Poems attributed to Flann mac Lonáin

including a critical edition of Maiccni Echach ard a nglé

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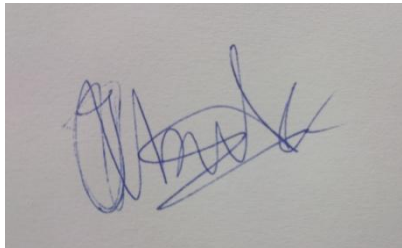
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List of abbreviations

BB = Book of Ballymote
BL = British Library
BodL = Bodleian Library
DIL = Dictionary of the Irish Language
GOI = Grammar of Old Irish (Thurneysen)
LL = Book of Leinster
LU = Lebor na hUidre
Rawl. = Rawlinson (Bodleian Library)
RIA = Royal Irish Academy
SnG = Stair na Gaeilge, referring specifically to Liam Breatnach,'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', *Stair na Gaeilge: in ómós do Pádraig Ó Fiannachta,* ed. Kim McCone et al. (Maynooth, 1994) 221-333.
TCD = Trinity College Dublin
UCD = University College Dublin
YBL = Yellow Book of Lecan

Content

1 Introduction

1.1 Subject

The Book of Leinster, or *Lebor na Núachongbála*, contains the earliest copy of a private letter in medieval Ireland (it can be found on fol. 288), the letter of Find, the bishop of Kildare, to Áed Ua Crimthain, the principal scribe and compiler of the manuscript.[1] At the end of the letter Find says: '*Tucthar dam duanaire meic Lonain co faiccmis a cialla na nduan filet ann. et Uale in Christo.*' ('Let the poem book of Mac Lonán be brought to me so that we may study the meanings of the poems that are in it, *et vale in Christo.*').[2]

The fact that a personal letter was copied into one of the most important manuscripts for the study of the Old and Middle Irish language is of course very interesting in and of itself, but nevertheless not the object of interest for this master's thesis. What is of interest, is the mentioning of a poem book, apparently written by a certain son of a certain Lonán, commonly thought to be the poet Flann mac Lonáin. Unfortunately, it seems no such book has survived to this day. However, within the different Irish manuscripts that still exist, a few poems attributed to Flann mac Lonáin have been preserved, ranging from the older manuscripts like the Lebor na hUidre and the Book of Leinster, to later manuscripts as the Yellow Book of Lecan and Rawlinson B 514.

Some of these poems have been studied, such as *Ard na scéla, a mheic na ccuach*, a poem ascribed to Flann mac Lonáin, found within three different manuscripts and edited and translated by Margaret Dobbs.[3] Quite a few other poems have merely appeared within diplomatic editions in various journals, although most of them still lack a proper translation to make them more widely accessible, let alone a study of their language, subject matter and metrical features. Nor has there been any attempt, insofar I was able to find out, to bring together all the poems ascribed to Flann mac Lonáin and compare them with each other, or to try and see whether the ascriptions could be genuine or not.

This is where my master's thesis wants to step up and try and start to fill the gap within our knowledge concerning Flann mac Lonáin and his poems. The main aim of this thesis will be to assemble the poems ascribed to him and study them individually and in comparison to each

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[1] Robert Atkinson, *The Book of Leinster,* (Dublin, 1880) 7; Robin Flower, *The Irish Tradition* (Oxford, 1947) 67.
[2] Richard I. Best, Osborn Bergin, M.A. O'Brien and Anne O'Sullivan (eds.), *The Book of Leinster, formerly Lebar na Núachongbála*. 6 vols. (Dublin, 1954-1983) vol. 1 xvi; William O'Sullivan, 'Notes on the Scripts and Make-up of the Book of Leinster', *Celtica* 7 (Dublin, 1966) 7; Gearóid Mac Eoin, 'The Provenance of the Book of Leinster', *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 57 (2009-2010) 81.
[3] Margaret Dobbs, 'A poem ascribed to Flann mac Lonáin', *Ériu* 17 (1955) 16-34.

other, hopefully to verify (to a certain extent) their attribution to Flann mac Lonáin and to give a better insight into the style, language and subject matters of these poems.

In addition, the study of the poems will also include my own critical edition of one of the poems. This will concern the poem *Maiccni Echach ard a nglé*, a poem consisting of twelve stanzas concerning the five sons of Eochu Muigmédon.

1.2 Research questions

This main aim as formulated above can be summarized into a single research question: which of the poems attributed to Flann mac Lonáin may have actually been written by him?

However, this is not the only aim this research has, nor the only question it will try to answer (or at least to shed some light on), since there are many adjacent topics such a research will touch upon, or need to discuss in order to form a comprehensible view of the matter. In order to get a better understanding of the figure 'Flann mac Lonáin' and his poems, it is necessary to ask further questions. Who was Flann mac Lonáin? What is his background? Which poems are attributed to him? What are his poems about? What are the stylistic and linguistic features of these poems? And, perhaps the most interesting and at the same time most difficult question, what was his (poetical) legacy, i.e. how was he regarded not only during his lifetime, but also afterwards?

2 Flann and the poems

2.1 Flann mac Lonáin

Flann mac Lonáin was a poet who lived in the second half of the ninth century. He appears to be a descendant of Guaire, a famous king of the territory of the Uí Fiachrach Aidne in the south of Connaught.[4] His death is noted within the different annals. *The Chronicum Scotorum*, *the Annals of Innisfalen* and *the Annals of Ulster* all give the year AD 896 as the year that Flann died, describing him as the 'Virgil of the Gaeidhel, i.e. the chief poet of the Gaeidhel'[5] and 'the king of the poets of Ireland'.[6] *The Annals of the Four Masters* (AFM) actually records his death twice, once at AD 891 – though a footnote notes that the year AD 891 of the AFM corresponds with the year AD 896 of the other Annals – and once again at 918.[7] The AFM calls Flann 'the Virgil of the race of Scota, chief poet of all the Gaeidhil, the best poet that was in Ireland in his time.'[8]

His death apparently was a very violent one. *The Chronicum Scotorum* says that Flann 'was slain by the Ui Cuirrbuidhe, viz., by the Ui Fothaidh, at Loch Dacaech in the Deisi of Mumhan'.[9] *The Annals of Ulster* just mention that he 'was slain by the Déisi of Mumu'[10] and *the Annals of Inisfallen* name the killers to be 'the Uí Fothaid Tíre'.[11] The AFM, at their AD 891 entry, are even more specific in saying that Flann 'was secretly murdered by the sons of Corrbuidhe (who were of the Ui Fothaith) at Loch-Dachaech, in Deisi-Mumham.'[12]

The Ui-Fothaith was a tribe situated in the area of the modern day county Tipperary, though it was also the name of two Connaught tribes, one from the east side of the modern day Lough Corrib.[13] The location of Loch Dacaech is associated with Waterford Harbour.

According to the fourteenth century poet Gearóid Iarla, the cause of Flann's violent death was the fact that he had an affair with Gormlaith, the wife of Niall Glundub.[14] This is not

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[4] Flower (1947) 68; O'Donovan, John (ed.), *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the four masters, from the earliest period to the year 1616*. 2nd ed. 7 vols. (Dublin, 1856) vol. 2 545 (footnote).

[5] Hennessy, William (ed.), *Chronicum Scotorum: a chronicle of Irish affairs, from the earliest times to A.D. 1135*. Roll Series 46 (London, 1866) 174-175.

[6] Mac Airt, Seán (ed.), *The annals of Inisfallen: Ms. Rawlinson B. 503* (Dublin, 1951) 138-139; Mac Airt, Seán and Gearóid Mac Niocaill (ed.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)* (Dublin, 1983) 350-351.

[7] O'Donovan (1856) vol. 2 548-9, 600-1.

[8] O'Donovan (1856) vol. 2 548-549.

[9] Hennessy (1866) 174-175.

[10] Mac Airt (1983) 350-351.

[11] Mac Airt (1951) 138-139.

[12] O'Donovan (1856) vol. 2 548-549; at the AD 918 entry almost the exact same words are found, with the exception that the entry speaks of Flann to have been 'treacherously slain' (page 600-601).

[13] O'Donovan (1856) vol. 2 548.

mentioned in any other source, nor does it account for the mention of the Ui Fothaid as Flann's killers in the Annals. A few stanzas at the end of the poem *Ard na scéla, a mheic na ccuach*, attributed to Flann mac Lonáin, does mention Niall Glundub and Queen Gormlaith and mourns their deaths, but these stanzas are thought to be an epilogue added to the original poem by a different composer at a later moment, which seems to be supported by the fact that both Niall and Gormlaith died after Flann himself passed away (respectively in AD 919 and AD 948, according to the *Annals of Ulster*).[15] In other words, there is no conclusive source material to provide a reason for Flann's death.

Of Flann's father, Lonan, not much is known. His mother, on the other hand, is a little bit more familiar. Apparently she was the poetess Laitheog.[16] A poem, beginning *Bennacht ort, a Floinn Aidhne* and supposedly by Laitheog's own hand, has been preserved and edited by Kuno Meyer.[17] In this poem, Laitheog addresses her son Flann and encourages him to be generous and warns him not to use his art for extortion. At the end of the poem Flann's genealogy is given: mac Lonain m. Condmaig, m. Cathnia m. Aoda m. Torptha m. Fergaili m. Artgaile m. Gúaire Aidhne,[18] though this genealogy is often regarded as unreliable.[19] The poem is quoted within another poem, written by Brian Ruad Mac Con Mide, in praise of the chief of Tirconnell, Nechtain O'Donnell, who died in 1452.[20] Another note is added to a poem that mentions Tulach Mochaime, within Terryglass, as the place of burial of Flann, together with his mother Laethog and his father, his son, and three kings of Muskerry.[21]

The fact that Flann's mother is mentioned as a poetess is interesting. Within the period of Early Irish poetry, there used to be a difference between the two professions of the poet, the *bard* on the one hand, and the *fili* on the other. The *bard* was considered to be just a simple

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[14] Ní Mhaonaigh, Máire, 'Tales of Three Gormlaiths in Medieval Irish Literature', *Ériu* 52 (2002) 17.

[15] Ní Mhaonaigh (2002) 17; Dobbs (1955) 16, 31-32.

[16] O'Curry, Eugene, *On the manners and customs of the ancient Irish: a series of lectures*. 3 vols. (London, 1873) 98; Duffy, Sean (ed.), *Medieval Ireland: an encyclopedia* (New York, 2004) 303.

[17] Meyer, Kuno, 'Mitteilungen aus irischen Handschriften', *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 8 (1910-12)

[18] Meyer (1910-1912) 110

[19] Smith, Peter, 'Flann mac Lonáin (d.891x918)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17683]

[20] O'Curry (1873) 98, Fraser, J. and J.G. O'Keeffe (ed.), 'On Neachtain Ua Domhnaill, king of Tir Conaill, †1452', *Irish Texts II*, ed. J. Fraser, P. Grosjean and J.G. O'Keeffe (London, 1931) 35-40.

[21] '*Flann mac Lonan ollam Erenn cecinit in t-adhmadsa isin ló iarna marbad ocus is ann rohadnacht .i. a Tulaigh Mochaime ar urlar Thiri da Ghals .i. e féin 7 a mac 7 a athair 7 a mathair .i. Lathog 7 tri rig do rigaib Muscraidhi 'na farradh ann amail ro-innis andso: Atamne sesser segain, sunn fo leccaibh Mochaime, bamaer uair co fir-glonnaibh, ge beam fo chosaib daine*' - O'Keeffe, J.G., 'Flann mac Lonain in repentant mood', *Irish Texts I*, ed. J. Fraser, P. Grosjean and J.G. O'Keeffe (London, 1931) 24 (Translation from Flower (1947; 1978) 68: 'Flann mac Lonain, ollam of Eire, sang this composition the day after his slaying and he was buried in Tulach Mochaine in the midst of Terryglass, himself and his son and his father and his mother, that is Laethog, and three kings of Muskerry with them, as he related in his quatrain: Under Mochaime's flag we lie, six goodly warriors dead, stout men we were, but that passed by, above our bones men tread')

poet and versifier, whereas the *fili* was not only a poet, but also a scholar and guardian of traditional knowledge.[22] Over a course of time, the *fili* began to absorb some of the features of the *bard*, especially those of eulogy and satire, but nevertheless the *fili* retained a higher position within court than the *bard*, since the *fili* had to qualify himself through a long training in various kinds of lore.[23] What makes the mentioning of Flann's mother as a poetess so interesting, is that the function of *fili* was very much considered to be an hereditary business, and *mac fileadh agus ua araile* ('(to be) the son of a poet and the grandson of another poet') was one of the most high ranking titles a *fili* could obtain.[24] The fact that Flann was the son of a poet (and perhaps even the grandson of one, that is unclear), might have made his status as a *fili* even more prominent.

On the whole, apart from his year of death (taken for now to be AD 896, as most Annals agree on that number), his parentage, and the fact that he is mentioned in the only private latter in Irish of the pre-Norman time, not very much is known about Flann mac Lonáin from a historical point of view. He seems to have become more of a legend, than a historical figure. Colm Ó Lochlainn even goes so far as in saying that he is nothing more than a phantom.[25] This is something important to keep in mind while researching poems attributed to early poets, not only when considering the poems attributed to Flann mac Lonáin. As Ó Lochlainn states: 'The plain truth is that at least 80 per cent of the poetry said to belong to the pre-Norman period really dates from the time of the great Irish rally in the mid-fourteenth century, when the pride of the victorious local chiefs was being puffed up, by a host of poets, who, being also chroniclers, strove to substantiate extravagant claims by invoking the names of bygone scholars and sages, and by stuffing the books of history, genealogy, and even topography with poems ascribed to phantom poets of the past.'[26] Though it would take an entire different and thorough research to rectify the percentage Ó Lochlainn states, there may very well be wisdom and truth in his words, and he is not the only one to notice this practice of later bards. Robin Flower, too, has made a comment on the 'noticeable tendency to glorify the Dál Cais by associating well-known poets with them, e.g. Fland mac Lonáin',[27] the Dál Cais being a tribe often mentioned within the poems ascribed to Flann, as will be seen below in the chapters concerning the individual poems.

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[22] Knott, Eleanor and Gerard Murphy, *Early Irish Literature* (Dublin 1966) 21.
[23] Ibid., 60-61.
[24] Ibid., 62.
[25] Ó Lochlainn, Colm, 'Poets on the Battle of Clontarf [pt 2]', *Éigse* 4 (1943-44) 44.
[26] Ibid., 45-46.
[27] Flower, Robin and Standish O'Grady, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London 1926-1953) 2338.

2.2 List of poems attributed to Flann mac Lonáin

Before continuing to the method of research it is necessary to dedicate a little bit of text to which poems are actually taken into account within this research. Besides there being no work that compiles all poems ascribed to Flann mac Lonáin, there doesn't even seem to be one clear-cut list of poems connected to his name. Different scholars have dedicated some (parts) of their articles or books to Flann and his poems, such as Robin Flower in his *The Irish Tradition*, Colm Ó Lochlainn in his article 'Poets on the Battle of Clontarf pt 2', Eugene O'Curry in his *Manners and Customs*, Edward O'Reilly in his *A chronological account of nearly four hundred Irish writers,* and Peter J. Smith within his entry on Flann mac Lonáin in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. These scholars all mention several poems ascribed to Flann, but none of them give a complete list of all the ascriptions. Therefore I had to compile a list myself.[28] This list concerns all poems ascribed to Flann and I managed to find a total of fourteen poems. I will give here the first lines of the poem, according to the usual convention, and the number of stanzas the poems contain (the manuscripts the poems are found in will be discussed in their respective chapters).

1. *Maiccni Echach ard a nglé* - 12 stanzas
2. *Mían Tetrach a tenid* - 1 stanza
3. *Mo chara-sa Cnámíne* - 1 stanza
4. *Tír dá Locha* - 1 stanza
5. *Fidbadach mac Feda Ruscag* - 25 stanzas
6. *Áibind, áibind, Echtge ard* - 33 stanzas
7. *Búa, ingen Rúadrach Rúaid* - 22 stanzas
8. *A Aidne ann robamar a saibre* - 18 stanzas
9. *Trom chéo for chóiceadh mBreasail* (AFM A.D. 884) - 2 stanzas
10. *Amhra tré ceng tri meic Flann* (AFM A.D. 890) - 2 stanzas
11. *Ard do scela a mic na cuach* - 64 stanzas
12. *Lorcán Locha Deirgdeirc* - 22 stanzas

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[28] I have made use of the following articles, each naming a few works of Flann: Flower, Robin, *The Irish Tradition* (Oxford, 1947); Ó Lochlainn, Colm, 'Poets on the Battle of Clontarf [pt 2]', *Éigse* 4 (1943-44) 33-47; O'Reilly, Edward, *A chronological account of nearly four hundred Irish writers with a descriptive catalogue of their works*. Transactions of the Iberno-Celtic Society vol. 1 pt 1. Reprint with introduction by Gearóid Mac Eoin (Shannon, 1820;1970) 58-60; O'Curry, Eugene, *On the manners and customs of the ancient Irish: a series of lectures*. 3 vols. (London, 1873) 98-104; besides this I have done quite a bit of digging through the manuscript catalogues in order to come across a mentioning of Flann's name.

13. *Lorcan leir tar fir fodhla* - 12 stanzas

14. *Ceann Coradh dún na dtarla* - 10 stanzas

Of course this list is only a starting point for the compilation of a list of works, and I am most certainly not under the presumption that this is the correct and complete list of poems attributed to Flann mac Lonáin. It may well prove that there are poems that have been overlooked. Many manuscripts and texts, especially compilation texts, have to be studied extensively and could well provide extra material to add to this list. For example, both the *Tír da Locha* and the *Mo charasa Cnamine* poems are contained within a poetic treatise called *Trefocul*, and it is only through studying the entire treatise that the mentioning of Flann mac Lonáin with these two poems could be discovered.[29]

The last four poems of this list will not be taken into account for this research. For completeness, however, I will devote a little bit of text to them here.

Ard do scela a mic na cuach

This poem, consisting of 64 stanzas, has already been edited and translated by Margaret Dobbs.[30] Therefore it seems a bit superfluous to include the entire poem within this master's thesis. To fill in the gap a bit, however, I will briefly summarize her findings here, for ease of reference:

The poem is found within RIA B iv 2, The Book of O'Conor Don and BodL. MS Rawl. B 514, the latter being from the sixteenth century, and the first two from the seventeenth century. It contains a lament for Écnechán, the king of Tír Conaill, who died in AD 906 according to the different Annals. Of the 64 stanzas, only 55 are attributed to Flann mac Lonáin, with an additional epilogue of 9 stanzas. Ó Lochlainn had already labelled the language of the poem as not 'any older than the sixteenth century',[31] Dobbs more or less confirms this rough estimate of date. She also mentions the fact that around 1240 a poet named Giolla Brighde Mac Con Mide made a short version of the story within the poem, and attributed it to Flann. An even later poet, Brian Ruad Mac Con Mide, around 1450 once again

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[29] Though by no means I wish to take credit for this discovery, as the poems are mentioned within the works mentioned in the previous footnote and were discovered by other scholars before me. I merely state it to exemplify that it may very well be that not all works of Flann mac Lonáin have surfaced, and some may even be hiding within plain sight, waiting to be discovered.

[30] Dobbs (1955) 16-34.

[31] Ó Lochlainn (1943-44) 44.

alludes to the poem.[32] Therefore she does seem to accept the attribution to Flann mac Lonáin, even though she states that the poem has been greatly modernized.[33]

However, it doesn't seem correct to keep accepting the attribution to Flann mac Lonáin in this case. The language proves that the poem as it has come down to us to this day simply cannot be a poem that could have been written by Flann mac Lonáin in the 9th century, in my humble opinion. There may very well have been a poem with a lament for the deceased king that formed the inspiration for later poets to compile and modernize the one that has been preserved in these manuscripts. But even then it would be questionable to attribute it to Flann mac Lonáin, since his death would precede that of Écnechán by ten years. Unless one would accept the latter year of his death, 918, from the AFM. But that would be greatly ignoring the other Annals, and the earlier date within AFM that matches the year of the other Annals.

Whatever the history of the poem may be, and whence it originates – which could, of course, be a very fascinating topic of research – since it has already been dated to the fifteenth/sixteenth century on linguistic basis, it does not seem to be of any relevance to the research conducted within this thesis. Therefore the text and translation it is not included in the chapters following.

Lorcán Locha Deirgdeirc, Lorcan leir tar fir fodhla and *Ceann Coradh dún na dtarla*

These three poems, the last three on the list above, will also not figure within this current research, simply due to unfortunate unavailability of the source material for the poems. These three poems are found within what is called the *Leabhar Muimhneach*, a seemingly modern compilation of Irish texts that is found in a couple of eighteenth century paper manuscripts.[34] The *Leabhar Muimhneach* has been edited by Tadhg Ó Donnchadha,[35] but unfortunately his edition was not available to me in time in order to incorporate these poems, therefore I leave it for further research. Ó Lochlainn qualifies them as 'the most obvious fabrications'[36], though he doesn't give any arguments to support that statement. I wasn't able to find any other research into these poems.

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[32] Fraser, J. and J.G. O'Keeffe (ed.), 'On Neachtain Ua Domhnaill, king of Tir Conaill, †1452', *Irish Texts II*, ed. J. Fraser, P. Grosjean and J.G. O'Keeffe (London, 1931) 38.
[33] Dobbs (1955) 16-17 (introduction to the edition)
[34] Walsh, Paul, 'An Leabhar Muimhneach', *Irish Historical Studies* 3/10 (September 1942) 135-143
[35] Ó Donnchadha, Tadhg, *An Leabhar Muimhneach maraon le suim aguisíní* (Dublin 1940)
[36] Ó Lochlainn (1943-44) 44.

3 Method of research

3.1 Dating

Now part of the sub-research questions have been partially answered (who was Flann mac Lonáin and which poems are attributed to him), it is time to consider the method used to try and answer the main question: which of the poems attributed to Flann mac Lonáin may have actually been written by him?

As seen in the previous chapter, the year of Flann's death is generally thought to be AD 896, following the majority of the Annals. In other words, Flann would have been alive and composing his poems in the second half of the 9th century. Therefore, in order for a poem to may have been written by Flann, it has to be dated back to the 9th century. If it is dated to a later period, the attribution to Flann mac Lonáin becomes less and less likely, which means that either the poem has been modernized or it was written by a later poet, maybe using Flann's name to increase the authority of the poem.

3.2 Language

Generally speaking, the ninth century Irish language would still belong to the period known as Old Irish, sometimes called Classical Old Irish, with the Middle Irish period starting somewhere within the tenth until roughly the twelfth century, after which starts the Early Modern Irish period.[37] However, it is not as clear cut as it seems, there is not a single date to be given for the exact transition from Old into Middle Irish, or from Middle Irish to Modern Irish. It is very much a process of years, sometimes centuries, before a language is transformed. Besides this, there is the matter concerning the register of speech. It is shown by Kim McCone that already within the glosses of Würzburg and Milan, the texts that are usually regarded as the backbone of Classical Old Irish, there are traces to be found of distinct Middle Irish traits.[38] He shows that there is very much a difference between the language people normally speak in their day to day lives, and the language the (learned) people write in. In

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[37] McCone, Kim, *A first Old Irish grammar and reader: including an introduction to Middle Irish.* Maynooth Medieval Irish Texts 3 (Maynooth, 2005) 17; McCone, Kim, *The Early Irish Verb* (Maynooth, 1987) 176.

[38] McCone, Kim, 'The Würzburg and Milan Glosses: our earliest sources of Middle Irish', *Ériu* 36 (1985) 85-106.

short, while Middle Irish is written from about the tenth to the twelfth century, the language people used in normal conversation was probably already quite Middle Irish before that time. The linguistic changes that took place in the written language from Old into Middle Irish have been thoroughly described by different scholars, and these can be used when dating texts. Taking Flann mac Lonáin as a learned man, a *fili*, living at the end of the ninth century, one would expect his poems to be very Old Irish still, though it would not be odd to see already a few earlier developments of Middle Irish seeping through. In short, the more and the more often developments of Middle Irish occur, the later the text.

Therefore, in order to date the poems attributed to Flann mac Lonáin, I will examine them for these Middle Irish developments. When it comes to documenting these linguistic changes between Old Irish and Middle Irish, Liam Breatnach and Kim McCone are amongst the finest.[39] Within this research I will use their works as a foundation for examining the poems. With each poem separately I will discuss the linguistic changes that can be found within them.

3.3 Metrics

Besides the general language and dating features, another feature that is of interest for this research, are the metrical features of the poetry. The most important book for all things metrical, and the starting point for any research into poetics, is of course *Early Irish Metrics* by Gerard Murphy[40], which he wrote on the basis of Kuno Meyer's older *Primer of Irish Metrics*.[41]

Just like the Irish language is divided into different periods, so too can be done for the history of the Irish metrics. Meyer and Murphy divide this into three periods[42]:

a) the first period, containing rhyme-less non-stanzaic alliterative verse, without syllabic equality in the lines

b) the second period, containing a fixed number of syllables in corresponding lines, and a riming foot of fixed rhythm at the end of certain corresponding lines

[39] Breatnach, Liam, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', *Stair na Gaeilge: in ómós do Pádraig Ó Fiannachta, ed. Kim McCone et al.* (Maynooth, 1994); McCone, Kim, *The Early Irish Verb* (Maynooth, 1987); McCone, Kim, *A first Old Irish grammar and reader: including an introduction to Middle Irish.* Maynooth Medieval Irish Texts 3 (Maynooth, 2005).
[40] Murphy, Gerard, *Early Irish Metrics* (Dublin, 1961).
[41] Meyer, Kuno, *A Primer of Irish Metrics* (Dublin, 1909).
[42] Murphy (1961) 1; Meyer (1909) 1.

c) the third period, containing richly assonated stanzaic verse in which syllabic equality of corresponding lines is not strictly adhered to, but in which an equal number of feet is to be found in corresponding lines.

The first period generally refers to poetry which belongs to the 7th century or earlier, and can be identified as those verses known as *rocs*. This type of poetry usually had stanzas containing short lines, paired with regular alliteration and no end-rhyme.

In the course of the 7th century, however, the Irish poets started to experiment and the Irish metre started to develop and would eventually end up within the second 'period' of Irish versification. This gave the Irish syllabic poetry, which would be regarded as the standard poetry from the 8th century to the middle of the 17th [43] It is during this second period that the poems of Flann mac Lonáin would have been written. At the end of the 9th century the use of syllabic poetry would have been well established. Therefore it is of interest to examine the metrical features of the poems. When examining the poems in the following chapters, attention will be paid to all different features, on the basis of Murphy's work.

Besides this general metrical analysis of the poems, the study of metrics can aid in the dating of the poems as well, but it has to be handled with care. Often with dating through linguistic features, it is possible to pinpoint a Middle Irish development to an approximate time (for example, a certain century) on the basis of its first appearance within Old and Middle Irish texts. However, the period of Irish syllabic poetry covers a much larger timeframe than that of the development from Old to Middle Irish, and there was a lot of experimenting within that period, making it harder to pinpoint a certain metrical feature to a certain time. However, there are some features that generally can be qualified as being 'earlier' or 'later'. For example, the special form of alliteration called *fidrad freccomail*, which is the linking alliteration between the last word of one stanza and the first word of the next stanza. This appears to be quite an earlier kind of adornment, as Carney notes that it only survived minimally into the bardic verse period.[44] Another example is elision, the occurrence of an unstressed short vowel colliding with another vowel (either stressed or unstressed), resulting in the pronunciation of only one of these vowels. Elision is something that was not frequent within the Old Irish poetry, becomes more and more common during the Middle Irish period and is very strictly applied within Early Modern Irish poetry.[45] Besides these specifically metrical features, the rhyme which is generally incorporated within poetry can also aid in the

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[43] Murphy (1961) 18-20.
[44] Carney, James, 'Linking Alliteration (*fidad freccomail)*', *Éigse* 18/2 (1981) 252.
[45] Murphy (1961) 39.

dating of poems, as it tends to 'lock' words together, making them less prone to scribal inventions. This way, for example, rhyme can show the falling together of unstressed vowels to schwa.

Generally speaking, it seems that dating through metrics is tied very strongly to the adornments used by a poet while composing his poem. Eleanor Knott in her booklet *Irish Syllabic Poetry*, and Brian Ó Cuív in his article 'Some developments in Irish metrics' show that the syllabic poetry of the later centuries, from the end of the 12th to the 17th century, is generally much more strict concerning the metres, rhyme and ornamentation that ought to be included, called *dán díreach*.[46] These stricter rules were by no means a sudden invention of the 12th century, but they developed over time. The strict rules of *dán díreach* for a poem of the *deibhidhe* type (the most popular metre used during the syllabic poetry period) are:

1) There must be seven syllables in each line

2) the final word in *b* must have one syllable more than the final word in *a*, and the final word in *a* must make perfect rime with the unstressed syllable(s) of the final word in *b* (this is called *rinn* and *airdrinn*); similarly in the case of *c* and *d*;

3) each stressed word (other than the last) in *d* must make perfect rime with some word (other than the last) in *c;*

4) a non-riming stressed word may not occur between riming words in *c;*

5) each line must have alliteration and the alliteration in *d* must be between the last two stressed words;

6) vowels may (or must) be elided in certain circumstances.[47]

According to Ó Cuív there was a general tendency towards the increasing use of ornamentation in the 9th and 10th centuries. He has examined a set of poems, ranging in date from as early as the beginning of the 8th century, until the end of the 12th century, and he looked at three of the features mentioned in the rules above, namely *rinn-airdrinn*, internal rhyme in lines c-d, and alliteration. He then transferred his findings into percentages and compared then. His results show a poem from c. 700 to have only a score of 17%, whereas *Saltair na Rann*, dated to the 10th century, scores 46%, leading up to a poem from the 12th century scoring 95%.[48]

Such research is very interesting and is most certainly something that can be taken into account when dating a poem. However, considering all the different types of adornment, and

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[46] Knott, Eleanor, *Irish Syllabic Poetry: 1200-1600* (Dublin, 1974); Ó Cuív, Brian, 'Some developments in Irish Metrics', *Éigse* 12 (1967-1968) 273-290.

[47] Ó Cuív (1967-1968) 277.

[48] Ó Cuív (1967-1968) 279, 282.

for example the fact that alliteration was already very much used within the oldest *rosc* poems, well before the syllabic period, there is too much room for variation to depend too heavily upon those features for dating purposes. Ó Cuív also acknowledges this, showing, for example, another poem from the 12th century that only scores 79%,[49] and one poem of Blathmac mac Con Brettan, dated to c. 750, scoring 71%.[50] Therefore it seems only wise to use these features only as supportive features, and not as important, datable phenomena.

3.4 General outline

For clarity, a little summary of how the above mentioned is taken into account in the examination of the poems attributed to Flann mac Lonáin. In the following two chapters the poems mentioned in chapter 2 will be individually examined. *Maiccni Echach ard a ngé* has its own chapter, since I will also provide a critical edition of the text. Within chapter 4 the remaining nine poems will be discussed. Each poem will have its own sub-chapter, which is divided into a short description of the manuscript(s) it is preserved in, a summary of the contents of the poem, the text of the poem itself (accompanied by a translation). Afterwards follow the metrical and linguistic analyses. The metrical analysis will take into account the metre, rhyme, consonance, alliteration, elision and closure or *dunad*, along with any specific metrical features that may help in dating the poem (such as *fidrad freccomail*). The linguistic analysis will discuss the linguistic developments that pertain to that specific poem, which will either be the Middle Irish forms that can be found within the poem (for example, changes in verbal inflection, or change of noun-genders), or the specific Old Irish forms that are still present. Lastly, a short summary will combine all the metrical and linguistic evidence into an attempt at dating the poem and formulating whether its attribution to Flann could be correct or not.

At the end of the individual discussion of the poems, a short chapter will follow that compares them. Features such as metrics, contents and vocabulary will be discussed, in order to see whether they may help with the conclusion as regards the authorship of Flann mac Lonáin.

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[49] Ó Cuív (1967-1968) 287.
[50] Ó Cuív (1967-1968) 279.

4 Critical Edition of *Maiccni Echach ard a nglé*

4.1 Manuscripts

At first glance, from previous – although incomplete – studies or articles concerning Flann mac Lonáin it seemed that the poem *Maiccni Echach ard a nglé* can be found within two manuscripts: the Book of Leinster, and the Book of Ballymote. Within the Book of Leinster it stands alone, but within the Book of Ballymote it is gathered with a couple of other poems within the tale generally called *Aidid Crimthaind*, or the Death of Crimthann.[51] As it happens, *Aidid Crimthaind* is not only found within the Book of Ballymote, but it is also preserved within the Yellow Book of Lecan. This version of the story also contains the *Maiccni Echach* poem, giving the total of three manuscripts in which the poem may be found. It is important to note, though, that the ascription to Flann mac Lonáin can only be found within the Book of Leinster.

TCD MS 1339 – The Book of Leinster

The Book of Leinster manuscript – formerly known as *Lebor na Nuachongbála*[52] - was written within the twelfth century, maybe around the area of either Terryglass (Co. Tipperary) or Oughaval (Co. Laois),[53] but scholars still do not agree of its true place of origin.[54] It was written by a single 'family' of scribes, generally divided into four main hands: that of A (Aed mac meic Crimthaind)[55], F (the hand who wrote the letter referred to in the introduction of this thesis, which might belong to Bishop Find himself, or his scribe), T and U.[56] It is written entirely upon vellum, sometimes with leaves made up of more than one single piece.[57] The contents of the manuscript vary greatly, ranging from the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* and other

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[51] For an edition of this tale see Stokes, Whitley, 'The Death of Crimthan, Son of Fidach, and the Adventures of the Sons of Eochaid Muigmedon', *Revue Celtique* 14 (1903) 172-236 (the poems are omitted within this edition); or O'Grady, Standish (ed.), *Silva Gadelica (1-31): a collection of tales in Irish / with extracts illustrating persons and places*. 2 vols. (London 1892) vol. 1 ,330; vol. 2, 373 (the poems are given in the Irish text, but not translated).

[52] Best, Richard, Osborn Bergin, Michael O'Brien and Anne O'Sullivan (eds.), *The Book of Leinster, formerly Lebar na Núachongbála*. 6 vols (Dublin, 1954-1983) xii; Though it apparently wasn't called the Book of Leinster, or *Leabhar Laighneach*, originally either; O'Sullivan, William, 'Notes on the Scripts and Make-up of the Book of Leinster', *Celtica* 7 (Dublin, 1966) 5; Mac Eoin, Gearóid, 'The Provenance of the Book of Leinster', *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 57 (2009-2010) 80.

[53] O'Sullivan (1966) 2, 27.

[54] Mac Eoin (2009-2010) 93-94.

[55] Mac Eoin (2009-2010) 87.

[56] O'Sullivan (1966) 6-7.

[57] O'Sullivan (1966) 13.

vernacular texts, to the *Lebor Gabala Erenn,* it also contains quite a few poems, metrical texts, *dindshenchas* tales, texts concerning saints and various genealogies,[58] and is considered to be more of a scholar's book than an ecclesiastic patron's book.[59] The *ME* poem can be found on fol. 50b.

TCD MS 1318 – The Yellow Book of Lecan

The Yellow Book of Lecan, the name commonly used to signify this specific manuscript, in truth actually only refers to a portion of this manuscript.[60] It was written in the late fourteenth, early fifteenth century, by a scribe called Gilla Íosa, son of Donogh More Mac Firbis, as can be seen from a note he made while writing the book, on column 857. Apparently, the Mac Firbis family had their seat within Lecan (in modern day county Sligo).[61] It contains very diverse materials, including grammatical and medical texts, a number of poems, prose tales – including almost all tales within the Ulster cycle – and a glossary.[62] The *ME* poem can be found on columns 901 and 902.

RIA MS 23 P 12

The Book of Ballymote is a manuscript from the fourteenth to fifteenth century, written on vellum,[63] containing a total of 251 folios.[64] It was written by various scribes and at various times, under the patronage of the Mac Donnchaids of Corann, who had their seat in Ballymote, Co. Sligo.[65] The signatures of the main scribes are found within the manuscript, stating their names as Solamh Ó Droma, Robeartus Mac Sithigh, and Maghnus Ó Duibhgeannáin[66], according to the catalogue all men where pupils of a certain Domnall Mac Aedagain (who died according to the AFM in 1452).[67] The BB is a composite manuscript, including texts such as the *Sex Aetates Mundi*, *Dindshenchas* tales, a recension C version of

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[58] Abbot, Thomas and Edward Gwynn, *Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin 1921) 360-361.
[59] O'Sullivan (1966) 25.
[60] Abbot and Gwynn (1921) 94.
[61] Abbot and Gwynn (1921) 106.
[62] Abbot and Gwynn (1921) 94-110; https://www.tcd.ie/Library/manuscripts/collections/medieval-irish.php.
[63] O'Rahilly (1926-1970) 1610.
[64] Ó Concheanainn, Tomás, 'The Book of Ballymote', *Celtica* 14 (1981) 15.
[65] O'Rahilly (1926-1970) 1611.
[66] Ó Concheanainn (1981) 15.
[67] O'Rahilly (1926-1970) 1611.

Lebor Gabála Érenn, secular tales and genealogical tracts.[68] The *ME* poem can be found on fol. 145v and is written in the hand of Robeartus Mac Sithigh.[69]

4.2 Contents

This twelve stanza poem concerns the five sons of Eochaid Mugmedon. Eochaid Mugmedón was a legendary king of Ireland, though more commonly known as the father of Níall of the Nine Hostages. Eochaid supposedly had two wives, one of which was Cairenn Chasdub, who bore him Níall. His other wife, Mongfind, gave him his other four sons: Brian, Fiachra, Ailill, and Fergus. She was the sister of Crimthann mac Fidaig, the king of Munster.[70] The tale of Crimthann's death and the following tale of the sons of Eochaid, in which the poem is imbedded in YBL and BB, tells the tale of how Mongfind wants her son Brian to become king, how she poisoned herself and her brother Crimthann to obtain that goal, and the fate of the other sons, including that of Cairenn's son Niall and his ultimate ascend to become high-king.

4.3 Editorial policy

The edited text which follows below is based upon the poem as it is found within the Book of Leinster, with variant readings of both YBL and BB given in the footnotes. While LL precedes the other two manuscripts by a couple of centuries, still all three versions of the poem remain quite close to each other. Most of the time, when there is a deviation from the text as found in LL, both YBL and BB have the same alternative readings. However, a lot of these alternative readings are merely modernizations within the orthography of the manuscripts. Nevertheless, in a few cases the YBL and BB manuscripts provide a more logical or better reading. Whenever I've adapted the text to include such a reading, this is noted within the footnotes (giving the original reading of LL) and explained in the general notes below.

The length marks that were already present within the text I have maintained, any length marks added by myself are designated by the use of a macron. The abbreviations are indicated

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[68] O'Rahilly (1926-1970) 1610-1655.
[69] Ó Concheanainn (1981) 17.
[70] Stokes (1903) 172.

by cursive script. The text is divided into quatrains and the proper word separations have been added as well. Capitals have been inserted for personal names and place names. Nasalisation is kept attached to the word it accompanies, except in the case of vowels, where it is separated by use of a hyphen.

The translation is meant to give a good impression of the Irish text itself; therefore I have decided to stay as close to the text as possible, including syntax, while trying to make a readable translation. This way, both the text and the translation are hopefully more easily accessible for further study.

4.4 Edition with translation

1	M*ai*ccni[71] Echac*h, a*r*d a ṅglē i*m* Niall, i*m* c*h*anaid Ca*ir*nē im F*h*erg*us,* frossaib ri*n*di[72] im t*rī* m*a*ccu[73] Moingfi*n*di[74]	The sons of Eochaid, great their brightness about Niall, about Cairenn's cub about Fergus, spear-point showers about the three sons of Mongfind
5	Mai*th* fer Fiac*h*ra feoc*h*air gal dia*r* bo[75] m*a*c Nat*hī*[76] tolc*h*ar is Brian[77] a*r* Banba brollac*h* f*ri*s rand[78] Ail*i*ll anglo*nn*ac*h*	A good man [is] fierce Fiachrae of valour whose son was ruthless Nathí and Brian to the forefront of Banba in participation with valiant Ailill
10	Aic*h*ri t*rī* rīg, rot a ṅgal maniptis[79] ingrai[80] do C*h*rim*th*an gabsat[81] a cert cei*n* buí t*h*air for cūa*ir*t ardrig i *n*-Albai*n*	Three fierce kings, daring their valour If they were not an affliction to Crimthann They took their right while he was in the east On a tour of the high-king in Britain

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[71] YBL/BB: maicne
[72] LL: rinni, YBL/BB: rindi
[73] YBL/BB: maccaib
[74] LL: mongfinni, YBL: moinginne
[75] BB: darbo
[76] YBL/BB: dathi
[77] YBL/BB: is brian
[78] YBL/BB: 7
[79] YBL/BB: manibtis
[80] BB: in crich 'the end'
[81] BB: gab

15	Ailill Brian[82], breō dremon is Fiac*h*ra[83] find foltlebor randsat Banba balc tōla[84] i t*rī* cuibrend[85] *ch*om*m*ōra[86]	Ailill [and] Brian, a furious flame and fair longhaired Fiachrae they divided Banba's strong hosts into three equally great companies
20	Ce*ch*aiṅg[87] cuccu C*r*imt*h*and cass[88] *co n*-ūaill *co n*-īr[89] *co n*-ernbass[90] ca*ch*ts*us* cach co ll*ā*ec*h*raid lais[91] i *n*-Inis[92] ṅdualaig ṅDornglais[93]	Curly-haired Crimthann went to them Unto pride, unto anger, unto violence He shackled each one to the warriors with him In tressed Inis Dornglais
	Dolluid m*áthai*r m*ac* n-Ec*hac*h i*n* brīg Moṅgfi̇*n*d ma*r*bret*hach* gāid ca*ir*ddi*n*e cor gli*nn*e[94] do rīg daigrec*h* Da*rin*ne	The mother of the sons of Eochaid came The power of judicial Mongfind She begged an alliance, putting up sureties To the fiery king of the Darinne
25	Dob*er*t[95] ō hur[96] na hi*n*dsi do*ch*um digi domillsi docer m*ac* m*e*ic Da*r*e de de t*hon*nud t*r*iin tre*m*se[97]	She led from the shore of the island Towards a bitter drink The son of the son of Daire fell from it Of poison of a third of three months

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[82] YBL/BB: is brian
[83] YBL/BB: is fiachra
[84] YBL: bail co tola
[85] BB: cuibrennaibh
[86] YBL: comma
[87] BB: deachaing
[88] LL: c?ss (letter lost because of a small hole); YBL/BB: cass
[89] YBL/BB: con fir
[90] YBL: conearmas, BB: conearmass
[91] YBL/BB: co laech lais
[92] YBL/BB: a n-inis
[93] YBL/BB: dualaig dornglais (no nasalisation)
[94] YBL/BB: conglindi
[95] YBL/BB: Dobert
[96] YBL/BB: o bru
[97] YBL: truim treiimside, BB: truim tremside

30	Mórgnī*m* dorōni t*ri*a g*us*	She may do a wicked deed through her fierceness
	brath h*uī* Da*i*re t*ri*a dīu*mm*u*s*	The treachery of the grandson of Daire through her pride
	ba de fert*ha* fat*h* co saire[98]	It was because of it that was fought, to the east
	cat*h* crūaid Corad Coenraige	the harsh battle of Corad Caenraige
	Góita[99] Fiac*h*ra fer togac*h*	Fiacha, the chosen man, was wounded
	Maidsi Maidhi[100] Mess*chorach*	He defeated Maidhi Meascorach
35	ba *h*ē t*re*ss rī adgeb[101] gui*n*	He was the third king, he takes back his wound
	de slōg Dro*m*ma Eogabuil	From the host of Dromma Eogabuil
	Eō[102] dega deirg druiṅg a*r* dreac*h*[103]	A champion of a crowd of red fire in front of
	m*ac* m*eic* Muridaig Tirig	The son of the son of Muiredach Tireach
	nirbo t*h*rīamui*n*, cia*r*bo[104] t*h*rū[105]	He was not weary, although he was a doomed man
40	co tuc[106] M*um*an mōrgīallu	So that he took many hostages from Munster
	M*ai*cni[107] fer fic*h*seta*r*[108] cat*h*	The sons of men who have fought the battle
	f*ri* Fiac*h*raig ta*rsin* srath[109]	Against Fiachra across the valley
	fail[110] cóic[111] deic*h* doib doi f*ri* doi[112]	There are fifty to them, human against human
	i*m* f̂ert Fiac*h*rac*h* i Foroi	About the tomb of Fiachra in Forrach

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[98] YBL/BB: co fi
[99] YBL/BB: Gaedo
[100] LL: moga
[101] YBL: treisi dogell, BB: trisi dogell
[102] YBL: .h. (an abbreviation for *Uí* or *hUí.*).
[103] YBL/BB: a dreich
[104] YBL/BB: cerbo
[105] BB: om.
[106] YBL/BB: tuc a
[107] YBL/BB: meic in
[108] YBL/BB: fichsadar
[109] YBL/BB: frisin tirath
[110] YBL: fuil, BB: fil
[111] YBL/BB: cuic
[112] YBL/BB: dai fri dai

45	Cet*h*rur do šil Bregui*nd* bā*in* rolī*n*sat hÉr*ind* ollg*ra*id[113] Eb*er*. Ír.[114] Lugaid na*r* lac is hÉrimón i*n* t-a*r*dm*a*c. M.	Four people from the race of Bregain the white They filled great Ireland Eber, Ír, Lugaid, who are not weak Érimón is the high-son

[113] YBL/BB: im lain
[114] YBL/BB: is

4.5 Notes

l 2:   *chanaid* is taken as an accusative singular of *cana* 'cub, whelp', originally probably an –nt stem.[115] This might also refer to a 'poet of the fourth grade'.

l.3:   *frossaib*, the dat.pl of *fros*. There seems to be no construction within this line that could rectify an independent dative, therefore this must be a mistake in all three manuscripts in not agreeing with *Fhergus* and *rindi*. The correct acc.pl. form would have been *frossa*.

          rindi/rinni: the original form of the word contains –nd instead of the –nn as found in the LL reading. Therefore I have adapted it to the YBL/BB reading.

l.4   *maccu* is the correct acc.pl. form here, while both YBL and BB show modernisation in using the dat.pl *maccaib*.

          Mongfindi: The original spelling of Mongfind's name was with –nd. Therefore I have substituted the LL reading 'Mongfinni' with the reading of BB.

l.6   *is*: I have added *is* 'and' from YBL/BB to make the line heptasyllabic, to fit the metre.

l.8   *fris rand*: Fri + rann/rand form a prepositional phrase 'in participation with'

l.9   *rot:* DIL notes about this adjective: 'an adj. of uncertain meaning confined chiefly to poetic and heroic literature, not always easy to distinguish from ród and apparently meaning much the same: 'strong, impetuous, spirited or something similar. Commonly of persons.'[116]

l.10   This could also be translated as 'if there were no afflictions to Crimthann', taking *ingrai* as the acc.pl. instead of the acc.sg..

l.11   *gabsat:* The verb is found in the conjunct form in all three manuscripts, however it stands in absolute position. Perhaps this might just be a scribal error for *gabsait*, the absolute form one would expect here. On the other hand, it could also show the loss of distinction between absolute and conjunct forms[117], in which case this is a relevant feature for dating.

          thair: 'east', this adverb is often used as a reference to Britain or Scotland.[118]

l.14   *is*: I have added *is* 'and' from YBL/BB to make the line heptasyllabic, to fit the metre.

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[115] GOI § 324-326.
[116] DIL R 102.
[117] SnG 285.
[118] DIL T 31.

l.15   *randsat*: The verb is found in the conjunct form in all three manuscripts, however it stands in absolute position. The absolute form one would expect is *randsait*. See note on *gabsat*, l.11.

l.17   *cass*: In LL there is a letter lost because of a small hole in the vellum. Both YBL and LL have *cass*, which fits within the text both in meaning and in rhyme, so I have adapted it to *cass*, assuming that it would have been the –a- that used to be written within the LL text as well.

l.19   It is clear that both YBL and BB miss a syllable in their text, as they have only six syllables in their line, whereas LL has seven. I have therefore retained the reading of LL.

l.22   *marbrethach:*: mar- is taken to be *mór(már)* 'great'. According to DIL, this adjective is often used in poetic texts to form compounds merely for the sake of alliteration, which I think is the case here too.[119]

l.24   *Darinne*: This refers to the descendants of Daire, the rulers of Munster before the rise of the Eoganachta.

l.25   *Dobert*: LL has an infixed pronoun 1sg, *dombert*. However, a 'me' as a direct object does not appear to be logical within the context of this text. Therefore I have replaced it with the reading from YBL/BB, *dobert*, without the infixed pronoun.
hur: YBL and BB have the variant reading *bru*, which has more or less the same meaning 'shore, bank' and is monosyllabic as well. Both options also give alliteration within the line, *hur* alliterates with *hindsi*, whereas *bru* would alliterate with *do-bert*, so there is no telling which of the two variants is the correct one. Therefore I have retained the LL reading, since LL forms the basis of this edited text.

l.28   This is an obscure line to translate. *Tremse* could also be interpreted as the prep. *tria/tre* 'through', with a poss.pron.1sg. and a suffixed emph.pron., but it is unclear who this 1sg. would be, and to what the possessive pronoun should refer to. Even if re-adding the infixed pers.pron.1sg. of *dobert* mentioned above, the poem still doesn't state clearly who the 'me-person' is.

l.34   LL has *maidsi mogu messchorach*. I take *maidsi* to be the pret.3sg form of *maidid* with an emphasizing suffixed pronoun 'he defeated, he broke'. The following word, *mogu*, seems to be the gen.sg. of *mug* 'a slave, a servant', which does not make sense within the translation. Both YBL and BB have *maidsi maidhi meascorach*, which is the

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[119] DIL M 166.

reading I have adapted into my edition. Maidhi Meascorach is the full name of Fiachra's adversary. [120]

l.35   Another obscure line. LL has *ad-geb*, but the abbreviation for the verbal ending is either illegible within the manuscript, or maybe even not present at all, so I used the general indic.pres.3sg. *ad-gaib* in my translation. It might stand for *ad*-géb, fut.1sg., though the 'me-person' does not seem to fit within the translation. Furthermore it should be noted that the line already contains seven syllables, therefore any adding of a verbal ending would destroy the metre of the stanza. YBL and BB have *do gell guin*. *do-gell* is listed in the DIL as meaning 'promises' (again, taking it to be the indic.pres.3sg.), but I'm not sure how this would fit into the translation in combination with *ba hé tress rí* or *ba hé treisi* (the other option when one would follow the readings of YBL and BB).

l.38   *Muridaig Tirig:* Muiredach Tireach was the father of Eochaid Mugmedon, hence the grandfather of Fiachra (and Ailill, Brian, Fergus and Niall)[121]

l.43   *fail*: 'In archaic texts and poetry it may be used in other positions with the meaning 'there is, are''[122]

        doí: from *doé*, a poetic term for a human being.[123] This line refers to the fifty hostages that supposedly where buried in a ring around Fiachra's tomb.

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[120] O'Grady, Standish (ed.), *Silva Gadelica (1-31): a collection of tales in Irish Irish / with extracts illustrating persons and places.* 2 vols. (London, 1892).

[121] MacAlister, Robert A. S. (ed.), *The Book of the Taking of Ireland : Lebor gabála Érenn.* 6 vols. Irish Texts Society 34-35, 39, 41, 44, 63 (Dublin, 1938-2009) vol. 5, 345-347.

[122] GOI § 780.3.

[123] DIL D2 244.

4.6 Poetical analysis

The metre of the poem is generally *deibide scáilte fota*, with each second line of a couplet having at least one more syllable in the last word of the line, than the last word of the first line of the couplet, for example the pattern of the first stanza 7^1 7^2 7^2 7^3.[124] The only stanza that does not match this meter is the third stanza, in which the second line appears to have eight syllables, instead of seven.

Besides the metre, the rhyming scheme of *deibide*, of A:B, C:D is found within the poem. The rhyme seems to be correct most of the time. The rhyme seems to be correct most of the time, with the exception of *dreach : tirig* (37/38) where the vowels don't agree. This might be due to the freer treatment of end-rhyme usual for *deibide* metres.

There is quite a lot of alliteration found within the poem, for example the first stanza has alliteration within every line (*echach:ard, chanaid:cairne, fergus:frossaib, maccu:moinfindi*). With exception of stanza 9, all stanzas also have alliteration in the last line of the stanza, between the final word and the preceding, stressed word. This is reminiscent of the fifth rule of *dán díreach* as described in chapter 3 of this thesis: 'each line must have alliteration and the alliteration in *d* must be between the last two stressed words'.

each line must have alliteration and the alliteration in *d* must be between the last two stressed words

There is also linking alliteration (*fidrad freccomail)* between all the stanzas, with the exception of stanzas 7 and 8 and 11 and 12 (at first glance there seems to be no linking alliteration between stanzas 8 and 9, but according to Carney, c and g can also form an alliterative link[125]). These missing links between the stanzas might be just something that happened of course, but it could also point to the fact that there might be stanzas missing and that the original poem might have been longer.

Other than alliteration and linking alliteration, there seems to be no other ornamentation. I was not able to find any consonance and there is no internal rhyme or elision to be found within the poem.

The poem closes with *mac*, echoing the first syllable of the first word of the poem *maiccni*, therefore classifying a closure of the *ascnam* type.[126]

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[124] Murphy (1961) 65.
[125] Carney, James, 'Linking Alliteration (*fidad freccomail)*', *Éigse* 18/2 (1981) 254.
[126] Murphy (1961) 44.

4.7 Dating the poem

There may be a little bit of confusion of the unstressed vowels to be found within the poem. This might be seen in for example *dremon* (14), historically *dremun*, which rhymes with *foltlebor* (15), historically *foltlebar*[127], though it might also be the freer treatment of end-rhymes within a *deibide* metre. On the other hand, it seems from other rhymes within the poem that a lot of unstressed final vowels haven't (entirely) fallen together as schwa yet, as shown in rhymes such as *glé:cairne* (1/2), *cass : ernbass* (17/18), *thrū:morgiallu* (38/39).

The name Fiachra is usually spelled Fiachrae, but consistently with an –a within the poem, pointing perhaps towards the early development of the merger of –ae and –a.

The vowels in stressed syllables appear to remain Old Irish. There is some confusion, for example with *buí* for *boí/baí*, but on the other hand, *tolchar* has kept its earlier form in favour of the later *talchar* (6), *frossaib* has not yet turned into its later form *fraissib (*3). *Mar-*(22) has also been retained, instead of the more common form *mor-* in Middle Irish.[128] Hiatus also seems to be retained, both *breō* (13) and *triin* (28) are disyllabic.

As for the consonants, there may be confusion between -nn- and -nd- , such as *anglonnach* for *anglondach* (8), *rand* for *rann* (8), *find* for *finn* (14) *randsat* instead of OIr. *rannsat* (15), *cuibrend* for *cuibrenn* (16), etc. However, none of these words appear in rhyming position, therefore these could also be scribal innovations. Other consonantal development such as the appearance of unradical f, the merge of lenited palatal *d* and *g* seem not to be present yet. Within unstressed words, *c* also hasn't changed to *g*.

There is Middle Irish lenition found within the adverb *thair* (11), but on the other hand this is not yet shown with *cuccu* (17), which would become *chuccu* within Middle Irish.

The use of cases after prepositions is correct Old Irish. With the exception of *frossaib* (3) I was not able to find any other wrong preposition-case combinations. As concerning the neuter genders, the nouns that have originally a neuter gender don't present themselves in a position as to check whether they still remain neuter, as for example in *co n-ernbass* (18), where *ernbass* has an original neuter gender. The preposition, however, gives no clue as to the gender here.

There is one instance of an independent pronoun, with *ba hē* (35), where it is the subject pronoun to the copula, probably for extra emphasis. Furthermore, suffixed pronoun can be found with *cachtsus* (19).

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[127]The historical spelling of both words has been preserved within YBL and BB.
[128] DIL M 166.

The verbal forms found within the poem are very much Old Irish. During the Middle Irish period, the s-preterite inflection spreads to strong verbs.[129] This is not yet happening within this poem. *Cechaing* (17) shows the reduplicated preterite form, *gāid* (23) shows the long a preterite of *guidid*, *docer* shows the Old Irish preterite of *do-tuit*. The verbal form *góita* (33) is also a perfect Old Irish pret.passive. As briefly mention within the notes, it may be that *gabsat* (11) and *randsat* (15) might show confusion between the absolute and conjunct form. This development was apparently already present within Old Irish, mostly in compound verbs, but also in some simple verbs.[130]

4.8 Conclusion

Generally speaking, the poem is very clearly Old Irish. The verbal forms do not show any changes towards the more simplified system of Middle Irish yet. Furthermore, there are two instances in which hiatus is clearly preserved. In *Saltair na Rann*, which is dated to the 10th century, there are already instances found where hiatus is lost[131], which seems to suggest that this poem must have been written earlier than the 10th century.

This also combines neatly with the fact that the metrical features include quite a lot of alliteration and the earlier feature of *fidrad freccomail*, but not a single case if internal rhyme or elision, features of later syllabic poetry.

This would lead to a conclusion that this poem could have been a poem written by Flann mac Lonáin. It may also be the case that this isn't the entire poem he wrote, based on the fact that there is some missing linking alliteration between a few stanzas.

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[129] SnG 301.
[130] SnG 285.
[131] SnG 231.

5 Other poems attributed to Flann mac Lonáin

5.1 Mían mná Tetrach a tenid

Manuscript

The poem is contained within *Lebor na hUidre*, or the Book of the Dun Cow, also known as RIA MS 23 E 25. This manuscript is the oldest Irish manuscript in existence almost completely written in the Irish language. It was written in the 11th century by three main scribes known as A, M (identified as Máel Muire mac Célechair who died around 1106) and H (an interpolator).[132] LU is nowadays considered to be little more than a fragment of its original state, consisting now only of 67 leaves of vellum. Within these leaves, different texts are preserved, most of it secular, such as a lot of the Ulster Cycle tales, but also religious texts such as *Amra Choluim Chille* and a few homilies.[133] *Mian mná Tetrach* can be found on fol. 50a in the upper margin, written in the hand of H. The manuscript mentions the writer of this small poem as 'Mac Lonan'. This is generally thought to be Flann mac Lonain.

Contents

This small, one-stanza poem talks about the wife of Tethra, glossed as the Badb. The Badb is commonly known as the Irish war-goddess, along with her sisters Macha and the Morrigan. Often, de Badb is associated with a crow, sometimes taking that form.[134] Tethra was one of the three Fomorian kings featured in *Cath Maige Tuired*.[135]

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[132] Ó Concheanainn, Tomás, 'Aided Nath Í and the scribes of Leabhar na hUidre', *Éigse* 16 (1975) 146-162.
[133] Best and Bergin (1929; 1992) ix-xxvii.
[134] For more information on the Badb, see Hennessy, William, 'The ancient Irish Goddess of War', *Revue Celtique* 1 (1870) 32-57; Clark, Rosalind, *The Great Queens: Irish goddesses from the Morrígan to Cathleen ní Houlihan* (Gerrards Cross, 1991).
[135] Cross, Tom P. and Clark Harris Slover (ed.), *Ancient Irish Tales* (London, 1935) 30.

Mac Lonan dixit:	Mac Lonan said:
Mían mná Tethrach[137] a tenid[138]	The desire of the wife of Tethra is her fire
slaide sethnach[139] iar sodain	The striking of the ribs after that
suba[140] luba[141] fo lubaib[142]	Blood, a body under bodies
ugail[143] troga[144] dír drogain[145]	Eyes, heads, the right of the raven

Poetic analysis

This little stanza is an example of the metre called *rannaigecht ḟota recomarcach*, commonly called *rannaigecht bec*, though Murphy notes that sometimes Early Irish metrists called it *rannaigecht mór*. Its metre can be described as $7^2\ 7^2\ 7^2\ 7^2$.[146]

Being a *rannaigecht* type metre, the second and fourth line rhyme: *sodain:drogain*. The third line here (*lubaib*) has consonance with the rhyming words. There is *aicill* between *Tethrach:sethnach*, *suba:luba*. and *lubaib:ugail*. The words *sodain* and *suba* might be taken to be linked through alliteration, though there is no linking alliteration between the other lines. There is alliteration found within every line: *Mían:mná, slaide:sethnach:sodain, luba:lubaib, dír:drogain*. There is no elision within the stanza and no *dúnad* at the end.

Dating

Unfortunately there is not much to go on when attempting to date these four lines of poetry. Since they are contained within *LU* the assumption can be made that it was at least written before the eleventh/twelfth century. A small hint might come from the form *sodain*, which is in the neuter form, proving the neuter gender is apparently still retained. Another hint may be given by the fact that the stanza is heavily glossed and many words contained within are not found within the DIL. This might indicate that, at the time Máel Muire mac Célechair decided

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[136] The text of this poem comes from the diplomatic edition of *Lebor na hUidre*, Best and Bergin (1929; 1992) 124, footnote. The translation is my own.
[137] Glossed: .i. badb 'that is the Badb'.
[138] Glossed: .i. gae 7 arm 'that is spears and armours'.
[139] Glossed: .i. táeb 'sides of human/animal bodies'.
[140] Glossed: .i. fuil 'blood'.
[141] Glossed: .i. corp 'body'.
[142] Glossed: .i. fo feraib 'under men'; also note that in the gloss the lenition is not indicated.
[143] Glossed: .i. súli 'eyes'.
[144] Glossed: .i. cend 'heads'.
[145] Glossed: .i. fiaich 'raven' or 'vulture'.
[146] Murphy (1961) 53.

to add this little poem, he was aware of the fact that a lot of words within were obscure by the time of the 11th century.

As far as metrics are concerned, the complete absence of elision might point towards the Old Irish period of language. Nevertheless, it is very difficult to make an approximation of the date of these four little lines. I would opt for them to belong to the Old Irish period. Therefore one could still retain the attribution to Flann mac Lonáin.

5.2 Tír da Locha

Manuscript

This little piece of poem is found within the Book of Leinster, or TCD MS 1339.[147] The poem can be found on fol. 37b.

Contents

This single stanza is quoted within the poetic treatise called *trefocul*. Apparently the stanza is part of a larger poem concerning the Delbna, a large population group who supposedly traced their origins through Delbnaeth, the son of Oengus of the Tuatha Dé Danann. The Delbna Tír da Locha were a specific branch of this population group, situated in the west of Ireland, around the area that is now County Galway. This would be next to the territory of Uí Fiachrach Aidne, the territory of Flann's ancestor Guaire.

Text and translation[148]

Cloen cretti. Fland mac Lonain i nduain	Uneven share. Flann mac Lonan in the song of
Delbna cecinit:	Delbna sings:
Tír da Locha forsiuṅg fotha	Land of the two Lakes, a far-reaching basis
fond fochrotha cricha cuan	The land that makes the boundaries of the bays shiver
caille cailfota cuibrend buadach	A long, slender forest, a victorious part of land
barcc reil roenetrocht rúamach ruad	A lustrous stronghold, a bright way, famous, mighty

Poetic analysis

The metre of this stanza seems to be *sétnad mór* ($8^2\ 7^1\ 8^2\ 7^1$), a metre that very probably developed from the esteemed *dian midṡeng* ($8^2\ 7^3\ 8^2\ 7^3$) metre, due to the difficulty in finding rhyme with trisyllabic words.[149] The second and fourth line have rhyming words. There is internal rhyme with *fotha:fochrotha:cailfota.* There appears to be no consonance. But alliteration runs through the entire stanza, with linking alliteration between each line. There is

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[147] See above at the manuscript descriptions for *Maiccni Echach* for a description of this manuscript.

[148] The text of this poem comes from the diplomatic edition of the Book of Leinster: Best, Richard, Osborn Bergin, Michael O'Brien and Anne O'Sullivan (eds.), *The Book of Leinster, formerly Lebar na Núachongbála*. 6 vols (Dublin, 1954-1983) vol. 1 166. The translation is my own.

[149] Murphy (1961) 48-49.

no elision and no *dúnad*, the latter not un-expected as it appears to be a single stanza from a longer poem.

Dating

Once again there is not all that much to go on. *Forsiung* appears to be a somewhat older form, compared to later *fairsiung,* similar to the form found within the Milan Glosses.[150] The final –*c* of *barc* is written double –*cc*, which seems to be an Old Irish feature.[151] *Locha* and *cuibrend* are both original neuter nouns, but unfortunately it is unclear from the text which gender it has here.

Purely based on the fact that there are no other Middle Irish developments to be seen within this poem, and that *forsiung* appears to be a somewhat older form, I would suggest that this poem can be regarded as Old Irish. However, there is too little to go on to narrow this down. Though this does not confirm the attribution to Flann mac Lonáin, it does rule out later poets imitating him or attributing their own poets to him, therefore making the attribution at least a bit more likely.

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[150] DIL F 28.

[151] Kelly, Fergus, 'Notes on the Irish words (with particular reference to dating)', *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*. ed. Ludwig Bieler (Dublin, 1979) 244.

5.3 Mo chara-sa Cnamine

Manuscript

Like the previous poem, this poem is found within the Book of Leinster, or TCD MS 1339.[152] The poem can be found on fol. 37c.

Contents

The previous poem clearly stated it was part of a larger poem. Whether that is the case with this poem as well is unclear. It is imbedded within the poetic treatise *trefocul* as well, and it is used to illustrate the use of a diminutive (*dámine*) within poetry, in this case by use of the suffix *–ne/-ine*.[153]

Text and translation[154]

A lugugud. Ut Fland mac Lonain	The diminutive. Says Flann mac Lonáin
Mo chara-sa Cnámine	My friend Cnámine
caras iath nÉile n-achtach	who loves the brave land Éile
bid fálid frim dámine	He will give welcome to my little company
cia dom facced cét marcach	Although he sees hundred horsemen with me

Poetic analysis

The metre of the stanza is called *aí freisligi* (7^3 7^2 7^3 7^2).[155] There is end-rhyme with *cnámine:dámine* (lines 1 and 3) and with *achtach:marcach* (lines 2 and 4). There is much less adornment within this particular stanza compared to the two previous poems. There may be a linking alliteration between lines 1 and 2 with *cnámine:caras*. There is alliteration in the firs three lines: *chara-sa Cnámine, iath nÉile n-achtach, fálid frim.* I found no internal rhyme, consonance, or elision. The latter is also blocked by the fact that there is no occasion that could give a reason for elision (the only possibility would have been *Éile achtach*, but that elision is blocked by the mutation). There is no *dúnad*.

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[152] See above at the manuscript descriptions for *Maiccni Echach* for a description of this manuscript.
[153] GOI § 274.
[154] The text of this poem comes from the diplomatic edition of the Book of Leinster: Best, Richard, Osborn Bergin, Michael O'Brien and Anne O'Sullivan (eds.), *The Book of Leinster, formerly Lebar na Núachongbála*. 6 vols (Dublin, 1954-1983) vol. 1 169. The translation is my own.
[155] Murphy (1961) 62.

Dating

Compared to the previous two poems, there is a tiny little bit more information to be found within this text as concerning dating. The noun *cara* has an original form *carae*, but it does not stand within a rhyming position, therefore it cannot show for certain whether the merger of –ae and –a is in question here.[156] Furthermore there is a case of unradical *f* in *facced*.

The verbal forms offer no clearance either. The pres.rel. *caras* is a proper relative form, but though the use of the absolute form as a relative grows within the Middle Irish period, the specific relative form remains in use and doesn't change.[157] The same goes for the impf.3sg. within the Middle Irish period,[158] therefore the impf.3sg *facced* (from *ad-cí*) can offer no clues here.

Due to the lack of Middle Irish developments, or the presence of forms that could show these, I tend to draw the same conclusion as with the previous poem. I would suggest that this poem can be regarded as Old Irish. However, here too, there is too little to go on to narrow this down. For this poem too, this does not confirm the attribution to Flann mac Lonáin, it does rule out later poets imitating him or attributing their own poets to him.

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[156] McManus, Damian, Introduction to Middle Irish (unpublished article).
[157] SnG 295.
[158] SnG 298.

<u>5.4 Fidbadach mac Feda Ruscaig</u>

Manuscripts

Fidbadach mac Feda Ruscaig is found within two different manuscripts, both from the 15th century. One of which is TCD MS 1318, or the Yellow Book of Lecan[159], the other one is RIA MS D iv 2.

RIA MS D iv 2 is a manuscript of vellum and late paper. Three different hands have been identified within the manuscript: Eoghan Ó Hachoideirn, Seán Mac Aedacain and a third, unnamed scribe. A note found within the manuscript states that it was written in the monastery of Cill Chormaic (Offaly). The manuscripts contains a collection of different prose tales and dindshenchas tales.[160]

In YBL the poem is found on column 918, in D iv 2 on fol.51d and probably written by Eoghan Ó Hachoideirn.

Contents

The poem is attached to and introduced by a prose tale. This tale in short tells of Flann mac Lonáin and his company, journeying around and getting caught in a spell of bad weather and without food. Suddenly a man comes to them, with a cow and a forester's axe. Flann asked the man if he would sell the cow. The man then says he will sell the cow, but only if he would get a cow of his own choosing in return. Flann agrees, but asks for some time. After a year, the man and four others come to Flann's house, behaving very rudely, and demanding a cow that never runs dry, or otherwise they will never leave the house. Flann asks the man his name, which turns out to be Fidbadach mac Feda Ruscaig, or 'Forester, son of Barked Wood'. This name is a play upon words, and could also be translated as 'Man of letters, son of Poetic Letters', referring to the conclusion of the tale, in which the man reveals himself to be Oengus in Mac Óc and that the cow he seeks was poetry, which is always rich in milk.[161]

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[159] See above at the manuscript descriptions for *Maiccni Echach* for a description of this manuscript.
[160] O'Rahilly, Thomas (1926-1970) 3297.
[161] The tale is included within Bergins edition: Bergin, Osborn (ed.), 'A story of Flann mac Lonáin', *Anecdota from Irish manuscripts*, ed. O.J. Bergin, R.I. Best, Kuno Meyer and J.G. O'Keeffe, vol. 1 (Dublin, 1907) 45-50.

Text and translation[162]

	1 Fidbadach mac Fedha Ruscaig	Wood-man son of Barked Wood[163]
	duscaib congeib gleoad	He starts a gathering of battling
	isaig luach a bo do biuda	He will eat the value of his cow to his food
	beraid bo fa deoig	He will carry a cow away ultimately
5	2 Ingnad in alaid dogni-seom	Strange the behaviour he gives
	ac iarraidh a bo-som	Seeking his cow
	nocho chuindich ina re-seom	By no means he seeks in his time
	nocho tabar do-som	By no means [it is] given to him
	3 Tuc coic drochbachlacha duba	Five bad dark servants[164] came
10	tar tairrseach mo thigi	Over the threshold of my house
	ni tuillead buidi fri duine	Not earning thanks with people
	im ṡaigi no im laighi.	Sitting nor lying down
	4 Tarlagsa chucu dia ḟromad	I uttered to them, to test him
	focla finda filed	The true words of the poet
15	tarcas do fa ṡecht dia ngabad	It was offered to him seven times, to accept
	a chert is a dliged	His right and his due

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[162] The text comes from the edition of Osborn Bergin. He has made a diplomatic edition from the Yellow Book of Lecan, with variant readings of MS D iv 2 included in the footnotes. See Bergin, Osborn (ed.), 'A story of Flann mac Lonáin', *Anecdota from Irish manuscripts*, ed. O.J. Bergin, R.I. Best, Kuno Meyer and J.G. O'Keeffe, vol. 1 (Dublin, 1907) 45-50, For completeness, I have added the two extra stanzas from MS D iv 2 that Bergin mentions within the footnotes into the poem here. These are indicated by 'D'. The translation of the poem is my own.

[163] This name contains a play of words. *Fidbadach* and *Feda* are be derived from the word *fid*, which can be translated both as 'tree, wood' and as '(ogam) letter' (DIL F 125-126). *Ruscaig* can be derived from *rúsc* 'bark (of a tree or shrub), but also from *rosc* 'a short poem, ode or chant' (DIL R 123, R 101). Therefore his name can be translated as both 'Wood-man son of barked wood' or 'Letter-man son of poetic letters'. This last translation, of course, refers to the denouement of the poem and the tale, where Oengus reveals that he was searching for poetry all along. Especially this play on words with *fid* can be found throughout the entire poem, not only when it is used as Oengus' pseudonym, for example in the last lines of stanzas 21, 22 and 25.

[164] The noun *bachlach ,* which is in its plural form here, can also be translated in a more negative way with 'churl'.

	5 Roraidsed aithisc ndur ndochta	They spoke a rigid, reserved reply
	rochomaill ciar bachta	He fulfilled it, though it was a stipulation
	a bo do ni demad certa	His cow to him, he would not concede the rights
20	cen bad leo a lachta	Without her milk that would be with them
	6 Dia mbligthea uaithibh co bleachta	When to milk the milk-yields from them
	inad na biad fermar	In a place that would not be grassy
	nocho mo do biad na choemno	I would not keep her for food
	na haenbo noscerad	The one cow that he would deprive us of
25	7 Dechar duind in mael sa riabach	Let us look at the hornless and her striped one
	isa crod caem clarach	And her beloved, flat faced stock
	in find robo sciamach	The fair one that was beautiful
	ria n-indisi amarach	Before the milking enclosures tomorrow
	'D'	
	Da mbeith si tri fichit brathar	If she may be [with] three scores of brothers
30	robodhghridfit gléthar	It will be trouble that is done with
	cofarccfa a anmain cidh uathmar	Until he departs from his soul, although terrifying
	is arnaid in feichem	Harsh is the claimant
	8 Dechthar duind na hairghi uili	Let us look at all the herds
	itir tairthi trebai	Between produce [and] houses
35	dia mbeith ann bo nodingbad	If there may be a cow that would keep away
	Fidbadach mac Feda. F.	Fidbadach mac Feda
	9 Fidbadach mac seithri sobraid	Fidbadach the vigorous, cheerful youth
	olc in teichri teglaig	Bad [is] the food of the household
	ithig bert crema cach domnaich	He eats a load of wild garlic every Sunday
40	ni geba cen loilgig	He will not proceed without a milk-cow

	10 Fidbadach mac seastrain soraich	Fidbadach the steady, agreeable youth
	ni geslach les gainim	A yearling calf is no achievement with him
	lista in scairb liath fil nar comair	Tedious is the grey ford that is in front of us
	dail ma fiach ni thabair	He gives no meeting for his obligation
45	11 Adbal a ligi na lebaid	Great is his lying in bed
	is amlaid rofucaid	It is like so that you understand
	is mor d'airrdib uilc rofidir	It is great what he knows of evil signs
	is goirt ima chuitid	He is bitter concerning his portion
50	12 Adraig mochthrath cacha maidni	He rises at early time each morning
	nocho damand findchert	He does not suffer true right
	intan gabus ime tichthacht	When he puts his cloak on
	andar lindi is d'imtheacht	We thought it is to travel
55	13 A De is adbal a brat gemrid	Oh God, his winter-plundering is great
	borb a fad 'san imdaid	Foolish [is] his length of time in the bed
	nocho trascrand dona colbaib	He does not knock down the bedposts
	co loisceann an fidbaid. F.	Until he burns the trees
	'D'	
	Or nocho crithigh in duine	Since the person does not shake
	mithigh ra mná in baile	It is timely to the women of the settlement
	bí na ŝlaet a leith in tighi	It is in a pile at a side of the house
60	noco taet da aire	It does not come to his attention
	14 Dorad coicer ar mo cholbae	Five men came to my bedposts
	deithbir duind a ndimdae	Their dissatisfaction is reasonable for us
	cona ndreanntaib gearrthaib gorma	With their mutilated, dark jaws
	cona mbearrtaib figba. F.	With their burdens of bill-hooks

65	15 Bennacht ar Dail Cais a Carndmaig	A blessing for the Dal Cais out of Carnmaig
	tabraid doib each finnmaig	Give to them every fair plain
	fer maith mac mnai clerchib congbaid	A good man, son, woman, clerics he maintains
	maenib fraechaib fidbaid. F.	At mountains, in heathers, in a forest
	16 Mac on Echtgi aṅgbaid	Son of the Echtgi mountains
70	nocho n-obann imguin	He does not refuse battle
	sida an eich buidi ria mbuidnib	Fairy hills of the bay horse in front of the warriors
	Mael Tuili asan fidbaid. F.	Mael Tuili in the woods
	17 Romir cocorran cet curi	He granted me a hundred cauldrons with a hook
	imon muidhi meda	Around a vessel of mead
75	leastar sleman sescrae sona	A smooth vessel, a lucky vessel
	roga fleascach feada. F.	Choosing the branches of a tree
	18 Doroindi gairbi dom gola	He caused roughness to my tears
	itir dairbri is dinda	Between oak-trees and hills
	is mo na blod do benn alla	It is more than fame to yonder mountain
80	do gab eill don gilla	He took advantage of the servant
	19 Rochraid mo maiccaime mine	He torments my small boys
	ni bind lind a gairbi	His laugh is not pleasing to us
	atat ica dimda a daine	His people are displeased at him
	ar mna imda ailli	Say many women of grace
85	20 Cormac Caisil cona churu	Cormac of Cashel to the warrior
	leis Mumu cor mela	With him is Munster, may he enjoy
	tragaid im rig Ratha Bicli	He diminishes on account of the king of Ratha Bicli
	na litri is na feada. F.	Of the [Roman] letter and of the Ogam letter

90	21 Fland flaith Temra lor a miri is les Midhi in meda ni mo leis brig Breg ni buidi anda duili feada. F.	Fland, ruler of Tara, great is his frenzy With him is Meath of the mead He doesn't prefer the power of Breg nor [his] favour Than the leaves of the Ogam letter
95	22 Teigid tarna gablaib mara olc ind adba greda ni soitheann an fairrgi a n-uilli airdi naid na feada. F.	He flees across the branches of the sea Bad is the dwelling place of horses The sea does not reach their vastness Nobler than the ogam letters
100	23 Nocho denand snim ri suirghi ba lir rim a dimda nocho roich aband a formna ni scarann fri fidba. F	He does not make fighting before wooing It was with us that relates his dissatisfaction He did not reach his choice river He did not separate with a bill-hook
105	24 Doreasairg conu mo thigi as cach deasaird cheana corob dimbladach Dia is duni d'Fidbadach mac Fega	He slays the dogs of my house From every southern direction moreover May God and man bring discomfiture To Fidbadach son of Feda
	25 Fecheam meic Lonan na ligi ni conach fodera ic cuindchi bo ni dis dona beg nar bris na feda. F.	The claimant of the son of Lonan lies down He does not provide prosperity Seeking a cow, something despicable, unlucky He almost destroyed the ogam letters

Poetic analysis

The metre of this poem is called *dechnad mór* (8^2 6^2 8^2 6^2), [165] which seems to have been retained throughout the poem pretty well. Generally speaking there is rhyme between lines B and D and there is consonance with A and C. However, a good part of the poem does not follow this scheme throughout, such as the first stanza, which does not have consonance in

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[165] Murphy (1961) 50

line A (A *ruscaig,* B:D *gleoad:deoig[166]*), but instead has aicill *ruscaig:duscaib* with B. The sixth stanza stanza does not show consonance in lines A and C: *bleachta – fermar – choemno – scerad.* The seventh stanza has rhyme instead of consonance in lines A and C: *riabach:sciamach.* In the eight stanza, line A does not show consonance with B, C and D: *uili – trebai:dingbad:feda.* Within the ninth stanza, the rhyming scheme seems to be reversed, with A and C rhyming, *sobraid:domnaich* and B and D showing consonance, *teglaig:loilgig.* In stanza 10 there is once again rhyme instead of consonance between A and C: *soraich:comair.* In stanza 12, there is no consonance between line A, *maidni,* and the other lines, *findchert – tichtacht – imtheacht.* However, most of these exceptions still try to maintain the balance and connection between the lines of the stanza.

Besides the *aicill* in the first two lines, other examples of *aicill* are: *churu:Mumu* (85/86), *Bicli:litri* (87/88) *miri:Midhi* (89/90), *buidi:duilli* (91/92). There is internal rhyme *bo:bo* in lines 3 and 4, though it is not perfect, since the word rhymes with itself. Other examples of internal rhyme are *alaid:iarraidh* (5/6), *anmain:arnaid* (31/32), *seithri:teichri* (37/38), *liath;fiach* (43/44), *crithigh:mithigh* (57/58), *gairbi:dairbri* (77/78), *dimda:imda* (83/84).

At least half of the lines of the poem contains alliteration. This comes in the regular form of alliteration within the line itself, such as *ingnad:alaid* (5), *ndur:ndochta* (17), *teichri:teglaig* (38), *deithbir:duind:ndimda* (62), *sleman:sescrae:sona* (75, etc., but also in the form of linking alliteration between two lines, such as *biuda:berad* (3/4), *thigi:tuillead* (10/11), *uathmar:arnaid* (31/32), and *finnmaig:fer* (66/67). There is no linking alliteration between the different stanzas (*fidrad freccomail).* Despite these many alliterations, there is only alliteration in the final line between the last word and the preceding stressed word in stanzas 5 (*leo:lachta),* 15 (*fraechaib:fidbaid*), 17 (*fleascach:feada*) and 19 (*imda:ailli*).

There are ample examples to be found of elision within the poem. To name a few: *cofarcefa a anmain* (probably elision of *a,* otherwise the line would have nine syllables), *d'airrdib, d'imtheacht, mná in* (otherwise the line has seven syllables), *d'Fidbadach* (lenited f̂ is not pronounced, hence the elision of *do* with *idbadach*).

The poem concludes with *feda,* which is not really a perfect type of *dunad* as it seems to point back towards the first line of the poem, but actually only echoes the first letter. Though it may echo 'Feda' further along the first line of the poem. Along the poem, in the margin, various short *dunads* may be found, consisting of the letter F., at the end of the last lines of stanzas 8, 13-17, 20-23 and 25. The meaning of these *dunads* is unclear, though they only occur when

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[166] I take this to be a confusion of palatal –d- and –g-, for *deoid,* the form which is found within the RIA MS D iv 2 manuscript, according to the footnote within Bergin's edition.

the last word of a stanza is either *fid* or a cognate of *fid*, so it may be that the *dunads* function is to point back towards the name of the character within the poem, and the double meaning behind that name.

Dating

There are a few Middle Irish developments to be found within this text. The vowels in the unstressed syllables seem to be converted into schwa sounds, such as *ac* instead of *oc*, *coemno* for original *coemna*, *trebai:feda* (34/36), *teglaig:loilgig* (38/40), *dimdae:figba* (62/64).

There seems to be confusion between palatal lenited *d* and *g*, in examples such as *alaid* for *alaig, saigi* for *suide* and *ithig* for *ithid*. However, these words are not found in rhyming position, so it might also be just a scribal innovation. The only one that may prove this confusion is *crithigh* (58) for *crethaid*, as it is bound with internal rhyme to *mithigh* (59), a form with historical –g.

There are no hiatus forms to be found within the poem. There is no change yet of *cach* into *gach*, but *chucu* has been lenited (13).

The use of noun cases seems to be correct in most cases, but there are a few exceptions concerning the dat.pl.. There are two instances of a dat.pl. noun following the prep. *co*, which normally takes the accusative, in *cona ndreanntaib gearrthaib gorma* (63) and *cona mbearrtaib figba* (64). Note also the fact that the adjectives *gorma* and *figba* do not agree with the dat.pl. forms. There is also one occasion where the article does not agree with the following dat.pl. form: *dona colbaib* (55). There is no lenition following *dona*, so it has to be the article and not a poss.pron.. The prep. *do* takes the dative, so that usage is correct, but in Old Irish one would expect *donaib colbaib*. In line 67 the dat.pl. *clerchib* is found, which functions as the object of the verb, and should have been in the acc.pl. form.

The Middle Irish form *amarach*, from *i mbarach*, is found in line 28. According to the DIL, the intermediate form *immarach* was already found in *Saltair na Rann*.[167]

There are also Middle Irish developments to be found within the verbal system. The verbal form *do-gni* (5) still shows the -g-, while the form without -g- is found very often in Middle Irish.[168] This is, however, shown in the form *doroindi* (77), which is described as 'a very late form'[169]. *Ro raidsed* (17) shows that *ro* seems to have lost its perfective meaning. It also shows a slender final consonant of the verbal stem, instead of Old Irish *rad-*. The form

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[167] DIL B 33.
[168] SnG 325.
[169] SnG 412-413.

dechtar is described by the DIL as a Middle Irish contamination of *fégaid* and *décaid*.[170] There are also a lot of verbal forms found with the new pres.indic.3sg. verbal ending –enn/-ann: *damond* (50), *tascrand* (55), *loisceann* (56), *obann* (70), *soitheann* (95), and *denand* (97). This new verbal ending is found twice within *Saltair na Rann* and seems to be a development that emerges within the 10th century.[171]

A new Middle Irish e-future is shown in *scérad* (23), and new simple verbs instead of Old Irish compound verbs are found with *congbaid* (67) for Old Irish *con-gaib*, *trascrand* (55) for Old Irish *do-scara*, *roich* (99) for Old Irish *ro-saig*, *obann* (70) for Old Irish *od-bond*. The form *do-gab* (80) shows the usage of *do* instead of *ro*. On the other hand, the verbal form *geba* shows the Old Irish e-future of *gaibid*. Also the deponent verb *rofidir* is found, though it is known that *rofidir* keeps his deponent inflection for a much longer time than the other deponent verbs.[172]

All in all, there is a lot of linguistic evidence, especially within the verbal system, that points towards a later Middle Irish direction. The new verbal ending –enn/-ann, which emerges in the 10th century, and the form *amarach* instead of Old Irish *i mbarach* (of which the intermediate form *immarach* is found within *Saltair na Rann*), seem to point towards the second half of the Middle Irish period. This is combined with the fact that the metrics of the poem seem to be fairly strict already, adhering partly pretty good to the rules stated by Eleanor Knott for the *dechnad mór* metre as found in later syllabic poetry (from 1200) onwards,[173] leads me to conclude that the poem at least belongs half way through the Middle Irish period, therefore I estimate a date for this poem sometime within the end of the tenth, beginning of the eleventh century. Which would also have to mean that this poem could not have been written by Flann mac Lonáin.

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[170] DIL D1 189.
[171] SnG 293-294.
[172] SnG 290.
[173] Knott, Eleanor, *Irish Syllabic Poetry: 1200-1600* (Dublin 1974) 17.

5.5 Aibind, aibind, echtge ard

Manuscripts

This poem is contained within the Book of Leinster and the Yellow Book of Lecan.[174] In the Book of Leinster the poem can be found on fol. 198b, in the Yellow Book of Lecan on col. 916. The poem found within the Yellow Book of Lecan has extra verses in praise of the Dal Cais.[175]

Contents

This poem tells the *dindshenchas*, or the 'place tale' of Echtge, or Aughty, a ridge of mountains in modern day southern Galway.[176]

In LL the poem is headed *Fland mac Lonain post mortem suam cecinit*, telling that it is apparently a poem Flann composed after he died. This could already be a first hint towards the fact that Flann may not be the real author of this poem.

YBL has a prose tale prefixed to this poem, which explains why it is after his death that Flann made the poem. The tale mentions the three learned poets of Connaught: Mac Liac, Mac Coise and Fland mac Lonain, and also the harper Ilbrechtach, who apparently used to be the harper for Flann, but after Flann's death he served Mac Liag. One day, Mac Liag and Ilbrethach were traveling around and at a certain moment Mac Liag said that he wanted to know all the knowledge concerning the lakes and places around them. Ilbrethach mentioned that if Flann were still alive, he would have known them. This angered Mac Liag and he ordered Ilbrethach to be killed, but Ilbrethach begged a respite and had until the morning. In the night, the soul of Flann mac Lonain came and told all about the hills and lakes, in return for the freedom of Ilbrethach.[177] This occurence of the soul of Flann returning from death is reminiscent of Fergus mac Roich, who was brought back from the death to tell the tale of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, which gives another clue that Flann may not have been the author of this poem.

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[174] See above at the manuscript descriptions for *Maiccni Echach* for a description of both manuscripts.
[175] O'Lochlainn (1943-1944) 44 .
[176] Gwynn, Edward (ed.), *The Metrical Dindshenchas*. 5 vols. Todd lecture series 8-12 (Dublin, 1903-1935) vol. 3, 532.
[177] Gwynn (1903-1935) vol. 3, 533.

Text and translation[178]

	1 Áibind, áibind, Echtge ard,	Pleasant, pleasant, lofty Echtge
	adba na fían foébur-garg,	The dwelling-place of the fierce-bladed warriors
	fond forsambítis maic Eirc,	The ground where the sons of Erc used to live
	maigen Dublaithi im Derg-deirc.	The place of Dublaith in Dergderc
5	2 Dindgna n-Echtge, Óenach Find,	A land-mark of Echtge, Oenach Find
	damsa ind úain, ronindisfind:	If I had the opportunity, I would tell of it
	ní búi róm, ní bia tar m'éis	It was not before me, never it shall be after me
	nech bus eólchu 'na n-aisneis	Moreover, none is more learned in the telling
	3 Aurgna dí mnái, diarbu mían,	Well-known the two women who had [its] desire
10	nognáthaigtis in ṅgarb-slíab	They used to frequent the rugged mountain
	Echtge ingen Dedaid druin	Echtge daughter of vigorous Dedad
	is Echtach ingen Lodain	And Echtge daughter of Lodan
	4 Cía slointer in slíab slemain	Although the slippery mountain is named
	ó Echtge ingin Dedaid	From Echtge daughter of Dedad
15	cid é gairm nogairthe di,	However its naming, it was called from her
	is ainm dó slíab nEchtaigi	Its name is Sliab Echtge
	5 Etarba na fích fuilech,	Etarba of the blood-stained resentment
	crích na coibden cét-guinech	The territory of the hundred-wounding troops
	nostregtais conart chalma	A strong pack of wolves used to pierce it
20	ina ndairib dond-garba	In their brown rugged thickets
	6 Domgnus rochosnatar thall	The abode that was strived for yonder
	clann Gairb do thúaith dé Danann	Descendants of Garb to the Tuatha de Danann
	dind forsndessid Dolb drennach	[The] hill where Dolb Drennach sat
	forsmbíd Crochán cuslennach	Where Crochán the flute-player used to be

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[178] The text is taken from the edition of the *Metrical Dindshenchas*, edited by Edward Gwynn: Gwynn, Edward J. (ed.), *The Metrical Dindshenchas*. 5 vols. Todd lecture series 8-12 (Dublin, 1903-1935) vol. 3, 304-312. Stanzas 9-16 are left out, since they only contain place-names. The translation of the poem is my own.

25	7 Crochán do chúanaib Crúachan	Crochan to the packs of wolves of Cruachu
	nímarulaid a rúathar	He came upon an onrush
	torchair la Dolb mac nDáilim,	He fell by Dolb the son of Dailem
	ruc coscur is chommáidim	Who got victory and triumph
	8 Is and dessid Dolb détla	It is there that bold Dolb dwelled
30	for maigin in mór-échta:	On the spot of the great slaughter
	don chind ruc leis ina láim	Of the head that he carried with him in his hand
	is de atá Cend Crocháin	It is of that that it is Cend Crochain
	17 Caille Conrúi friu andess,	Caille Conrúi against them from the south
	fris' fertais óic écen-chless	Against which the youths gave forth feats of violence
35	Caille Nathfráich ó s̃in 'mach	Caille Nathfráich from then henceforth
	cor-ragaib Óengus Tírech:	Until Óengus Tírech got it
	18 IN tress-ainm dó iar tanaib,	The third name of it after times
	iar cathaib, iar congalaib	After battles, after conflicts
	ba hé Caille in chlaideb-deirg	It was Caille, the red sword
40	ind láich luind Lugdach lám-deirg.	of the fierce warrior Lugaid red-hand
	19 Nert na n-óc ic rige andess,	The strength of the young reaching from the south
	dorairngert Find flaith-écess,	Finn the prince-seer prophesied it
	bid la Connachta a slat,	The plundering will be by Connaught
	brait cid Mumnig nosmelat.	Although the Munster men enjoy the plunder
45	20 Fri Leth Cuind cáin in ts̃léibe	Against Leth Cuin, the smooth side of the mountain
	Echtge áine amréide	Of rough, splendid Echtge
	is a hescáin co bráth mbalc	It is her rough side, until firm Judgement,
	fri Let mór Moga Nuadat	against great Leth Moga Nuadat

50	21 Romulus Dál Cais cétach, ní fúar indus da n-écnach do Dál Chais, caiscid na clíar ac nach aicind nech ainf̃al	I praised the Dal Cais hundredfold I found no condition to satirize them For Dal Cais, correcting the clergy Where I saw no one ungenerous
55	22 Inbaid robsom fáilid Fland diamba ar sligid na sóer-chland, ní fúar i mBanba co mblad túaith rob ferr icht is engnam	Once when I was cheerful Flann While I was on a journey to the noble clans I found not in famous Banba A people that was best in kindness and skill
60	23 Óen-f̃er díb tarla ar mo chind thúaid i tír Mane i Maig F̃ind: bói i faichill ri bliadain mbuic ac tuilliud óen-bó is óen-bruit	One man of the came to me Northwards in Mag Find of Tir Mane He was on hire for an untroubled year Earning one cow and one cloak
	24 Adubairt rim tria thúaichle, "geib dam senchas mo thúaithe: is bind riam chride roclos a ngrés cen chor cennaiges"	He said to me, through his cleverness 'Sing to me the old tales of my people It is pleasing for my heart to hear One that buys their craft without contract"
65	25 Arsin geibim-sea dó in dúain, dó-som ní tharla a dimbúaid: do neoch rothuill, nír thairm terc, dorat dam uile in óen-f̃echt.	Then I sang him the lay His discomfiture did not happen to him Whatsoever he had earned, it was not a few sound He gave all to me, the one time
70	26 Atchúalatar Dál Cais cert, fúair onóir ina n-airecht, doratsat, in gasrad glan, deich mba cacha cethraman	The righteous Dal Cais heard it He found honour in their gathering They gave him, the bright young warriors, Ten cows every quarter

	27 Ní closs terce brait ná bíd	Not was heard of lack of spoils or food
	ar Dáil Chais nach ar a ríg	at the Dal Cais, nor at their king
75	síl na carat, mar adcloss,	The race of friends, as it is heard
	ní rabat ca n-anáibniuss	They were not brought to unhappiness
	28 Éirig is taccair ri Brian,	Arise and plead before Brian
	cid focus, cid gar, cid cían,	Whether near, whether short, whether long
	ní fil a thotim can chath,	His falling shall not be without battle
80	noco tair a sáegul-rath.	Not until his earthly prosperity may come
	29 Bid airdrí ar Érinn fechtaig,	He will be high-king over warlike Ireland
	ná ceil air, a Ilbrechtaig,	Do not hide from him, oh Ilbrechtaig
	ní chluin ceól, ní chren anu	Not hears music, not buys riches
	óen-rí dianat áibinniu. A.A.	One king that has more pleasant possessions
85	30 Abair thúaid ri mac Coscraig	Speak northwards to Mac Coscraig
	ri aig rogab Tuaim nDoss-glain,	Before the ox that Tuam Doss-glan took hold of
	imgabied Cúil, cian rocloss,	Let him avoid Cuil, long it is heard
	nó biaid ina anáibniuss. A.A.	Or he will be unhappy
	31 Tadc mac Faelán, flaith find-Fáil	Tadg son of Faelan, prince of fair Fal
90	Corr Buide ocus Cend Gécáin,	Corr Buide and Cend Gecain
	rucsat úaim mo chuit cinad,	They took from me my portion of sin
	romgonsat co hessidan.	They killed me unrighteously
	32 Maith roordaig Crist romchar	Great did Christ, who loved me, ordain
	in fingal dorinnetar:	The slaying they did
95	atú-sa ar seilb Ríg na Cross	I am property of the King of the Cross
	atát-som cen áibinniuss. A.A.	They are without happiness

		33 Ropo mé Fland, file féig,	I was Flann, the keen poet
		nobítis ríg dom roréir	Kings used to be at my will
		ciarbam treórach, nírbam timm,	Although I was skilful, I was not feeble
100		ropo mé in t-eólach áibinn. A.A.	I was the learned, happy one
		34 Ciarán cend cach náib fo nim	Ciaran, chief of every saint under heaven
		acht mór-athair na muintir	Except the great father of the household
		ba misi cend na mbárd mbind	I was the head of the melodious poets
		dar'giall écse ard áibinn. A.A.	Who submitted to lofty, delightful poetry

Poetic analysis

The general term for the metre within this poem is *deibide scáilte fota* (7^x $7^{x+1/2}$ 7^x $7^{x+1/2}$).[179]
The later *dán díreach* version of this specifically states that the second and fourth line may only have one unstressed syllable more than the first and third line. Most of the stanzas in this poem at least do not adhere to that rule, making in an *óglachas* version, which is a freer type. In stanza 2 there is even a difference of three unstressed syllables between lines A and B: *Find:ronindisfind*. There are also a number of examples where lines A and B (though generally not lines C and D) have the same number of (unstressed) syllables, such as within stanzas 4 (*slemain:Dedaid*), 7 (*Crúachan:rúathar)*, 21 (*cétach:n-écnach*), 23 (*chind:Find*), 24 (*thúaichle:thúaithe*), 27 (*bíd:ríg*), 28 (*Brian:cían*), 30 (*Coscraig:nDoss-gláin*), and 31 (*find-Fáil: Gécáin*). The rhyme is, as fits a *deibide* metre, of the A:B,C:D type. Internal rhyme is within a few stanzas: *gairm:ainm* (15/16), *Nathfraich:ragaib* (35/36), *caiscid:aicind* (51/52), *carat:rabat* (75/76), *treórach:t-eólach* (99/100), *mbárd:árd* (71/72).

There is alliteration found in almost every line, and there is also linking alliteration (*fidrad freccomail*) between stanzas 1-3, 4-7, 17-18, 21-24, 25-28, 29-30; but there are only sparse examples of linking alliteration between the lines of the stanzas themselves. There are cases of elision, though not always indicated by writing: *Dublaithi im*, *m'eis, eólchu 'na, ṡin 'mach, rabat 'ca, airdrí ar, atú-sa ar, mé in.*

The last word of the poem is *aibinn*, reflecting the first word of the poem *Aibind* (though written with –nd), making a perfect *saigid dúnad*. Besides this *dunad,* there are five instances

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[179] Murphy (1961) 65

of an extra *dunad*, in stanzas 29, 30, 32, 33 and 34. These are all found at the end of the last line, after the word *áibinn*, or its cognate *áibinnius*.

Dating

There is evidence of the change of unstressed vowels into schwa, such as *foebur* for *faebar*, *commaidim* for *commaidem*, *coscur* for *coscar*. *Adubairt rim* (61) shows that the lenited f is not written. Lenition is shown on the adverbs *thall* (21), *thuaid* (58, 85) and *thairm* (67). The use of cases after a prep. seems to be correct, such as *iar cathaib, iar congalaib* (38), but on the other hand it might be incorrect in *riam chride* (63), as this should have been *riam cridiu.* However, *chride* is not in rhyming position, so it might be a later scribal innovation, where –e is written for –iu. *Cride* is neuter in Old Irish, but whether it still is here, is not clear, because the masculine io-declension would give the same form. In lines 10 and 13 *slíab* is found, an original Old Irish neuter, but both times *slíab* is preceded by the article *in*, showing that the noun has transfered to a masculine inflection. The word *écht* (30) is also an Old Irish original neuter, but it is preceded by the article *in*, showing a masculine gender. *Na clíar* (51) and *na sóer-chland* (54) show the shortening of the definite article to *na* instead of *inna*. In fact, *inna* is not found within the whole poem. The phonetic change of diphthongs is found within *áibinn/aibind* for Old Irish *oíbind* and *foébur* (2) for Old Irish *fáebar*. Line 70 shows the word *onóir*, which according to the DIL is an early Middle Irish loan-word.[180]

There are a few developments to be found within the verbal system. The fut.1sg verbal form *ro-n-indisfinn* (6) shows that the new verb *indisid* has replaced the Old Irish verb *ad-fét.* *Indisid* starts in Middle Irish with an f-future, but switches during the Middle Irish period to an ē-future.[181] Within this poem, however, it is still an f-future.

The verbal form r*ochosnatar* (21) shows the simple verb *cosnaid* for Old Irish compound verb *con-sní*.[182] This change is also seen in *no-s-tregtais*, from *tregtaid*, for Old Irish *tris-gata*,[183] and in *rothuill*, from Old Irish *do-slí*, which is treated in Middle Irish as a simple verb with the verbal root *tuill-*.[184] The pret.3sg. verbal form *romulus,* from *molaid,* shows the change from deponent inflection to active inflection, as in Old Irish the pret.3sg. would have the form *ro molastar*.[185] The pret.3sg. form *romgonsat*, from *gonaid*, shows the spread of the inflection

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[180] DIL O 147.
[181] DIL I 229.
[182] DIL C 462.
[183] DIL T 290.
[184] DIL D2 373.
[185] DIL M 161.

of the s-pret. in Middle Irish, as *gonaid* had a reduplicated pret. within Old Irish (*geguin*).[186] The pret.3pl. *dorinnetar*, from the verb *do-gní*, is also a later form, replacing the Old Irish *dorigensatar,* the form which is still found within *Saltair na Rann*.[187] Lastly, there is an occurence of the copula pret.1sg *bam*, for Old Irish *ba,* with an added –m to the ending, derived form the added personal pronouns.[188]

In conclusion, there are a lot of Middle Irish developments to be found within this poem, especially within the verbal system and within the loss of the neuter gender. The fact that the verb *indisid* still retains its f-future seems to point towards the first half of the Middle Irish period, but the verbal form *dorinnetar* shows that the poem was probably written after *Saltair na Rann*. Secondly, the metrics seem to show that there is more ornamentation already following certain rules or principles of *dán* díreach that came into being in later times. Besides this, there are a few cases of elision, of which the use of would increase throughout the Middle Irish period. This all combined, it seems best to propose a date for this poem at the end of the 10th, beginning of the 11th century.

Logically, this would be too late a date for Flann mac Lonáin to have written this poem, which confirms the hints given towards this fact at the beginning of this sub-chapter. However, a few scholars, such as Ó Lochlainn, O'Curry and Gwynn, have already formulated an alternative, namely that the poem was written by Mac Liag, perhaps even based on an original poem by Flann himself. The fact that the prose text in YBL mentions that Ilbrethach was the harper of Flann, before becoming the harper of Mac Liag, may help with this, he might very well have known a similar poem from Flann that Mac Liag then turned into this poem. The estimated date of the tenth century would fit within the notion of Mac Liag as the real composer. This would also make more sense for some of the stanzas, those pertaining to the Dal Cais and Brian, since Brian was supposedly Mac Liag's patron.[189]

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[186] G 134, SnG 302.
[187] DIL D 2 284
[188] SnG 324.
[189] Ó Lochlainn (1943-44) 44; O'Curry (1873) 100; Gwynn (1903-1935) vol. 3, 531

5.6 Bua ingen Ruadrach

Manuscripts

This poem can be found in a total of four manuscripts: YBL, TCD MS 1322, RIA MS D ii 2 and B iii 1.[190] The catalogue unfortunately was not completely clear where to find the poem exactly within the manuscript, but it is contained within the sections xiv-xv.[191] TCD MS 1322 is a 16th century manuscript, written by John O'Keenan. It contains various *dindshenchas* materials. This poem is contained within section xvi.[192] RIA MS D ii 2 is also a 16th century vellum manuscript. Its scribe is identified as Muiris Ó Clérigh, but no date nor place of writing is noted within the folios. The manuscript contains *dindshenchas* tales. The poem can be found on fol. 17.[193] Lastly, RIA MS B iii 1 is a paper manuscript of the 17th century. It is dated to 1654 and written in Baile Mic Cathail (Ballymacahill), county Donegal. There are two styles of writing within the manuscript, thus it is assumed that there were two scribes, though they are not identified. The poem can be found on fol. 94v.[194]

Contents

A note must be made of the fact that only in the D ii 2 manuscript is the poem actually ascribed to Flann mac Lonáin. In the other three manuscripts the poem is attributed to a certain Flann file, or 'Flann the poet'. Gwynn suggests, in his *Metrical Dindshenchas*, that it might refer to Flann Mainistrech. The poem itself holds the *dindshenchas*, or 'place tale', of Cnogba, nowadays known as Knowth.

Text and translation[195]

	1 Búa, ingen Rúadrach rúaid	Búa, daughter of Rúadri Ruad
	ben Loga mic Céin cleth-rúaid,	Wife of Loga son of Cein of the red spear
	is ann rofoilged a corp;	It is there that her body was hidden
	fuirri romúrad mór-chnocc	Over her a great hill was piled

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[190] See above at the manuscript descriptions for *Maiccni Echach* for a description of the YBL manuscript.
[191] Abbot and Gwynn (1921) 94.
[192] Abbot and Gwynn (1921) 117.
[193] O'Rahilly (1926-1970) 3286.
[194] O'Rahilly (1926-1970) 2250.
[195] The text is taken from the edition of the *Metrical Dindshenchas*, edited by Edward Gwynn: Gwynn, Edward J. (ed.), *The Metrical Dindshenchas*. 5 vols. Todd lecture series 8-12 (Dublin, 1903-1935) vol. 3, 40-46. The translation of the poem is my own.

5	2 Cnocc ic Búa i medón Breg	Búa had a hill in the middle of Breg
	baile i tartad in deg-ben	The place in which the good woman was placed
	isin phurt-sin sund ana;	It is that spot there thus;
	is ainm don chucc-sin Cnogba	The name of that hill is Cnogba
	3 Acht cid étromma ria rád	But although easiest before speaking
10	d'anmannaib Cnogba comlán	Of the perfect names of Cnogba
	dílsi dó Cnocc Búi amach	That which is most proper is Cnocc Búi
	ó Búa ingen Rúadrach	From Búa daughter of Rúadri
	4 Ingen Elcmair ann robái	The daughter of Elcmar was there
	ba lendán Mider don mnái	Mider was the sweetheart to the woman
15	lendán di-si féin in flaith	The sweatheart to herself the prince
	fer a Síd Midir mór-maith.	The man out of great, noble Síd Midir
	5 Englec ingen Elcmair áin	Englec daughter of famous Elcmar
	lendán Óengussa imláin;	The sweetheart of perfect Oengus
	Óengus mac in Dagdai dil	Oengus, the son of dear Dagda
20	nírbo lendán don ingin	Was not the sweetheart to the maiden
	6 Dolluid Mac in Óc ergna	Famous Mac in Óc came
	fodess co Cerainn Cermna	Southwards to Ceru Cermna
	ʻsin tšamuin tentig thríallaig	On the fiery, moving samain
	do chluiche fri com f͏̈iannaib	For a game against fellow-warriors
25	7 Dolluid Mider, messu de,	Mider came – worse the day
	rosfarraid daranése:	He overtook her after they had gone
	berid Engleic leis ó thig	He carried Englec with him from her home
	assin co Síd Fer Femin.	Thence to the Síd of Fer Femen

30	8 Ó rochúala Óengus án a lenmain imma lendán, dothéit dia fochmarc, fír dam cosin rochnocc óa rucad.	When noble Oengus heard Of the pursuing concerning his sweetheart He went to seek her, truth to me To the famous hill from which she was taken
35	9 Rob é lón a šlúaig, líth nglé cnói cró-derga na caille; léicid a lón de for lár, feraid guba immon cnocán	This was the food of his host, a bright festival Blood-red nuts of the forest He hurls his food from him on the ground He gives a mourning about the little hill
40	10 Cía 'dberar fris cnoc Búi drend is é in cotarsna comthend, fuaramar conid de atá don chnó-guba-sin Cnogba.	Although it is called the hill of Bua of quarrels This is the equally strong opposite We found that hence From that nut-mourning [is] Cnogba
	11 Cométar ocainn 'malle a mebrugud na láide, ocus cía bé dlug bías duib is uáithe in brug dar búadaib.	It is preserved to us together The remembering of the lay and which will be the justifying reason to that you take from it is named the land over victories
45	12 Senchas aile-so, is éol dam, a chnuic út atá oc Dubthach: dorónad, cid mór in mod, lasin mBresal mbó-díbod.	Another old tale is known to me From the hill that is to Dubthach It was made, although great the work By Bresal Bodibad
50	13 Díbad ar búaib bái ria lind in cach inad i nÉrind, acht secht mba is tarb tuilltís tress oc cach brugaid ria remess.	A destruction on cows was in his time In every place in Ireland Except seven cows and a bull that increased [in] strength For every farmer in his time

	14 Tócaibther leis in cnocc crúaid	It was raised by him, the rough hill
	fo chosmailius tuir Nemrúaid	Under similarity of the tower of Nimrod
55	co mbad de tísad for nem	So that it was from it he could come to heaven
	is é fáth ara fuaibred	This is the reason for its attempting
	15 Fir Érend dia dénum dó	The men of Ireland came to him for the making
	in chnuicc sin uili i n-óenló:	of that hill, all in one day
	rothócaib díb giallu in gein	The infant took up hostages from them
60	fri hobair in laithi-sin	Against the work of that day
	16 Adubairt fris a fiur féin,	His own sister said to him
	nách leicfed rígh don rogréin	She would not leave the sun running
	ní biad adaig, acht lá glan	It should not be night, but a bright day
	co roiched súas in sáethar	Until the work reached upwards
65	17 Sínid uaithe a fiur for fecht,	His sister stretches forward on a course
	doní co dron a drúidecht:	She solidly made her magical spell
	nir utmall grían ósa cind;	The sun [was] not mobile above her head
	rofasta hí 'sin oen-rind.	She [i.e. the sun] stopped in the one point
	18 Dolluid Bresal, báes ragab,	Bresal came, frenzy took him
70	ón chnucc dochum a ṡethar:	From the hill towards his sister
	dorónsat slúaig deccra de:	The host made a wonder of it
	fosfúair i Ferta Cuile.	He found her at Ferta Cuile
	19 Luid ina gnáis, ciarbo chol,	He went in into her, although it was a sin
	don tsiair, ciarbo ṡárugod:	To the sister, although it was a violation
75	frisin cnoc sin sunda amne	That hill there thus
	adberar Ferta Cuile.	is called Ferta Cuile

80	20 In uair nár lá dóib iarsin, is dóig linn corbo adaig, ní dernad in cnocc co cend; tíat for cúlu fir Érend.	When the day was not to them afterwards It is likely to us that it was night The hill was not made to the top The men of Ireland went back [home]	
	21 Atá in cnocc óṡin ille cen tuilled air ar airde ní ba mó achach óṡeo immach co tí in bráth briste brethach	That is the hill from that day Without adding to its height It will not grow greater from this time henceforth Until the Judgement of destruction and judgement	
85	22 Fland sunna, solus a dán, innises sin, ní sóeb-rád: rogu sceól, scáilid mná is fir, mebrugaid beíl oc buádaib.	Flann here, bright his talent Who tells this, no crooked utterance An excellent tale, spread [it] women and men Remember, lips, at victories	

Poetic analysis

This poem too follows the metre of *deibide scaílte fota* (7^x $7^{x+1/2}$ 7^x $7^{x+1/2}$),[196] but not entirely to perfection. In a couple of instances, there is more than one extra syllable within the second lines, and sometimes the two lines of a couplet have the same number of syllables. Unlike it was the case with *Fidbadach mac Feda Ruscaig*, this is not only limited to the first two lines of the stanzas. For example, stanza 6 (A *ergna:* B *Cermna*), but stanza 10 (C *atá:* D *cnogba*). In stanza 4, the second line of the first couplet even has one syllable less than the first line (*robái:mnái*).

The rhyme is, as fits a *deibide* metre, of the A:B, C:D type. The rhyme seems sound throughout the poem, with the exception of the rhyme at the end of stanza 22: *fir:buádaib*. There are a few examples of internal rhyme, but they seem almost incidental, rather than an actual ornamentation: *dlug:brug* (43/44), *dibad:inad* (49/50), *mad:fath* (55/56), *sceóil:beóil* (87/88).

There is alliteration and it seems a regular feature, though it does not seem to feature in much more than half the lines. For example, in the first stanza, there is alliteration between *Rúadrach:rúaid, Céin:cleth-rúaid, romurad:mór*-chnocc. There does seem to be some cases

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[196] Murphy (1961) 65.

of *fidrad freccomail* between stanzas 1-2 (*chnocc:cnocc*), 8-11 (*rucad:rob, cnoccán:cía, Cnogba;Cométar*), 12-13 (*mbó-díbod:díbad*), 14-15 (*fuaibred:Fir*), and 16-17 (*sáethar:sínid*). Elision is very frequent: *Bua i* (5) *baile i* (6), *d'anmannaib* (10), *'sin* (23), *guba immon* (36), *cia 'dberar* (37), *'malle* (41), *mba is* (51), *giallu in* (59), *sunda amne* (75), *mó achach* (83), *šeo immach* (83), *mná is* (87).

The poem is closed with *buádaib*, which refers back to the first word (or name, actually) *Búa*. I am not all to sure what kind of *dúnad* this would be, because the echo of *Búa* is found within the first syllable of the closing word, but not in the last syllable, as seems to be regular with the *ascnam dúnad*.

Dating

There appears to be some confusion within the vowels of stressed syllables, for example *(ro)baí* for *(ro)boí* (*robaí* fixed in rhyme with *mnái*), and *ló* (58) for *lá*. There is also some evidence of unstressed vowels turning into schwa sound. *ic* for *oc*, *sarugod* for *sarugud*, confirmed by rhyme with *col* (73/74), *duib*:*buadaib* (43/44). Hiatus is not found throughout the poem in proper nouns, but the name *Bua* is disyllabic.[197] However, since it concerns a name, it might also be a non-historical hiatus, one 'brought back from the past' to fit the metre. There are two examples of confusion between –nd and –nn found within rhyming pairs. First, *drend:comthend* (27/38). Here *drend* originally has –nn, whereas the –nd of *comthend* is historical. Secondly, *cind:óen-rind* (67/68), where *cind* originally has –nn, wheareas the –nd of *óen-rind* is historical. The lenited f seems to be retained within the orthography, as shown by *fri comḟiannaib* (24). An unradical *f,* however,is shown in *rosfarraid* (26).

The prepositions with accusatives and datives do show some confusion. With *d'anmannaib* (10) the preposition *do* is neatly followed by the dative plural. This can also be seen with *oc buádaib* (88). However, *fri comḟiannaib* (24) shows confusion, as *fri* normally only takes the accusative. This is also true for *dar búadaib* (44), where the prep. *tar* is followed by the dat.pl..

The loss of the neuter gender is found within the poem with the noun *mod* (47), originally a neuter noun, but here preceded by the definite article *in*, showing a masculine gender. The same development can be seen with *in óen-ló* (58), *in laithi-sin* (60) and *in sáethar* (64). Besides the loss of the neuter, and therefore too the loss of the neuter article, the form of the

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[197] Ó Catasaigh, T. 'The Eponym of Cnogba', *Éigse* 23 (1986) 35.

definite article plural shows shortening of the *inna* form to *na*. The form *inna* is not found at all throughout the poem. The independent pronoun *é* appears three times as subject to the copula (33, 38, 56), *rofasta hi* (68) also shows an independent personal pronoun. On the other hand, *rosfarraid* (26) shows an infixed pronoun. The conjugated prep. *fuirri* shows a Middle Irish form, opposed to the Old Irish *fora(e)*. The acc.sg. noun *mnaí* has replaced the Old Irish acc.sg. form *bein*, and *mic* shows the later form of *meic,* the Old Irish gen.sg. form of *mac.* The poem also shows the Middle Irish adverb *amach*, for Old Irish *immach*.[198]

There are Middle Irish developments to be found within the verbal forms, too. First of all, it seems that the perfective marker *ro* has clearly lost its perfective meaning within this poem. Next to this, there is transformation of Old Irish strong verbs in Middle Irish weak verbs. This is shown by the pret.pass. form *rfoilged* (3), of *fo-luigi*, instead of the Old Irish form *foluicter*.[199] The verbal form *tuilltís*, from *do-lína*, also shows that the verb has changed to a simple verb (*tuillid*).[200] The verbal form *doní* (66) shows the loss of the -g- in Middle Irish with forms of the verb *do-gní*.[201] The other verbal form found of *do-gní*, namely *dorónsat* (71), is shows a later form of the pret.3pl., instead of the Old Irish pret.3pl. *dorigénsat*.[202] Lastly, the verbal form *innises* (86) shows the Middle Irish replacing of the compound verb *ad-fét* with the simple verb *indisid*.

The linguistic evidence shows major Middle Irish developments, such as the loss of the neuter gender and changes within the verbal system. The metrical analysis shows that the poem also has quite a bit of ornamentation. Combining al this evidence, I would estimate this poem to be written some time within the eleventh century. This would outdate Flann mac Lonáin, but it would fit in with the suggestion of Gwynn that the attribution to 'Flann file' in three out of four manuscripts is the correct one, along with the possibility that Flann file might indeed refer to Flann Mainistrech, who died in 1056.

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[198] DIL I 114.
[199] DIL F 283.
[200] D2 331.
[201] SnG 325.
[202] DIL D2 284.

5.7 A Aidne ann robamar a saibre

Manuscript

This poem is preserved in only one manuscript, the British Library MS Additional 30512. This is a vellum manuscript from the fifteenth or sixteenth century. The original part is written in two columns, later additions are mostly in one column. The scribe of the original part of the manuscript has been identified as Uilliam Mac an Lega, writing in the second half of the fifteenth century. The manuscript contains a variety of verse and prose texts, some of which, according to the catalogue, date from the pre-twelfth century. The poem can be found on fol. 26b.[203]

Contents

The poem tells of Flann mac Lonáin, who comes back after his death, perhaps in some sort of spirit form, to lament his arrogance and his avarice, that sent him to Hell. At the end of the poem a note is added, also cited within the theoretical chapter concerning Flann before, which mentions the burial place of Flann. It appears to be the only reference to this found within existant manuscripts.[204]

Text and translation[205]

	1 A Aidne	O Aidne
	ann robamar a saibre	There we were wealthy
	truagh nach rucsat uaind ar cul	None carried regret back from us
	cach tucad dun a faighe	Everyone brought his celebrating to us
5	2 Mu saidhbre	My wealth
	sochaide dobidh aidble	used to be a host of greatness
	is mor dogheibim a olc	It is great the evil that I took
	cuid na mbocht o sluagh Aidne	Of the portion of the poor from the host of Aidne

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[203] O'Grady, Standish, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Library [formerly British Museum],* 2 vols., reprint, ed. Robin Flower (Dublin, 1926 ; 1992) 470.
[204] O'Grady (Dublin 1926, 1992) 480.
[205] The text is taken from the edition made by J.G. O'Keeffe, 'Flann mac Lonain in repentant mood', *Irish Texts I,* ed. J. Fraser, P. Grosjean and J.G. O'Keeffe (London, 1931) 22-24. The translation of the poem is my own.

	3 Misi fein	Me myself
10	sochaide dobidh gum reir	Hosts use to be at my demand
	in la na dernus gu cert	The day I did not do rightly
	tairnicc mu nert atú a pein	My strength is exhausted, I am in pain
	4 A fuarus	When I died
	ni damh budhein aduagus	Not for me, I devoured myself
15	ni tucus ní do mac Dé	I gave nothing to the son of God
	an trathsa ané dochuadus	This time yesterday I went
	5 Robo misi mac Lonain	I was the son of Lonan
	rim aderthai in fer conáich	I was told of the man of wealth
	aréir fuarus teine ngoirt	Last night I died in hasty fire
20	treisi cach uilc a foráin	The strength of all splendid evils
	6 Nocho buan	Not lasting
	a ndernus do crudh mo duan	That which I did for the collecting of my poems
	robud ferr damsa re n-ég	It would have been better for me before death
	a tidnacul den ced-traugh	To surrender to the first regret
25	7 Mairc doni	Sorrow it gives
	uabur i céin bés a cli	Pride, while it will be in the body
	usa do a marbad fo secht	It is easier to slay it seven times
	da nderna ris recht in rig	if it acts against the law of the king
	8 Dan mo cherd	A gift, my craft
30	is fair dogeibhinn ór derg	It is a red, golden sunrise that I found
	sochaide re n-ebart olc	A host, before he speaks evil
	uair isé mo chorp romchealg	It is cold, my body deceives me

	9 A Coimdhe	O Coimdhe
	dogeibhim mor do doilge	I found great trouble
35	mór cruth tucus a n-aigne	Great beauty I gave their lawyers
	sluagh Aidhne ruc mo guests	The host of Aidhne took my company
	10 Rorudh ferr	It would have been better
	ní do chleirchib timchell cell	Not for clerics to go around churches
	adradh do crabud meic De	Worshipping for piety of the son of God
40	mesa dúinn in gne romell	The way he consumes their judgement
	11 Gid fann gaeth	Even the weak may be shrewd
	rombadasa le gu baeth	It was with me foolishly
	etrom in betha atú ig techt	Life [is] not heavy, I am dying
	robrises recht ar mórlaech	Who breaks the law on a great warrior
45	12 Maircc i cli	Sorrow in the body
	loinges is a bocht gan ní	It is a sickness from the poor without anything
	fada dogeibthar a olc	Long they are found from evil
	cidh docht le nech mar doni	As close with anyone like it does
	13 Proicept Póil	The teaching of Paul
50	liumsa dobise gu coir	It was properly with me
	innracus is biathad bocht	It is worthy to feed the poor
	nochan ferr doib tocht do Roimh	It is not better with them to go to Rome
	14 Truagh in dluigh	Miserable the fate
	innis don tsluagh sin amuigh	I told to this host from outside
55	mina maith doniat a ndail	If they do not make their part good
	beidid a laim demain duib	They will be in the hand of a dark demon

	15 Cach fer graid	Every man of rank
	mina chomhaillese a dhail	If his part is not fulfilled
	a cur i n-ifirn tre col	He is placed in hell through sins
60	a fail a mbiad gol is gair	Where their food [is] wailing and lamenting
	16 Truagh an gnim	Wretched their deed
	nach fidir nech dib a dil	That none of them knows his retribution
	gin gu smuain in t-eg na n-uagh	A mouth for reflection in the death of the graves
	ni buan in breg ara mbíd	The lie for their food is not lasting
65	17 Is aidhbinn do ri in talman	It is very sweet to the king of the earth
	ocus cach aga adhrad	And everyone worshipping him
	aibhne in treabh is lugha ar nim	More pleasant the house that is smallest in heaven
	ina in treab is mo ar talmain	Than the house that is greatest on earth
	18 Adlochar	I give thanks
70	donti domrad i ndaibre	To him that brought me into poverty
	nocha n-inann a dliged	His judgment is not the same
	damsa is duitse a Aidne.	For me as it is to you, o Aidne.

Poetic analysis

The metre of this poem is quite complicated. At first glance, the general metre is that of three syllabes within the first line, and seven syllables in the second, third, and fourth line. However, there is a difference in the number of syllables in the final foot of the first line that makes this poem not easy to classify into one single metre. Stanzas 6, 10, 13, 15 and 16 can be classified as *rannaigecht chetharchubaib gairit dialtach* (3^1 7^1 7^1 7^1). Stanzas 9 can be classified as *rannaigecht chetharchubaib gairit recomarcach* (3^2 7^2 7^2 7^2).[206] Stanzas 8, 11, and 12, according to the number of syllables in the final feet, should be classified as *deibide scaílte ngairit* (3^1 7^1 7^1 7^1),[207] but this cannot be right, since the rhyming words do not fit the *deibide* metre. Stanzas 1 and 2 have a metre of 3^2 7^2 7^1 7^2, stanzas 3 and 14 have 3^1 7^2 7^1 7^2, stanza 4 stands alone as having 3^2 7^3 7^1 7^3 and stanza 18 has 3^3 7^2 7^2 7^2. Stanzas 5 and 17 do not seem to fit within the metre at all, as they both have seven syllables within the first line,

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[206] Gwynn (1961) 54-55
[207] Gwynn (1961) 66

and a metre of 7^2 7^2 7^1 7^2. They also have a diverging rhyme scheme, which fits neither in the *rannaigecht* nor the *deibide* type of metres. The last words of lines A and D rhyme, while the last word of line B shows consonance with A and D. The last word of line C is not linked to any of the other lines. There is no internal rhyme and both stanzas seem to lack alliteration. There is elision in both stanzas, *aderthai in* in stanza 5 and *ri in*, and *lugha ar* in stanza 17.

The other stanzas all have the same rhyming pattern of AABA, with the exception of the last stanza, which has ABCB. At first, it appears stanza 6 has an imperfect rhyme *buan:duan:traugh,* but *traug* seems to be a scribal error for *truag*, which then makes the rhyme correct again. Consonance is found frequently between the last, non-rhyming word of the third line and the three rhyming words. In every stanza except the final one, the last, non-rhyming word of the third line also forms *aicill* with a word within the fourth line (even when already consonating with the rhyming words). For example, stanza 3 has rhyming words *fein:reir:pein* in lines A, B and D. The last word of line C is *cert* and does not consonate with the rhyming words, but does make *aicill* with *nert* in line D. On the other hand, stanza 9 has rhyming words *Coimdhe:doilge:choinme*. The last word of line C is *aigne*, showing consonance with the rhyming words, but also makes *aicill* with *Aidhne* in line D.

There is very few alliteration to be found within these stanzas. Stanza 1 and 2 have linking alliteration between the last word of the first line, and the first word of the second line (*Aidne:ann* and *saidhbre:sochaide*), and there may be linking alliteration between stanzas 11 and 12 (*mórlaech:maircc*), though this might also be accidental. As with stanzas 5 and 17, elision is also present in these stanzas: *trathsa ané* (16)*, aderthai in* (18)*, do a* (27)*, betha atú* (43)*, ri in* (65), *lugha ar* (67), *ina in* (68), *mo ar* (68), *a Aidne* (72). The poem is concluded by *a Aidne*, echoing the exact same first words, qualifying it as a *saighid dunad*.[208]

Consequently, this poem seems to consist of a variety of metres, which makes it look like this poem could well be some form of experiment in metrics of the composer.

Dating

There are a few instances to be find that might point to the falling together of unstressed vowels into schwa. The forms *ifirn* (59) for *ifern*, *mu* (5,12) for *mo*, *dam* (14, 23) for *dom*, *budhein* (14) for *bodein*, and *tidnacul* (24) for *tindnacol* may show this, but they do not stand in rhyming position and could therefore also be scribal inventions, and thus cannot be relied upon when dating. The adverb *amuigh* shows the Middle Irish form of the Old Irish *ammaig*.

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[208] Murphy (1961) 44.

The Middle Irish adverb *aréir* is also found within the poem, instead of the Old Irish *irráir*. The c of non-stressed words has been voiced to g, as seen in *gum* (10), *gu* (11, 42, 50, 63), *ig* (43), *gan* (46), *aga* (66), though not in *cach* (4, 20). The lack of confusion between –*nd* and –*nn* seems striking. The only instances I could find were *innracus* for *indracus*, and *innis* for *indis*, which seem to be hypercorrections. There are examples where the lenited f is not written, namely *rim* (18) and *fris* (28) for *frim* and *fris*, and hypercorrection of this development in *faighe* (4) for Old Irish *aige*.

There is one example to be found of the confusion of noun-cases following prepositions, with the word *rí* (65) which is preceded by the prep. *do*, that takes the dative, therefore it should have been *ríg*. The neuter gender of *lá* (11) is lost, as it is preceded by the definite article *in*. *Lá* also serves as an example of an old hiatus word turned into a monosyllabic word. Other examples of the loss of neuter gender within this poem are *in t-ec* (63) and *in gné* (40). The occurence of *a olc* could be interpreted as the original neuter with the original neuter article, however, it seems that the composition of possessive and noun (which now cannot be checked for gender) fits better within the context and translation.

The poem contains one instance of an independent pronoun in *is é mo chorp*, and an instance an emphasising pronoun *robo misi*. On the other hand, *rombadasa* shows an infixed pronoun.

I encountered the conjunction *da n-*, which is a Middle Irish form of Old Irish *dia n-*, as well as *nochan*, the late form of Old Irish *nícon*.

Within the verbal system, there are also traces of Middle Irish developments. *Dogheibim* (7, 34) and *dogeibhinn* (30) show the late verbal form of *do-gaib*, with a root in *geib-* instead of *gaib-*[209] and the adding of the ending –*im*. The form of the pres.1sg. of the substantive verb also shows a later form with *atú* (12) instead of *attó*. The verbal form *dochuadus* (16) shows the simplified s-pret. of *do-ic*. *Aderthai*, the impf.pass.sg. form of *as-beir* is also described as a later form in DIL.[210] *Doní* (25, 48) shows the form of the verb *do-gní* without -g-. *Innis* shows the simple verb *indisid* that replaced *ad-fét* in Middle Irish. Lastly, there are a few examples of *do* taking over the position of *ro* in *dobidh* (6, 10) and *dobi-se* (50).[211]

The conclusion that can be reached from this evidence is not very easy. Major developments of Middle Irish are present within the text, such as the loss of neuter gender and the simplification of the verb. However, smaller and probably earlier phonological changes have

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[209] SnG 325.
[210] DIL A 423.
[211] SnG 280.

partially disappeared, which may have been the work of a learned scribe, who might have corrected the poem whilst copying. However, the language shows that it is clearly a Middle Irish poem, and I would deem the ninth century at least too early in this case. Combined with the metrical facts of a highly regular rhyming pattern and – something not seen in any poem under discussion before – internal rhyming pattern (with the exception of two stanzas that metrically do not agree with the entire rest of the poem), I tend to agree with the catalogue describing the manuscript this poem comes from. I would estimate this poem pre-twelfth century, but after the ninth century, and maybe even after the tenth century, leading to a final estimate of the eleventh century.

5.8 Trom chéo for chóiceadh mBreasail

Manuscript

This short poem is embedded within the Annals of the Four Masters. These Annals are preserved in six different manuscripts: RIA MS C iii 3; UCD MS Franciscan A 13; RIA MS 23 P 6-7, TCD MS 1300; TCD MS 1301 and RIA MS 23 F 2-3. From these, the RIA MS 23 P 6-7 and TCD MS 1301 only contain the annals from respectively AD 1170 and AD 1334, so these very probably do not contain the following two poems under discussion and will therefore be left out here. Of the other four, it is unclear whether all four contain these two poems. It is assumed they have. All the four manuscripts were written on paper in the seventeenth century.[212] The poem is listed under AD 884.

Contents

The poem is a short, sad text upon the death of Treasach, 'the son of Becan, chief of Ui-Bairche-Maighe, [he] was slain by Aedh son of Ilguine'.[213] It is unclear how this Treasach, or his father Becan, is connected to Flann. It can be assumed that Flann may have visited Becan's court at some point.

Text and translation[214]

Trom cheo for chóiceadh mBresail,	A heavy mist on the province of Bresal
ó atbath leo i Liphi lessaigh	Since died with them in [the] rich-forted Liffey
tromm essnadha Assail,	Heavy the songs of Assal
dobrón tesbhadha Tressaigh	For sorrow of the loss of Treasach
Scith mo mheanma, muad mo ghnas,	Wearied my mind, moody my companionship
ó lluidh Treassach i tiughbhás	Since Treasach went into death
osnadh oenaigh Lifi láin,	A groan of the gathering of all Liffey
laighin co muir mac becáin	From Leinster to the sea for the son of Becan

[212] O'Rahilly (1926-1970) 2829, 3276; Dillon, Myles, Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the Franciscan Library, Killiney (Dublin 1969) 24-25; Abbot and Gwynn (1921) 82

[213] O'Donovan, John (ed.), *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the four masters, from the earliest period to the year 1616*. 2nd ed. 7 vols. (Dublin, 1856) vol. 1, 534

[214] The text comes from the edition of the AFM by John O'Donovan, O'Donovan (1856) vol. 1, 534. The translation of the poem is my own.

Poetic analysis

The metre of the first stanza looks a bit like the *rannaigecht ḟota recomarcach* $(7^2 7^2 7^2 7^2)^{215}$, however there is one syllable missing within the third line. Perhaps this may have been lost due to a scribal error. The rhyme corresponds to the pattern of *rannaigecht* with the rhyming of lines a and c, and of lines b and d. There is internal rhyme in *cheo:leo* and *essnadha:tesbhadha*.

The second stanza has a *deibide scaílte fota* metre $(7^1 7^2 7^1 7^2)^{216}$, with its corresponding rhyming pattern of lines a and b rhyming, and lines c and d. There is no internal rhyme.

There is alliteration in both stanzas, but no elision and no *dúnad*. It almost seems like the two stanzas were actually composed separately of each other, since they are so very different in metre and (internal) rhymes. Translation-wise they would make perfect sense each on their own.

Dating

The dating is a bit difficult. The orthography of the two stanzas is clearly very modern, with almost every consonant bearing a *punctum delens*, providing a text that reminds one very much of Modern Irish, instead of Old or Middle Irish. This is, of course, to be expected from manuscripts of the seventeenth century. However, I think this overflow of lenitions might be due to the fact that it was copied in the seventeenth century and the scribes may well have changed the orthography to fit the more modern form of the language. Because when one ignores the *punctum delens* within the text, it seems that many Old Irish forms have been retained. The preposition *for* is still used, instead of its modern equivalent of *ar*, *coicead* instead of later *cuced* (though with an added glide-vowel), *atbath* appears to be the normal Old Irish pret. form of *at-bail.* an s-preterite of at-bail, a verb which later turns into a simple verb with the verbal stem *eplaid-*. The same goes for *lluid*, the preterite 3rd singular of *téit*, which is still preserved here, while *téit* goes on to develop into the simple verbal form *luidis*.

Because of all the uncertainties with this specific poem, it is diffucult to give a more or less definitive conclusion as to the date. I would suggest that it may very well be an Old Irish poem in origin, one that may have been written by Flann mac Lonáin. But on the other side, it may also be an archaising poem, an imitation from a much later poet who is knowledgeable in the Old Irish language.

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[215] Murphy (1961) 53.
[216] Murphy (1961) 65.

Manuscripts

Just like the previous poem, this poem can be found within the AFM at AD 890.[217]

Contents

This small poem remembers the three sons of Flannagan, the lord of Breagh, with special attention for Ceallach since he 'was treacherously slain by Foghartach, son of Tolarg'.[218] It is unclear how this Treasach, or his father Becan, is connected to Flann. It can be assumed that Flann may have visited Becan's court at some point.

Text and translation[219]

Amhra tré ceng, trí meic Flainn	Three extraordinary champions, the three sons of Flann
imluaidhet Odhba,	They travelled around Odba
Congalach Cuilt, Ceallach Cerna	Congalach of Colt, Ceallach of Cerna and Cionaodh of
is Cionaodh Cnodhbha	Cnodba
Ma ro bith Ceallach cintach	Although guilty Ceallach was slain
dirsan a dith ba belchath,	Woe! His loss was at the opening of battle
Moruar ba rom a bhoeghal,	Alas! His danger was too early
nad rumalt saeghal seanchadh	He has not spend the life of a historian

Poetic analysis

As with the previous poem from the AFM there seems to be two different stanzas included within this poem. The first stanza has an irregular syllable count in each line of $7^1 6^2 8^2 5^2$. In this stanza only the second and fourth line seem to rhyme together. There might be alliteration within the last two lines of the stanza, though it might also just be a bit of a coincidence with the names of the three sons and the place names they are associated with. There is no internal rhyme or elision within this stanza.

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[217] See above at the manuscript descriptions for *Trom chéo for choiceadh mBreasail* for a description of the manuscripts.

[218] O'Donovan (1856) vol. 1, 544

[219] The text comes from the edition of the AFM by John O'Donovan, O'Donovan (1856) vol. 1, 544. The translation of the poem is my own.

The second stanza is a *rannaigecht ḟota recomarcach* $(7^2 7^2 7^2 7^2)$[220], with rhyme in the second and fourth line and an imperfect *aicill* of *bhoeghal:saeghal* within the last two lines. There is alliteration here too (*Ceallach:cintach*, *dirsan:dith*, *ba:belchath*, *saeghal:seanchadh*), but no elision.

Dating

With this poem I'm facing much of the same troubles as stated with the previous one from the AFM, and it seems there is even much less to go on with this poem. The verbal form *imluaidhet*[221]*,* though modernly spelled, seems to have kept the preterite form of *imm-téit*, instead of taking the Middle Irish form *immthigid*, and a similar case with *rumalt*, the perfective 3rd singular of *do-meil*, the verb that gets a weak inflection during the Middle Irish period with a verbal stem of *toml-,toiml-*.

For this poem I would draw the same conclusion as with the other AFM poem, basically that I'm not too sure about it. It looks Old Irish, or early Middle Irish, in the verbs, but once again, it could also be someone at a much later time composing a very archaising poem.

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[220] Murphy (1961) 53.
[221] The other option would be if the verbal form derived from the verb *imm-lúadi*. However, the meaning of that verb, described as '(a) tosses about, moves, impels (of literal motions), (b) brings, directs' does not seem to fit into the translation. DIL I 146 (*imm-lúadi*), I 155 (*imm-téit*).

6 Comparing the poems

After having examined each poem individually, it seems only proper to compare them to each other. The poems discussed were composed in a variety of different metres. Where *Maiccni Echach ard a nglé*, *Aibind, Aibind, echtge ard*, *Bua ingen Ruadrach* and the second stanza of *Trom chéo for chóiceadh mBreasail* were composed according to a *deibide* type of metre, the other poems follow along the lines of the *rannaigecht* type. The four longer poems, *Aibind, Aibind, echtge ard; Bua ingen Ruadrach; Fidbadach mac Feda Ruscaig;* and *A Aidne ann robamar*, however are now shown to be of later date and cannot be accepted as being original compositions of Flann mac Lonáin. With the exception of *Maiccni Echach*, this means that the remainder of the poems that could have been correctly attributed to Flann, were all composed within the *rannaigecht* metre. However, there is too little material to work on, to draw a conclusion from that, that for example *Maiccni Echach* therefore might have been written by another poet. When comparing only the poems that are accepted as being composed by Flann, it is interesting to note that they do share some of the same features. They all are thoroughly alliterated, often also with linking alliteration between the lines, or even *fidrad friccomail.* They feature no elision at all. The internal rhyme, however, is only occasionally found.

As for contents, within all the poems, whether the attribution to Flann is correct or not, it becomes clear that they were all composed by a secular poet, not a religious one. This would fit with the description given of Flann within the second chapter, as there is no reference in any source to be found that mentions Flann as a religious poet. *Trom chéo for chóiceadh mBreasail* and *Amhra tré ceng, trí meic Flainn* are both eulogies. Besides these, the poems all seem to contain legendary characters, such as Eochaid Muigmedon and his sons in *Maiccni Echach*, Oengus in *Fidbadach mac Feda Ruscaig,* Oengus once again, together with Midir in the *dindshenchas* poem *Bua ingen Ruadrach*. The only exception to this, is *A Aidne ann robamar a saibre*, which is somewhat like a eulogy combined with a moralizing message. However, the fact that these poems all have more or less secular, legendary content, especially for those who could be correct in their attribution to Flann, could point in the direction of a single author. This cannot be conclusive evidence, but it is clear that if any of these poems had been a religious one, that would greatly decrease the probability of the attribution to Flann.

Thirdly, the vocabulary. Unfortunately, there is not much to find when comparing the vocabulary of these poems. The word *bráth* 'Doom, Judgment' appears in three of them, namely *Maiccni Echach, Bua ingen Ruadrach* and *Aibind, Aibind, echtge ard*, but that is not a unique word to find within poetry. Otherwise, there is not any, more specific word that features in two or more poems, and can therefore hardly give any suggestions as to the possible shared authorship.

7 Concluding remarks

Now for a few concluding remarks, a short summary and answers to the research question. As was seen within the second chapter, Flann mac Lonáin was a poet who lived in the ninth century and died presumably in AD 896. According to the Annals, he was a poet of special magnificence, described as the chief poet of the Gaeidhel, and kin of the poets of Ireland. The fact that a bishop specifically asks for Mac Lonain's poem-book, can only add up to this stature. However, examining the evidence that has survived, and examining the poems that have been attributed to him, it might be that his stature as a poet may have been magnified after his lifetime.

Of the original list of fourteen poems attributed to Flann mac Lonáin, ten have now been studied. The poem *Ard a scela a mic na cuach*, has already been dated by Margaret Dobbs to the fifteenth century, therefore that poem would not be possible to have been written by Flann mac Lonáin. Poems numbers twelve, thirteen and fourteen are left for further research. The remaining ten are discussed above. Now it is time to summarize the research and to answer the main research question for these poems: which of the poems attributed to Flann mac Lonáin may have actually been written by him? Considering the individual poems, their contents, their metrical features, and, most importantly, their linguistic features, I would answer that the attributen of these poems to Flann mac Lonáin might indeed be correct: *Maiccni Echach ard a nglé, Mían mná Tetrach, Tír dá Lochá* and *Mo charasa Cnamine*. The ascriptions of *Trom chéo for chóiceadh mBreasail* and *Amhra tré ceng tri meic* could be correct as well, but of those, I am less sure. The other four remaining poems, *Fidbadach mac Feda Ruscag, Aibind Aibind Echtge ard, Búa ingen Ruadrach* and *A Aidne ann robamar a saibre* are shown to be of too late a date to maintain and accept the attribution to Flann mac Lonáin. In the case of *Aibind Aibind Echtge ard* I would opt for the true attribution to Mac Liag, and with *Búa ingen Ruadrach* for the attribution to the Flann file mentioned in the other three manuscripts. It would be a very interesting research to see if the notion that this Flann file might be Flann Mainistrech could be correct. For *Fidbadach mac Feda Ruscaig* and *A Aidne ann robamar a saibre* there is unfortunately no other author, as the manuscript witnesses only mention Flann mac Lonáin as their author. These must be left anonymous for now, unfortunately.

However, the fact that at least a third of the poems attributed to Flann mac Lonáin were very probably written by someone entirely different, and then attributed to Flann, does point

towards a legendary status he must have obtained for himself throughout his lifetime, and that remained and probably increased after his death. Apparently, it was worth the while to compile a poem and then add Flann's name to it. It might give the poem more authority, or perhaps it was more pleasing for one's audience. It seems, at any rate, that Flann mac Lonáin was, and still is, a most interesting person within the Irish poetic history, and it is only too bad that not more of his proper, own work has come down to us.

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Appendix A: Transcriptions of Maiccni Echach ard a nglé from TCD MS 1339; TCD MS 1318; RIA MS 23 P 12

Book of Leinster (TCD MS 1339) – fol. 150 column b, starting at ll. 26	Yellow Book of Lecan (TCD MS 1318) – col. 901-2, starting at ll. 37	Book of Ballymote (RIA MS 23 P 12) – fol. 145v, column b, starting at ll. 30
Fland mac Lonain cecinit Maiccni echach ard aṅgle imniall im chanaid cairne. imfergus frossaib rinni imtri maccu moingfinni Maith fer fiachra feochair gal diarbo mac nathi tolchar brian ar banba brollach frisand ailill anglonnach Aichri trírig rot aṅgal maniptis ingrai dochrimthan gabsat acert cein buí thair forcuairt ᵃʳᵈrig²²² inalbain Ailill brian breo dremon fiachra find foltlebor randsat banba balc tola itricuibrend commora Cechaiṅg cuccu crimthand c?ss²²³ conuaill conir conernbass cachtsus cach collaechraid lais ininis ṅdualaig ṅdornglais Dolluid mathair mac nechach. in brig moṅgfind marbrethach gaid cairddine cor glinne dorig daigrech darinne Dombert ohur nahindsi dochum digi domillsi docer meic mac dare de dethonnud tríin tremse Mórgnim doroni triagus brath huí daire triadiummus bade fertha fath cosaire cáth cruaid corad coenraige Góita fiachra fer togach maidsi moga messchorach bahe tress ri adgeb guin deslog dromma eogabuil \\ tirig Eodega deirg druiṅg ardreach mac meic muridaig nirbo thriamuin ciarbothru cotuc muman morgiallu Maicni fer fichsetar cath fri fiachraig tarsin srath fail coic deich doib doi fri doi im fert fiachrach iforoi Cethrur doṡil breguind bain rolinsat herind ollgraid eber ír. lugaid narlac is herimon intardmac. M.	Maicne echach ard angle. im niall im chanaid cairne imfergus frosaib rindi. imtri macaib moinginne \\ maith fer fiachra feochair gal diarbo mac dathi talchar. isbrian arbanba brollach 7 ailill anglonnach Aichre triri rothangal manibtis ingrai do crimthann. gabsat acrich gen baithair. forcuairt ardrig analbain. \\ lebar Ailill is brian breo dremun. is fiachra find folt randsad banba bailcotola itri cuibrenn comma Cechaing chucu crimthann cas. conuaill con ir conearnmas. cachtsais cach colaech²²⁴ lais aninis dualaig dornglais. \\ brethach. Doluid mathair mac nechach. inbrig moingfinn. mor gaid cairdine connglindi dorig daigrech dairine Dobert obru na hindsi docum digi domilsi. docher meic mac dair de. dothonnaid truim tremside Margnim dogein triagus. brath huí diare tria diummus bade fearta fath co fi. cath cruaid curad caenrígi [902] Gaeto fiachra fer togach. maidhsi maidhi meascorach bahetrisi dogellguin doslog droma eogabuil .h. dega derg druing a dreich. mac meic muireadaig. tirig. nir botriamain cerbotru. tuc amumain mar giallu Maicni fer fichseadar cath. frifiachraig frisin tiraith fuil cuic deich dib dai fri dai. im fert fiachrach hiforrai Ceathrar dosil breoghain bain. rolinsad erinn im lain. eber is luigaid narlag. is erimon in tardmac. Mac.	... \\ im tri maccaibh mongfindi Maicne echach ard an gle. im niall im chanaid carne. im fergus frosaib rindi maith fer fiachra feochairgal. darbo macdathi talchar. is brian ar banba brollach. 7ailill anglonach \\ forcuairt ardrigh analbain \\ Ailill Aichre triri rotangal. manibtis incrich docrimtan. gab acrich gen baí thaír is brian breo dremun. is fiachra findfoltleabar. rondsad banba bailc tola itri cuibrennaibh comora \\ cachtsais cach colaech lais. aninis Deachaing cucu crimthan cass. conuaill confir conearmas. dualaigh dornglaís \\ dorig daigreach dairíne. Dobert obru Doluidh mathair mac nechach. inbrig moingfind morbreathach. gaíd cairdine connglindi ṅa hindsi dochum dighi domillsi. docher meic mac daire de. dothonnaid truim tremside \\ cath cruaidh curadh caenrighi. Gae do fiachra fear togach Margnim dogein triagus. brath huí daire triadiummus. bade fearta fath cofi maidsi maidí meascorach. bahe treisi dogellguin. doslog droma eogabail Eo dega derg druing. adreich mac meic muireandaigh. tirigh. nirbotriamain cerbo tuc amumain margiallu \\ imfert fiachrach iforrai. Ceathrar do Meic infear fichsadar cath. frifiachraigh frisintiraith. fil cuic deich dib dai fri dai sil breogain bain. rolinsad erinn im lain. eber is lugaidh narlag. is eremon intard mac. Mac.

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²²² The 'ard' is written in between the lines

²²³ The ? stands for a letter (very probably a vowel) lost within a rent

²²⁴ There seems to be written something in between the lines here, but it is illegible

Appendix B: Diplomatic editions of Maiccni Echach ard a nglé from TCD MS 1339; TCD MS 1318; RIA MS 23 P 12

Book of Leinster (TCD MS 1339)	Yellow Book of Lecan (TCD MS 1318)	Book of Ballymote (RIA MS 23 P 12)
M*ai*ccni echa*ch* a*r*d a*ṅ*gle i*m*niall i*m* c*h*anaid ca*ir*ne imf*er*g*us* frossaib ri*n*ni imt*ri* m*a*ccu moingfi*n*ni	M*ai*cne ech*ach* ard angle. i*m* niall i*m* c*h*anaid ca*ir*ne imf*er*g*us* frosaib ri*n*di. imt*ri* m*a*caib moinginne	M*ai*cne ech*ach* ard an gle. i*m* niall i*m* c*h*anaid carne. i*m* fergus f*r*osaib ri*n*di i*m* t*ri* m*a*ccaibh m*o*ngfi*n*di
Mait*h* f*er* fiac*h*ra feoc*h*a*ir* gal dia*r*bo m*a*c nat*hi* tolc*h*ar brian a*r* banba brollac*h* f*ri*sand aili*l*l anglo*n*nach	mait*h* f*er* fiach*r*a feocha*ir* gal diarbo m*a*c dat*hi* talc*h*ar isbria*n* a*r*banba brollac*h* 7 ail*ill* anglon*n*ach	mait*h* f*er* fiach*r*a feoc*h*airgal. da*r*bo m*a*cdat*hi* talch*a*r. is b*r*ian a*r* banba brollac*h*. 7ail*i*ll anglon*ach*
Aic*h*ri t*ri*rig rot a*ṅ*gal maniptis ingrai doc*h*ri*m*t*h*an gabsat acert cei*n* buí t*h*air forcua*ir*t ^ardrig i*n*alba*i*n	Aic*h*re t*ri*ri rot*h*angal m*a*ni*b*tis i*n*gra*i* do c*ri*mthann gabsat acrich gen bait*h*air f*o*rcua*i*rt ard*r*ig analb*ai*n	Aic*h*re t*ri*ri rotangal. m*a*ni*b*tis i*m*crich docrimt*an*. gab ac*ri*ch gen baí t*h*aír f*o*rcuairt a*r*drig*h* analba*i*n
Ailill brian breo dremon fiac*h*ra find foltlebor randsat banba balc tola it*ri*cuibrend co*m*mora	Ailill is brian breo dremu*n* is fiac*h*ra f*i*nd foltleb*ar* randsad banba bailcotola it*ri* cuibren*n* co*m*ma	Ail*i*ll is b*ri*an breo dremu*n*. is fiach*r*a f*i*ndfoltleab*ar*. ro*n*dsad banba bailc tola it*ri* cuibren*naibh* co*m*ora
Cec*h*ai*ṅ*g cuccu c*ri*mt*h*and c?ss *con*uaill *con*ir *con*ernbass cac*h*ts*us* cach colla*ech*raid lais i*n*inis *ṅ*dualaig *ṅ*dornglais	Cec*h*aing chucu c*ri*mt*h*ann cas conuaill con ir conear*n*mas cac*h*tsais cac*h* colaech? lais aninis dualaig dornglais	Deac*h*aing cucu c*ri*mt*h*an cass conuaill confir conearmas cac*h*tsais cac*h* colaec*h* lais ani*n*is dualaig*h* dor*n*glaís
Dolluid m*athai*r m*a*c nec*h*ach in b*r*ig mo*ṅ*gfi*n*d m*a*rb*r*et*h*ach gaid ca*ir*ddi*n*e cor gli*n*ne dorig daigrec*h* da*ri*nne	Doluid m*athai*r m*a*c nech*ach* inbrig moi*ng*finn. mor bret*h*ach gaid ca*ir*di*n*e *con*gli*n*di dorig daigrech da*iri*ne	Doluid*h* m*athai*r m*a*c nech*ach*. inb*r*ig moi*ng*find morb*r*eath*ach*. ga*í*d ca*ir*di*n*e *con*nglindi dorig daigreac*h* da*i*ríne
Domb*er*t ohur nahi*n*dsi doc*h*um digi domillsi docer m*a*c m*ei*c da*r*e de det*h*on*n*ud t*ri*in tre*m*se	Dob*er*t obru na hi*n*dsi doc*um* digi domilsi doc*h*er m*a*c m*ei*c da*ir* de dot*h*on*n*aid trui*m* tremside	Dob*er*t obru *ṅ*a hindsi doc*h*um dig*h*i domillsi. docher m*a*c m*ei*c da*i*re de. dot*h*on*n*aid trui*m* t*re*mside

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Mórgnim doroni *tr*iag*us* brath h*ui* d*ai*re *tr*iadiu*mmus* bade fert*h*a fat*h* cosaire cat*h* cruaid corad coenraige	Margnim dogein *tr*iag*us* brat*h* h*ui* di*are* t*r*ia diu*mmus* bade fearta fat*h* co fi cat*h* c*ru*aid c*u*rad cae*n*rígi	Margnim dogein *tr*iag*us*. brat*h* h*ui* d*ai*re tr*iadiummus*. bade fea*r*ta fat*h* cofi cat*h* c*ru*aid*h* curad*h* cae*n*righ*i*.
Góita fiac*h*ra fer togac*h* maidsi moga mess*ch*orac*h* ba*h*e t*r*ess ri adgeb gu*i*n deslog dro*m*ma eogabuil	Gaeto fiac*h*ra fer togac*h* maid*h*si maid*h*i meascora*ch* bahet*r*isi dogellgu*i*n doslog d*ro*ma eogabuil	Gae do fiac*h*ra fear togac*h* maidsi maidí meascorac*h*. bahe t*r*eisi dogellgu*i*n. doslog d*ro*ma eogabail
Eodega deirg druiṅg a*r*dreac*h* m*ac* m*eic* muridaig tirig nirbo t*hr*iamu*i*n ci*a*rbot*h*ru cotuc m*um*an morgiallu	.h. dega d*er*g d*ru*i*n*g a dre*i*ch m*ac* m*eic* m*u*iread*a*ig. tirig. nirbot*r*iama*i*n cerbotru tuc am*um*ain mar giallu	Eo dega d*er*g d*ru*ing ad*re*ich m*ac* m*eic* m*u*ire*a*ndaigh. tirig*h*. nirbot*r*iama*i*n cerbo tuc am*um*ain ma*r*giallu
M*ai*cni fer fic*h*seta*r* cat*h* f*r*i fiac*h*raig ta*r*si*n* srath fail coic deic*h* doib doi f*r*i doi i*m* ḟert fiac*h*rach iforoi	Ma*i*cni fer fichseadar cat*h*. f*r*ifiac*hr*aig frisi*n* tiraith fuil *cuic* deic*h* dib dai f*r*i dai i*m* fer*t* fiac*h*rach hiforrai	M*e*ic infea*r* fic*h*sadar cat*h*. f*r*ifiac*hr*aigh frisintira*i*th. fil *cuic* deic*h* dib dai f*r*i dai imf*er*t fiac*h*rach iforrai.
Cet*h*rur do*š*il bregu*i*nd ba*i*n roli*n*sat her*ind* ollg*r*a*i*d eb*er* ír. lugaid na*r*lac is herimon i*n*ta*r*dm*ac*. M.	Ceat*h*rar dosil breog*h*ain ba*i*n rolinsad er*inn* im la*i*n eb*er* is luigaid narlag is eri*m*on i*n* tardm*ac*. M*ac*.	Ceat*h*rar do sil breoga*i*n ba*i*n. rolinsad er*inn* im la*i*n. eb*er* is lugaid*h* narlag. is ere*m*on intard m*ac*. M*ac*.