maicc Echach
ra clannaib Néill ō sein ille . in mag-sain mag mōr Mide. M.
6. Conall cétrí clainne Néill . ro gab ós Mide mongréid
secht mbliadna déc dó don dund. co ron ergab éc opund.

lowed by others in locating Ui Dorthainn near Ardraccan in Meath. The references in the annals show that the Ui Dorthainn, who were a branch of the Airgialla, were situate in Oriel, probably S. of Armagh in Monaghan Co. Flann's verses seem also to refer to Aed's raid in 1021, when Ui Dorthainn, Ui Bresail Macha, &c., opposed him.

64. Flaithbertach in Trostáin. AU 1007. AU 1004, two entries. 65. Ua Canainn = Ruaidrí Ua Canannáin, killed by Aed Ua Néill, AU 1030, T; by Aed Athlam s.o. Flaithbertach. 66. Apparently the "predatory expedition by Niall son of Mael Sechnaill (king of Ailech), into Brega, when he killed Ua h-Iffernán," AU 1047. The corresponding entry in T says that Niall's following "killed Madadhán Hua hIfernán, chief of Clann Chrecháin." In the genealogy of the Ciannacht of Brega, BB 194 b 44, 195 a1, Mael Odar s.o. Ifernán is a descendant of "Craecan." Flann's poem would thus seem to have been composed within the years 1047-1056. He died in the latter year.

7. A secht fichet oc fedaib . d' Fiachaig *mac* Néil na degaid
co ro chlōemchlāe nī dalb daith ¹. *for* in maig oc carn Feradaig.¹
8. Ardgal *mac* Conaill na crech . secht mbliadna ōs Mide magnech
deog a topur éca it ib . i cath Oetna ² la Lagnib.
9. Mane *mac* Cerbaill Clūana . *cōic* bliadna *dēc* drechbūada
iter trocha ³. sin maig i cath Chlōenlocha.
10. Diarmait *mac* Cerbaill chreachaig . *fichi* bliadan sa cethair
ardruri Mide na mmed . i mmaig [Line] ra losced.
11. A *cethair* Colmáin Móir mo raith ⁴ . *mac* Diarmata ba degflaith
Dub Sloit Cruthnech *mac* Trena . ⁵ ro marb do rind rúadbera.
12. Bliadain ar *fichit* iartain . do Cholmán Bic ⁶ dia bráthair
do rochair flaith cāem na crech . la Aed *mac* n-ard n-Anmerech.
13. Ocht mbliadna sa deich cen táir . ro feith Suibne *mac* Colmáin
ro marb ⁷ Áed Slāne na sleg . tair ocon tsāle thondgel.
14. Trí bliadna fa dó don dus . do *mac* Colmáin d[o] Fergus
fríth ilach dó fo dered . i cath birach Blattened.⁸
15. Oengus *mac* Colmáin chētaig . ro glacc ⁹ in mBanba mbétaig
secht mbliadna dó i Temraig thall . a bás ro derlaig Domnall.
16. Conall Guthbind *mac* Subne . a cōic fa chethair tre chuibde
co ra ben a dīanblaid de ¹⁰. Diarmait *mac* Áeda Slāne.
17. Sé bliadna déc co demin . Māel Doid *mac* Subni serig
forracsat a dáine thair . i Cnoccaib Māele Doaid. ¹¹
18. Diarmait *mac* Airmedaig áith . *sé* bliadna *trí*chat nūr thláith
ro thascair in Bregach brass . Finnachta Fledach foltchass.

¹ Read *dath* . . . *Fiachach*. See Onom. Goed., Carn Feradaig and Carn Fiachach.

² Read *Détna*.

³ Read *co torchair iter trocha*. (?)

⁴ One syll. in excess. Read *A trí*?

⁵ Note that the *e* in *Trena* is short.

⁶ *Bic* dat. sg. masc. = *biuc*.

⁷ = *ra mmarb*.

⁸ *Blattene* is here inflected as if it were a compound of *tene*, "fire." It seems to be the name of a tribe or tribal district, dat. sg. *Blatiniu* in the O. I. verses quoted AU 617.

⁹ The facs. has punctum delens over the first *c* of *glacc* as here, seeming to indicate that the scribe read *mac* as *mac* (*c* = *g*) with the proclitic pronunciation as in the modern *Mag Aonghusa*, &c., and wishes to change *glacc* accordingly. It seems, however, better to read *mac*, *glacc*.

¹⁰ Before *de*, the final *d* of *dianblaid* loses its spirant quality, and thus provides a good rhyme for *Diarmait*. See Meyer, *Irish Metrics*, preface vi.

¹¹ The place-name preserved the disyllabic *Doaid*, which becomes one syllable in the personal name, preserved in literature, as in the previous line.

19. Fiche *blíadan* nír fata . do Murchad *mac* Diarmata
da rochair sin alt iartain . la Conall Grant *hua* Cernaig.
20. Diarmait Airmedach iarma . Aed Colggu cóic cert *blíadna*
cetbri ríge Mide na mmed . ro marbtha oc Bile Thened.
21. Domnall *mac* Murchada móir . *sé* *blíadna* *cetbrach*at cóir
tuc Dia dó flathius fata . co n-erbailt *hua* Diarmata.
185a.
22. Niall *mac* Diarmata in daig derg . flaith Mide na lomleg¹
sé *blíadna* i rríge rebach . co torchair la Muredach.
23. Murchertach *mac* Domnaill dían . dí *blíadain* don flaith lánfial
ro p'é rí in borrfaithe cen brath . no co torchair la Dondchath
24. Dondchad *mac* Domnaill na ndrech . ro po leis Temair tollméch
tricha *blíadna*² do derb lend . co n-erbailt iarla Hérinn.
25. Oen *blíadain* i rríge réil . do Domnall *mac* Dondchaid³ déin
tair i táeb na halla .⁴ da rochair la hechtranna.
26. Muridach *mac* Domnaill daith . cunnid in chomlainn chóicdaig⁵
trí *blíadna* ós chluain Chobthaig chain . ro ndorchaig éc anapaig
27. Diarmait *mac* Dondchaid⁶ daith . *blíadain* i flaithius fírmaithe
i mmudu do chuaid con chaill . tiar i cath Ruba Chonaill.
28. Conchobor cáem a mathius . ós Hérinn i n-ardflathius
is éc at bath rí in Broga . deg*mac* duanach Dondchada.
29. Deich m*blíadna* i flaithius nár fóen . dó do Mael Ruanaid rocháem
at bath *mac* Dondchaid⁶ dí . rí in borrfada sin bissig.
30. Dí *blíadain* flaith in maicc maith . dar éis Mael Ruanaid in raith
ro marb na brethlaind co mblaid. Mael Sechnaill a derbráthair.
31. Mael Sechnaill saer a Slemain . *secht* m*blíadna* déc na degaid
at bath iar mbuadaib co mbláid .⁷ *mac* Mael Ruanaid co rogail.
32. Lorcán *mac* Cathail na crích . dí *blíadain* i flaithius fríth
rí for Midi mall na míach . co ro ndall Aed Findliath.⁸
33. Dondchad *hua* Conchobuir chrúaid. dá sé m*blíadna* band for búaid
la Fland in tochuir cen tār . do rochair *mac* Eochocán.

¹ One syll. wanting. It might be supplied in many ways, e.g., *flaith ós Midi*.

² The rhyme *blíadna : iarla* shows that Flann here uses the older form of the gen. pl.

³ This genitive is substituted for the regular *Donnchada*, *metris causa*.

⁴ One syll. wanting. Read *ba tair* ?

⁵ The usual form is *cóicedaig*.

⁶ Read *Donnchada*.

⁷ Read *mblaid*.

⁸ One syll. wanting, probably a monosyllabic adjective after *Aed* and alliterating with *Findliath*.

34. Fland *mac* Mael *Sechnaill* amra . *secht* [m]bliadna *déc* ós Banba
cia tír nā ro thrēnglacc trell . no co n-ērbailt rí Hērenn.
35. Hua Mael *Sechnaill* cen omon . trí bliadna do Chonchobor
malle re Niall nGlündub ngel . do rochair grian na nGaedel.
36. Domnall *mac* Flaind fuair bliadain . eter Chlūain is chorr-Līamuin
rod marb ciar bo glond co ngail . Dondchad dond a derbrāthair.
37. Dondchad cen bét cen bine . fuair éc i n-ech-Mide ¹
fúair iarla Crinna ba cet . *sé* bliadna finna fichet.
38. Fuair Oengus airdairc cen ail . iar n-a athair oenbliadain
tricha cét lín a chatha . co n-ērbailt *mac* Dondchada.
39. Dondchad *mac* Domnaill dīamra . ro chaith *cethri* oenbliadna
ro marb flaith gót in gossa . Fergal óc *mac* Oengusa.
40. Fergal fuair raite ² co rrath . co ro n-indarb Congalach
ō C[h]lūain Iraidr co dīaraib . nín ³ ro n-ūair ³ *acht* oenbliadain
41. Oenbliadain aile do Aed . do *mac* Mael Rūanaid rocháem
fúair bás na chomland chatha . la Domnall *mac* nDondchattha.
42. Domnall bliadain co ba thrí . bord ⁴ ro Līamuin ⁴ in lethrí
bét do chlaind Chobthaig clīaraig . éc *maicc* Dondchaid
drechmīadaig.
43. Carlus *mac* Cuind *maicc* Dondchaid . remes *sé* mbladan mborrfuid
and do rochair hua Flaind Fáil . áit i rrollsat Gaill crithgāir.
44. Murchertach riagla lat sain . *cethri* bliadna fo chethair
fuair forlund ic Druim Chriaig cain . la Domnall *mac* Congalaig.
45. Cóic bliadna do Mide maith . fás cen tige cen degflaith
Fergal ro chreachaig cech claind . ra dered flatha Domnaill.
46. Cóic bliadna *cethrachat* cōir . flathius Mael *Sechnaill* echmóir
rí mór Mide co millse . éc at bath issin Chroinse.⁵
47. Mael *Sechnaill* Got a cethair . éc olc ra scar ra bethaid
secht mblíadna réna rubnib dām .⁶ cosin cath i mMóin Milán.
48. Domnall dí bliadain a band . co torchair la Mael Caland
ro ba rí Midi na mmol . dia éis ro gab Conchobor.

¹ One syll. wanting.

² Read *ráithe* ?

^{3,3} The reading seems corrupt.

^{4,4} Not intelligible to me.

⁵ Read *sin Chroinsi*.

⁶ One syll. in excess. Read *Róin rubnib dām*. LL 42, between Mael Sechnaill Got and Domnall, has "Roén ui. i cath Monad Milain ro marbad." Raen Hua Mael *Sechlainn*, k. of Meath, Tigernach 1026, His defeat and death at Móin Miláin, 1027. AU 1027 calls him "Roin k. of Meath." Read *ii bl.* for *uii. bl.* Roen must be included to make up the 47 kings to Conchobor, 51.

49. Dar éis Domnaill delbglain dil . ro gab for Temraig tīrig
dī bliadain cethri deich dron . issed ro feith Conchobor.
50. Conchobor mag Mide maith . nach orban fine in ardflaith ¹
do láim Murchada maicc Flaind . do rochair hua Mael Sechnaill.
51. Secht rīg da fichet rīg rúad . iar Conall Breg nī bec slúag
co Conchobor na ngním nglē . isé lín ro gab Mide. M.

VI.

1. Meath,² homeland of Conn's race, seat of the race of vigorous Niall,
heart of manycoloured Banba, Meath, plain of the great troop.
2. Many kings have reigned in Meath, both of the true stock and the
strange,
Since the migration of the sons of Míl of Spain took possession
of Inis Fáil.
3. From noble Hérimon's time to the time of Nuadu the Fair of Fál,
from Nuadu's time down to the great time of Ugaine.
4. From Ugaine all along to Eochu Feidlech of Fremu,
from renowned Eochu the champion to valiant Conn of the
Hundred Battles.
5. From the time of Conn of a hundred battles to the descendants of
Niall son of Eochu ;
Niall's descendants ever since have owned that plain, the great
plain of Meath.
6. Conall, first king of Niall's race who reigned over smooth-maned
Meath,
seventeen years the brown-haired one ruled till sudden death
took him off.
7. Twenty-seven in festivities reigned after him Fiachu son of Niall
till he expired—it is no obscure tale (?)—on the plain at Carn
Fiachach.

¹ Read *mag-Mide maith, nochor b'anfine*.

² By Meath, in early usage, we are to understand central Ireland, west of the present county of Meath, which was part of Brega.

6. Conall Cremthainne (Conall Eirr Breg, "chariot-warrior of Bregha"), s.o. of Niall of the Nine Hostages, died in 480 (AU, where the editor's note on the name is wrong. Cremthainne, a derivative from the personal name Cremthann, is the name of a people, among whom Conall was probably fostered. They were a branch of the Airgialla. The second reference to the date of Conall's death in the index is also wrong, 485, the obit there being that of Cremthann son of Enda Cennselach). The seventeen years are apparently calculated from the death

8. Ardgál son of Conall of the forays, seven years over fielded Meath ;
a draught from death's well he drank in the battle of Détna
with the Lágín.
9. Maine son of Cerball of Cluain, fifteen years of victorious face
[until he fell] among the fated on the plain in the battle of
Cloenloch.
10. Diarmait son of foraying Cerball, twenty years and four,
high overking of Meath of the balances, in Magh Line he
was burned.
11. Four [years] of Colmán Mór of my grace (?), son of Diarmait who
was a good prince ;
Pictish Dub Sloit son of Trian slew him by the point of a
stout lance.
12. Twenty-one years thereafter for Colmán Bec, his brother,
the handsome lord of forays fell by tall Aed son of Anmeri.
13. Eight years and ten without blame Suibne son of Colmán stayed ;
Aed Sláne of the spears slew him in the east at the wave-
bright brine.
14. Twice three years for the bush [of shelter], Colmán's son Fergus ;
bane befel him at last in the spear-bristling battle of Blattene.
15. Oengus son of Colmán of the hundreds grasped Banba of fierce feats ;
seven years for him in Tara yonder ; his death Domnall inflicted.
16. Conall Guthbinn Suibne's son, four times five years fittingly,
till Diarmait son of Aed Sláne robbed him of his vigorous glory.

of Loeguire, 462. 7. Flann, like some modern editors, must have been misled by the early custom of using the names of Niall's sons, Fiachu, Coirpre, Loeguire, &c., to denote the septs sprung from them. See AU 485, 510, 516, 517, and *Book of Rights* index. He makes Fiachu king a full century after his father's death. 8. Ardgál s.o. Conall (6). B. of Détna, 520 or 523. 9. Cerball s.o. Conall (6) is also called Fergus Cerrbél, "wrymouth," or the two are confused. B. of Cloenloch, 538. 10. Diarmait Derg + 565 or 572.

11. Colmán Mór + 555, 558, or 563. He died, acc. to the annals, in his father's lifetime. 12. Colmán Bec + 587 or 593. 13. Suibne s.o. Colmán Mór + 600. The annals name the place of his death "Brí Dam on Suane, i.e., *rivulus*," "supposed to be a river near Geashill in the King's County" (AU 599 note), but Flann places it at or close to the east coast. 14. Fergus s.o. Colmán Mór + 618. The annals do not indicate a battle. 15. Oengus, s.o. Colmán Mór + 621. Here and elsewhere in this list, Flann appears to supplement the extant annals with particulars drawn from a regnal list, of which a continued version is found in LL 42, col. 1. The reading of "iiii" as "uii" may account for the reckoning. 16. Conall Guthbinn ("sweet-voiced") + 635.

17. Sixteen years assuredly, Mael Doid son of feasting Suibne ;
his folk laid him in the east in the "Hills of Mael Doaid."
18. Diarmait son of keen Airmedach, thirty-six years, he was not feeble ;
the bold Bregian laid him low, curly-locked Finnachta the
Festive.
19. Twenty years—it was not long—for Murchad son of Diarmait ;
he fell at length in the fray (?) by Conall Grant grandson of
Cernach.
20. Diarmait and Airmedach after him, Aed and Colggu, five exact years ;
the four kings of Meath of the balances¹ were slain at Bile
Tened
21. Domnall son of great Murchad, forty-six years exact,—
God gave him a long reign,—till Diarmait's grandson died.
22. Niall, son of Diarmait, the red flame, prince of Meath of bare slopes,
six years in joyous kingship till he fell by Muiredach.
23. Muirchertach, swift son of Domnall, two years for the full noble
prince,—
he was a king of brave show without guile,—till he fell by
Donnchad.
24. Donnchad, son of Domnall of the [noble] looks, . . . Tara was his,
thirty-two years, we are certain, till Ireland's earl died.
25. One year in manifest kingship for Domnall son of swift Donnchad ;
in the east, on the side of the cliff, he fell by foreigners.

17. Tigernach records [the obit of] "Mael Doid s.o. Suibne, king of Meath," among the events of 653. 18. Airmedach s.o. Conall Guthbinn. Diarmait + 689. The list in LL says that Airmedach fell in the b. of Roth = Magh Rath (637).

¹ For weighing precious metals, I take it.

19. Murchad + 715. The slayer's name, omitted in AU, is found in Tigernach. 20. So the list in LL, but AU and Tigernach do not mention Diarmait and Airmedach, nor do I find them in the genealogies. I think that the regnal list may have wrongly incorporated a gloss "*m. Diarmata m. Airmedaig*," "sons of D. s.o. A.," and thus misled Flann. Aed and Colggu, sons of Diarmait s.o. Airmedach, fell in the battle of Bile Tened, 714. They are not called kings of Meath in the annals, and Murchad (19), acc. to the annals, outlived them. 21. Domnall + 763. Tigernach says, "first king of Ireland of Clann Floind [*recte* Cholmáin]". 22. Here again Flann follows the regnal list, which has "Niall s.o. Diarmait s.o. Airmedach, 7 (years)," making Niall survive his father by 91 years, so that he would have become king at the age of 84 at least! The error arises from confusion with a later Niall + 826, s.o. Diarmait grandson of Domnall. 23. Muirchertach is Muridach in the regnal list LL 42 = Muredach (22). Both names apparently represent Murchad of AU 764 = 765. 24. Donnchad + 797. 25. Domnall + 799, "*dolose a fratribus suis*

26. Muiredach son of active Domnall, champion of the province's
struggle,
three years over fair Cluain Chobthaig; untimely death
darkened him.
27. Diarmait, son of active Donnchad, a year in right good rule;
he perished at the wood in the west in the battle of Ruba Conaill
28. Conchobor, his goodness was laudable, over Ireland in high
sovereignty;
a natural death died the king of the Brugh, Donnchad's good
son of song.
29. Ten years in sovereignty, that was not feeble, for right comely Mael
Ruanaid;
the son of dear Donnchad died, the king of magnificence and
betterment.
30. Two years was the good son's reign after successful Mael Ruanaid;
him, in his place of judgment with renown, Mael Sechnaill
his brother slew.
31. Noble Mael Sechnaill from Slemain after him seventeen years;
after successes with renown the right valiant son of Mael
Ruanaid died.
32. Lorcán son of Cathal of the territories two years in sovereignty
was found,
king over gentle Meath of the corn-measures, till Aed Findliath
blinded him.

jugulatus," AU LL 42 omits here the reigns of Domnall, Muiredach, and Diarmait, probably through an error of the scribe, who after Donnchad makes a long digression to tell of the princes of Bregha whom Donnchad slew or caused to be slain.

27. B. of Ruba Conaill, 803; acc. to AU, "between two sons of Donnchad, where Ailill was slain and Conchobor was victor." In the previous year, on the death of Muiredach, Aed Ordnide, king of Ireland, divided Meath between Conchobor and Ailill. 28. Conchobor, k. of I., + 833. Under 825 (= 826) AU records [the death of] "Niall s.o. Diarmait, rex Mide." See note 22. Conchobor was then k. of I., and a provincial king may have been appointed in Meath. Perhaps Niall's father was the Diarmait named in 27. LL 42 says that Conchobor "was drowned in water at Cluain Iraird by the king of the Foreigners," confusing him with a namesake + 864. 29. Mael Ruanaid + 843. 30. Flann s.o. Mael Ruanaid + 845. In AU 844, "Orggain . . . Flainn" is translated "the plundering . . . of Flann." 31. Mael Sechnaill s.o. Mael Ruanaid s.o. Donnchad (24) + 862. 32. Lorcán, blinded and deposed, 864. His father, Cathal, was probably the same who died in

33. Donnchad, grandson of hardy Conchobar, twice six years, a victorious career (?);
by Flann of the encounter without shame fell the son of Eochacán.
34. Fland, son of glorious Mael Sechnaill, seventeen years over Banba,—
what territory did he not stoutly grip awhile?—till Ireland's king died.
35. Mael Sechnaill's grandson without fear, three years for Conchobar;
along with bright Niall Glúndub fell the sun of the Gaedhil.
36. Domnall, son of Flann, got one year between Cluain and round Liamain;
brown Donnchad his brother slew him, though it was a feat of valour.
37. Donnchad, without violence or crime, met his death in Meath of steeds;
the earl of Crinna,—it was permitted,—got twenty-six white years.
38. Oengus, renowned without fault, after his father got one year;
thirty hundred was the number of his army, till the son of Donnchad died.
39. Donnchad, son of Domnall the obscure, spent four years;
the stammering (?) ¹ lord of vigour slew him, young Fergal son of Oengus.
40. Fergal got three months (?) with success till Congalach expelled him
from Cluain Iraid of the choirs, he got but one year.

843, son of Conchobar (28). 33. Donnchad + 877, s.o. Aedaccán (AU) s.o. Conchobar. 34. Flann + 916. LL gives Flann 40 years. He became k. of I. in 879, having probably been k. of Meath from 877, when he killed Donnchad. Perhaps we should read "*a secht trichat ós Banba*." The editor of AU says (876 note): "The date of his accession to the monarchy is not given in these annals," but see AU 878.

¹ *Got* is an epithet applied to a branch of the dynastic line descended from Mael Sechnaill son of Mael Ruanaid. O'Reilly has "*god, dumb*," and *guide .i. bailbhe*, but the poem has *gót: óc*. "*In chrech hisin do marbad in Gilla Guit Hui Cormaic*," AU 1103. Cp. BB 80, col. 4: *Gilla Cormaic m. Conaing m. Muiredaig m. Aengusa m. Floind (m. Mael Sechnaill m. Mael Ruanaid)*; whence the Gots appear to be the descendants of Oengus 38, father of Fergal 39, 40, 45.

35. Conchobar + 919, s.o. Flann. 36. Domnall + 921. 37. Donnchad + 944. AU makes him 25 years monarch. Domnall may have been provincial king. The poem seems to approve of his death at his brother's hands, as AU does, saying "*quod aptum erat*." 38. The death of Oengus is not given in AU. 39. Donnchad + 950. 40. The fraction

41. Another single year for Aed, right comely, son of Mael Ruanaid;
he met death in his contest of battle with Domnall son of
Donnchad.
42. Domnall a year thrice told, the half-king . . . Liamuin;
a disaster to the race of Cobthach of throngs was the death of
majestic Donnchad's son.
43. Carlus son of Conn son of Donnchad, a space of six years of grandeur;
there the descendant of Flann of Fál fell, where the Foreigners
raised an awful shout.
44. Muirchertach, here thou hast the tale, four times four years;
he met overthrow at fair Druim Criaig from Domnall son of
Congalach.
45. Five years for good Meath, waste, without houses, without good
prince;
Fergal plundered every family in the end of Domnall's reign.
46. Forty-five years exact, the reign of steed-great Mael Sechnaill;
great king of Meath with sweetness, he died in Cro-inis.
47. Mael Sechnaill Got, four [years], an ill death parted him from life;
[two] years of Roen with throngs of bands, till the battle in
Móin Milán.

of a year is counted as a year. Fergal is not mentioned in AU. 41. Aed s.o. Mael Ruanaid s.o. Flann + 951. AU does not mention a battle. 42. AU 951 (= 952) records the death of "Domnall s.o. Donnchad, eligible to be king of Tara."

43. Carlus was killed in Dublin, 960. His grandfather was probably Flann's son (37), not the later Donnchad (39). 44. This reign should end in 976, in which year Domnall s.o. Congalach, king of Bregha, died. LL 42 gives Muirchertach 12 years. In 964, Domnall s.o. Congalach killed "Muirchertach s.o. Congalach s.o. Mael Mithig, eligible to be king of Tara." But Congalach, k. of I., s.o. Mael Mithig, belonged to the line of Aed Sláne, kings of Bregha, not to the Meath dynasty, Cland Chol-máin. Unless he was obtruded as king of Meath, Muirchertach's inclusion in the list must be an error, and the length of the reign, whether as given in the poem or in LL 42, shows that there is some mistake. The stanza may be an interpolation in conformity with the regnal list in LL. Mael Sechlainn's reign in Meath should have begun in (1022-45) 977. Donnchad Find, k. of Meath, omitted by Flann and LL 42, died in 974 (AU 973). Tigernach says he was s.o. Aed s.o. Flann, and records Mael Sechnaill's "first expedition against [read *co* for *o*] Dublin" in the following year = 975. The b. of Druim Criaig is not in AU. 45. LL 4 says "Meath was a waste for five years through Fergal s.o. Oengus (deposed, 40) after the death of Domnall Ua Néill" (in 980). 46. Mael Sechnaill Mór + 1022. 47. Mael Sechnaill Got + 1025. B. of Móin

48. Domnall, two years were his career (?) till he fell by Mael Challann ;
he was king of Meath of the millshafts ; after him reigned
Conchobor.
49. After dear Domnall of bright form who reigned over Tara of
territories,
two years and four tens exact, so long Conchobor lasted.
50. Conchobor of the good plain of Meath, no alien was the high prince ;
by the hand of Murchad, son of Flann, Mael Sechnaill's
grandson fell.
51. Seven kings, forty stout kings, after Conall of Bregha, no small host,
down to Conchobor of brilliant deeds, is the number that
ruled Meath.

VII.

Fland Manistrech *cecinit*.

185b.

1. Síl Aeda Sláne na sleg . dia sásar mór ríq ragel
innisfet ar a mathius . a n-aided a n-ardflathius.
2. Ba flaith Aed Sláne na slat . ré chöic mblíadan *cetbrach*
co torchair in rí do rind . la Conall ngasta nGuthbind.
3. Conall Loeg Breg ós Böin[d] bricc . a cethair don ríq roglicc
do rochair i cath Odba . la Oengus n-óc n-ardomna.
4. Conall¹ Cerna *ocus* Clettig . cóic bliadna ós cach bānlettir
lasin Conall nGuthbind nglē . do rochair oc Loch Threithne.
5. Ailíll Crundere clíaraig . *cetbri* bliadna acht oenbliadain
la Conall nglicc glān² do rochair oc Ath Goan.
6. Gabais Diarmait Blaithmacc bán . a cóic fic[h]et nī furáil
dā ardrí[g] Hērenn uile . ros marb in teidm tond buid.
7. Conaing macc Congaile Cuilt . *tri* bliadna ós Boind blathbuic
co torchair isin debaid . la Diarmait macc [n]-Airmedaig.

Míláin and death of Roen, 1027. 48. Domnall Got + 1030. As Conchobor (s.o. Flann + 1013 s.o. Mael Sechnaill + 1022) was reigning when Flann Mainistrech died, the next two stanzas are by a later author, who may also have made changes in the foregoing part of the poem. The final stanza shows that Conchobor (48) was the last king named in the original poem. He outlived Flann Mainistrech.

49. Conchobor + 1073. Murchad, his brother, + 1076.

¹ Read *Congal*.

² Read *la Conall nGuthbinn nglicc nglān*. The epithet *Guthbinn*, having been twice given before was doubtless contracted to *ng*, and overlooked by the scribe of LL, owing to the recurrence of the same letters in the next word. His *nglicc glān* may, however, represent phonetic reality, nasalization of *g* failing after *c*.

8. Sechnassach *macc* Blathmeicc braiss . *sé bliadna* ós Bregmaig barrglais
Dub Dúin rí Corpri co rath . leis do rochair Sechnasach.
9. Sé bliadna Chind Fáelad aird . *maicc* Blathmaicc bûadaig bithgaig
do rochair rí Cairn Chachta . issin maidm la Finnachta.
10. Finnachta fichi bliadan¹ . bée in Heriu ca hardriarad²
i nGrellaig Dollaid co ndath . do rochair la Congalach.
11. Congalach a cethair cluin . co n-ērbuilt i Taltenbruig
bliadain i flathius Néill na ndath³ . co ro marb cáem Írgalach.⁴
12. Írgalach⁴ *macc* Conaing cain . ocht mbliadna d'éis *maicc* Cernaig
do rochair Írgalach án . tess oc Inis Macc Nessán.⁵
13. Dā bliadain ós Bóin bladaig . d' Amalgaid *macc* Congalaig
do rochair la Conall gletar glē⁶ . oc Cill scothair Scíre.⁷
14. Conall Grant hua Cernaig crúaid . *sé bliadna* ós Bregmaig bratrúaid
do rochair i lló in madma . la Fergal na find-Banba.
15. Bliadain Fogartaig na feb . co torchair i cath⁸ Delgthen
rí Fōtla *ocus* rí Fabair . la Cinaed *macc* Irgalaig.
16. Cinaed *cóic* bliadna fá dó . ós Hērinn ní himmargó
ro marb Flathbertach find Fáil . i cath Dromma caiss Corcáin.
17. Conaing crach costid ri sain . deich mbliadna aile ós Bregmaig
fúair aidid la Aed⁹ ciar fell . i ndorus Ailig [F]rigrend.
18. Sé bliadna ruirac co rogail.¹⁰ Inrechtach *macc* Dūngalaig
i nDún Chromtha cétaib gal . and do rochair la Dūngal.

¹ The rhyme fixes the form of the gen. pl.

² Read *bói i nHére cá hardriarad* or *bói ind Hériu cá ardriarad*, "Ireland was obeying his high rule." O'Reilly gives *riaraim*, "I serve," but *riarughadh*, "regulating." In the absence of proof to the contrary I take either sense as admissible.

³ One syll. in excess. Omit *i* before *flathius*.

⁴ One syll. in excess. Read *cor marb*? The *i* of this name 11, 12 is probably correct, otherwise it would have such variants as Erganlach, Airgalach, Urganlach, as in *irgaire*, &c.

⁵ Note the non-inflection for genitive in the ending *-án*, as often in Mid. Ir. texts. It survives in surnames in parts of Connacht. Probably original (in some dialects?) owing to the resistance of the group *-gn* (*-án* < *-agn*-) to palatal influence.

⁶ Two syll. in excess.

⁷ One syll. wanting. Read *do rochair la Conall nglé, tair oc Cill scothair Scíre*?

⁸ Gloss: *vel i cill*. *Cenn Delgden*, AU 621, 723; so Tig., with Delgen in the latter case. For the change from *Cenn* to *Cell* cp. *Cenn Losnado Cell Osnado*.

⁹ Gloss *i. Allan*.

¹⁰ One syll. in excess. *Ruirac* must be corrupt. It may be a phonetic writing of *ruirech* before *co*, and I have so translated. Perhaps we should read *raith*.

19. Dūngal Cnogba co clīaraib . a sé fa dó acht oenblādain
i cath Emna Macha i mmaig . do rochair *mac* Amalgaid.
20. *Ocht* mblādna rādīt na raind . do Chongalach *mac* Conaing
Dondchad co rath ro rogail . rod marb i cath Forcalaid.
21. *Ocht* mblādna co cath Liac Find . dó do Diarmait ba deglind
i ndígail abbad Tuilén .¹ dod rat Dondchad i nderglén.
22. Dá ndeich sé blādna ar bladaib . do flathius Flaind *maicc* Congalaig²
oc Manistir móir molaím . do rochair *hua* cāem-Chonaing.
23. Cernach *hua* Congalaig caiss . sé blādna ós Taltin tōebglaiss
do rochair i taig Cnogba . la Cinaed crūaid comchalma.
24. Cinaed dar ési Cernaig . a sé déc i trom-Themraig
ic Dún Sinche ria samain . rod marb *hua* crūaid Congalaig.
25. Cummascach da blādna i fos . flaith ós Bregmaig na mbendchros
i nDaim Liac Cíannāin canair . marb *hua* ciallmair³ Congalaig
26. Cinaed cóic blādna cia bé . co ár torsech Treote.⁴
co ro baded *mac* *maicc* Flaind . lasin flaith la Mael Sechnaill.
27. Secht mblādna fichet sain sluind . ro pa rí Fland *mac* Conaing
i cath Cilli Hua nDaigri a díach . do rochair la Áed Findlíath.
28. Fichi blādna a cóic cen chrád . *mac* Cellaig find Flannacán
do rochair la sluag Gall [n]garg . i mmulluch Cerna claidard-
29. Secht mblādna Mael Finniain áin . degmacc luchair Lannacáin
ic Inber na mbárc at bath . *hua* cháem Congalach.⁵
30. Trí chóic blādna bíl . da bráthair do Mael Mithig
31. . . . Lorcān cen lēn .⁶ rod marb Flann *mac* Mael Finnén
secht mblādna Flaind cosin cath . i torchair la Hu Echach.

¹ The metrical usage indicates that *Tuilén* is taken here as two distinct words, *Tuil En* or *Tu Lén*, for in *debidic* and most other metres the second of two rhyming words must rhyme to all the syllables of the first—see the rhymes of this poem for examples. Onom. Goed. cites nom. Tolain, gen. Tolain, Túláin, Tuliain, Tuileain, Tuiliain, Tuilen, Tuiléin, dat. Tuilen. AU has dat. Tuilain 743, gen. Tuiliain 758, Tuilian (in gloss Tuileain) 785, Tuliain 871, Tuileain 919, 950, Tuilain 937. Tig. has gen. Tuilen 758. The modern English form “Dulane” may also indicate two separate words, of which the first became unstressed.

² One syll. in excess. Omit *do*, and read *flathius*.

³ The rhyme requires *Ciannāin* : *ciallmáir*, but this reading involves (1) the archaic -*máir* = -*móir* (2) the transposition of the adjective which, if genitive, must belong to *Congalaig*. We could read *Ciannán* (gen.) : *ciallmár* or substitute *éc hui* (gen.) for *marb hua*.

⁴ Three syll. in *Treote*.

⁵ Two syll. wanting, and the verse is otherwise corrupt, Congalach being nom. The state of the next two stanzas indicates, perhaps, that the exemplar was partly illegible to the scribe.

⁶ Two syll. wanting.

32. Aed *mac* Mael Mithig *mī*adaig . *nī* ro chaith acht dí oenbliadain ¹
do rochair Aed in Broga . a *Ō*engus *mac* nDondchada.
33. Congalach in t-*ī*arla in t-abb . ro chaith secht mbliadna fichet
la slúag Lagen *ocus* Gall . do rochair oc Taig Giugrand.
34. Glanfiche bliadna co mblaid . do Domnall *mac* Congalaig
oc Taig *hua* mBuidēn mbrogda . do cer culēn cāem-Chnogba.
35. *Ō*enbliadain Donnchaid na ndām . co torchair la Claind Colmán
dī bliadain Murchertaig maill . co torchair la M[a]el Sechnaill.
36. Íarra lat iarmothá sein . a baird Fintain a eolaig
or nach fail sunnda cose . sāegul síl Aeda Sláne. S.

VII.

1. The race of Aed Sláne of the spears, by whom many brilliant kings
are sated,
for their goodness I will tell their deaths, their chief sovereignty.
2. Aed Sláne of the preys was prince during forty-five years,
till the king was slain with spear by lithe Conall Guthbinn.
3. Conall Loeg Breg over sparkling Boyne, four [years] for the prudent
king ;
he fell in the battle ot Odba by young Oengus tall and terrible (?)
4. Congal of Cerna and Clettech, five years over every grassy slope ;
by the same famous Conall Guthbinn he fell at Loch Treithne.
5. Ailill of Crundere of companies, four years all but one
by wary bright Conall he fell at Áth Goan.

¹ One syll. in excess. Read *nīr chaith*.

1. Aed Sláne + 604, k. of I., s.o. Diarmait, VI. 10. 2. Conall Guthbinn, VI. 16. 3. Conall Loeg Breg ("calf of Bregha" + 612, s.o. Aed Sláne. Oengus, VI. 15. 4. Congal + 634, first "k. of Bregha" in AU, s.o. Aed Sláne. 5. Ailill + 634, s.o. Aed Sláne. Acc. to AU and Tig. he was killed in the same year as Congal his brother, in the same place, and by the same person ; and the b. of Áth Goan took place in the preceding year, being won by Faelan s.o. Colmán, k. of Leinster, and Conall s.o. Suibne (Conall Guthbinn), k. of Meath, and Failbe Flann, k. of Munster, over Cremthann Cualann, a rival k. of Leinster. Correct Tig. "Faelan mac Colmain maic Conaill maic Suibne" to "F. mac C. ocus Conall mac S." Flann's account of Ailill's reign seems to arise from a confused reading or version of the chronicle, perhaps in some regnal list. Crundere in the text can hardly be other than a place-name, gen. masc. or neut. Tig. has *Cruitire*, if correctly given. AU, however, has *Cruidire*, changed by the translator to *Cruitire*, and explained in the note, which Stokes adopts in translating Tig., to mean "the Harper!"

6. Diarmait and white Blathmacc reigned twenty-five years, it is not too much ;
the two high-kings of all Ireland, the yellow-surfaced plague slew them.
7. Conaing son of Congal of Colt, three years over bloom-soft Boyne, till he fell in the fray by Diarmait son of Airmedach.
8. Sechnassach, son of bold Blathmacc, six years over grassy Bregha's plain ;
Dub Dúin king of Coirpre with success, by him fell Sechnasach.
9. Six years were tall Cenn Faelad's, son of victorious ever-fierce Blathmacc ;
the king of Carn Cachta fell in the defeat by Finnachta.
10. Finnachta, twenty years he was in Ireland highly governing her ;
in Grellach Dollaig of colour he fell by Congalach.
11. Congalach four years, hear, till he died in Taltiu's burg ;
a year in the reign of Niall of the colours till handsome Írgalach slew him.
12. Írgalach, son of comely Conaing, eight years after Cernach's son ;
noble Írgalach fell in the south at Inis Macc Nessán.
13. Two years over famous Boyne for Amalgaid son of Congalach ;
he fell by Conall, a famous fight (?), at flowery (?) Cell Scire.
14. Conall Grant, grandson of hardy Cernach, six years over Bregha of stout forays ;
he fell in the day of defeat by Fergal [king] of bright Banba.

6. Diarmait and Blathmacc, sons of Aed Sláne, + 665 or 668. 7. Conaing + 662, s.o. Congal (4). Tig. has "Conaing mac Congalaig," and states the victorious party to be the *socii* of Diarmait s.o. Aed Sláne, naming their leaders, in the battle of Ogoman. AU at least indicates that Blathmacc and Diarmait were then alive, and that the defeated were Blathmacc's supporters. Flann, having already disposed of these kings, understands the victor to have been the k. of Meath, Diarmait s.o. Airmedach, VI. 18, but seems to be wrong in placing the event after the death of Blathmacc, so that probably the reign of Conaing is not authentic. 8. Sechnassach + 671. 9. Cenn Faelad + 675. Carn Cachta, not instanced by Onom. Goed. except in this passage, is perhaps a synonym for Duma na nGiall at Tara. 10. Finnachta + 695, s.o. Dúin + 659, s.o. Aed Sláne. 11. Congalach + 696, s.o. Conaing (7). Niall + 701, s.o. Cernach Sotal s.o. Diarmait (6). 12. Írgalach + 702, s.o. Conaing (7). AU 700,701, calls him *nepos Conaing*. Tigernach has "Hirgalach hua Conaing," at the slaying of Niall, "Hirgalach mac Conaing," at his own obit.

13. Amalgaid + 718. AU and Tig. call the event "the battle of Cenannus," near to which is Cell Scire. 14. Conall Grant + 718, s.o.

15. A year of excellent Fogartach till he fell in the battle of Delgthiu,
king of Fótla and king of Fabar, by Cinaed son of Írgalach.
16. Cinaed twice five years over Ireland, it is no lie,
fair Flaithbertach of Fáil slew him in the battle of steep Druim
Corcáin.
17. Conaing Crach (?), hearken ye to that, ten years more over Bregha ;
he met his fate from Aed, though it was guile, in the gate of
Ailech Frigrenn.
18. Six years of a valiant over-king, Inrechtach son of Dúngalach ;
in Dún Cromtha of hundreds of exploits, there he fell by
Dúngal.
19. Dúngal of thronged Cnogba, twice six years but one ;
outside in the battle of Emain Macha the son of Amalgaid fell.
20. Eight years verses tell for Congalach son of Conaing ;
prosperous valorous Donnchad slew him in the battle of
Forcalad.
21. Eight years till the battle of Lia Find for Diarmait, it was a good
draught ;
to avenge Tuilén's abbot, Donnchad brought him to red woe.
22. Twice ten and six years in renown, the reign of Flann son of Con-
galach ;
at great Manistir that I praise, fell comely Conaing's grandson.

Niall (11), acc. to AU and Tig., was killed by Fergal, k. of I., two months after the battle of Cenannus. 15. Fogartach + 724, brother of Conal. Grant. 16. Cinaed + 728, k. of I., After him, the line of Aed Sláne was excluded from the high-kingship, with one exception, Congalach s.o. Mael Mithig (30). Flaithbertach Fáil means Flaithbertach who became king of Ireland, Inis Fáil, or of Temair Fáil. 17. Conaing + 742, s.o. Amalgaid (13). Tig. says that he was strangled (*i.e.* hanged) by Aed Allán ; see V. 19. Conaing, like some later kings of the posterity of Aed Sláne, is called "k. of Ciannachta" in AU and Tig., so that their line must have acquired power over the Ciannachta of Bregha or over part of their territory. 18. Indrechtach + 748, s.o. Dúngalach s.o. Conaing (7), "k. of Ciannachta," AU, Tig. The annals merely say that he died. Dún Cromtha, cited in Onom. Goed. from this passage only, may, like Clóenráith of similar meaning, be used as a synonym for Temair.

19. Dúngal + 759, s.o. Amalgaid 13 ; *i mmaig* means outside of Bregha. 20. Congalach + 778, s.o. Conaing (17). Perhaps we should read *Ocht mbliadna déc rádit rainn*. 21. Diarmait + 786, "nepos Conaing." 22. Flann + 812, s.o. Congalach (20). AU has "*Flann mac Congalaig rex Ciannachtaí moritur*." Here and elsewhere the poet seems to use *do rochair* "fell" in the sense merely of "died." Manistir

23. Cernach grandson of curly Congalach, six years over side-green
Taltiu ;
in Cnogba's house he fell by hardy full-valiant Cinaed.
24. Cinaed, after Cernach, sixteen (years) in stately Tara ;
at Dún Sinche before Hallowtide Congalach's stern grandson
slew him.
25. Cummuscach two years here, prince over Bregha of peaked crosses ;
in Ciannán's Dam Liac, thou singest, Congalach's wise grandson
died.
26. Cinaed five years, howsoever, till the woful slaughter of Treoit,
till Flann's son's son was drowned by the prince Mael Sechnaill.
27. Twenty-seven years, distinctly tell, Flann son of Conaing was king ;
his fate in the battle of Cell Ua nDaigri—he fell by Aed
Findliath.
28. Five and twenty years without grief, fair Cellach's son Flannacán ;
he fell by the army of the fierce Foreigners on the high-
fenced top of Cerna.
29. Seven years glorious Finnia's votary, [F]lannacán's brilliant good son ;
in Inber na mBárc died the comely grandson of Congalach.
30. Thrice five good years for his brother Mael Mithig
31. [Six years ?] Lorcán without wo, Flann son of Mael Finnia slew him ;
seven years of Flann till the battle where he fell by the UiEchach.

Buitti, Monasterboice, is no doubt the place indicated. 23. Cernach + 818. AU, which calls him "k. of Cnogba" and "son of Congalach," merely says that he died. But he may have been wounded in combat or battle with Cinaed and have died later. 24. Cinaed + 834, s.o. Conaing, is called k. of Bregha by the Four Masters and Chron. Scotorum, but k. of Tethba by AU, which also records the death of Conaing, k. of Tethba, eleven years earlier, so that the other chronicles and Flann may be mistaken in including this Cinaed among the kings of Bregha. I have failed to trace his pedigree in the line of Bregha. See stanza 26.

25. Cummuscach + 839. AU calls him son of Congalach and "rex Ciannachtai." 26. Cinaed + 851, s.o. Conaing s.o. Flann + 812, s.o. Congalach (20), "rex Ciannachta," AU. 27. Flann + 868, brother of Cinaed (26); "king of all Bregha," AU. 28. Flannacán + 896, s.o. Cellach s.o. Congalach (20). See pedigree, AU 955. 29. Mael Finnia + 903, s.o. Flannacán (28). Inber na mBárc, "river-haven of the barks," is perhaps a poetic name for the mouth of the Boyne. 30. Mael Mithig + 919. The missing verses probably told how he fell in the battle of Dublin. 31. Lorcán + 925, s.o. Dúnchad. I cannot trace his descent further. The statement as to his death does not tally with AU, which says "*senile morte moritur*." 31. Flann s.o. Mael Finnia, not in AU, which also has no record of a battle with the Ui Echach about the time indicated, 932.

32. Aed son of honoured Mael Mithig spent only two years ;
Aed of the Brugh fell by Oengus son of Donnchad.
33. Congalach, the earl, the abbot, spent twenty-seven years ;
by the army of the Lagen and of the Foreigners he fell at
Tech Giugrann.
34. Clear twenty years with fame for Domnall son of Congalach ;
at the house of the landed Ui Buidén fell the cub of comely
Cnogba.
35. One year of Donnchad of the companies till he fell by Clann
Cholmán ;
two years of stately Muirchertach till he fell by Mael Sechnaill.
36. Search for what there is besides, bard Fintan, thou learned man,
since there is no longer here the age of Aed Sláne's race.

32. Aed not in AU. Donnchad, k. of I., + 944. 33. Congalach + 956, the only k. of I. of Aed Sláne's race after Cinaed (16). "Earl" and "abbot" are metaphors denoting one in authority. The 27 years assigned to him would carry his reign back to 929, making it overlap the whole of Aed's alleged reign and part of Flann's. 34. Domnall + 976. AU only records that he died. Tech Hua mBuidén, not in Onom. Goed. 35. Donnchad + 991, s.o. Domnall s.o. Congalach (33). See pedigree BB 80 b, col. 1. Flann lived sufficiently near to the date of Donnchad to be able to ascertain the facts from living witnesses. If his "one year" is correct, there must have been a previous interregnum. Muirchertach + 995. Again "two years" implies an interrupted succession. Muirchertach was a grandson of Congalach (33). Donnchad, acc. to AU, Muirchertach, acc. to Flann, were put to death by Mael Sechnaill, k. of I. Possibly Mael Sechnaill designed to suppress the dynasty of Bregha, which the concluding stanza indicates to have ceased in Flann's own time. Indeed, before Flann's death, the over-kingship of Bregha had passed to the king of a formerly tributary state, Garbith Ua Cathusaig, k. of the Saithne, called "k. of Bregha," AU 1061, and named by Flann in another poem (B. of Lecan 48 b) as one of the seven chief kings of Ireland in his time. Their alliances with the Norse of Dublin (see AU 994) may have been the ground of Mael Sechnaill's hostility to the line of Aed Sláne. But policy may have dictated the suppression of a line whose claim to the monarchy had been revived by Congalach (33). 36. The list of poets in Meyer's *Primer of Irish Metrics* does not mention this "bard Fintan," and I find no other record of him.