CAITHREIM CELLACHAIN CAISIL

THE VICTORIOUS CAREER OF CELLACHAN OF CASHEL

OR


THE ORIGINAL IRISH TEXT,
EDITED, WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES

BY

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WHITLEY STOKES, ESQ., D. C. L.,
FOREIGN ASSOCIATE OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE,
AS A TOKEN OF GRATITUDE AND
SINCERE ADMIRATION.
INTRODUCTION.

The present edition of the following work is chiefly based on one Manuscript, the Book of Lismore, a vellum MS. from the end of the 15th century. The Book of Lismore is a Bibliotheca, or collection of historical tracts, lives of saints, poems, tales, genealogies etc. It is the work of three scribes, one of whom is unknown; the two others were a friar surnamed O Buadacháin »Buchan«, »Buhan«, who copied from the lost Book of Monasterboice (county Louth); and Aengus O' Callanan. Folio 116 exhibits a curious poem by Mahon mac Donall mac Eoghan O' Daly, hereditary rhymer to the Mac Carthys-Riach, in which he justifies the strong measures taken in 1478 by Finneen and his brother Dermot in order to depose their cousin Cormac mac Donough mac Donall Riach, who had usurped the chieftry from their father (see the Annals of Loch Cé ad an.).¹) We may conclude from this that the Book of Lismore was written at the end of the fifteenth century, ca. 1480—1500.

The Book of Lismore belongs to the Duke of Devonshire. His Grace consented that for my purpose the Book of Lismore should be temporarily deposited in the British Museum, the authorities of the MS. Department having first kindly consented to take charge of it. I hereby beg to express my respectful thanks to his Grace for his liberality, and to the officers of the MS. Department of the British Museum, and likewise to his Excellency the late Minister of Norway and of Sweden, Count Lewenhaupt, who wrote for me to the Duke of Devonshire and got his consent to have

¹) Silva Gadelica, ad. Standish O' Grady (Translation), pp. X—XI.
the MS. deposited in the British Museum, where I was able to study it during the first months of the year 1902. In the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, there is a very good copy of the Book of Lismore, imitating the letters and abbreviations of the original MS., made by the late E. O'Curry. From this copy I had previously, during the winter 1901—1902, copied the Saga of Cellachan. In London I compared this transcript with the original.

Book of Lismore contains on fol. 148—fol. 157 the story upon which the text of our saga is based. The story ends abruptly, in the middle of a description of a battle between the Munstermen and the Leinstermen. It has no heading in the Book of Lismore. But O'Curry, in his copy in the Royal Irish Academy, gives it the title Cathairin Cellachain Cuisil annso ("the victorious career of Cellachan of Cashel [is written] here").

The text preserved in the Book of Lismore is not, however, the original MS., and it does not even give the original version of the Saga. The original version of a tale is seldom imperfect at the end, as the version of the Saga of Cellachan in the Book of Lismore is. We do, however, know the conclusion of the Saga from paper-copies. But it is, in my opinion, a still more important fact that the scribe of the Book of Lismore only copies the first line of many poems, while the entire poems are found in several paper MSS. These poems are found §§ 42, 44, 45, 58, 68, 75, 77, 78. We may infer that the text preserved in the Book of Lismore and the paper copies of the Saga of Cellachan of Cashel are based upon a common original older than the Book of Lismore. I also mention the end of § 29, where Mór, the wife of Sirte, addresses Cellachan. After her speech the copyist continues:

Ocns adubahtar in laith. Ocns ni fhuid in laith achl immisin in sacc aris ("And she recited the song; but there is nothing in this song but a repetition of the story"). These last words are merely a note by the transcriber who says that he does not consider it worth while to transcribe the poem in which Mór addresses Cellachan. That the original MS. has contained such a poem is apparent from the fact that it has been preserved in the paper MSS.

The language of the Lismore-text is also remarkably inconsistent. Old an new forms are used indiscriminately, and

the same word is written in many ways. There is no rule regulating the use of e and ea respectively. The aspiration is sometimes marked, and sometimes not. The same word or form of a word is written in various ways: thus aduaig, and aghaid ("night"); Magnus, Maghuas; Tor and Tara; aibert, adubhart (she said); asbert also occurs (§ 77); tiaguit, tiaguid ("they go"); Cenniedig, Ceinniedig, Ceinniedig; do bheidas, do bheidis ("they were"); slob, sluag ("host"); Gaesglithb, Gaighaelithb, etc. More ancient verbal forms sometimes occur, as if they were relics of an older text. Among instances of the infixed and suffixed pronoun I shall only mention:

§ 93 ni-dam (the old ni-da ("I am not") with suffixed m). — Professor Kuno Meyer says: "This is perhaps the most interesting form in the text" 4. — § 87, Muimhne ro-t-mor-fhuasluic as (2 pers.). "The Munstermen have delivered you" (this form of the infixed pronoun is, however, not so interesting, as it occurs in MSS. from the 15th century).

§ 20, ro-s-dicheann Baiscenn in borb-Lochlamach (3 sg. masc.), Baiscenn struck off the head of the fierce Norseman; § 78, ro-s-dicheann in deighlaech, and struck off the head of the good champion.

§ 29, cred im-a-luc a shiuar do Cellachan (3 sg. rel.), why he gave his sister to Cellachan. § 18, cuadadh da shohirgualin do can in fili, therefore to testify to this the poet sang.

The text preserved in the Book of Lismore must consequently be based on an older text, written about the same time as the original version of Cogadh Gaedhil (The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, ed. Todd, London 1867).

A fac-simile of the first page of the text in the Book of Lismore is found in "Fac-similes of the national MSS. of Ireland," ed. Sir John Gilbert (part III, plate LVII). The fac-simile copy is accompanied by a transcript and a translation of the text.

The second Manuscript made use of for the present edition is a MS. preserved in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin (H. 1. a.). It is a foolscap paper MS. in

7 Cf. Windisch, Glossar, p. 800
The Saga of Cellachan of Cashel is written on pp. 59—88. The beginning (pp. 59—75) is called Cauthadh Cheallachain Caisil ("The Warfare of Cellachan of Cashel"). The continuation (pp. 75—88) is called Tóruigheacht na Íntseach for Cheallachain Caisil Mac Buadhcháin ("The Expedition of the Sheftuins to deliver Cellachan of Cashel, son of Buada- chán").

The prose of this MS. closely follows the Book of Lismore, but is shorter, and has not the introduction and many of the long, rhetorical descriptions in the Book of Lismore. The tale goes nearly to the death of Cellachan of Cashel. It contains nearly all the poems of which I have only found the first line in the Book of Lismore.

With this paper-copy I have compared other paper MSS. in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, which contain versions of our Saga. I especially call attention to a folio MS. (G. 20, cf. O' Curry, Bentham Catalogue, pp. 5 ff.). This MS. was written in the years 1791—1799. P. 68 a tale begins called Cauthadh Ceallachain Caisil re Loch-lonnubh ("The Warfare of Cellachan of Cashel against the Norsemen"). Another version of the Saga where several of the uncurtailed poems are found is preserved in a paper MS. in 5vo, written in the year 1715, and called Tóruigheacht Ceallachan Caisil. Other versions are found in the paper MSS.

\[\frac{23}{23} M. 47 (1776), \frac{23}{23} K. 43 (1789), \frac{23}{23} B. 21 (1824), \frac{23}{23} K. 46 (1826).\]

All the MSS. are mentioned by D'Arbois de Jubainville in his "Essai d'un catalogue de la littérature épique de l'Irlande," pp. 84, 88, 248. I have not been able to consult a MS.

\[1\text{ i.e.: Here is the expedition to deliver Cellachan of Cashel, as it was written by William Mac Curtin on the 16th of March, in the year of the Lord 1701.}\]

from the 16th century mentioned by D'Arbois de Jubainville, p. 248.

A third Manuscript made use of for the present work is a paper MS. in the British Museum (Egerton 106), a quarto of 169 folios, partly written in the years 1715, 1716, by Richard Tipper and John Mac Solly, partly written about the same time by, I believe, William Lynch; a fourth portion was written by the late Edward O'Reilly (O'Curry, Catalogue of Irish MSS. in the British Museum, p. 182). This MS. contains (pp. 51—83) a tale called Cauthadh Ceallachain Chaisiol re Lochlannubh. Anno domini 899. O'Curry and D'Arbois de Jubainville (p. 841) are not right in giving this tale the heading Cathrism Ceallachain Caisil ("The Triumphs of Callaghan of Cashel"). This MS. is imperfect at the beginning. The first words correspond to § 7 of the text in the Book of Lismore: IS ANN sin do eirghedh na secht tuatha de Chaisiol go comhurlabh um Ceallachain mac Buaghcháin. Most of the poems are also found in entire in this copy. — The tale continues from p. 68 under the title: Tóruigheacht na Íntseach for Cheallachain Chaisiol meic Buaghcháin sios iona. This version relates how Cellachan of Cashel after his delivery plundered the lands of the king of Conaill of Tara, and continues: Rangadar as sin go Caísiol Munshain 7 do rondh na crioch go cuilhioigh ider na luidshib 7 ro caithdhead an aimsir go suaimhneach osin annom go bhfhadh Ceallachain Chaisiol mac Buaghcháin has ionmholtta a Caísiol; Anno Domini, dhá bhliainm deag ar naoi ced; FINIS. (After this they came to Cashel in Munster, and the territories were divided suitably among the nobles. And thenceforward they spent the time peacefully and tranquilly, until Cellachan of Cashel, son of Buadachan, found a laudable death at Cashel. Anno Domini 912. The End.)

I have printed the poems which are not found in the Book of Lismore from the paper copy in the Royal Irish Academy F. 1. a. The various readings of the Egerton MS. I give in the foot-notes.

Cellachan of Cashel, the hero of our Saga, was king of Munster, or of Cashel (his official title). He seems to have begun his reign in the year 934. According to the Annals of Ulster and the Annals of the Four Masters he died in the
year 954. § 98 of the present work informs us that Cellachan's fight with the Leinstermen took place 42 years and a half after the death of Cormac, son of Cuileannan, king of Munster. Cormac was slain A. D. 907 or 908. The above mentioned battle consequently took place in the year 950 or 951. Cellachan died not long after this. The paper MS. 23 H. 1. a. says that he died A. D. 952. I believe that 954 is the actual year of his death. 2)

The tale which forms the text of the present work describes Cellachan's battles with the Norsemen in Munster, in Dublin, and in Ulster. It gives many new details as to the history of the Viking-settlements in Ireland. We hear about the Vikings of Limerick, of Cork, and of southern Munster, and get a most interesting description of a naval fight between the Irish and the Norsemen in the bay of Dundalk.

The Saga of Cellachan of Cashel has never before been edited or thoroughly studied, but it is incidentally mentioned by authors such as O' Donovan and O' Curry. They seem to think that the Saga is only a semi-historical tale. I cannot agree with this. The Saga of Cellachan of Cashel must be historical like 'The War of the Gaedhil with the Gailli'. It cannot be the fabrication of an Irish author of the 12th or 13th century, when the Saga tells us that among the Norsemen of Limerick there was a chief from the Hebrides, 'Morann, son of the fleet-king' (i. e. O. N. saxonungr) of Lewis. In the 10th century there was really a close connection between Limerick and the distant Hebrides (cf. Steenstrup, Normannerne III, p. 213, and the notes to § 16 of the present work). It cannot be the fabrication of an Irish saga-teller, when the poem § 44 mentions the Norwegian king Erik Bloody-Axe, who actually came to Ireland about the time of the battle of Dundalk, and who is nowhere else mentioned by the Annals. And how might it be possible for an Irishman to mention Berserks in the army of the Dublin king, if Berserks had not really existed in Dublin? 3)

But our Saga also contains real Norse names which are nowhere else found in Irish MSS., e. g. Eiric (O. N. Eirikr), and Turmun (O. N. þormundr); the latter name is found on a Danish Runic Inscription, but does not even occur in the Icelandic Sagas. Loan-words from the Old Norwegian, which never occur in Middle Irish, are also found in our Saga. A saga of this description cannot be semi-historical, but must be historical.

The Norse names found in our Saga are:

Amlaibh = Old Norse Álfr [A. of Limerick] §§ 8, 12, 15, 10; Sen-Amlaibh [Old A., of Cork], §§ 27, 63, 69, 89, Amlaib [of Armagh], § 53.

Dunair = O. N. Danir (Danes) passim.

Eiric = O. N. Eirikr, § 32 n. (p. 25).

Henric ( ), § 43.

Ibhrre, §§ 66, 78, the same name as Elbræc (cognate with A. S. Ælfric).

Lagmann, Lagmann (gen. Lagmannuinn). From an oblique case of laginnr or layinnr >lawann, §§ 53, 85. 4)

Leoghán, Leóghaín (Leodán) = O. N. Ljóðás, now the Island of Lewis, §§ 16, 17.

Magnus, Magnaus, Maghnus (of Limerick, §§ 8, 17, 19; of Dublin, §§ 27, 63, 66, 72, 89, 77) = O. N. Magnús (from Carolus magnus, Charlemagne).

Oíllir = O. N. Óllar (A. S. Óhter), § 53.

Sitric = O. N. Sigtryggur (A. S. Siþtric), §§ 22, 27, 29, 42 n., 43, 58, 61, 62, 63, 66, 72, 73, 76, 85.

Tomar = O. N. Þorir, § 2, 43.

Tór, Tora = O. N. Þórir, §§ 27, 63, 66, 77 n., 78, 89, 93.

Turball = O. N. Þorkell, § 53.


Turmuin, Turmuin (pl. Turmuinn) = O. N. þormundr, 27, 63, 64, 66, 71, 80, 89.

Irish loan-words from the Old Norse occuring in the present work are:

bord (gen. buird, dat. pl. bordubh), §§ 74, 77, 77 n., 81, side of a ship. From O. N. bord, n. a plank, side of a ship.

Thus, it does not mention that Cellachan was carried away as a captive by king Muirchertach of the Leather Cloaks on his celebrated circuit of Ireland, in the winter 941—942.¹)

Our Saga likewise does not mention that Clonmacnois was in the year 936 plundered by Cellachan and the men of Munster (Four Masters, A. D. 934). The Annals, on the other hand, know that Cellachan was a great warrior. According to the Annals of the Four Masters (see 937 recte 939) made an expedition into Munster and went as far as Clonard. On this expedition he had the foreigners along with him, among whom the foreigners of Port Lairge (Waterford) are especially mentioned. We may conclude from this that our Saga is right when it states that Cellachan got the Viking-colonies of southern Munster as far as Waterford in his power. The present Saga likewise states that Cellachan and his men conquered Limerick. That this is right we can indirectly conclude from the Annals of the Four Masters which are to the effect that in the year 951 (recte 953) Clonmacnois was plundered by the men of Munster, and the Norsemen of Limerick along with them (co nGallaibh Luimnígh amaille frithú). A joint expedition of Munstermen and Vikings from Limerick would never have taken place, if Limerick had not been in some way dependant on the king of Munster.

The war between Cellachan and the people of Ossey is also known to the Annals of the Four Masters who tell (A. D. 938): «At great slaughter was made of the Osraigh (i.e. the people of Ossey) by Cellachan, king of Cashel. The battle of Cromad (Croom), where Cellachan defeated the Ul Caire (§ 25), is also known to the Annals (The Battle of Magh Rath, ed. O' Donovan, p. 340; Genealogical Table, showing the descent of the principal families sprung from Oilill Ollum, king of Munster, col. 2, n. 22).

The Saga of Cellachan of Cashel has no doubt been composed by a man from Kerry, Cellachan's native country. This is the reason why the saga-teller does not mention those exploits which are not flattering to Cellachan. I feel also inclined to think that some of his victories are exaggerated. But that the foundation of the present work is historical, is beyond doubt.

A comparison between the different versions of the Saga will show that the prose differs, but that the poems are the same in all versions. The poems also give details which are unknown, and partly unintelligible to the author of the prose. Thus the poem (§ 10) tells that the Island of Lewis is in the power of the Norwegians; the same poem knows two chieftains of the name of Morann, Morann of Lewis, and Morann mac Conra, while the prose confounds the two. The poem (§ 42 n.) mentions Eiric Righ na n-Inse (E. king of the Hebrides), who is not known to the author of the prose. Nothing corresponding to § 20, stanza 9, is known to the prose. The facts here referred to are now unintelligible. I conclude from this that the poems are older than the prose-text.

The Saga of Cellachan of Cashel corresponds in many respects to the Saga of Brian Boruma, king of Munster and subsequently monarch of all Ireland, who was slain in the battle of Clontarf, A. D. 1014.1) Both Sagas especially describe the wars between the kings of Munster and the Norsemen in Ireland. The Saga of Cellachan extols the Eoghanachts of Kerry, to which race Cellachan belonged; the Saga of Brian praises the Dal Cais (in the county of Clare), whose head king Brian was. The Saga of Brian consists of several distinct portions. Ch. I—XXXIX of this Saga consists of Fragments of Annals. The real Saga begins with ch. XI, describes the youth of Brian and the earlier portion of his reign, until he became monarch of all Ireland. The last portion of the Saga (from ch. LXXX) is a description of the battle of Clontarf and its causes.

The second portion of the Saga of Brian bears especially a strong resemblance to the Saga of Cellachan. It begins, like § 3 of our Saga, with a description of the extent of the Norse oppression. Ch. LXXX (After the banishment of the foreigners out of all Erin etc.) corresponds to § 27 of our Saga. The poem printed § 24 in the present work (Uathad sin a clanna Cuirc) has the same beginning as a poem in Cogadh Gaedhel (XLVI), where king Mathgamhain of Munster addresses his brother Brian: Uathad sin a Brian Banba (Alone art thou, O Brian of Banbal).

1) The Saga of Brian is otherwise called Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaith (The War of the Gaedhil with the Galli).
competition with this Saga. Both Sagas date, I believe, from the later half of the 11th century. The Saga of Cellachan of Cashel is only a little younger than Cogadh Gaedhel.

The description of the battle of Clontarff is based on tales told by men who had taken part in the battle, but it cannot, as Dr. Todd means, have been written immediately after the battle. The episode of Dunlang O' Hertugan and his intercourse with the fairies is unhistorical (ch. XCVIII).

The author of Cogadh Gaedhel must have known the tale called *The Destruction of Troy* (Togal Troi). This Irish version of the Argonautic expedition and the Destruction of Troy is preserved in the Book of Leinster, in a transcript from about the middle of the 12th century (and has probably been translated from the Latin about a century earlier). The author of Cogadh Gaedhel not only knows Hector and Priam (ch. XCV, CV), but there is a close resemblance between several passages in the two works. Togal Troi (l. 600 —608) describes the assault of Hercules upon the enemy:

>Then came the rage and the might and the great wrath of the soldier Hersules, and his bird of valour rose over his breath and kept flying round his head, and he made a savage-rush (?) at the Trojans, like the outburst of a flood, or like the flash of lightning; and he dealt wounds to them so that each corpse struck against the other, on what way soever he went to the battles. The author of Cogadh Gaedhel describes the assault of Murchadh, son of Brian, in the following words (ch. CVIII): He was seized with a boiling, terrible anger, and an excessive elevation, and greatness of spirit and mind. A bird of valour and championship arose in him, and fluttered over his head, and on his breath. And he made an active, vigorous, sudden rush at the battlefield of the Danmarkians, like a violent, impetuous, furious ox, that is difficult to catch; or like a fierce, tearing, swift, all-powerful lioness, that has been roused and robbed of her whelps; or like the fierce roll of an impetuous, deluging torrent, which shatters and smashes every thing that opposes it; and he made a hero's breach and a soldier's field, through the battlefield of the Danmarkians.«

1) Ed. by Whitley Stokes, Calcutta 1882.

There is also a great resemblance between the Saga of Cellachan of Cashel and Togal Troi. The beginning of the combat between Achilles and Hector is in the latter work described in the following words (l. 994 ff.): "For they knew that it would not be the teasing of little boys about playing-poles, nor that of a peasant with this mate seeking to be spared, not that of a loving couple about the arrangement of one side of their bed, nor that of family friends about caps of ale (no charat erideachair im chaptánait corwnenna), the mutual harassment of the two valiant champions of Asia and Europe in the place whereinto would come the mutual thrusting of their spears and smiting of their swords, and clashing of their shields. The Saga of Cellachan of Cashel begins (§ 77) the description of the combat between Segela and Congal and the Vikings Tor and Magnus in the following words: "The looks of the heroes were no faces of friends around ale, nor was it a maiden's love for her mate (Ocos mir aighti curut um cuirm agna curadush, 7 mir serc ced-ingine do celi)".

A study of the Glossarial Index to Togal Troi will also show that Cogadh Gaedhel and the Saga of Cellachan, when describing armours, battles, ships etc., use the same words as Togal Troi does. It is also, in my opinion, a remarkable fact well worth of attention that Togal Troi contains more loanwords from the Old Norwegian than perhaps any other Irish saga text. I here give a list of these words taken from the Glossarial Index, by Whitley Stokes:

*ella, elt*, hilt (from O. N. *hilt*, n.); *fraig iaur*, Whitley Stokes says: some part of a hero's armour, perhaps an iron dagger* (l. 1544: *Fraig iaur imdægen athlogtha aci*, A dagger (?) of strong, refined iron he has*), in O' Davenport's Glossary the same word is written *frac*, and is said to signify point or needle* (*fraig *iaur* is, I believe, = O. N. iaur-frakka, an iron spear); *glær-glas*, bright-blue (W. S. 1): O. N. *glær, vitrum*; *haideng* (from O. N. leidangryr); *læpting*, tafftail (W. S.: borrowed from O. N. *læpting*, summa puppis); *ochr-bord*, edge-board, gunwale, bulwark? (bord seems to be borrowed from O. N. bord, plank, side of a ship); *særtænn, seyrægg*, means according to W. S., sawhead, some kind of...

1) W. S., i.e. Whitley Stokes.
ships (it is, I believe, the Latin *serpens*, and is a translation of O. N. *drekki*, n. 1) worm, *snake*, 2) a kind of warship: *sæss-gal*, seems to be the creaking noise made by the rowing-benches (*secc* is borrowed from O. N. *secc*, m. seat; the size of a warship was indicated by recording the number of *sæss* or *gæcc-benches*); *sith-bord*, bulwark, railboard (from O. N. *bord*); *sælith*, f. street (= O. N. *stræt*); *slíthr*umind (= O. N. *slíth*).

Does this perhaps show that it is not Cogadh Gaedhel and the Saga of Cellachan which have imitated Togal Troi, but Togal Troi that has been influenced by tales of battles between the Irish and the Norsemen? If this is right, Cogadh Gaedhel and the Saga of Cellachan must be older than Togal Troi, and must, although they are of different origin, in early times have formed part of a now lost Saga of celebrated Munster kings.

In my edition I have tried to follow the original as closely as possible, only with some few alterations: The printed text has been punctuated; contractions have been extended, but the extensions are expressed by italics; proper names have been spelt with initial capitals; the transported *t* and *n* have been separated by a hyphen from words beginning with vowels; a hyphen has also been used to separate the preposition *i*, *a* etc. from a following *n* and to connect this *n* with the following word if it is separated from it, in the manuscript; e. g. *a-n-Ard Macha* (the MS. writes: *an Ard Macha*): an apostrophe has been used where a vowel has been dropped, and, lastly, the article, possessive and person pronouns, conjunctions, and negative particles have been severed from the words to which they are respectively prefixed or suffixed in the manuscript.

My edition would never have seen the light without the kind assistance of several gentlemen. Professor dr. A. Torp, and Mr. Magnus Olsen, of the university of Kristiania, have read some of the proof-sheets of this book and given me the benefit of their advice. To Dr. Whitley Stokes I owe many valuable suggestions based on his profound knowledge of Irish, and I am likewise much indebted to my father, Professor Sophus Bugge. During my stay in Dublin, I got kind assistance and advice from my Irish teacher, Mr. O’Farrelly, who has helped me with a part of the translation, and from the officers of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, especially from the sub-librarian, Mr. J. Mac Sweeney.

I am deeply indebted, more than to anybody else, to Professor Kuno Meyer, of the University of Liverpool, whose kind assistance has made it possible for me to finish the edition and translation of the present work. Dr. Kuno Meyer has with great care read all the proofs of the Irish text and of the translation; he was translated and corrected parts of the text which I was not able to understand, and in many other ways given me invaluable assistance.

It may seem bold in a man, whose own studies lie in another direction, and who is not an Irish scholar, to publish a work like the present. The Saga of Cellachan of Cashel is, however, of so great an importance to the students of the Viking Ages that I hope that competent judges will excuse my deficiencies.

CHRISTIANIA, March 1905.

ALEXANDER BUGGE.
Caithreim Ceallachain Caisil anso. 1)

1. [Fol. 148 a, col. 1] Airdri oírdiric airdmhenmuach roghabhustar faithius 7 forlamus for dhá coiged Muman dar aímn Airtrí mac Cathail meas Finguine. IS re linn rogabatar Lochlannaig nert artus for Eirinn. Acht ro-thuairadar catha 7 coibnThe cta o aimsir Airtrí gu caemainsir Cheallachain. Ocus ba hiat so na righa robhatar for Chaisil frisín re sin 7 fad a bhflaithiusa 7 na hoigeda riu rait.

2. Airtrí mac Cathail .XX. bliadain. 7 ecc atbath. Feirmisid mac Crimthain VII. mbliadhna XX. for Mhumin 7 for Eirinn 7 d'ec do chuaidh tre escaíne Chiarain moir meic in tsaeir. Olchobar mac Cinaedha III. mbliadhna. IS e robris cath Scéith Nechtain ar ghallaibh inar marbad da c. X. dhiubh um Thómar iarla 7 d'ec dhò (sic) chuaidh. Maolguala mac Dunghaile VII. mbliadhna 7 goill do mharbh he. Ceannnaedadh mac Mochtigира VII. mbliadhna. 7 d'eg do chuaidh. Donchadh mac Duibh-dha-boirenn ceathra mbliadhna. 7 d'ec do chuaidh a Caíseal. Dublachta mac Mhaveilguala VII. mbliadhna 7 a ecc da thamh ina chuirrthigh. Finguine mac Laeguire VII. mbliadhna 7 a braithre fein da mharbadh tre leathol flegh. Cormac mac Cuilennain VII mbliadhna 7 Laigin da mharbadh a cath Leithludte. Flaitheartach mac Inmaineín VII. mbliadhna. XXX. 7 d'ec do chuaidh. Lorcan mac Coinnligain bliadhain gu leith 7 d'ec dochuaidh.

3. Ba hiatso císa 7 cana na ngall n-grandha o mhíliadáibh Muman .i. ri ar gach trícha 7 taiseach ar gach tuaith. ab ar gach cill. maer ar gach mbaili suairdeach gacha, tighe. Gan coibeis line ein-chirce ag duine da biadh fein na da digh gan brat gan blathadh um righ na um roinn.

1) This title is only found in O'Curry's copy, and not in the original manuscript.
acht aithbruig 7 aitheduighi na n-Danar 7 na n-daer-Lochlannach gan srutha gan sacairleirig gan leabhair gan laisminna [148 a., c. 2] ar eolas na a mur na a muintir. acht Danair ina templaibh 7 ina ceallaibh 7 ina caemh-dhuibh. gan feallsaim gan filid gan oifidigh ag leanmhain dioghadh na duthchusa a n-deirghigh tar muintir na n-garbh-Lochlannach. gan ingin righ na rofhlaith na taisigh dho lamhachtain drúin na dhílis na dheghlamhda. Gan mac righ na taisigh do lamhachtain luith na lamhachtain na langhaisced do dhéanam na dhfhóglaíom. Gan fhlega gan seainneanna do lamhachtain do Mhuimhneacháibh do thabhaítear da cing na dha comharsoin acht muintir bheith tar fuighéal na fir-anflath a sin fíoa re aeach lennaí aic an 7 vil. XX, bladhráid doibh amhráid sin i. on naemad bladhráid do fhíladhthuis Aírtri meic Cathail cu haimisr Lorcan meic Connagain.

4. IS annsin do eirig in caemhri curtha cathubadach cosantach do dichur na docmarthi sin do chosnamh na crich re cathaibh Lochlannach i. Ceallachan mac Buadachain meic Lachtain meic Artghaile meic Snedhdhuise meic Donnghaile meic Fhaelghusna meic Nathfeas Íocháin meic Choghan meic Failbe meic Aedha dúb meic Creamhhand meic Feilimidh meic Aengusa meic Nathfeais Íocháin meic Chuirc meic Luigdech meic Oliolla flainn bic meic Fiaicheag muileathail na meic Eogain moir meic Oliolla olaim. Doigh o Aírtri gu haird-Bhrian nír saorait curid náit cricha na Muman do reir scrítear na scéalta, acht a-nderna in colgaméid Ceallachan da cosnaimh. Or as e an fíor sin do bhi bliadhain co leith ag iarraidh na Muman idir choll 7 chnoc 7 caemhghleann. Idir linn 7 loch 7 lanabhuin idir chuan 7 chaemhthraigh 7 caladphort, idir lis 7 laechdhean 7 leathan-tuaith gach Lochlannagogue ag iarraidh dhere in gach dux 7 caisced in gach cathraig cu bocht ara bliainleirceachad 7 a thagh brec ima bragat ag brath gacha balli 7 ag deighiaraid gachas duine innes gu mbeith cultus a hatha 7 u hes 7 a hurchollfet Íag i uair dobered air a crich do chosnamh co nar fhagaibh aenbhalli brugaid na bhaiteadh an da coicí Muman gan tadall gu mbeadh ainm gacha balli [148 b., c. 1] 7 gacha tuaithe 7 fis gacha fatha feruinn aige. Ocus tainic ar n-iarraid na crich gu Caisuil or is ann do bhi a mathair 7 ba be tu comarba Caisil in

caeimrighair 7 tar a chenn doronad Ceallachan. Ocus an bhiagain cu leith do bhi Ceallachan ag cuartugad na crich do bhi sisi ac tìon aicm 7 eídís 7 innumais 7 ag fosad ceithreann 7 caeimhtheglagh. Ocus as e lin do bhi luiníthi lancengaitli aici v. c. fer n-arrmach.

5. INN a rachtaigh Ceallachan cu Caisil ar bhfaghail na socruit sin do, as e sin la do bi mor-shocréithe é chaíosed Muman a nGleannmhuin Chaisil ag togha righ 7 dar leob e Ceindéidigh mac Lorcan de roithair. Is e eordugadh airdrighi do bhi idir clann Eogain nóhoir 7 clann Cormacais cas, an fer ba sine do na saochtar aíthribh in rigith dho. Damad do clainn Eogain in t-aird in tanaisteacht do clainn Cormacais. Ocus damad do clainn Cormacais in caemhri in tanaisteacht do clainn Eogain nóhoir. Gan righi do neoch dibh acht min bhudh e bhudh fhearr fis 7 fíreigheas 7 flaitheinn do na fíche oraid dochair. Ocus dothar in la sin ag togha righ 7 dorráide do mhathair re Ceallachan, rochtain na n-insoisit 7 cu rachaidh faoi roimhe 7 gu n-inleasaod do Ceindeidigh 7 do caem-Donnchad a scela-sum 7 in tan do bhfíní máithte Muman na suidí. Estun cona muimhtrí do teacht fo ghléiri arma 7 eídís 7 gheall 7 aider dh'iarraid orro 7 a radh re Ceindeidigh i cert do chluinnighd.

6. Tainic an ríghain roimpi gu Gleannmhuin 7 ar rochtain di and adubairt re maitheb Muman. Cuimhíghd an comor-dugadh do rinnne Cormacais 7 Fiacha maileathchad idir a morclannaibh. Ocus ata do clainn Eogain fear as sine dh'ua 7 dhi's iom tha a Cheinndéidigh 7 is ri ar deilbh 7 ar denam he. Ro fiafraig Ceinndéidigh cuich e. adubairt an rigin gur bo mac do Buadachan he 7 do rinne in laithd.

Cuirnigh a Ceinndéidigh chais, dailh Fhíachach is CORMAIC chais gur fhaideac Mhuman do roinn gu cert idir a caemhchloin 7 ri.

Ochtualatar mileatha Muman na moirbrithair sin 7 aithshe na hingse adubaratar [148 b., c. 2] clann Eogain in toigí do tabhairt cuca gu righdais he. Facbhais Ceinndég in chomhghdal ar nír mhídhe 7 nír mháisleis leis
righi d’airimh dh’fhir eadha fein. Ocús dono mhríadh leis a bharranraí do bhhriseadh. Ocús facadeis Domnchad in droma o’connaisais taighn na tuath i gtcogh Ceallachain. Is é do rashaidh nach troitídís frís uair nach cé sna caín na caentabhuch foguebhadh nech dhíbh aisdí. acht a lachtaidh do Lochtannaigh Chnab. 7 do chosnaidís fein 22 do fálmaighed marsaigh.


8. Cid tra acht ro agaill Ceallachan clann Eogain 7 adubairt fríu cogad calma do dhéanamh leis 7 adubairt gu n-dingnídís. Ocsus adhosta isnaigid co Luimeanch do lacsad X. C. for a líon 7 t-rangadar do chuirse áis uathaithe co laeche- Anmhíth Luimnígh 7 gu clannaibh Comhrá i, gu Morainn 7 gu Maighní 7 gu mor-Lochlainn da radh ruí Luimeanch do luathfhæicbail no braighdhi do thabhairt do ábhair-

O ro siachdaír da teachta cu laechead Luimnígh ro ghásbad ag fhochuithbed 7 ised ro shaileadh nach coisanta Muirna na Luimeanch amhain fríu gu brach. Ocús adubairt no bhertais in cat[h].

9. O atchualataí clanna Eogain sin ro agaíl in saershuailach Ceallach na iat 7 adubairt fríu calma 7 cruadhghidh do denum [149 a, c 1] le Lochnaighibh 7 a righ do rocoimhacht isin ruathair sin 7 adubairt ro huaisleibh na n-Eogainacht. 1) Na cluinecl clann Cormaic cáis comhaighthi an bhar comhráideibh 7 na cluinecl clann Eachach anamfaimh an bhr na-n-airechaibh 7 coimhneaisighidh in chaithirghal 7 tabhairdha an cliúnacht.

10. Ticéidh cu Luimeanch na long.

crainn Eogain na n-ardglonn.
a timneach Ceallachain cain.
gu Luimeanch na cloch cengail.

Cosnaidh bhur crích dileas dil.
a clann Oidhche inmuin
ag cath Luimeanágh na long luath.
sacair Mhumaí ná morthuath.

Cosnaidh Ceallachan gu cruaighd.
ri bar tire saer bhár slisig.
da leic OID na tosaigh catha.
do a n-aigaid na hanfhlath.

Ticéidh Ribordhain refachach.
romainn san chath chomhradhach.
ticéidh Caileasidh crosda.
ticéad Lighan lainbhiodh.

Ticéidh Duineachaidh dathach.
ís Fogartachbh armadhathach.
ticéidh Laiinneachan na leas.
romainn san cath cruaidh choimhdehas.

Ticéidh Domnchad ruaighrann.
romainn leachraíoch Lochlainn.
ocus Cúilein na cath cruaidh
na Eoghaín bereas blathbhuígh.
Aedh mac Cuill cara na clár
ticedh romhuinn re n-guin gliagh.
is Aedh mac Ailghinain fhinn.
ticedh in ri reidh romhuind.

Raghcat fein trí coinn colg.
romhaíbh gu Mórand morborb.
is muirbít daibh laeche na laend
ua rígh fleachaidh Fuarlochlaí.

Eirghidh a dream data dhes.
dan dhuil Muam na moirleas
cosnaídh Caisiul gu n-dhein
re sluaigh Lochlann laingneíre.

Na cluineadh Ceannideach cas.
mac [149 a., c. 2] Lorcaíin na lann nuaghlas.
bur n-irghaile gu tlaith tim.
a sluaigh Caisil cleathalúin.

Na cluineadh Domnchaidh ’ga thoirgh.
mac caeimh hi Caisim comharbhóigh.
sraíneadh catha gu clainn cam
oraíin o laecheaidh Lochlann.

Seacht tuatha dec desa dhúid.
a mheic Buidachain blathbhuiug.
tríneir gach tuaithe simne.
do clann Eogain againne.

Cuirthe libh in cath gu cruaidh.
a fhian Muman gu morual.
bentar libh bur n-íath a bruad.
a fhian Muman as díbh thic.
Ticidh gu Luimnigh na long.

11. IS ansin ro eirghetaí clann Eogain gu crodha ciall-
mar curata im caemri im Ceallachan cum an cheatha. Ocus
do coraighedh gu calma ag na curadúibh bro bhadhbhia
bithalúin bhuaíoinsceal bratac Ocus sonn siseach síth-
remhar sléacht 7 tor tenn triathochnóta taisech 7 grinne-

gasda gadhannaíil gormlann 7 lonnabhualaidh ladhch lin-
anart uman laecheaidh, ar ní rabhutair gorwáit nait glan-
luireach gu n-gasaidh. acht mad inair cuan[na] coithar-
bhaíthei 7 cotuín 7 muinseadh maiseacha mingresach re
diden corp 7 cnés 7 ceimceunn.

12. IS andh do coraighedh ag laecheaidh Lochlann sonn trom
treabhardháin treolnuireach 7 dún dluit duibhseach duibh-
liaraíin 7 cathair clogudghlas cruthfhéabhrach chaithe-
sciath 7 ruadhthuáiní remharcrann um laeche-Amlaigh 7
um Lochlann 7 um Morann 7 um Maghnús ár ba hiat-
sein ceathra cuínedh catha na laecheaidh Lochlann sin
7 ish. c. a coimeirghi gach a curad díbh.

13. IS ann do chuiredar clanna echtaoch Eogain a cenn in
muighi gu moraiciintach fa a caemri fa Ceallachan, 7 tu-
adar corrana a sciath ta chéile 7 tucasadh snadamh[na]
riadh ara leathancreisibh a leannainn da cheith 7 dochar-
aignshet na vii n-deighfhir dec ba huaisli dona hardmaithibh
a timeall in ríghfhathla da rochmoimh, 7 do eirigh rect
acnind ana rígh 7 ferga an bhfeinmeadúibh 7 menna ‘na
midearbh 7 luinne ina laecheabhair 7 crochedh ‘na curadúab
7 goirgí ana n-gillannraid.

14. Cidh tra o dho riachtadar a n-oig 7 a-n-eirridh 7 a n-áes
feig forualach [149 b., c. i] a n-uithosach a n-hairghail
do chaitheaim a cloch 7 a caelscothacht 7 a croíshlagh
da gach leith dona laecheaidh 7 do leiceadh lár in mhuighi
dona midearbh 7 lathar an chathaí dona curadhlaibh 7
riadh na hingona dona hairseodúibh. Ocus o do riachtad
ceuinsideach caemíLochlann 7 midearb Mamhan cu hait na
hursóide roghadhadh ag rodingh a ruaidhle 7 ag
laecheabhadh a lorg 7 ag comhlaradh a claidim. Acht
chena ba leithrom in lanchomhrac sin. Ar ro tollta cuirp
7 cnis 7 críthedaí na n-gasaidh n-ghlan Muimneach gu luath
tresna linanartaibh 7 n ghabhdaí a laonna lanfhaebhrach-
som na Lochlainn na ghradhhaingéine na n-gormhuircheach
7 n íletráiteis na lorga na laeche 7 ní chuirразis na claidim
na cind ar cruaidhí na cathbharra icca coimhthiethaí 7 tucad
na Lochlann na ara mora ar Muinneacháir re hathag
lo sin.

15. Cidh tra o d'onnaíoch Ceallachan na milead agha marabud 7
na curadh aga comach 7 na laech aga lethrach 7 clainn
Eoghain oca n-áiríeach do eirigh a bruth 7 a bharrann
7 a bheo dhach 7 rugsadar ruathar rofhatha tre rabharta rofheigri 7 saerclanna síl Eoghuin oca imhíten gu maiththib na Lochlannach. Oícos ro siacht Ceallachán gu cath-Amhlaibh 7 roghastar gres a n-garbluirigh in guiseadh gur leag a cathbarr fo a bhrrag báit 7 gur scoilt in ceann dáon cruadbhuillib gur thuith in Lochlannach leis.

16. IS annsin do riacht Suilleban cona trí l. calma curata caemhsfhr ar colgaibh oca cosnam 7 rucastaí berr bhríviti borbainbhenach tre laeclair catha na Lochlannach. IS annsin do eirst a tír gan turóróidh 7 in tenn gan traethad 7 in leoman gan lagad gusan la sin Í. Moram mongach muinterghairbh moirnfhéinim. Í. mac rígh loingsi Leoghasa co trí c curadÍ na coimeirgí 7 ar rochtain dona maithbhis do tuairdéadar a céle gu neimhneach naimhghi dhertxhalma. Cid tra saidhis Suilleban an sgleair tar brolach na bocóidi 7 fo cnuimis in cathbhairí [149 b., c. 2] isin churadh cu tarla co laeth isin laechebhreach gur chuir in ceann ar comus in caithmhíl 7 dhíchéanais in deighshfrí 7 b'firs leis in cenn gu Ceallachán da comhadhiumh 7 adrochraí muinnter in Lochlannaigh isin gleo sin.

17. IS annsin doráidh Donnchad 7 degh-Mhaghnai's do comraic isin caithirgul Oícos do comthaireachtar a ceann dona choisbhuidhe claislethna 7 ro leadhaiset na sceith dona lorguigh lantromá 7 do gnosad na cuíor dona craisbhach. Acht aonad adrochair Magnus le mor-Donncadh.

18. IS an 'd é do riacht Lochlainn 7 Ribordan ar beulibh Ceallachain do comhrug Oícos do riachtadáir gona áithghra aicmeáil o Lochluinn ar lae-Ribordan. Dho ghonad in guiseadh 7 do tréaithadh in tréanfúr o'deanruithea nair ghabhadh a airm in t-airidh bhi na n-again rucastair Ribordan laecheadhghar gu Lochlann 7 ro treic a chaidem 7 a choirshlígí 7 ro chuimhneach a urguin aith iarngorm 7 tarraidh ìchtar luirsigh in Lochlannag gu coindhther a claímain 7 tuiscirig timnasach don tréanfúr gu ledar leabharbrúinn in laeic gur leicad a abuch 7 a inathar as 7 dhíchéanais in deighshfrí 7 comáidis in cenn. Acht ata ni chena rochtait an cathar crodha caimhsidh sin do laecheadh Lochlann 7 ro fhaechtar na laeic na laoireacha.


Crodha Suilleban na sluagh. mac Maeli Ugra na n-arm ruadh. ar marbad Moraind mhongait. a crich Leoghus Lochlonnaígh.

Crodha Donnchad derg a dreach. dar marbhi se Magnhas muirnech. is do imir air a fhearg. gu n-drochuir in laeich lamhdearg.

Crodha Ribordan na ranu. leis adrochuir laeic na lann. Morana mac Comra creachta. d'horthauidh Eogain airdbhréithig.

Do thuit le Ceallachain cas. Amhlaibh Luimnígh na lann n-glas. oícos trle a gcuin n-go. da muinntir isin mcirgleo.
Cáithteim Ceallachain Caisil.

Cós céd laech fa cruaidh a cath.
do shluag Lochlainn gan lanbrath 1
as é lín do marbad libh.
do shluag Luainnigh longadhbhail.

Tri céd curad ceim nar gann.
do shluag Mumhan na morlann.
is e lín do thuirt san cath.
dar n-gasradhaib gu n-glanrath.

Ni dúl do Bhuaadhchán binn.
d'ua Aedha na n-arm n-alainn.
o dho fhacuibh mac gan go.
Ceallachan chosnas a chrio.

Croithg sin a chlainn Eoghan.

20. Asa haithle sin ro tinoillead na creacha ag na curadaib.
Ocús adubaith dréam acu anadh in n-oigithí sin isin
mbailí 7 innsioigidd arnamharach gu Caisil da creachlósaod.
Adubaith Sillehan risna saersluaghubh dul in-aghaíd
sin gu Corcaigh airm a rabatar a ngéill 7 a mbraiguidh
nach soisidh fesa náit teacha rompa. Do cinnéadh an
cumairli sin ag na curadh 7 rangadar in agaidh sin gu
Corcaigh. Tancatar Danair 7 Dubhghinnit bh
bhaili da n-indsaighid do chathuográ fir 7 do bríosed
in cath arna
Dubhghinntíbíbh danardha 7 ro hairgheadh in chathair leisna
curadaibh 7 rucáid a mhabraidh asin mbroid a rabhadh.

Do bantar fir Muman in oighthe sin a Corcaigh aca caithmeath
a fleg 7 a fuirlín (sic) 7 do bhatar tri trath isin baili 7 ro
tríllaí d'innsioighidh Caisil. Ocús ag dula seach uillinn
Shléibí Crot doibh do tinolait shír Mhuiighi 7 bi Chuanach
7 buanadh na Lochlannach cuca 7 tucas cath doibh 7 do
bríosed in cath la feruigh Muman 7 do marbad III. C.
[150 a, col. 2] dona buanadhuidh 7 da scoraidh. Ocús
nír mháir dona X. C. do bhatar caonna Eogain aith cath
Luainnigh acht trí C. isin lo sin. Ocús gabaite rompa a
crechadh gach chriche gu rancatar cu Durlas. Ocús tio-
ólaith Éile 7 tuaisceart 7 Éile deiscirt na coine cu Durlas
do thabhairt chatha doibh 7 Danair an dúnailí le. O't-

cualatar hua Luigdeoch 7 Eoganacht sin rothinolset co
Ceallachan da chabair um Cullen mac Aindriaird mhic
Dunadaigh um thaiscech a tuath 7 do rachtar da in
thuathí sin cona treinnerubh ar ghaibh 7 ar colguibh v.c.
a lín ag rochtain Ceallachain. Fheachr cath tura 7 na
hÉile 7 rográbhdar san rí Éile in la sin 7 rombadh na
buanadh (sic) Lochlainn leo 7 domhradh do C. do clainn
Eogain in sin lo sin. Ro creachsaol in cíche 7 mhoiliscéit
in baili. Ocús tiaigead rompa gu Caiséal. Se c. a lín. Ocús
do rachtaí Donnchad mac Céin gu Caisil na geoidhi 7
do agaill Ceallachan hé 7 do chuimhéag a gearradh 7
do gheall a seal don Munain do 7 tuairisc a' dinghíle 7
abhair an láidh.

21. Mu chean a Donnchad dhéidh.
a u Eogain airmhegda
na bris ar mbraithairsi binn
a u Olillla Oluim.

Na mor-Lochlannaisg nar g-cenn.
a u Eacch na n-ordún.
nalaghaigh do chinneadh fein.
a u Mhógá ghormheinn.

IN bhfheidir u rígh Muman.
dhnil Seal na curad.
cia garðhealad 1 sinse fris
o ata atáthaigh nar n-éimeas.

Aengus mac Nfactacht do croid.
san tir sì ar teacht do Phadroig
is aigi doascardh sind.
a u Olillla Oluim.

Eochaidh 7 Follimid oll.
da mac Aenghais ba hardgloinn.
acu mbraitheirsí co mbeathaigh.
a Donnchad na creach cathruaidh.

Triar is da choicheir gan coir.
uaim gu naenghus u n-Eogain.

1) In the original the word is written "launbreath.
2) This È- has no-
accents in the Original, but only in O'Curry's copy.
3) Written gariobail.
Donnchad 7 do briseadh for Danaruibh he 7 domarbad CCC. acu ann 7 do bhataí in oighthi sin i Caisil 7 do chaithedair flegna 7 tureca na n-Danar 7 na-n-Dublochlannach. Ocs doradom comairili leo isín mhaduin arna marach 3. innsaighg gu Port Lairigh airm a rabhatar mna 7 muinntera na Lochnaigh 7 in baili do loscad. 7 thigheadh gu faightith Phuirt Lairigh. Ocsba hesin la do riacht Sitríoc mac Tuigreis gu Port Lairigh. lucht se long 7, c. an gach luing dhíbh 7 ni riachtadar acht an tir íntan rosacht sosach sloigh Muman isin morbhailli. Ro hiadhaid na doirsí ag na Danaruibh 7 ro fhothradar in cathraigh do cosnamh. Cid tra ní tarbha tachar rísna treinítherúibri bh do ling Ceallachais 7 caom-Donnchad 7 Suilleaban 7 Ribordan 7 mileáda mera mór-ghníomacha Muman isin amháil. Ocs ro dhuthmharadh na Danair leo 7 ro ledrad na Lochlaigh 7 ro fhaghuí Sitríoc in baili 7 ro innsaigh a luing 7 a ben leis. Ocs ni riacht acht einced esbhadach leo ina longaibh. Ocs ro loiseadar síl Eogain in baili 7 ro creachadh ar críoch. Ocs thiguit assin i críoch na n-Deisi 7 gabhuit geill 7 aidheir Domnall meic Thaelin Ocs dorasón cleannas 7 caradrad tíris 7 tucadh Gormlaith ingen Buadaich do. Ocs thiguidh as in i críoch hua meic Caille 7 hua Liathain 7 roghaibh a mbaighdir. Ocs rocasán slogh na críoch sin leo a críoch Eoganachta Locha Lein 7 do creachadh an críoch Ocs rocasệu na creach sin leo a Muirchéidh 7 rocasú na h-Eoganachta orro ann 7 do marbad ri Eoganachta ann. Aed mac Scannail 7. c. d'Eoganachta 7 rocasú na creach [150 b., c. 2] cetna leu cu da righ Aesa hladsa 7 rocas úí doíbh 7 tancatair fein leo i críoch Fírmanach i. a n-Aes Íreais Ocs tuc Conghal mac Annrathain ri Íreais deabaidh do thosach in tsloig 7 do marbad CC. ann.) Oí dho riacht Ceallachan 7 saerchanna síl Eogain isín cath do gabadh Conghal leo 7 domarbad moran da muinntir 7 do creachast in críoch 7 do bairt inntí cu chu neis caeochtghíths 7 doilseach Congal amach 7 roghbhais léithidh uaidh.

23. Téicaid iarth i críoch Ciarraigh 7 do ronsaí creach na críoch. Tínsadai Ciarraigh na coinni 7 na Lochlaunnuígh.

1) There is a vacant space in the original, probably because the transcriber of the Book of Lismore has not been able to read some word in the MS. from which he made his copy.
do chuadar uatha a cath Luimnig roimne 7 teacáit gu Gleann Corbraighe ara comhaid 7 do chathaisg anu 7 tuacal ara mora ar clannais Eogain. 7 gia tucadh do fachtadh iu cathlathair acu 7 do gabhadh Concubair ri Ciarraigí leo 7 do badar gu crotha caithnesbadach a haithle in catha sin. IS in lo sin rothnoll Finnabrà mac Cármacain ri hua Conuíll na coimne do thabairt ghiall doibh Ocus o'connain a n-uaithe shuailigh iat as i comhairle doroin, braigheoidh na cath d' iarraidh oro. Ocus iarrt do bhatair cum in catha is ann do riarct Donnuaean mac Cinneideig gu Ceallachan da chabhair ár is ann bai inn agaid roimne sin a thigh Uaidhí mac Cathail righ ua Cairebre 7 ar rochtaí do ro ghabh ag fegad na n-Danar 7 na n-eachtrainn Ocus do fhaitighsest clann Eogain oca híshin 7 do raideist ris a chonnaillbhe do chuimmighud Ocus do geall Ceallachan ua Conuíll do fein ara cosc isin caitirghuí 7 ro fhaem Donn Cuan sin or ba hóthlais clann Eogain d'oíreacht 7 d'úthadh 7 abhth an laidh.

24. [Donnuchan] Uathadh sin a clanna Cuirc.
munuar do cirred bhur cuirp.
7 ro faenad bhur bhfhir.
a cath Luimnig longadhbail.

Dar linn do marbad bhur sluaigh.
a clanna Eoghuin arムarruithe.
7 do sraeind bhur suin.
as shil Oilela Olaim.

Truagh nach tanac isin cath.
a shuailig Caisig gu caenraoth
suil taosc Ciarraigí anu.
7 sluag laeuda Lochlann.

[Ceallachan] O nach rucais oraínu anu.
a Dhuinn Cuan na ced cathbharr
coisc dinn i Conuíll crotha.
7 traeth a tinola.1)

CAITHREIM CEALLACHAIN CAISIL.

Cainnigh a n-dernsadar thuaid.
Mogh Corb is Fiacha fuaír bunaid. 1)
am Eogain or slaid sin.
is mac Cormaic cais cuilfhind. 2)

[151 a., c. 1] Guin Eoghain 7 Aedh.
do Mogh Corb ba dail daenwa.
am Dimchadh 1) in airm dathaigh.
7 mac do mhor-athaigh (7)

Durnum ar n-dis a caem chais.
a n-derna mac Cormaic chais.
7 mac Eogain gan fheall.
Fiacha Muilleathan moirsheng.

Dogein is tu a chaeimh crechtaigh.
a ua Eoguin airidhbreathaig.
a n-derns an dias gan fhuaith
o tharla dúin bheith gu huathi. Uathadh sin.

25. Is ann sin dubairt Ceallachan re Donn Cuan gan ri o
Conuíll do mharbad da tecmad ar a comus he. Tuc Donn Cuan a briathar nach aineadh duini a cagh na caghainn
giamad cara dhó he roimse Ocus do chudair cum an
catha d'aeantaibh. Ro gabadh Flannabra mac Cármacain,
leo 7 tucaid ar mor ara muimnir 7 do meabaidh in catha
ar Conalchaibh 7 do creachad an crich le Ceallachan 7
do anuait a n-iubh Conuíll in eithi sin. Do thinín
Uaithe mac Cathail 7 hi Cairebre 7 ar'mhair d'ibh
Conuíll gu Cromad na goinne do thabairt catha 7 in
uair do badar cum in catha do thabhairt is ann dorácht
Dornach mac Caimin v. C. fer da bhfharaidh. Do cuireadh
i sa cath 7 do marbad ri o Cairbre ann Ocus anuait sianna
a Cromad in agaid sin. Rotuinois le Dornachraith 7 da
Corcобавhaiscein gu Cromad na n-inusaidh or ri fheadas
nach roibhe cuide do Cionnideig isina caithbh 7 do curo-
adar teatha gu Ceallachan d' iarraidh catha faigh. O'tcuialaid

1) The original has 6.  2) The two last words are written above the line, and in the line is written: Óilléil Oláim, which words are again cancelled.  1) O’Curry in his copy writes in the margin: Dimchadh (7).
Ceallachan sin adubairt re Donn Cuan dul aon n-aighaidh 7 gan a leicen doibh cathugad do denam fris 7 dorainne in rann.

Nocha n-ingeadh clann Cais. do cosnam in foinn fudghais. o theaguidh Cuirc na cuaine. do troid mon bhfon bhforuainge.

26. Cid tra o dho riacht Donn Cuan da n-acallaim do locadh in cath 7 do chuaidh Ceallachan go Caisil 7 ro thinisect fir Mhuman na comhdhail ar n-dichur na n-Danaer 7 na n-daer. Lochlannach aca cathraicheidh 7 asa caomhdhuitreach. ISe raimh ar-tus ann i Ceinneidig mac Lorcain gu maithibh Dail-Cais 7 tuadh tainisteach Muman 7 a ríghí a taisce Ceallachain. Do caithseart flega Caisil cu soinmheach socair annsin Ocus do cuireadar feasa uatha dh'fuaraidh [151 a., c. 2] a cása 7 a cana ar Osraidh i. ar Donnchadh mac Ceallachigh Ocus ba fada do bhi in cis soin gan tabhach o mhileadba Muman i. aen-bliadain dec 7 VII. XX. bliadain in cein do bhi an crích ag Danaruiibh. Ni tuascat Osraidhí cise doibh 7 o n-tuascat ro creascasom soin an crích Ocus ro bhreïtar is Anna for Laignibh is bliadain sin Ocus is cinhrímad cath do ghabhaidh Donnchadh mac Ceallachigh leo 7 tuascat Osraidh brad ag de eis.

27. Ar certagadh na crích do Ceallachain 7 ar n-dith a bhiodhba dh a eolus do innsaighedh na Lochlannaigh ro hAth Cliath 7 donait comairí ann 7 as lat ba fhearr dibh an tan sin. Síriúc mac Turgeis 7 a braithi i. Tor 7 Magnus 7 Turgeis 7 in Lochlannach ladhuch 7 in Lochlannach na lann 7 sean-Amlaibh 7 Linn-Turmu na huilhidh 7 Lind-Turmu na Pers 7 mac righ Findlochlainn 7 mac righ Fuar-lochlainn Ocus as i comairí dorsonad teacht do cur do Ceallachain 7 Beibinn ingin Turgeis do ghealladh dho 7 a radh de dhu co hAth Cliath de tabairt 7 co leifidís siúin crích Muman gan imchosún dhó Ocus is air dorsonat sin ar daighi Ceallachain do ghabhail doibh 7 do mharbhudh ar chuaidh leis Ocus ro leisect in comairí re rígh Eireann a hucht na Lochlannach i. Donnchadh mac Floirdi re Temrach

28. D'fhiafraigh Ceallachan do maithibh Muman creid do gochradh 7 asa cathraicheidh 7 asa caomhdhuitreach. ISe raimh ar-tus ann i Ceinneidig an crích a ríghí i. XX. mac righ ann 7 beinmide a Caiseal mar comuidhí or ní hfuicfiuma Muma go coimét 7 ni thuil a n-Eirinn lis Lochlannach nach roichfium da bhfaelltar forta. Doronsad allmaidh 7 do chuaidh Ceallachain i. XX. mac righ ann.

29. Ba hisin oighthi doraladh idir Síriúc mac Turgeis 7 a benn 7 ro fhiafraigh a ben de creid imatuc a shiaireu do Ceallachain. 7 gurub du chuair dé ar na Lochlannach, adubairseisum nach ar airtheiseach achar a ghabhail fein 7 do mharbhadh a mhuintire. Eigheáin an ingen gu moch [151 b., c. 1] isin madain arna marach 7 ro ghabh a hheadh cúnaill uimhir or ba cráide le in comhradh sin do cailt rogradh Ceallachain aise fein 7 ro robhcaibhidh in baile 7 taisce is sligid ar shaileir fir Muman do theacht Ocus mar do bhi ann gu bhfaicaim Ceallachain da hínneaisgid 7 ro in[ri]s ingin na scellaisin do Ocus do hóirse Ceallachain du cuich i. fein. Mor ingen Aedha meic Eachach misi ar an ingin ingen righ Inni Gall 7 Síriúc mac Turgeis nu cheili dona Finnlochannachbhail 7 tuaisce gradh duitse in-la atonnach a-Portlairig thu 7 adubhaír in láidh Ocus ni thuil isin láidh achar innis in sceoil aris. ²)

³) The original has no capital letters in this name.
²) The poem is found in a paper-copy in the Royal Irish Academy.

H. 1, 4. P. 68, from which I here give the text, and in the British Museum MS., Egerton 106, p. 59. The variants of the Egerton MS. I give as foot-notes.

Sgeala agam dhuirt a laioch loinn ³)

a ua Oilioll ⁴) ólaim
Do fhíaisfáigh Ceallachan dá muinntir cidh dogeanais. Is é adubradar gan dul isin mbailí 7 andigait féin ar macharibh 7 ar mormargúbh 7 in fad do raibh doin in ben do breith leo. O'connachar na lochlanagh sin do fuacradar da roibhi isin mbailí a leanaimh idir chois 7 eac'h Ocús ni cian rangadar i. Ceallachan 7 a meic rígh intan rug tosaich na lochlanach orra.

IS ann sin adubair Aedh mac Domnuill hui Faelain 7 Domnall ua Neill Mhuighi Da chomm. ataimne fiche fer dona Deisibh annso 7 annu ar-deredh chaise 7 dighlam a righ Múmhan na long liath.

Da n-deacháin tera go háth Cliath.

a righ Múmhan na long liath.

a Ceallachain na [ceang-]cuach. 1)

Do rinnedach cómhairle chruaidh.

Clann Tuigeis teas is tuaidh 9)

an Áth Cliath na ceiliat[h] ceath[as] 8)

ré Donnchaíd dréach déchfiathla. 7)

Do mharbhadh do ráidh go mbriath.

an fear ó thighe an righèirhir. 6)

sa rachaidh 9) [leat] a measg Ghall.

do shluaibhribh th'seath is t'fearann. 10)

Glóir 11) mo chéile do chuala.

a thiar dá n-deantar dúana.

1) Ég. has this line: a Ceallachain na ecoimoich.
2) Ég. rachaidh.
3) Ég. dáin.
4) Ég. a.
5) Ég. has this line: a chlanna Tuigeis theas thuaid.
6) Ég. ceatha.
7) Written d'fhilath.
8) Ég. has this line: caeith is bhadh cibhethin bhur.
9) Ég. has this line: Mór mainn si an gach baile buan.
10) Ég. dot.
11) The MS. has do chródnach, which gives no meaning. The reading dot is taken from Ég.
34. IS ansin do an Cudubh mac Failbhe 7 Donnchad mac Muircertaigh 7 Finn mac Elersecoil 7 do marbhset moran dona Lochconnach a 7 do marbail iatsom.

35. IS ansin roloigh imarcreigh na laechrad Lochannach ar in laechrad Muimhriog 7 ro gabhudh Ceallachan 7 Dondcuain leo 7 rucad gu hAth Cliath iat Oicus intan do rachtadar faighthi in balli adonnaice Ceallachan fer cuigi 7 cenn an laim 7 laimh don in sa leis gum e 7 do fhiafraigh do Ceallachan cuich an cenn. Ceann Aedha mheiche Donnchada meic Caemim sin ar Ceallachan Oicus cainfid clanna Eachach in cenn sin ar se.

36. [151 b., c. 2] Atconnuic fer ele cuigue 7 cenn 'na laimh 7 do fhiafraigh do Ceallachain cuich e. Cenn Spealain meic Shiuillebain ar Ceallachan 7 cainfit caemrigina Caisil in ceann sin.

37. Atconnuic fer ele cuige 7 cenn 'na laimh 7 do fhiafraigh cuich e. Aithriech leam fer an cinn sin do tabairt lium ar Ceallachan. Aengus mac Aissida 7 cainfid clanna Cairthinn finn in cenn.

38. Atconnuic fer ele cuige 7 cenn 'na laimh 7 do fhiafraigh in cethin do Ceallachain. Ceann Aedha meic Donnaill hi Fhaelanin sin ar-se 7 caintdir isna Deisibh fer an chinn sin.


40. Atconnuic fer ele cuige, 7 ro fhiafraigh de cuich in cenn so. ar se. Ceann Donnchudha meic Concubair in sin i. meic righ Ciarraige Luacra 7 cainfit clanna Ceir in cenn sin ar Ceallachan.

41. Atconnuic triar chuige 7 tri cinn ina lamh uibh 7 do fhiafraigh set do Ceallachain cuich iat. Cinn tri mac righ Corcoduubheine sin ar se i. Cudubh mac Failbhe 7 Aedh mac Segda 7 Fianghal mac Conghail 7 cainfit clanna Cuirc meic Cairebri na cinn sin ar Ceallachan.

42. Atconnuic fer ele cuige 7 do fhiafraigh in cethin de. Ceann Donnchada meic Muircertaigh sin ar se i. meic righ Eogananachta 7 cainfit clanna Cairebri Cruithnigh in cenn sin Oicus cenn Find meic Eidersceoil in cenn ele sin 7 cainfit clanna Luighdeach in cenn sin Oicus na taispeanad

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Dursan na ceinn gan colla. 

ufi a) silid deara donu

nior bhaoidh b) gér fhortil na fir.

do fhaoidh martraidh shil Eoghuin.

Aodh mac Donnchada gan ceann.

dursa(n)[1] ful lara anobh seang

ó caom na) Chathair chnheadhaic d)

óg ghliainodhna garghshlehaice.  e)

Ceann tuibhine taghabhar f) libh

a bhuidhean so do Gallabh

Meic Súilthobhain deargas gai. i)

dursan leam ó Mhaoiliura.

Truagh leam ceann an Í) fuithil chleachtaic. 11)

Muircertaich Meic Muircertaice
go foliis an geal glonnach.

ar chumas na Lochconnach.

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1) This and the following contractions are written e.
Aithreach leam a theacht leam
an deagfhér a dhiú gan cheann
bá caomhdhios a ród riogha.
Aonghus óg Mac Aisioda

Ceann dá ttugadar mná spéisi.
Ceann deaghmoic Righ na n-Désí
a thaobh a n-doghruing spóirt ghaibh.
Aodh Mac Domhnaill i Phaoilín

Fianghal Mac Conaill Creachaigh.
Mac Ógáirghigh spóirt a n-árdbhreathnaíth
bliadhnaí mna na n-Gall dá choimhdeadh.
Gé atá a cheann dá cíomaidhheimh

Dob iomhda adhbharr deaghsgeoil.
ar Fhionn ar Mac Eidersgeoil
mór bhír díonosaigh lé fáth ghaibh.
fearr an cheinn sin ad lethlaímh

Truagh leam cómaoidheamh a cheinn
deaghmhac righ [maighe] cCoinchín

1) Eg.: Aithreach liom a theachtaigh liom.
2) Eg.: ré.
3) Eg.: Aodh.
4) Eg.: Ógáirghigh.
5) Eg.: bód.
6) Eg.: chaoinnigh.
7) Eg.: ionnsoidealh ré.
8) Eg.: liom.
9) Eg.: na cheinn.
10) Eg.: moighche cCoinchín.
gisagir gu cuirmis d'innisín na comhthadh sin he 7 inisissier duin cia, port a bhfuighthe sibsi da bhfaghthar dhaibh iat. A n-Ard Macha ar Siriuic or is-ann bertha thusa dot cóimh. Do leicadh a comhairli iat 7 adubairt Ceallachan re hAistreachan na contha sin d'innisín do Muinnicheart Ocsus atbert in laid.

44. **Innis a Aistreachan áin**
   [d'fearáibh Múirman, is dá mnaibh]

   1) Only the first line of this poem is found in the Book of Lismore, but it is found in full in H. i. a. p. 70-71, from where I print it here between brackets, and in Eg., from where I print the different readings as foot-notes.

Lé rómhéid thaisbleáintaoi dham
   do cheannáibh macaoimh Múirman
   ge ataí 1) beo do cradhadh sin 2)
   ni as mó a n-ariom ni fhéidhím

Ma congmhaidhse 3) mó a cceubhreach.
   ó theasda an mharcrad Muimhneach
   truag nach ann luaras mo ghoin.
   a measg shaorclíonní síl Eóghuin

Déantar mh-ógheith as cead leam.
   is oighedh Dhuinn Cuain mar aon riom
   ciúd dhídh pudaír teasaí mo sheal.
   do shuagh Múirman is dursan

Truagh gan Móir do teacht liom.
   inghion Roll innsi Fionnghall
   mó do bhéith ar bhéith a soirt.
   nocht an libhsí nach dursan.

   Dursan.

1) Eg.: taim.
2) Eg.: cranáidh.
3) Eg.: congmhaidhse.

a righ do beith an Áth Cliath.
ag Sithrioch na céid ocromsgíath.

Béaraighd Sithrioch leis tar tuinn.
soir go Lochluinn laoidheang-dhuinu.
a cealich 1) sa cuirn chama.
a bhfaighe 'sa bhféithiciolla.

Muna ttugaid dó uile.
sgéithe is cloidhmhe cúimhdhaighthe 2)
   a tabhairt dho Sithrioch tar tuinn.
do chionn Cheallachain cheaththchuirr.

Braighd Múirman cios a hiath.[h].
rachaid ar aon go hÁth Cliath
Mac gach taoiseag is gach righ.
ar teidh 3) Múirman na mórghníomh.

Corcaigh is Luimneach longach.
is Port Láirse lántonnach
mar aon re Caisiol cladhach.
do Shithrioch luath lánlochlonnach 4)

Cath Sgteithe Neachtuin go calma.
do bhfris Olchubhar 5) amhrá
mar cuireadh dá chéad déag.
do Lochlannabhaí a trathchag.

Béartar do Sithrioch thriúchach. 6)
ó thuig sé a eítheach.
a ccomhail sin alle.
lé hEiric Righ na n-Innse.

1) Eg.: A cealich,
2) The four lines from: a cealich — to — sceith in Eg. in a different order. First comes muna .. — , then sceith or, then a cealich, and then a bhfáighe ..
3) Eg.: náidh.
4) Eg.: Fain tholthach.
5) Eg.: Olchubhar.
6) Eg.: Súbhth tríúchach.
Donnchadh a n-giubhilih1) na nGall.
Mac Cheallachain na ccaomhann
braighde Mumhan leis go li.
ider thaoisioc is tréinrigh.

Ag sin an abair rinne
Mac Turgéis go ttrénluinne
muna ttugaid sin alc.7)
do muirfadh sé an Airdrighe.8)

Innis. Ocus rl]

45. Ocus raidh a Aistrechain re fioribh Mumhan gan na comhtha
i ddo tabairt uath a 7 cosna[ld] crích Mumhan 7 righaid
Ceizdeidig mac Lorcaen 7 raidh riu na briathra tiseat in
la do fhachbussa Caisil do chuimhinn ud 7 cosnait sinne a
nert lan 7 luire. Ocus raidh re clannuibh Cuirc coim-
eirghi mhaith do dhenum.4) Ocus raidh re Donnchad
mac Caenm toideacht dar n-iarraidh co hArd Macha. Ocus
tecat clanna Eogain ann ria gcach 7 tabrad gach taisech
maithi a thuaiti 7 a fherainn leis. Ticedh ann Donn-
chad mac Caeim meic Airt meic Cathail ria clanna Echach
Ocus ticeadh MacEfcorthaig mac Flinnm, ticedh Suille-
ban mac Maeluqa ria clanna Fhinghin. Ticedh ann
Donnchad mac Duineachaidh meic Fhionghua.
Ocus Rib-
baran mac Aisaidh 7 Donnchad mac Domna[l]l 7 Donn-
chad mac Lorcaen 7 Domnall mac Cathail 7 Eigirt mac
Cormeic 7 Cú calma mac Cindfhaelaid. Ticedh Cuilen
macAindiarraidh 7 tabrad clanna Failbhe leis. Ticedh
Muircertach mac Murchada. Ticed Bogartach mac Fiana-
la gu maithibh ua Muireadhaigh leis (sic). Ticedh ann Domnall
mac Diarmaid 7 Fiana mac Feicne. Ticedh ann Cuan-
achtach mac Con gan mathair 7 tabrad Eoghanacht Airth-
thr Cliach leis. Ticedh ann Conaing mac Larcadh 7
tabrad u Cathbaidh leis. Ticedh Fergal mac Ealaigh 7
tabrad clanna Sealbhaigh leis. Ticedh ann Anuchad mac
Dunchada. Ticedh ann Flanwabra mac Airindan meic

1) Eg.: a n-gimhilih.
2) Eg.: alle.
3) Eg.: go muirfe an airdri.
4) This line — from: Ocus raidh re — dhenum, is omitted in O'Curry's copy.

Innis do clannuibh Eoghuin

don fhuirin mheileolain
da n-airdrighe dá bhreith bo thuaidh.
go ro' Lochlann leabharbhua[ln].

Innis d'Eoghanuibh uile.
idir righ 7 rothuint
mé dom bhreith ag Sitrí mac tar tuinn.
soith go Lochlunn laoidheangduinn.

Muna theisiad tuinn na sluagha.
fo chom aoinh mhíth bo thuaidh
go roichid Árdmacha mbéin.
Ni bhfághadh sínd a-n-Eirín

Tionólaid clanna Chuirc cháoinh.
Eóghanacht Caisil chladhcháoin
sul rugadis tar muir amach
a-n-airdrigh crótha cósgrach.

Tigidh clanna Eóguin óig.
d'iarraidh a righ tre rómhoíd
ó thuin Chlóidhna na ttreas tstrom.
go habhainn dá bho bennchorr.

Donnchadh mac Caomh na ceacacród.
Mac áirdrighe na n-each n-aírdhög
tabhrad san sluagh gan oil.
clanna Eacach fél adhmhair.
46. Ocus intan tair leat clanna Eogain d’agalladh 7 do tinol cu haeíninad insaigh romadh gu [152 a., c. 2] rig Dháil Cais ar Ceallachair i., gu Ceinnidí mac Lorcain 7 raidh ris annhain ag cosnam crichi Muman cunach dernat Connacht a catharcuinn 7 abair re hUaithneig 7 re hUrnhaulain techt isin tizol Ocus insaigh cu hEilbhí 7 raidh riú annún ac cosnamh crichi Muman 7 abair re a tigerna i., re Cerbhail mac Dubhlaídh meic Ceanamhain gurub ag Oilioll ar mbraitheirsi Ocus insaigh gu clannaíb Connla i., gu sluaghuíbh Osraídh 7 raidh riú Muma do coiméid o Bladhma bhudhes co muir 7 coimeatad Ele gu

Tigedh ann Donnchad donn.
oicus Súilábhán síúchar
mar aon re Duinneacháin dian.
oicus Éigertach ar aonraín

Tigedh ann Riordán reálbeach.
as sluagh chrodha comhrachach Tigedh lucht tíghe an righ líbh.
ceithre-ched do chaomhfhraighbh.

Siol Eachach siol Fhinghin fhíil.
tigid uile ar aonraín

tigedh san sluagh treabhadh.
haoi meic Caille is i Liathain.

Haosi cConuil (7) hi cCaibrecc ceuraid.
tionólaíd sin lion a sluigh
tigid i cCormaic ón tuinu.
ar cheann Cheallachain chleachtachuir.

Ionnaigh go Dún bán Baille.
bail le mbíd cearda an chaomhfhiúl
is tabhair leat ó Loch Léin.
an dá Eoghanacht aonmhéin.

Raidh dam re Fergal fearrdha.
déanad tionsóil thréanchalma
sul beartar uatha a loing.
Ceallachair soír a hEirinn.

Bladwá amail do ní (sic) do gres Ocus insaigh cu sluaghuíbh na n-Deisi 7 teacait 7 Maccraíd i sin mhorsloicad Ocus amar tháir leat Ceinnidigh 7 clanna Eogain d’agalladh insaigh dánse, gu taisceabhair mo loingsi 7 tuc leat iot ac Sruth na Maeli 7 madh dá mbearr mhísi a hEirinn gu bhfághatr fir Muman a longa dom leannainn air ní cora do laechraídh Lochlainn (sic) crothacht ag cosnamh ar crichi-ne ina do mileáidh Muman calma do denum ag cosnamh a criche seeom 7 agár n-dighailte orro. Isinsaigh art sú chuig tri righuibh Corcolaighdí. Gu Flann 7 gu Eítescel 7 gu Cobhtach 7 gu Dubh-dha-boireann cu righ iarthair 7 n-Eachach. Gu Seighdha 7 gu Faibhe 7 gu Conghaíl cu tri righuibh Corcolaibhíne. Gu Concabac mac meic Bethaigh gu righ Ciarraígh Lahcorra. Gu Donnall 7 gu Baiscinn gu da righ Corcobaiscinn. Gu Conchubhair 7 gu Lochlainn gu da righ Cearcmaruadh 7 tabhrat x., longa geacha trécha c., leo or aisea sin') coiméid ar cablúighne.

47. AS a haithléi') sin do gtaisais Aisidreachan roime gu Caiséal airm a rabhatar mileád Muman 7 do ininis na scéal sin doibh i, Ceallachain 7 Donn Cuan do ghabhail 7 na. scáil fichit do cuaidh leo do marbad. Ba cumhacht cén tromomh chomair do bas cuí som deséin o't cualtar gabhal a n-glaingeigh 7 marbad a macraidh. Ro agall Aisidreachan iat 7 ro ininis na haithseasa do chan Ceallachain i. a fiascalad a nert lánd ocus luiric 7 leathaisceith 7 gan Mumna do chur fa dhaeiri na fa doirciúi do Danaruibh na do daerLochlanruibh Ocus adubaír riu na briatra taisiát [152 b., c. 1] an la do fhacuibh Ceallachain iat do cuimhneadh 7 do ininis doibh Ceallachain do breith cu hArd Macha da mhurcheamhacht. O at chuala Donnchad mac Caeim na conraitísin adubaír re clainn Cormaic is contáide ar do denumh 7 re clannaíubh Eogain innsaighd i anmaracht a rígh 7 re clannaíubh Cairbre cimheirgh ‘7 re clainn Luigedhe langhaiscoil 7 re clannaíubh Ferghusa firuisiúil 7 re clannaíubh Ceallachain cimheachraíocht 7 re clannaíubh Taidg treochoimheth 7 re clannaíubh Fiacachtaí Suidhe (sic) sairthícín. Cidh tri ar Donnchad damad iat bur treoín 7 bur taisiúcháin do bheidh i laim ag Lochlanruibh do

1) Written as 'e.
2) Instead of the 'h' a dot, usually denoting aspiration, is written.
thinoilfedh Ceallach an slob da bar n-iarraid 7 do berad
catha da bar cosnain or tuscomh v. catha dec ar Danar-
uiubh gabar cosnain i. in cod cath dibh a Luimníg 7 in
dara cath a Corcaig 7 in tres cath oc Slíabh Crot.
In ceithre mhaid a u-Durlus in coicedh) a Caisiul in seised a
Port Lairg in sechtmaid a Muscraidh in t-ochtmaid a n-
Ard Osraide in noemad a-n-Glinn Corbràgh in demad a
Senghul[a]ainn Cladhaird ua Connlail in t-aemhad dec a
Cromaid Ocus ceathra catha for Laighne 7 for Osraideh
7 celhidersin ag laecheaid Lochlann da ria Ceallachan
dan cosnain leó.

48. IS annsin ro chinnsed a comairle um tinneocetel inn

tsluagad sin 7 do hordaiged acu beith caeleidges on lo
sin ar Magh n-Adhar a mbhabh ar tir dibh 7 a mbhath
ar muir dib do beith a mBel Ata Laighne. Cidh tra in-
la ro gheallat a sluag beith isna iswaith sin do badar
amail ro gealsad. Ba he lin dorrichtad co Magh n-
Adar III, catha comhara. Ocus do riacht Ceinnideig mac
Lorcain 7 maithi Dail Cais ann Ocus do fheasdal Cein-
neideig iat in oigitsin.

49. Do eirghdar arannmarach 7 do raith Ceinnideig gu rachaid
leo. A dubairt Donnchad nach leifitis leo ide r he.
Is d’iarraidh bur righ 7 chu chosnain thiaight ne 7 ni bhean
tusa linn acht an oc cinnamhean an tire. Ma asdeh
ar Ceinnideig onach raghisa ann X.XX. c.
libh-sé 7 [152 b., c. 3] anfath fein lin Muman do chos-
nunmh 7 curof mu thri dearbrtair libh 7 adubairt
i dohluách maith du mac muirntril du ar cenn a
bhrithch 7 abtar fris. Ticed Coscraoch 7 Longgarcan 7 Congalach
cu. X.XX. c. ma-aeun ru (sic). Ticed Asidhá mac Asidhá
7.v. c. do claunmar Caintinn ar-aeun ris. Ticed and Deigh-
adh mac Domhnail Hean Duinu 7.v. c. Ele lais Ocus do
fheddar ar Ceinnideig inni is doigh leam do bhréadh
catha foruiubh i. gan righ ronuithb do genad sibh comhairli
7 fa coisean sibh cathlhaith 7 onac fulr righthair libh
Donnchad mac Caeim 7 du bhfaghthar Ceallachan, tabar
a righi fein do Ocus tuc Ceinnideig a lamh a laimh
Donnchad a bhfeairuith Muman 7 tucadar-san uill

50. Roghabh Ceinnideig aga radh re Donnchad calma do
denamh 7 aca innisí dho a mhet do righuithb doghab
righi Mhuan uime i. Airtir 7 Cathal 7 Finguine 7 Cathal
7 Cúi (sic) gen mathair 7 Cathal 7 Aeth 7 Flann 7
Caibre 7 Crimthian 7 Eochaid 7 Aenghus mac Nathfraighce
icar deighlad na deighfhir conudh en-rí dcl r ghabh
righi Muman o Aengus gu Donnchad 7 da bliadaín. I.
fad a bhfaiithuisí conudh da forgeal sin abtair an sen-
chaide an laid i.

Gur meala do righi rain 7 cetera.

51. Asa aithi sin do gluaisetar rompa ‘na cathuibh coraighthi
7 do ghluais a cabhlach in la cedn Osus as e inadh a
raibi a-sliog in oighitsin a-n-Ath na Righ Ocus do cuadar
arnamharaich cu-Sliabh Cain 7 do ronad botha 7 belscal
leo ann 7 ger adhbal na huisceada ni clios neac aga
n-eacaine ar met na sainn i do bhi orra do rochtain na
Lochinnanch.

52. RO leicset sirthr uathubhgh gu Muaidh 7 ro tinoile crecha
leo d’innsealt ag a longphuirt. Amhail robhatar ann
fhachadar buinig cuca. X.XX. c. ba hedh a-lín 7 is amlad
robhasar 7 fer ar-éntus rompa 7 ro fiafraigedair cuich e
7 cuich in buigniu. Dream do Mhuimheachaid arse 7 ni
fheddar Muimhine a-m-bheith dibh i. Dealbhna 7 Gallighe
7 Luigne do clarain Tadg meic Cein Ocus atá tri’
hoirigha agmar rompa [153 a., c. 1] i. Aedh mac Dualas-
cagh 7 Gallighe uime Osus Luighne um Diarmait mac
Finnachta. Osus Dealbhna um Donnchad mac Maeldonnaill
7 ase a-lín. v. c. eìdhead 7 v. c. gan eìdhead. Osus gabsat
longport ar-aeun re Dail ghCaí 7 deossidar in oightrí an-
siùs gu soimhnech sidamal.

53. Do eirghtar gu m’och annamharaich tar Es Dara 7 tar
drochfet minglan Matra 7 tar sensrothaib Slibigh 7 lamh
dhes re Beinn n-geathechuir n-Gulbair. tar Dubh 7 tar
Drobais 7 tar Magh n-uaini a bhfuilblath na-Ene 7 gu
hEs righdha Ruaidh 7 roleiscet sirthr tar Ath Senaig soin
7 rotoinleadar crecha crecha Cosual arson leor us gus
an longport Osus do lean Muircertagh mac Airelai 1 i. i.
Cenoll Cosual 7 do bh ag iarraidh a crech orro. Adobair
Donnchad nach aislegad iat gumad saithneach in-sluaib
dibh 7 ni beramh linn a-bhacadh du bhuifighbeal aní da crích
gan crogh in crích a ragam. Cidh tra do impo Muircertagh
gu tarla cath Dail gCais 7 Gaillenga 7 Dealbna 7 Luighne aniar na n-urcomuir gur hímpoiméid soir iat gu groid gaibhítreach ge'gh'ronach gu tarla cath coimhe hEogain da n-insaisgdh gur holsuíced dorus deda deigthimenn[i]ach ar in n-dlrithbhualíd/samhail leasa lamhnoir; dochoraidh gurbh chinsa comhleithtata cenganait gur taimheach ag na hEogancabh, gu bhfuairadar an buinne borbLochnaich sin isin sligeid 7 isin slughbhualíd sin 7 ro duined gu dighair deighdhaingin in doras da n-eis 7 ro gabhadh comach ar na curadhach comach fuairadar raen na roishegí ona rígheabh acht toitim 'na torainn truin trochamal ar an laithair-sin. Ocús ised ruc as in tuatha thérna dibh urithosach na hEogancabh. [153 b., c. 1] O'connaiic Donnchadh na catha mesc ar mhesc. do fuacair doibh uil a' imhidheal 7 oirism 7 doronsait amuid 7 teicte isin mbaill 7 do bi in baile ara conus in agaid sin. Ocús ni fuairadar scéal Ceallaicain.

Do eighedh isin maduin armarach gesin catlaithuir 7 ro thoinisleit cuip a muintirri na haineadh 7 ciad na Lochnaich 7 do cuirseit ar birchail/ bodhcha na cins. Do farraigh Donnchadh mac Caeimh in raibh nech do Ghaeighilfh isin mbaillí o bhfuighbeadh scéal Ceallaicain. Do fhregair fer 'sa mbaillí do 7 adubhairt ba do clannath Gaeigheil a bhunadus. do fhiafraigh Donnchadh cuìth e.

IS me ba príomhaith a-n-Ard Macha. sul tancatára na Lochnaigh, 7 is me anois is aistireoir anni. Sceiligh Muman ágad? ar Donnchadh atáta ar se, in oighidh do babair-si oc Sas Ruaid, tancatára teocha o righ Ceinoil Conuill don b älinaí innsiubur cálsc slios 7 do ghluaiséid Ceallachan co Dun n-Dealgan 7 an deochmar iarba do bhi ica ghabhail maille ris cu haírm a bhfuilte a longa. gluaiséir agairn na-deagaidh ar Donnchadh air ní thuigimh iss Lochnaich a n-Eirinn cuimh roicfheum ac commuir ar sibhreach.

Gluaisíom rpm 'na cathadh còirti agus i Sliabh Fuait 7 a bhfigh Conuill 7 a magh Murchemhíne 7 dòcumar Duine Dealgan co direcht. Ocús do chuidar na Lochnaigh 'na longaib uatha 7 do cuaisaras gu taeibh na trogh. IS i long ba nesa doibh long Shitríuc meic Tuircge[i][s] 7 is inrìt do bhi Ceallachan 7 dofhiaráig Donnchadh doibh in bhfuighbeadh Ceallachan re huascalad. Tuc Sitríuc a bríthar
nach fuighthe ider acht munu tudaissium dosan ar marbad isna \ v. catha déc tuc Ceallachan. 7 ar marbad a cath Arda Macha. O\ t chuail Donnchadh sin do ghabh ica tathaeir 7 adubaír nach a gcaith na a gcaimhne\n do ghabhatar Ceallachan acht ar luighi 7 ar loimeithech 7 adubaír nach tibred taebh re luigi Lochlannaig da n-eis. Tabraid onoir do Ceallachan a bhfadhnaítaí na Muimhneach ar Sitríuc i. cengailter don tseolchrann he [153 b. c. 2] or ni bhia gan phianad na nanaor 7 doronad amlaidual. Càinfit bantrachta Mumun sin ar Donnchadh 7 cáisfadh do bens sa Shitríuc 7 ni fuil acuibh ac denamh in dochuirsin do fer acht fuigheall a claidim no a chatha. Ocus do tochadh Domn Cuan mac Ceinnéit mar an cedna a luigh mheic righ Fuarlochlaín 7 adubaír Donnchadh cumad fhear leis cumad comhthrom comluinn doibh 7 atbert in làid.

A Sitríuc theithius ar tuinn 7rl.1)

1) The poem is given in full in \frac{23}{H. 1 a, fol. 80 f. as follows:

A Shithriocc theithios tar tuinn
fan re hagallamh againn.
ó nach féadamaid a fhír dhuibh.
do leanhunin isin leimhuir.

Do gheallais do bhriethuir theas.
a Lochnaile na lann n-glas
do Ceallachán an fhuiit fhinn.
ních millfeá é a nÉirinn.

Tugais briathar bréige a thuir.
dá millcear leat am milieu
ní thuibre duine ad dheaghfhídh.
toibh ré lúighe Lochnaile.

59. IS ann sin asbirt Ceallachan. Narube dighait dobera sibh oruin ba immcheinidh do denamh. uair dobereimis dom bréithir gurub doilghi leamsa Caiseal gan comartba
do clannuibh Eogain ann ina bheith dar fhísin isin phEin si 7 mu bennacht ar Dail gCais luach na tosa
tancatara. lArisi tocrus Ceallachan a cheann 7 atbert.
A Doonchadh ar ghluais cabhrúth libh? Do ghluais ar
Donnchadh. Atciosa iat ar Ceallachan 7 adubaír in làid.

Caoinfíid banntrach[a] Mumhan.
da bhfagha Ceallachán púðhar
ní bá ciuin a n-gáil[er]e ghiul.
ó Uighne go Dín Eocarmhaigh

Dá eilaim Gormhiath glac [n]geal.
inghion Bhaadh[a]chain na bhfledh
ní bá ciuin a gáir mhail.
deaghbhhean Domhnuill i Fhaolaín

Dá n-inwister dot mhnaoi féin.
bas Ceallachán na n-arm n-gér
cainfíid nó Mór na rosg mali.
inghion Righ innis Fionnghall.

Maith do thuill Ceallachán cas.
uaibís gan a léigion as
do lean go cosaíbh a long.
go minic laochradh Lochlann

Ní bhfuil agaibh gan ógaidh.
laoch acht fúíghioll a chloiddyom
do chruaidh tré meatachí gan bhrigh.
an uaimh nó a n-gealtacht ón árdriigh

Gach tuarasdal dår thógh fear.
tug righ Caisil na caomhfhleadh
as d'ónumhas Lochlannach t[h]ug.
do shluagh Mumhan a Shithri[u]l[ec]. A.
60. A Donnchaidh donnus in crann.,
na taf[h]eir laechraidh Lochlann.
nir milledar sinn cose,
ac conall a bhfrinne.

An braithear tug Sitríuc thes.
as i fos atá 'gár les
as tríthi berar mé sair.
dom milled oc Lochlannchaib

As mo dhaimshin ar m'anmain,
ina beith a pein adhbruill.
gan Caisil do cosnum dhuibh.
a shaerclanna shil Eogain.

Oramsa do haírmhedh riamh.
a n-dornsaibair thoir is tiar.
daibh fein áirméochtar anois.
denaid calmacht am ecomo

Rí dingmala cum Caisil.
leitheit in Muimnigh maisg.
foiridh ibh as cäch n-eicin.
righthr libh-si Ceinneidh.

Mu bennachtasa fir in fath.
ar Dail gCaiss cinnes ar chach.
crotha thancadar ille
do chomhull a mbríit[h]irse.

Tancabar sluaided bagha.
a clann Eogain in agha
tré coiced Medbhótha budh thuaidh.
romhor in menma mhorshuaign.

O thancabar tar Es Ruaid.
tancadar techta bhutauidh
o Muirchertaich gu méid n-gluin
o aird[r]igh ceneoil Conuíll.

61. IS and sin do thocbhatair fir Muman a cinn 7 a caemroise 7 adeconceadair an cuan aga chomhlinnadh do longuibh 7 do luathbhéarúibh 7 as iat do bhi ann cabhrach fer Muman. Ocsus do fiafraig Sitríuc cuith (sic) iat 7 do inis Donnchadh a n-anmanu. Ro budh fearr linn ar Sitríuc cu bhfhaghmsais a fhíos cia dhíb dhu na ghabhí do laimh ar geosc isin chaithirgailsi anlugh 7 uaisli na bhfear fulleat ann. Adbairt Duinechaod mac Fiannghais da bhfaghadh arthrac fría himhluchtadh 7 dílis fría duit 7 fría teacht u praghadh d'fis na scélsin o Sitríuc 7 fuair amail ro chúinnaig.

62. Teit Duinechaod co haírm i raibh in cabhlaich 7 do fiafraig scela dhiubh 7 do indís scela fheir Muman a n-Ard Macha doibh. 7 do inis Ceallachan do beith a luigh Shitríuc isin tseolchranu cengailti Ocsus aderaid sibsi ar
Duineachad in tan do beidís bhur sluaíg uili a n-a chinnaíd cumad lín tabartha catha duiní síb 7 do budh nar dhaibh anois bhur tríath 7 bur tigerna de leicid don muir cusna tunna [o dhoi leanabair].

63. IS bhriathar duinne ar iatsom da mbéidis Muimnigh 7 Lochlannagh ar aenchai nach leithinis Cealachan leog caint do thabhairt doibh. Maseadh ar Duineachad invísid sa cuid na coimhlaí [n] ghabhthai do laim don laecharaidh Lochlannagh [154 a, c. 2]. Ocus asiat so iatsain. Lochlannach na lainn 7 in Lochlannach laadhach 7 Sen-Amlaibh, tri ceimheideig Corcaighi. Leagar duinne iat ar trí rígh Corcaíobhne i. Flann 7 Cobhthach 7 Eidsirceal or is rinn dorasain adhbhair ar thacht co hlinis Clerer da rucsaí ar mna 7 ar macna is a mbroid 7 ni tharramai iat re dhigael forru 7 ghabhmaine de laim iatsom anuig. Cia aigbhidh ar Duineachad ghabhais do laimh Lenn Tarmain na huidh. leagar damhsa he ar Dubhdhabhoirenn ri iarthair o nEchch, doigh romhradh se mac maith umum i. Aedh mac Dubhdhabhoireann. Cia uibh dh ar Duineachad gabhs do laim tri meic Tuirghceis i. Stíruic 7 Tor 7 Magnus Ocús is na luing ata Cealachan, leagar duinne iat ar Segda 7 ar Failbh 7 ar Conghal uair dochudar fo Seoicí Mhichidh 7 do millset in tir 7 ghabhmaine de laim iatsom do dingmial anuig.

64. Adhar ele ar Fálbí tucsam breithir nach bhíth ar muir nó ar tír inad a bhfaicísim iat nach roichjmis da inísaidig. Cia uibh dh ar Duineachad ghabhs do laimh mac rígh Finnlochlaun, leagar damsa he ar Conchobar ri Carraoidh Luachra or do loisc se Ardd Fothaigh mBrennaidh 7 díghealatais faí anuig he. Cia ghabhs do laimh Lenn Trumun (sic) na Pers ar Duineachad, leagar dhuinne he ar Diarmaid 7 ar Baiscimna do rígh Corco Baiscne air ro creachad Inis Cathaig 7 ni rucsanme orro cusanaigh. Cia ghabhs do laim ar Duinechad ri Fuarlochlaun? IS na luing ata Donn Cuan 7 he ceangaiti. Leagar duinne he ar do rígh Corcamruadh air dochudar air for Araidin 7 do creachad leog hi 7 díghealainne orra anuighe.

1) The words between brackets are omitted in the line and written in the margin.
2) In the margin of O’Curry’s copy is added (probably in O’Donovan’s hand): Corcaigheach.

05. Cinnas aitheonta longa a cheile ar Duineachd air na scoth 7 na bratacha fuileat acaibhse ni hiat rob’ aíthn’id doibhí. Urrasa sin ar Failbhí find or is colgadh iat san or-duchadh ar bhfeirnein aga tighibh i. Corcolaighdí as faide bhudh dhes 7 na Echach is neasu dhí. [154 b, col. 1] Corcaubhíobhne as nesa disain. Ciarradai as nesa disain. Corcaibisiúin as nesa do Ciarradai. Corcanruaidh as nesa do Corcaibisiúin 7 coiceomhaithe ar cablach dorchire ar bhfeirnein 7 denmúlism ar fressaid. Teit Duineachd roime cuisin loingirius Lochlannach 7 do insis na hathshsca sin do chaírín Turkis.

IS des torla sin ar Stíric ci or as iat sin na comhlaíonn ro toghsam. Tainic Duineachad[ad] ar tir 7 do insis scéala na comhluin sin do Mhuimneachad Ocús abairt in seneadín in laid.

66. Indis ar Duineachd dhuiní 7 cetera.

[duinne ci hiaid na comhluinn]
do ghabh an dá oirighi deag.
ó iarthair Múch, na mórséadh

Sloinn gach Lochlannach data.
do thóg gach ointe aco
is gech ter dar gabhadh leó.
do Lochlannabh ‘san luathghléó

Do ghabh Eidersgeol anall.
uaibhí Locho,)n na lainn
do dheall Cobhthach is Flann Fál.
an dìos eile dionghabhail

Fáilbhí go Síthrioch na sluagh.
Seaghd[a] go Maghnais Mongruadh
Conall go Tor tar tuin. a
Ciarrúidhe go Fionnlochlaun

Conubhar go hllóibhre arc.
rígh Ciarraghch cloidiomhghairg
is Corcorbaigín ón tuin. a
go Persiaibh dá tréim-Tor[mi]n

Fuarlochannaice calma an chuain.
do ghabhs da Chorcamruaidh(a)dh
as iad sin mar is lóir linn.
cómhlión na cómhrag do cinn. Inois.]¹

67. Cid tra do riachtadair na hoirrighe airmdergasín iarthaír Eíreann i. na saerchlaíonna sochma sar-thírnúilteachta o thuinn coirspil Cuidhna anes gu cuan Tágra bithaille Baillí a leamhuair a treoín 7 a tigern 7 do chosnamh a curadhreach asin eicin a raibh an righmhílidh, o’tomnaicedaí ar na cengan 7 ar na chuibhreach re seolchrann na luigeí Lochlannachtaí he. do atírighisit cuínn 7 cialla 7 cétadhá dona curadhair 7 ro bauidhirt dealbhá 7 dathá doibh 7 ro greannaisíte a n-gniúisí 7 ro bhannahar a mbeoí. Ocus do coirgeoidh go calma ag na curadháibh do chosnam Ceallachain luathlaem luthghasda long 7 cathair chumhdaígh clogadh 7 buaili bunata boghadh 7 fa riorrtha freac'hneimnnech fíannaigh.

68. IS ann sin ro eirgelaí na firlaechd leathanarmacha Loc-

lanachtaí sin 7 na Goill gnusghorma gnucanda grunnaímale finnghialma 7 na Danair dháera dhochochaelcha gan dílis gan duthchus re hinnis bhfhírthluins bhFhodla 7 gan bunadhás gan brathairisí re Banna Ocus ro coirgeoidh acu sein duí dígh-

aínaí doimnescathach 7 sluaghdoire samsach slegh neimh-

nech nertchalma. Acht atá ní cheana o dhoi riachtadair na milidh cu tin Jesúsach talchiar ro eirgelaí go calma a cnairre isin caithirghaí gurub ris ba samantaí na saerchlaíonna re siroideach i. re coicídeal calad cloisichdmhach oca imteacht d'éigheann 7 d'almuibh 7 d'imsuírbh [154 b, col. 2] do greasgoibh 7 d'graingíbh 7 d'ghlannamhachnuag na frasa fuilidh faechracha oca bhforthuine 7 coicídul a colg 7 a craiche as ag luaiththscad luireach 7 ar scoladh scath 7

ag coimhbrisidh (sic) clocait 7 cathbarra 7 caimhcholunn a cheile um Ceallachain.

69. IS ann sin rosachtaí ar a n-uillen n-deiscaítaí dona
deghshluagáib, tri rhythm loingnúin aca la Luídeach. i. Flann 7 Cobhacht 7 Eiderscel 7 do rala a ceann a cíle iath 7 tri
cóimhedaí Corcaigh i. Lochnabhach na lann 7 i in Lo-

clannach ladhaí 7 Sen-Ámhlaíbhin sinnsear a scoraide 7
do comraiceadh isin caithirghuil. Acht chenáin mhorbh

don laecharaid Lochnaínaí sceartbhidheach a chluí ch[h] na sa-

dháinse a sleagadh na sianúrchair a soighet na contu-
arcaí a chlaidem ar a curadhúbh or roílnis na hoirrighe sin

is na longuibín Lochnannaí(sic) gur surnaighfaide seolchrann-

aí ña síothong iath, gurub a certar gacha chnairí do chomh-

raíscit condrochratar comhthóitis in seisein sin cona

sochraídhíomh amsail a beart go file.

70. IS truagh leam toisín na triáth.

claim ìn Luídeach na lainnscaith.

a deisca Muman anes.

le sluag Lochnabhach na luaitheálchas.

IS truagh leam Eiderscel ard.

in cur calma claidimhreig.

acht go de cere leis go tros.

Lochnabhair na lann laingher.

Truagh leam Flann i Luídeach Luain.

do beith i Taigh Baillí buain
gu dho bhun gan feall 'san chath

cenn don Lochnabhach ladhaíh.

Truagh toisín m‘eic m‘eic Niadh moir.

do caimhcholunn Itha in ardscolig.

saeth laim Cobhacht co ndreic[h] n-deirg.

ua Luídeach laeche gan laincheigh.

Díoc longa, fichet cu fir.

do chaítmh Luídeach co lainbrigh.

ni riacht a tech dibr is fis.

foireann luíngi da laeichiú.

Is truagh.
71. IS ann sin dorait oíriri O n-Eachach í. Dubhdhabhóireann
7 Lenu-Turnu na huidhí consa lughbhorpaobh do com-
rac 7 do contuarcaín a cheile amail da dreagan ar dheis-
ghonuibh nó amail da sebacar ar shá-heightií amail. Ocsus
do lingeadh sluagh clainní gheogha glan Cháis a longnuibh
na Locheannaach gur throisítei ar tophailbh 7 ar trenamhaibh
na tarbong.

72. IS ann sin do riachtas [155 a, c. 1] in triar croda caith-
mílíd í. Segda 7 Faillbhí 7 Congal cu tarbhchobhlaich
clainn Tuirgeis, gu Sitríuc 7 gu Tor 7 gu Magus 7
rodhrbaiced cu hathlum ona Éiríneachabh teda caela caibh-
righthe ar leabharcorraína na long Locheannaach ar daigh
nach sheadhais o cheli 7 rodhrbaiced ona Locheannaach
slabradh gairbhe glaisiaraií iot sar eairchorbha i sithlong-
som 7 ro coraighheadh ider na curadh ciaitha can-
bralaithe ceangraíra do shleaguirbh sithriognhe sainreemnachta 7
do thre梃ar a sdiurasmáiní sdiuraischeabhtta 7 do eirgear-
a bfhóirme le ramhadhuibh um rigbordubh a raubhlong gur
gabsat breisiom bardbhartha ar a cheli gur bha muir
mer mheallachaili taisn 7 treoingeigh na tarbaithcheas.

73. IS ann sin do greisid 7 do gnaithimreadh long lae-
ch-Fhaillbhí co sluaghluing Sitríuc 7 do ling Faillbhí leim firrad
fiadhaimail do lethacair a leuigí cu seolcraí Sitríuc 7
nochtai in rigmílíd in da lainn gasda gerfhuaebhcha 7 gabaí
claidem dibh 'na laimh dighaínn deis ag freasdal laeimhilden
na luighi 7 claidem 'na laimh curata cli ag leadhrad na tet
7 na sas bai um Ceallachan.

74. Ocsus do coraisideadh cro cleasarmach cruadhfhuaebh
úaislíbh clainn Cuirc imon crann oiret bhi in lae ag
leadhrad na lebarthaí gur leicesdar in caithmílíd a cert-
lar na cnairí ider na curadh Ocsus toibreis Faillbé in
dara lann a laim Cheallachann isin cruadhghiall 7 gabaí
Ceallachan cinnaimchum is arna curadh thóisibh ribh na
saerlingi, gur ling a ling laeche-Fhaillbhí Ocsus do dior-
tedh gu dighainn dasachtaír ar dheghch-Fhaillbhí isin dubh-
luing 2) amail go luithní ilar ar uathaidh.

75. O romudhaighedh in miliíd 7 0 rofadhbidh in firl aeche
na freachghallaisbh rodíonnscad an deighfhear 7 rothc-
hbhatar a cenn ar cuir na cnairé. O’sonnadaran dian-

1) O’Curry in his copy has duidhuing.

2) The poem is found complete in _H. Tä_. p. 85.
77. IS ann sin do riactsat an da oirrigh adhmara don cloin n
crotha ceadha i. Seghda 7 saer-Congal gu da macuibh
 trene Turgéis i. Tor 7 Magnnus Ocuí ní aighti carat
 um cuirim agna curadaibh 7 nír sherc ced-ingine do
 cele, gur lingset na laeich gu leomanda asna cnairibh
 comhluata ina mhuinsedhuibh diana doiresdaír tar leabar-
 bhorduibh na long Lochnannach 7 rofachcathar in laech-
 rad a longa féin faen foluim 7 ba bronlaí longa na
 Lochnannach 7 ba leaththrom na leathbuird or ba himer-
 craigh anbhill dona longuibh comhdhordad cloinne Cuirc
 ina crislaigibh 7 siat lan do Lochnannach. Rompa. conar
 tuigíset na longa re cormac dona curadaibh gan asluaid
 isin salmhuir gur baidhed gach barc guna boidhniub hdbh.
 a'mail asbert in fili na focuil si.

Mor memna na mileadh mualaidh.
 failbe Seag[dl]a is Conall crua
dias diobh do shiol Chonaire an arm ghlaís.
fr bo calma re ciorradh cneas.
Fághbaid a longa féin fólan.
na mileadh sin ní dál doilgh
 gur lingseid ina longaibh dé.
ar cloinn Turgéis toghúidhe

Cómhrag ar an muir mearrdha.
do rin an triair tréanchalma
gur lingseid gér chruaidh an cleas.
ar lucht na lúireach lánghlas

Ba forlann dá gach carb chruaidh
lucht dá long gér lín anbhuaí[ín]
is bá leatrom buírd na mbár.
do Lochnanaibh Chuirc na ceannthraigt

Súghaidh chuoic an mhuir monuair.
gach long gach curach colg cruaidd
nior threigseid c'cómhlann de,
Clan Turgéis is treanChairbre

78. IS ann sin do riachtseol cloglomach a Chathormach Ciarraide
7 forne fraecada fergora Fínlochallann 7 ro dibraighdeh
etarra saitheda soiget 7 groidgreasa garbhchloch 7 frasa
figeara faghadh 7 sleagh seolta stihrmar 7 do ronais
tronach thuilgarbh 7 gleo aisnín escardach. IS ann sin
do riacl Concuibeir ri curata Ciarraige
[155, b. col. a.]
7 Ilbheeth imgonach mac righ Fínlochallann 7 docha-
thuighstiuígu durl 7 gu dichra 7 rocuinnighset Ciarraige
crecha a criche don curaid 7 ro ismerseat imarcaigh a
sainisti ara sléaghuibh 7 treisi a tacuir ara taughuibh 7
 cruaidh a comhun ara cloithmhuih 7 seanamad cheersh
a scainder ara scenuibh uair ba dluith na deghlougda
da cheli air dorochids a n-aimh ochta 7 urbrเสรีnse aroile.
gur comhutuisef alliu 7 anall ina longuibh. Acht chena
rotharairing Concubair Ilbreach alos a chinn chuigí 7 ros
dichenz in deighlaech 7 comhhaidhs an cen 7 toitis fein
ar muin in mileadh chu bhuairt bas amhlaid. Conuadh do for-
gell sin do can in fili in laid.

Ag sin séighedh mo laoch luath.
ar an mhuir ni sgéal guach
Séag[dl]a is Conall na slogh.
Tor is Magnnus memór.

Móir.

5) At the bottom of the page, in a more recent hand (of the 17th cen-
tury?), the following poem is found:

Tinnúin mu bhí do beochdualbh, murc di macailbhaill malachdubh
mu ciíd don talmaí o tirig, m'annmhin dothí o dhianic.
Míle Réirid Bairead do sríobh 7 tóchaidh gach nuine beneachtíuóar
m'annmhin. (<I Richard Barry wrote this and let every person give a
benediction upon my soul.>)

At the bottom of p. 154 b. in the same hand there is a translation of
this poem into Latin:

Do bona pauperibus, sahan pecunia resumat,
Terram terra tegit; spiritus alta petit,
In O'Curry's copy in the Royal Irish Academy the late Professor J.
O'Donovan has added in the margin: "Sin in orig. manu recentiori J. O'D."

7) The MS. has the Latin abbreviations: Sed enim.
Conchubhar ba calma in cing\(^1\)

\(^1\) The poem is found in full in \(H. 1. a.\) p. 86 as follows:

Conchubhar bás calma an cing.
Righ Chiarraideach an fhualt aulinn
a thuítim as truag an cleas,
le lucht na luíreach lánghlás.

Níor fhágsad a mhuintear mhearr.
ua Fhergusa an fer finnghéal
gur thuítsead tuaidh ar an muir.
lé sluaigh Fiona-lochlainn fosuidh

Conchubhar is Ílbhreac án.
Mac righ Lochlainn na laoch lán
troidead na curaidh chródha.
inse longaibh lamhóra.

Bá farsiong fhórchreacha fear.
bá cóirthra caomhcheinn churad
ba tollta [a] taobh go tric.
ba hanbhfann gach laoch lánghlic

Fágbhuidh an fearsín go taon.
Mac Righ Fiona-lochlainn foltchaomh
is beanáidh de a cheann gan chol.
Mac mic Beadhadh Conchubhair.

Conchubhar.

79. IS anu sin do riachtas clanna Cairbre re n-abar Baisc-

cnigh 7 loinguis na Pers ar amus aroilí 7 rochúimhighbh

se a nuathalta 7 a n-escairdhas 7 ro sudhghedh gu

sunnuadac sarugadh Senán aga saershluaghuibh 7 cre-a-

chadh insin Cathaigh ar an crudaighl tongues Ocús ro deigh-

imredh ag Diarmaid 7 ag Baiscenn a mbarc 7 ro di-

braiged eirtear a soighid 7 a sleagha do chuadar ar a

ramadaibh reamrai ruadhmitheas 7 roghasadh crudaighnaír

ar a cheile.

81. IS anu sin do riachtas clanna fortúileodha Ferghusa 7

clanna cianairgneadh Cuirc gu Dónn catharnaigh Dúan.
ór-concatair an curaidh na chimid chuíbhrightí cengaíth adubra-

tar long luathbroim Lochlainn do tabaird don dara leith don

luigh Lochlannais 7 long clraidhonn Conchubhair don leith
ele don arduaire [155 b. c. 2] 7 do cinnedh in comhairl
sin ag na curadáibh 7 ro lingse tar leabharboridh
luighi in Lochlannais gur sealsait sa scaircógail gur

tarnais na toda gur legadh in laechmillid ar lar na luighi
.i. Dónn Cúan mac Ceinneidigh. Ocús in cein do badar na

hoirghigh ag trascairt in trosfhir asann tseoil chruan ro-

dithaighsest Lochlannais na luighi a muinntir.

82. Ro forghaigh na feinneid gu firgharg uime sin 7 ro in-

naighsest gu garb na greang Lochlannais 7 roghasadh garb-

gresa gaihhtacha arna gruam Lochlannais, gur scoilset a

scéith, gur leadairset a luíreach, gur coimeasadh a cotúin,
gur ndracaí mac righ FuarLochlainn 1) gur bhforbh a

muinntirí Ocús in cein baitsorub oc marbad in mhor-

Lochlannach. dobar Lochlannais na luighi oc a leadráid
dár dromannais na n-deaghlaíoch. larsín ro himeagó a-

cusán cu hathlú umaisneach ar na hanradaibh 7 roghas-

bhaid uráidí throm thidhisneac arna troimheabhar aon hanad

risna curadan isin Cairbre gur lingsett na laicce na luighi tar

leabharbhoradthaibh isin linnmhair do leathbidh Ocús o nach

fuairadar Lochlannais re laimheasbaid isin luigh rothobh-

dar sean micf righ FuarLochlainn 1) ar cuir[t] na cairbhí da

conmaitidh Ocús tainic Conchubhar a cuirr thosaigh na

1) Written: fuer, le.
luingi 7 Lochluinn (sic) dhighuinn derid 7 roscarsat cuirp re hampunnuab doibh Ócuis roghabh Donn Cuan oca cained 7 atbert.
Crodha coscruit na laech lomn. 7 rl. ³)

83. Gidh ṭe acht ba traigh mhara ac-comrac dona cabh-laigneabh 7 as iat buinnedha lethna in lám tuc longa na Muimhnech cu tir Ócuis o do riachtrasat na longa có tür do chuađar na Muimhnech inntíbh do chabair ar mair da muinistir. O atconocadar ar mair dona Lochlannchab sin do chuađar a tri longaíb dec 7 do faébhadar in cuan a chedaír 7 ni ruccad ri na rofáith leo.

84. IS ann sin dorfacht Ceallachan a luín Fáilbhé finn 7 Fáilbhe marbh innti ana cosair cro 7 do bhi Ceallachan oca chaine gu mor 7 adubhart as esbuídh duin an fersa do thuitim 7 ni bhfuighert de eis [156 a., c. 1] laoch dobera a tigērana as amait tuc uair ba calma coigedal a claidim isin caírbhisi agum chosumhais Ócuis atbert og ecáine Fáilbhe.

Easbuigh Muimhnech Fáilbhe finn dorad a cholúin dom cinn do ling ta tabairt tar eis a luín Sitríuc meic Turghéis.

Do bhi claidem 'na laim dheis. lan na laim athluim aimhdeis. gur dhítheair iat fa thonnuabh dar dithaig na Luchlannais.

Do geired leis mu chengail. gin gur deoin leisna feraibh. in lanu do bhi 'na laimh cli. dorad am laim si in laichri.

Do dhithaigh misi don colg. a raibhi edram is bord. do chomhrui Fáilbhi tar m'héis. gur fhaicbhus long meic Turgeis.

³) The MS. has: 7 cetera. I have not been able to find more of this poem.

Nír marbad Failbhe a aenar. dursan a bheith a mbaedhal, no gur derg de bhfuil in long. a shluaghsan is sluaigh Lochlann.

Do ling uainn Fianghal fertha. do digaí a thigearna. ruc leis Sitríuc asa luín gur baideadh mac meic Laghuimnu.

Beandaícht ar anmain Fhianghalt. gia ro fuair bas gan dianghulin. muna beidh Sitríuc fo muir bathad Fhianghalt is esbuídh.

Dob e leanan na n-ingen. o hAenghusa in fer fingheal Tuc o Mogha mhe a cuibhrech dob e roga ar saer-Mhuiumnech.

Dob e tosaí ar gcatha. dob e cose gachá flathar ar bheir comlainn in goch uair. O Comuíll eictheach armruaid.

Failbhi ri CorcaDhuibhni. ba fer segúinn re suirghi. dob e gradh na mban Muimnech. o Comuille caemhlaighlech.

Ro buadh aibinn leam anocht. ge fuirus ad is ardolc. da marad Failbhe da eis. bathad Sitríuc meic Turgeis.


A Donnchaid is a Dhuinna Cuan. tinolaíd fosda bur sluagh.
88. Is and sin tucsat maithé a muinntíri isin mbailí anund da n-adlachadh 7 do badar gu crodha cumhthach caitheshbach re hedh na hoighisín 7 ro erighedar gu moch amarnamarach d’ainnleac 7 a muinntíri 7 rucsat uaisli an-oírrig 7 maithi a muinntíri leo gusin cill don taeibh thuaidh do Dun Dealgan 7 docreidh a ceathrú huaghaib a n-oírrig 7 taeic Donnchadh mac Caim in eíin 7 ro ghabh ag inisi a coscair 7 dorinh in laid ar deradh in scoile.

89. Seacht bhfíchit long ar in mhuir.
    taiste leisna hoirighuihích.
    noc a terna [dib] gan ghuín.
    acht tri fíochd da muínntir.

[156 b., c. 1] Do marbad Cobhthach na gcaith.
    do [marbad] 7 Flann tuilech
    do bádadh Eiders[cel ann]
    [is] do marbad a rhcorainn.

    Do conthuit Cobhthach san cath
    is in Lochnach ladhaich.
    . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
    a n-aimchraigh oír.
    a n-Ath Cléith na cormoile.

    Do conthuit Eidersceil ann.
    ocus Lochnach na lann
    is do conthuit Flann tuilech.
    is Sen-Amlaib 7 sarghuinseach.

    Dubhshabhahireann maith duine.
    co Len[n]-Tarmun 7 na huidhe.
    dar marbad an t-siarla ann.
    ba treisi d’fearbhbh Lochnaun.

    Do marbad Seghdha is Failbhi.
    duinne rob adhar mairgi.
    is do ronad Congal cruaidh.
    a hiath Mhunan an mhorshluagha.

1) The beginning of the first three lines of p. 156, col. 2 is obiterated. O’Curry in his copy notes: «MS, gnawed here by rats».
2) O’Curry has: ro thintolset.
3) The MS. has: na n-gall n-gall.
Do chomhraidset riú ar in muir.
Sitriuc gu luing Lochlannaig.
oíse Maghnúis in tuir tren.
is Tora na ream roiger.

Torchuir Maghnúis ar in moir.
oíse Segda in ghaisc id ghnion.
Tora is Congal in cedna.
Sitriuc Failbhe fhirghedga.

Do comraic Ciarraiagh cruaidh.
re Fínnlochluann on tír thuaidh
 dar chomhuit Conchubhar caemh.
is ri Fínn Lochluann foltelaen.

CorcoBaiscinn buiden des.
co Lenn-Turman chathreach Pers
dar comhuitseid ar in linn.
Persa oíse CorcoBaiscinn.

Tachraid re cheile 'san chuan.
Fuarlochluann is Corcamruaíd.
nogur mharbsat a chelli.
ar in ler co lanredhi.

Ann sin tuc in tuili a tír.
ní dha longuibh gu lannbríg.
inntíbh do chuadar amach
Muinmiúgh ar in ler longach.

Ar n-dul Cealachain 'san luing.
có muinntir 'fhailbhí armhduinn.
o do riacht a aírm chatha.
nír lambsat mac na thlatha.

Gabsat Loclannaig amach.
a corraibh a long loindreach.
nocha deochaidh dhíbh for feacht.
acht mad a se for a seacht, seacht.

90. A haithli a muinntír do rochtain an aininad do thin-
oíset a longa fein 7 longa na Loclannaigh 7 do loisset
uili iat 7 do loisset an báili Oíse do bhi dream 'ga
radha in tslighe a n-gebhdaí do thoiríomhadh 7 dream
oca fiafraiged ca ragdaí d'ascna a tiri fein. [156 b., c. 2]
an tslighe bhud do cinse ar dream acu. Ni ba hi ar
Cealachan 7 ar Donnchadh mac Caeim acht innsaighiúm
gu hAth Cliath aírm a bhfuilseat meic 7 mna 7 muinnteara
na Loclannaigh 7 in ben trear ghabhadh Cealachan 7 trear
marbad ar muinteir l. Mor ingen Aedha meic Echach 7
do rinn in laid.

91. Denaídh comhairle crodha.
a fhian alainn fhíbhreidh.
'ga slíghí a raoghthai budh dhés.
a críoch Mumain na moiríes.

Da n-deachtáí tar clar Cruachaína.
dubhshí bud forlunn fuachdha.
ní leicfí sibh dás bhár toigh.
gan cath is gan cruaidhghairi.

Da n-deachtáí tre clar Mhidhe.
a shluailligh is lór leimnígh.
do gheobhthai ar in sligíd toir.
Donnchadh is na Loclannaigh.

Raghmaitne tre clar Mhidhe.
Os inntí ata in ainmhuíne.
nogu roisium gidi cead cruaidh.
budhes a Mumain mongruaid.

Innsaighter lib co hAth Cliath.
don Mhidhe guma moiríach.
anuígh gidi alainn an gne.
beid ann duínti fa dhubhduí.

Denaídh comhairle crodha.

92. IS ann sin ro chuirset fir Mumain a ceann sheda 7 aís-
dir 7 imthechta gu cnuathach crodha ciallmear 7 ro creach-
sat gach crích 7 ro loisset gach lis 7 gach lanballi tharla.
Cuiridh re Lainnibh na leacht 7 rí.

98. IS ansein doirghediar (sic) clanna oiread ama Eoghuin 7 ro coraghedh acu feodha faoidh feinidh

Here The MS. ends abruptly. 2) In the paper-manuscript $^{23}$ H. t. a. in the Royal Irish Academy (p. 87 l. 23—p. 88 l. 9) the story has the following conclusion:

100. Cöidh tra acht iar mbadhad na mborbLochlonnach uile 7 ar tuitions na n-usaaltítriat Muimhneach, taine Ceallachan a ttit, agus ró fhaithighed ed maríann[na] 7 aigíonna na n-ídartaíochtaioch roimhe. Cuirios Ceallachan dá losgadh an mÓd don loingios nár bháthadh san salmhur 7 as i cómhoirle ar chinnisad na curadh, ionzusigh go Righ Chnëill c'Conuill, őir as é do chuirt feasa (amhul adhubramar reomaimh) go Hármaacha a ceann Loch-lonnach, dá rídh fear Ceallachán do breith go Dún Dealgain. Niúr thóg Muirchertach a aghaidh dhóibh, gidhedh do ronnedd aírghne 7 chaidh na cliche uile, 7 tingeadh as

1) O'Carroll in his copy writes in the margin: "simpler -- E. C."

1) The beginning of the three first lines of this column is gneaven.
The battle-career of Cellachan of Cashel, herc.

1. A noble, lofty-spirited high-king whose name was Airtrí, son of Cathal, son of Finguine, got the sovereignty and possession of the two provinces of Munster. And it was during his time that the Lochlannachs first obtained power over Erin. But from the time of Airtrí to the good time of Cellachan they found battles and conflicts. And these were the kings who were over Cashel during that period, and the length of their reigns, and the [different] deaths that carried them off.

2. Airtrí, son of Cathal, [reigned] 20 years, and he died a natural death.

   Feállim, son of Crimthann, 27 years over Munster and over Erin, and he died a natural death through the curse of the great Ciarán, son of the Carpenter.

   Ochlóbar, son of Cinaed, 4 years. And it was he who gained the battle of Scíach Neachtain over the Foreigners, in which twelve hundred of them were killed along with Tomar the earl. And he [i.e. Ochlóbar] died a natural death.

   Maelguala, son of Dungal, 7 years, and the Foreigners killed him.

   Cennfælad, son of Mochtigern, 7 years, and he died a natural death.

   Donnchadh, son of Dubdaboírenn, 4 years, and he died a natural death at Cashel.

   Dublachta, son of Maelguala, 7 years, and he died of pestilence in his banqueting house.

   Finguine, son of Laegaire, 7 years, and his own brothers killed him because of his having (only) half-drunk a feast.

   Cormac, son of Cuilennan, 7 years, and the Leinstermen killed him in the battle of Leithglinn.
Flaithbertach, son of Inmainen, 37 years, and he died a natural death.

Lorcan, son of Conligan, one year and a half, and he died a natural death.

3. These were the tributes and taxes of the abominable Foreigners from the soldiers of Munster, namely, a king over every cantred, and a chieftain over every tribe, an abbot over every church, a bailiff over every village, and a billetted soldier in every house. Without as much as a clutch of eggs of one hen for his own food or drink. Without a cloak or a good dress on king or noble lady, but only the cast-off cloaks and clothes of the Danes and the ignoble Lochlannachs. Without sages, without noble clerics, without books, without full reliquaries in church or in building or in monastery, but Danes in possession of their temples, and their churches, and their beautiful forts. Without philosophers, without poets, without minstrels pursuing the lawful customs and hereditary rights of their good kings despite of the hatred of the rough Lochlannachs. Without any daughter of a king or high lord or chieftain to work embroidery, or to practise charity (?) or skilful handiwork. Without any son of a king or chieftain to acquire agility, or to practise or to learn true feats of arms. Without permission for the Munstermen to give banquets or old ales to a champion or to a neighbour, unless it were against the command of these true tyrants. And in this condition they were during a time of eleven and seven score years, viz. from the ninth year of the reign of Aíirtí to the time of Lorcan, son of Conligan.

4. Then arose a heroic, battle-victorius, valorous gentle king to repel this oppression and to contest the country against the battalions of the Lochlannachs, viz. Cellachan, son of Buadaich, son of Lachtina, son of Artgal, son of Snedgus, son of Donngal, son of Faélus, son of Náfraech, son of Colgan, son of Failbe, son of Aed dub, son of Cremthann, son of Feidlimid, son of Aengus, son of Náfraech, son of Corc, son of Lugaid, son of Ailill Flann Bec, son of Fiachru Millehan, son of Eogan Mór, son of Ailill Olim. It seems from the writings of the historians that from Aíirtí to noble Brian the heroes or territories of Munster were not freed, except what the nimble-sworded Cellachan did to defend them. For that was the man who spent a year and a half in searching Munster, both wood, and hill, and gentle valley, both stream, and lake, and full river, both harbour and smooth strand and seaport, both fort and strong fortress and the broad land of every Norseman, seeking charity in every fortress, and shelter in every town, poorly for his melodious clerical offices, and with his mottled bag round his neck, spying out every place, and making a close examination of every stronghold, in order that he might get knowledge of its lands, its waterfalls, and its fresh woods, when it should be laid upon him to fight for its territory. So that he did not leave one stead of a landholder or purveyor in the two provinces of Munster unvisited, in order that he might know the name of every village and of every tribe and have knowledge of every lord of the country. And after searching the territories he came to Cashel. For it is there his mother was, and she, the noble queen, was the wife of the coarb of Cashel. And Cellachan had been begotten in violation of her marriage with him. And during the year and a half that Cellachan was traversing the country, she was herself collecting arms, and clothes, and treasures, and retaining companies of foot-soldiers and gentle household-troops. And this is the number of those who were fed (?) by and fully bound to her, viz. 500 armed men.

5. The day on which Cellachan came to Cashel after he had obtained this host, was the day on which there was a great host of the two provinces of Munster at Glennamain of Cashel electing a king. And according to their opinion it was Cennedig, son of Lorcan, whom they would make king. For this is the arrangement of the high-kingship that was between the descendants of Eogan Mór and the descendants of Cormac Cas: The man who was the senior of the gentle clans, his was the kingship. If the high-king was of the descendants of Eogan, the tanist-ship belonged to the descendants of Cormac Cas. And if the noble king was of the descendants of Cormac, the tanist-ship went to the descendants of Eogan Mór. The kingship not to go to any of them, unless he were
the best in knowledge, and true learning, and princely honour of the noble heroes. On that day while they were electing a king, his mother said to Cellachan, that he should come to visit them, and that she would herself go before him and tell his story to Cennedig and to gentle Donnochad. And [she told him that] when the nobles of Munster were sitting down, he should come with his people in the best of arms and dress, and ask hostages and pledges of them and tell Cennedig to remember justice.

6. The queen proceeded to Glennamain, and arriving there, she said to the nobles of Munster: Remember the arrangement, which Cormac Cas and Fiachu Muitelethan made between their great descendants! And there is of the descendants of Eogan a man who is senior by age and knowledge to you, o Cennedig, and he is a king in figure and appearance. Cennedig asked who he was. The queen said that he was the son of Buadachan and she made the lay:

Remember, o pleasant Cennedig!
the arrangement of Fiachu and Cormac Cas,
that they left it so that Munster should be divided rightly between their gentle descendants, etc.

When the champions of Munster heard these great words and the speech of the woman, Clan Eogan said that the heir (?) should be brought to them, that they might make him king. Cennedig left the assembly, for he did not consider it an honourable or proper thing that the kingship should be assigned away from himself to another man. And moreover, he did not consider it an honourable thing that his brotherhood should be broken. And Donnochad left the mound, when he saw that the chiefs of the tribes were electing Cellachan. And that is what they said, that they would not quarrel with him, for neither rent nor tax nor fair tribute would any of them get out of it [i.e. the land of Munster?], but the full benefit of it would go to the Lochlannachs, and they themselves would defend it [i.e. Munster?]. And thus it was arranged.

7. Then arose the seventeen tribes right readily in order to make Cellachan king. And they set up his sguirm rige [i.e. they proclaimed him king] and gave thanks to the true, magnificent God for having found him. The following were the best of those chieftains. The slender, valiant Suileban before the festive race of Pingin, and the sportive Ribordan before the valorous children of Donngal, and the fierce Caellaide, and the heroic soldier Lainidcan, and the bold Duinechad, and the brave Cuilen, and the battlesome Eigertach, and Ligan of daring deeds. These nobles came to Cellachan and put their hands in his hand and placed the royal diadem round his head, and their spirits were raised at the grand sight of him. For he was a king for great stature, and a brehon for eloquence, and a learned saga-man for knowledge, and a lion for daring deeds.

8. However, Cellachan addressed the clan Eogan and told them to make valiant war with him, and they said they would do it. And they said that they would advance, ten hundred men in number, to Limerick to burn it. And when they arrived, they sent word to the heroic Amlaib of Limerick, and to the clan Conra, namely to Morann, and to Magnus, and to great Lochlann, to tell them quickly to leave Limerick or to give hostages to them.

When the messengers came to the heroes of Limerick, they began to deride them, and this is what they expected, that never would Munster or even Limerick be contested against them. And they said that they would give battle.

9. When the clan Eogan heard this, Suileban of the noble hosts addressed them, and told them to fight a brave and hardy battle against the Lochlannachs and valiantly to guard their king in this onslaught. And he said to the nobles of the Eoganachts: Let not the clan of Cormac Cas hear of (any) conditions in your deliberations, let not clan Echach hear of weakness in your princes, but proceed together to the battle, and give your first battle valiantly in defence of your own country against the Danes. If there be defeat and rout of battle before you upon the heroes, it will be all the better for
yourselves, and for your prosperity, and your positions. Limerick will be in your hand, and Cashel in your succession, and Munster will be in the possession of your nobles, if yours is the victory in this battle to day. And if it is not yours, I do not see land or dwelling-place left to your nobles, but only defeat on your soldiers, and destruction upon your heroes on this very day. Hence it behoves you to contest it and to fight bravely against the champions of Lochlann. And the following lay was made to urge them on.

10. Come to Limerick of the ships, O Clan Eogan of the noble deeds! Around the gentle Cellachan, To Limerick of the riveted stones.

Defend your own beloved land, O descendants of Ailill dear! In the battle of Limerick of the swift ships. Set Munster of the great tribes free!

Defend Cellachan valiantly, The king of your country, the noble of your host! Do not leave the van of battle to him Against the usurpers!

Let the sportive Ribordan come Before us into the hard-contested battle! Let the valiant Caelaidi come, Let the full-lively Ligan come!

Let Duinecadh of many colours come, And Fogartach of the variegated arms! Let Lainnechan of the forts come Before us into the hard, well arranged battle!

Let Donnchad, famous in song, Come before us against the heroes of Lochlann, And Cuilen of the hard battles, The descendant of Eogan, who carries off fair victory!

Let Aed, son of Coll, the friend of the clergy [or: of the bands of poets], come before us to the slaughter of battle, And Aed, the son of fair Ailginan, Let the ready king come before us!

I myself shall come, with a hundred and fifty swords, Before you to the great and fierce Morand, And I shall slay for you the hero of the blades, The festive descendant of the king of Cold Lochlann.

Arise, o handsome, valiant host, Whose hereditary right is Munster of the great forts! Contest Cashel eagerly Against the sharp-bladed host of Lochlann!

Let not nimble Cennedig, The son of Lorcan of the new-blue blades, Hear that your fighting is weaksprited and cowardly, O host of Cashel of the beautiful spears!

Let not Donnchad in his house hear, The son of the gentle descendant of the warlike Caem, Of our having been overthrown in the battle, routed ignominiously, By the champions of Lochlann.

 Seventeen dexterous tribes to you, O son of gentle, generous Buadachan! A champion of each bold-tribe Of Clan Eogan is with us.

Give battle bravely, O heroes of Munster with great pride! Let your country be delivered from bondage O heroes of Munster, it is you who can do it! Come to Limerick of the ships.
11. Then towards the battle arose the descendants of Eogan fiercely, prudently, bravely around their gentle king, around Cellachan. And there was arrayed bravely by the heroes an ever beautiful, very strong, fold (f) of battle, surrounded by standards, and a solid, very thick palisade of spears, and a strong, princely-ensigned tower of chiefs, and a skilful phalanx of blue blades, and a handsome (?), strong enclosure of linen cloth around the heroes. For the heroes had neither blue helmets nor shining coats of mail, but only elegant tunics with smooth fringes, and shields, and beautiful, finely wrought collars to protect bodies, and necks, and gentle heads.

12. Then there was arrayed by the heroes of Lochlann a solid, skilful and firm rampart of strong coats of mail, and a thick, dark stronghold of black iron, and a green-polished, hard-sharp city of battle-shields, and a strong enclosure of stout shafts around the heroic Amlaib, and around Lochlann, and Morann, and Magnus. For these were the four battle-heroes of the Lochlann champions, and four hundred accompanied each hero of them.

13. Then the valorous descendants of Eogan placed themselves at the upper end of the plain in high spirits around their gentle king Cellachan, and they put the hooks of their shields over each another, and they made champion-knots by attaching their broad belts to each other, and they arrayed the seventeen brave men who were the most noble of the high lords around their royal prince to protect him well. Great spirit arose in their king, and anger in their champions, and courage in their soldiers, and fury in their heroes, and valour in their gallant men and fierceness in their youths.

14. However, when their youths, their champions and their proud, haughty folk came to the front of the battle to throw their stones and slender arrows and pointed spears from each side of the heroes, the ground of the plain was left to the soldiers, and the battle-field to the heroes, and the place of slaughter to the veterans. And when the noble warriors of Lochlann and the soldiers of Munster arrived at the place of defence they began to smite their battle-club heroically and to strike their swords on each other. However this full encounter was one-sided. For the bodies and skins and hearts of the bright champions of Munster were quickly pierced through the fine linen garments, and their very sharp blades did not take any effect upon the Lochlannachs because of the rough solidity of their blue coats of mail, and their clubs did not maim the heroes, and the swords did not lacerate the heads because of the hardness of the helmets that protected them, and the Lochlannachs made a great havock among the Munstermen during a part of that day.

15. However when Cellachan perceived, that the soldiers were being slain, and that the heroes were being wounded, and that the champions were being maimed, and that Clan Eogan was being slaughtered, then arose his wrath, his rage, and his vigour, and he makes a royal rush, caused by fits of mighty passion, at the nobles of the Lochlannachs, while the noble descendants of the race of Eogan protect him. Cellachan reached the war-like Amlaib and made an attack on the rough mail-coat of the warrior, so that he loosened his helmet under his neck, and split his head with his hard strokes, so that the Lochlannach fell by him.

16. Then Suillebain with his 150 brave, valiant swordsmen arrived to his defence, and he made a brake of savage ferocity through the centre of the heroic battalion of the Lochlannachs. Then arose the unviolated pillar, and the unsubdued hero, and the lion unconquered until that day, namely the long-haired, high spirited Morann of the fierce people, i.e. the son of the fleet-king of Lewis, with 150 heroes who arose with him. And when the chiefs had met, they smote each another fiercely, like true foes, and with hard strength. Suillebain however planted his spear through the boss of the buckler and beneath the rim of the helmet into the hero, so that it passed quickly into the hero's neck, and placed the head in the power of the battle-soldier. And he beheaded the brave man and brought the head with him to Cellachan to boast of his triumph. And the people of the Lochlannach fell in that fight.

17. Then Donnchad and brave Magnus met together in the battle. They struck off the points of their broad-grooved swords, and battered their shields into pieces with their full-heavy clubs, and wounded their bodies with their javelins. Magnus however fell by great Donnchad.
18. Then Lochlann and Ribordan engaged in battle before Cellachan, and Lochlann inflicted very sharp, terrible wounds on Ribordan. When the hero was wounded, and the champion pierced through, and when he perceived that his arms took no effect upon the veteran who was before him, Ribordan made a heroic rush upon Lochlann, and left his sword, and his longbladed spear, and he put in mind his sharp iron-blue mail-coat and laid dexterously hold of the lower part of the cuirass of the Lochlannach with his left hand, and gave the champion a sudden pull, so that he maimed the broad bosom of the hero, and that his bowels and entrails fell out of him. And he beheaded the champion and lifted his head in triumph. Nevertheless there fell these four valiant champions of the Lochlann heroes, and the (other) heroes left their places, and the soldiers were overthrown and made for Limerick to shut themselves quickly up there. And it was through the rear of the Lochlannachs that the nobles of Munster went into the town, so that the Lochlannachs were not able to close the gates, and the champions were killed in the houses and in the towers. They brought their wives, and children, and people in captivity to the nobles of Munster, and collected the gold, silver and various riches of the town, and brought the heads, trophies, and battle-spoils of the heroes to Cellachan, and the heads of the four who were the most noble of the Lochlannachs were exhibited to him. Therefore to testify to this the poet sang the following words in relating the slaughters and triumphs, and in enumerating those who were killed of the great Lochlannachs and those who were slain of the Munstermen in this great battle, and he said:

Valiant are you, o descendants of Eogan,
And fierce are your lions.
Noble is your king as he comes from the battle,
The heroic, triumphant Cellachan.

Valiant Suilleban of the hosts,
Son of Mael Ugra of the red arms,
After having slain the long-haired Morann
From the country of Lewis of the Norsemen.

20. Thereupon the heroes collected the spoils, and some of them said that they should stay that night in the town and proceed the next morning to Cashel to plunder and burn it. Suilleban said to the hosts that they should go that very night to Cork, the place where their hostages and captives were, so that no news or messengers might get there before them. The champions decided on this plan and they came to Cork that night. The Danes and Black Gentiles of the town came out against them to
fight with them. The battle was gained on the Danish Black Gentiles, and the town was wrecked by the champions, and they brought away with them their hostages from the captivity in which they were. The men of Munster were that night in Cork consuming their banquets and provisions (?), and they stayed three days in the city and then made up their mind to proceed to Cashel. When they were passing the corner of Sliabh Crot, the men of Fermoy, and the Ui Cuanaich, and the billetted soldiers of the Lochlannachs assembled against them, and gave them battle. And the battle was gained by the men of Munster, and 400 were killed of the billetted soldiers and their host. And of the ten hundred, who were of Clan Eogan at the battle of Limerick, no more than three hundred were alive on this day. They march on plundering each district, until they reached Thurles. The northern and the southern Eile assembled at Thurles to meet them to give them battle, and the Danes of the fortress along with them. When the Ui Loigidech and the Eoganachts heard this, they assembled to Cellachan, with Cuilen, son of Aindiaraid, son of Dunadach, the lord of their country, and these two tribes with their champions with spears and swords, 500 in number, reached Cellachan. A battle is fought between them and the people of Ely. And they captured the king of Ely on that day, and the billetted soldiers of the Lochlannachs were slain by them, and 200 of Clan Eogan fell on that day. They plundered the country, but did not burn the town. And they go forward to Cashel, 600 in number. Donnchad son of Caem arrived at Cashel to meet them. Cellachan addressed him and reminded him of their friendship and promised him his turn [i.e. the alternative right] of Munster and to reward him properly, and he recited the lay:

Welcome! bold Donnchad,
O descendant of Eogan of the wooden arms,
Do not break our sweet brotherhood,
O descendant of Aillill Olom!

When the great Lochlannachs are against us,
O descendant of Echu of the golden diadems,
Do not debase thy own people,
O descendant of magnanimous Mug.

Doest thou know, descendant of kings of Munster,
Of the race of Cathal of the heroes,
By whom we are divided from him,
Since there is a space of time between us and then?

Aengus, son of Natfraech of your family,
After the coming of Patrick into the country,
It is through him we are parted,
O descendant of Aillill Olom.

Eochaid and great Fedlimid,
The two sons of Aengus, 'twas a noble deed!
With them we can boast of an equal relationship,
O Donnchad of the hard-fought battlespoils.

Three and ten (in descent) without deceit
There are from me to Aengus, the descendant of Eogan.

Twice five and one, it is known,
Is from you Aengus of the high forts.

Such is their family-relationship,
O Donnchad of the fair face.
Nor has it been destroyed ever since
By the noble descendants of Eogan.

Far from you is hereditary relationship
With any Lochlannach hero.
Near to you is their venomous enmity,
O descendant of sword-wielding Cathal.

The taking prisoner of your slender grandfather
By the Lochlann army at the Gap of heroes,
And the killing of your father, — it has long been heard —,
By the Lochlann army of fierce numbers.
Let us march together to battle,
Let us destroy them one after another!
Do not let us abandon Munster of the victories
To the Lochlann host of the full-red arms!

I shall give substantial reward
To you, o descendant of a highking of Erin!
But come with me to the battle
Against the usurpers.

A hundred swords and a hundred shields,
A hundred servants to serve the king,
A hundred helmets and a hundred steeds
To you, o descendant of kings of the Munstermen.

Do you not think it a pity, O dear Donnchad,
O descendant of beloved Ailill,
That the women of Munster should be in captivity
— without deceit —,
And that the Lochlannachs should carry off their cows?

Donnchad however accepted these conditions from Cellachan, and it is thus he accepted them, namely that the burden of the battle of Cashel should be left on him, and that Cellachan should not go into it. The battle was fought by Donnchad, and it was gained over the Danes, and 300 were slain there by them. They were that night in Cashel, and consumed the feasts and prepared food of the Danes and Dark-Lochlannachs. The next morning they made up their mind, namely to proceed to Port Lairge, the place where the women and families of the Lochlannachs were, and to burn the town. And they proceed to the green of Port Lairge. But on the same day Sitric son of Turgeis arrived at Port Lairge with a division of six ships and a hundred on each ship of them. But they had not reached the land when the van of the host of Munster arrived at the city. The Danes closed the gates and began to defend the town. However, it was useless for them to engage in combat with the champions; for Cellachan, and gentle

Donnchad, and Suileban, and Ribordan, and the quick, valiant soldiers of Munster leapt into the town. And the Danes were slaughtered in crowds by them, and the Norsemen were cut into pieces. Sitric left the town and went on board his ship, and his wife with him. And only one hundred fugitives of them reached their ships. The race of Eogan burned the town and plundered the district. And they proceed thence to the country of the Deisi, and take hostages and pledges of Domnall son of Faelan. There was concluded a matrimonial alliance and made friendship with him, and Gormflaith, the daughter of Buadachan, was given to him. Thence they proceed into the territory of the Uí-Mic-Caille and the Úi Liathain, and took hostages from them. And they brought the host of these territories with them into the district of the Eoganachs of Loch Léin and plundered the country. They brought these spoils with them into Muscraige, and the Eoganachs came up with them there, and the king of the Eoganachs was slain there, viz. Aed, son of Scannal, and 500 Eoganachs. They brought the same spoils with them to the two kings of Aes Isde, and took hostages from them, and they went themselves with them into the territory of West Munster, viz. to Aes Irrais. Congal, son of Annrathan, gave battle to the van of the army, and 200 were killed there. When Cellachan and the nobles of the race of Eogan reached the battle, Congal was captured by them, and a multitude of his people was slain. They plundered the district and stayed there for a fortnight. And they released Congal and took hostages from him.

Afterwards they went into the territory of Ciarrage and plundered the district. The inhabitants of Ciarrage and the Lochlannachs who previously had escaped from them in the battle of Limerick assembled against them and they went to them at Glenn Corbraig. They fought with them there and made a great havoc of the descendants of Eogan. But though they did so, they left the battlefield to them, and Conchubar, the king of Ciarrage, was captured by them. And their forces were greatly diminished after that battle. On that day Flannabra, son of Ciarmacan, king of Úi Conaill, assembled
his forces to meet them to get hostages from them. But when he perceived the small number of their host, the resolution he made was to demand hostages or battle of them. But when they were about to begin the battle, then Donnchuan, son of Cennedig, arrived to join Cellachan. For he had been the night before in the house of Uaimide, son of Cathal, king of Uí Cairbre, and after his arrival he began to inspect the Danes and the foreigners. At seeing him the descendants of Eogan welcomed him and told him to remember his friendship. Cellachan promised Uí Conaill to himself, if he subdued them in this battle. Donnchuan assented to this, for he thought it an evil thing to let Clan Eogan be slaughtered and reduced in numbers, and he recited the lay.

[Donnchuan].

Alone are you, o descendants of Corc.
Alas! Your bodies were cut into pieces,
And your men were stretched on their backs
In the battle of Limerick of the great ships.

It seems to us that your hosts have been slain,
O descendants of Eogan of the red arms,
And that your heroes have been defeated,
O race of Allill Olom.

It is a pity that I have not come to the battle,
O host of Cashel of the gentle graces,
Before the Carrage arrived here,
And the heroic host of Lochlann.

[Cellachan].

Since thou didst not overtake us there,
O Donnchuan of the hundred helmets!
Keep from us the valiant Uí Conaill,
And overthrow their gatherings!

Remember, what they did in the North,
Móg Corb and Fiacha, who found victory,
The son of Eogan, from whom we are descended,
And the son of the fairhaired Cormac Cas.

The slaying of Eogan and of Aed
By Móg Corb, 'twas a . . . . deed!
The son of Dimchadh of the coloured weapons
And the son of the great Ath . . . [2]

Let both of us do, o gentle, pleasant one,
What the son of Cormac Cas did,
And the son of Eogan — without deceit —,
Fiacha Muillechtaín the very slender.

I will do, and you, o gentle plunderer,
O descendant of Eogan of the high judgments,
What those two did without hatred,
Since it has happened to us to be but few in number.

25. Cellachan then said to Donnchuan that he should not kill the king of the Uí Conaill if he happened to fall into his power. Donnchuan gave his word that he should spare no one in battle or conflict even if he had been a friend of his before. And they went to the battle together. Flannabra, son of Ciarmanac, was captured by them, and there was made a great slaughter of his people, and the Uí Conaill were overthrown in the battle. The country was plundered by Cellachan, and they were that night in Uí Conaill. Uaithne, son of Cathal, and the Uí Cairbre, and the remnants of the Uí Conaill, assembled against them at Cromad to give them battle, and when they were about to begin the battle, then Donnchad, son of Caem, with 500 men arrived to their assistance. The battle was fought, and the king of Uí Cairbre was slain there, and they stay that night in Cromad. The two Corcmaruads and the two Corco Baiscinn assembled at Cromad to meet them, for they did not know, that Cennedig had not a share in the battles and they sent messengers to Cellachan to demand battle of him. When Cellachan heard this he told Donnchuan to go against them and not to let them give battle to him. And he made the quatrain:

It is no wonder that the descendants of Cas
Defend the country of the green soil,
Since the Cuirc of the harbour come
To fight about the grass-green land.

However when Donnchad came to speak with them,
the battle was stayed, and Cellachan went to Cashel.
The men of Munster assembled to meet him after the
expulsion of the Danes and the base Norsemen from the
towns and fair fortresses. He who arrived first there
was Cennedig, son of Lorcan, with the nobles of Dal
Cais, and the tanist-ship of Munster and its kingship
after Cellachan was given to him. They consumed the
banquets of Cashel happily and calmly there, and they
sent messengers to demand their tributes and taxes of
the people of Ossory, viz. from Donnchad son of Cellach.
For it was a long time when this tribute had not been
exacted by the champions of Munster, viz. seven score
and eleven years, while the territory was in the power
of the Danes. The people of Ossory did not give them
tribute, and because they did not give it, they plundered
the country. And they gained four battles over the
men of Leinster during that year, and in the fourth
battle Donnchad, son of Cellach, was captured by them,
and the people of Ossory gave hostages afterwards.

When Cellachan had made order in the districts and
destroyed his enemies, the direction the Lochlannachs
took was to Ath Cliath, and they hold counsel there.
The following were the foremost of them at that time, viz.
Sitriuc son of Turgeis and his brothers, namely Tor,
Magnus and Turgeis, and the Lochlannach Ladach, and
the Lochlannach of the blades, and old Amlaeu, and
Linn-Turmun of the journey, and Linn-Turmun na Pers,
and the son of the king of Fair Lochlann, and the son
of the king of Cold Lochlann. And that is what they
decided, namely to send messengers to Cellachan, and to
promise him Bebinn, the daughter of Turgeis, and to
tell him to go to Ath Cliath to marry her, and [to infor-
im him] that they leave him the territory of Munster
without contest. The reason, why they did this, was
the hope of capturing Cellachan and of killing those who
accompanies him. They made known the plan that was
formed in the bosom of the Lochlannachs to the king of
Erin, viz. to Donnchad, son of Flann, king of Tara.

Cellachan asked the nobles of Munster what he should
do in that matter, and they told him to go there. »Let us
assemble an army,« said Cellachan, »and let us pro-
cceed in battle-array to Ath Cliath. Let us not go into
the fortress there, but let yonder woman be sent out to
us. »That is not what is right,« said Cennedig, »but
go there with 80 sons of kings, and we shall continue
to stay at Cashel. For we shall not leave Munster
unprotected, and there is not in Erin a fortress of the
Lochlannachs, that we shall not reach, if you are betrayed.«
They did so, and Cellachan went there with 80 princes.

That night there happened to be a discourse between
Sitriuc, the son of Turgeis, and his wife. And his wife
asked him why he gave his sister to Cellachan, as it
was he who had destroyed the Lochlannachs. He an-
swered that is was not out of kindness to him, but in
order to capture himself and to slay his people. The
woman arose early the next morning, and put a bond-
maid's dress round her. For this discourse which she
had heard was grievous to her as she herself greatly
loved Cellachan. She left the town, and came upon the
road where she supposed that the Munstermen would
come. And as she stayed there she beheld Cellachan
approaching, and the woman told this news to him.
Cellachan asked her who she herself was. »Mor, daughter
of Aed, son of Echu, am I,« said the woman, »daughter
of the king of the Islands of the Foreigners (i.e. the
Hebrides), and my husband is Sitriuc, son of Turgeis,
of the Fair Lochlannachs. And I fell in love with you the
day I saw you at Port Largus.« And she recited the
song; but there is nothing in this song but a repetition
of the story."

1) The poem is found in full in the papercopies of the Royal Irish Academy
\((\text{Hi.}, 1, \text{a}, \text{p. 68})\), and of Egerton 106, \text{p. 89}. The text being very
corrupt, it is impossible, with this a well as with the following poems, to
give a correct translation.
30. Cellachan asked his men what they should do. This is, what they said, that they should not go into the town, but avenge themselves on the fields and great plains, and take the woman with them, as far as they went. When the Norsemen perceived this, they ordered those who were in the town to pursue them, both foot and horse. And Cellachan and his princes had not gone far, when the van of the Norsemen overtook them.

O descendant of Ailill Olom,
O king of Munster of the swift ships,
O Cellachan of the lovely cups.

If you come to Ath Cliath,
O king to whom the raven is truly grateful,
You will not come back again,
O king of Munster of the great forts.

They have made a cruel plot,
The children of Turges, south and north,
In Ath Cliath of the battle-hurdles,
With Donnchad of the princely countenance.

To kill you, he said meaningly,
The man from the house of the royal three (i.e. Tara),
And that he would come with you among the Foreigners,
From the hosts of your lands and your countries.

I heard the speech of my husband,
O man, for whom poems are made,
And the secret of the champion of white wrists,
O king of Munster of the great spears.

Cellachan. What is this? Who are you, O sweet-voiced woman, O proud, beautiful maiden? Who is your father, who is your husband?
Said the king of Munster of the great spears.

31. Then Aed, the son of Donnall the descendant of Faelan, and Donnall the descendant of Niall of Magh Dachonn said: "We are here twenty men of the Deisi, and let us remain behind the rest and avenge ourselves, before the body of the host overtakes us." And they stepped and slew twenty heroes of the Norsemen, and only five of them came back to their people alive.

32. Then Aed, son of Donnchad son of Caem, and Spelan, son of Sailleaban, and Muirchertach son of Muirchertach, remained behind, and killed twenty men, and only three of them returned to their people alive.

33. Then Aengus, son of Assid, and Donnchad, son of Conchubar, and Fiangal son of Congal remained behind, and killed twenty men. But they were themselves slain there.

34. Then Cudub, son of Failbe, and Donnchad, son of Muirchertach, and Finn, son of Etersecel, remained behind, and they slew a multitude of the Lochlannachs, but were themselves slain.

35. Then an overwhelming number of the Norse champions pressed upon the champions of Munster. Cellachan and Donnchuan were captured by them, and brought to Ath Cliath. And when they reached the green of the town, Cellachan saw a man coming towards him, with a

>Mor is my name in each good town,
The daughter of Aed of fair cheeks,
Sitric is my husband in every battle,
The son of Turges of the mighty spoils.

I fell in love with your red face,
In Port Laigue on the battle-field,
With your valour as you charged through the battalions,
With your size among the Munstermen.

If you go eastwards on expedition,
O high-king, to whom I have given love,
You will get wound and woe,
We have not had, but sad stories to tell.
head in one hand and spoils in his other hand. And he asked Cellachan whose head it was. »That is the head of Aed, son of Donnchad son of Caems, said Cellachan, and the descendants of Echu will lament that head,« said he.

36. He saw another man coming towards him with a head in his hand. And he asked Cellachan, whose it was. »The head of Spelan, the son of Suilleban,« said Cellachan, »and the noble queens of Cashel will lament that head.«

37. He saw another man coming towards him, with a head in his hand, and he asked whose it was. »I regret to have brought the man to whom this head belongs with me,« said Cellachan, »even Aengus, the son of Assid, and the descendants of Carthinn Finn will lament that head.«

38. He saw another man coming towards him and he asked the same question of Cellachan. »That is the head of Aed son of Domnall the descendant of Faelan,« said he, »and this head will be lamented among the Deisi.«

39. Then he saw another man coming towards him, and he asked, whose was the head that was in his hand. »It is the head of Muirchertach, son of Muirchertach, and the women of Muscrage will lament that head.«

40. Then he saw another man coming towards him, and he asked him whose head this was. He said: »The head of Donnchad, son of Conchobar, is that, even the son of the king of Ciarraige Luachra, and the descendants of Cer will lament that head,« said Cellachan.

41. Then he saw three men coming towards him, with three heads in their hands, and they asked Cellachan, whose they were. »The heads of the three princes of Corco-duibnes,« said he, »namely Cudub, son of Failbe, and Aed, son of Segda, and Fiangal, son of Congal, and the descendants of Corc, son of Cairbre, will lament those heads,« said Cellachan.

42. Then he saw another man coming towards him, and he asked him the same question. »This is the head of Donnchad, son of Muirchertach,« said he, »even the son of the king of the Eoganachts, and the descendants of Cairbre the Pict will lament that head. And that other head is the head of Finn son of Eterscel, and the descendants of Lugaid will lament that head. But do not show them to me henceforward, for I cannot endure to look at them. And although I have not been wounded by you, I am killed through the wounds of yonder men. And it is a pity that I have not found death in their company.« And he recited lay:

»Alas for the heads without bodies.«

1) The poem is found in full in H. t. a. 23 p. 69 f., and in Egerton 106, p. 60 f., from which I print the following translation.

Alas for the heads without bodies,
For whom dark tears will be shed.
It was no folly, although the men were valiant,
The horsemen of the race of Eogan will fall.

Aed, son of Donnchad is without a head,
Alas for the blood upon his slender side!
The fair descendant of wound-dealing Ua Cathail,
Of the bright-weaponed champion of the rough spears.

The head of Suibhne you have brought with you,
O host of the Foreigners,
[The head of] the son of Suilleban, who reddens spears.

Alas for the descendant of Maelughra!

Sad to me the head with the braided hair
Of Muirchertach, son of Muirchertach,
That the fair and valiant one,
Is plainly in the power of the Lochlannachs.

I repent that he came with me,
the champion whom I see without head.
He was a gentle hero of a royal race,
Aengus the Young, son of Assid.
43. Then Sitric asked Cellachan, whether the Munstermen would ransom him. "What is the ransom?" said Cellachan. "A ransom, which they are not able to obtain, viz. for the fifteen battles which you gained over us an _eric_ for each man who was slain in them, and for the twelve hundred men who were slain by Oichobhar, the son of Cnaed, in the battle of Sciach Nechtain together

A head to whom women gave love,
The head of the brave son of the king of the Deisi.
His side is in sore stress from spears —
Aed, son of Domnall, the descendant of Faelan.

Fiangal, son of Conall of the raids,
The son of the chieftain of the high judgments,
the women of the Foreigners will be lamenting him,
although his head is exhibited in triumph.

There was many a theme of a good story
About Finn, the son of Eterscel.
Many were the men whom he attacked with spears,
He whose head is that in your hand.

Sad to me that his head should be exhibited,
The brave son of the king of Magh Coinchinn.
It was a success their fight with spear,
The brave man, Aed son of Ségda.

The head of Donnchadh which you have brought
with you,
O host of the Foreigners,
There will be darkness upon my eyes,
Because of the death of the son of Muirchertach.

Alas for the head opposite you,
Of Donnchadh, son of Conchobar!
A more heroic in powerful slaughter there has
not been
Than the son of the king of Ciarraige Luachra.

with Thomar the earl, an _eric_ for each man of them,
and spoils for spoils. Cork, Limerick, Port Lairge and
Cashel to be our fortresses, as they were in our posses-
sion before. A son of each king and of every chieftain
in Munster to be given to us as pledges for this." This
is what Cellachan replied: "Let me and Donnchuan have

A triumph for you is the slaying of the head
Of the brave son of the beautiful Ribardan.
Many were the graves from the hands of his father
Throughout Munster of the great fights.

Grievous to me the head in your hand,
The head of Spelan, the grandson of Suilleban,
No sadder to me the other head,
The head of Domnall, the descendant of yellow
Niall.

Through the great number that has been exhibited
to me,

Of the heads of the youths of Munster,
Though I am alive, it has been a torture to me,
I cannot enumerate them further.

If you keep me in fetters,
Since the riders of Munster are no more,
It is a pity that I did not find my death there,
Among the noble sons of the race of Eogan.

Let me be put to death,
And Donnchuan along with me.
Though it is a shame, my time has come to an end,
To the host of Munster it is sad.

'Tis a pity that Mór has not come with me,
The King's daughter of the Islands of the White
Foreigners.

That I should be brought eastward,
'Tis not to you it is sad.
Let them be brought to Sitric of the hosts,  
Since he has perjured himself  
To fulfil this henceforth  
With Eric, king of the Islands (i.e. the Hebrides).

Donnchad in the fetters of the Foreigners,  
the son of Cellachan of the handsome blades,  
The hostages of Munster with him splendidly,  
Both chieftain and strong king.

This is what he says to us,  
The son of Turgels with great fierceness,  
Unless they give this now.  
He will kill the high-king.

Relate, etc.]

46. And, O Aistrechan, say to the men of Munster not to give those gifts. But let them defend the territory of Munster, and let them make Cennedig son of Lorcan king, and tell them to remember the words they said the day I left Cashel, and let them defend us by the help of blades and armour. And say to the descendants of Corc to make a brave fight. Tell Donnchad son of Caem to come to seek us at Armagh. And let the descendants of Eogan come there before everybody, and let every chieftain bring the nobles of his territory and his land with him. Let Donnchad, son of Caem, son of Art, son of Cathal, come there at the head of the descendants of Ech. And let Maelothartaigh, son of Flann, come. Let Suilleban, the son of Maelgra, come at the head of the descendants of Fingin. Let Donnchad, son of Duinechad son of Fiangus, come there together with Ribardan son of Assid, and Donnchad son of Domnall, and Donnchad son of Lorcan, and Domnall son of Cathal, and Eigirach son of Cormac, and Cu-calma, son of Cennfaelad. Let Cullen, son of Aindiarrad come, and let him bring the descendants of Failbe with him. Let Muirchertach son of Murchad come. Let Fogartach son of Fianamail come, and the nobles of Uí-Muiredhaigh along with him. Let Domnall, son of Diarmid, and Fiana son of Feicine come there. Let Cuanachtach son
of Cú-gan-máthair come there and bring the Eoganachts of East Chu with him. Let Annchad, son of Dunchad, come there. Let Flannabra, son of Airindan son of Flannabra, come there and bring the Ui Conaill with him. Let Ceithernach, son of Céilechar son of Comín, come there. Let Cennfaelad, son of Dubdaboírenn, come there and bring the Ui-Cairbre with him. And he recited the lay:

Tell the descendants of Eogan,
The hospitable host,
That their high-king is being carried northwards,
Till he come to Lochlann of the good ships.

Tell all Eoganachts,
Both king and nobleman,
that I am being carried by Sitric across the sea,
Eastward to Lochlann of the brown fleet.

Unless the hosts come hither
Northward at the end of one month,
Until they reach molodious Armagh,
They will not find us in Erin.

Let the descendants of Corc be assembled,
The Eoganachts of Cashel of the pleasant dykes,
Before they carry away over the sea
Their valiant triumphant king.

Let the descendants of warlike Eogan come
To seek their king with a great vow,
From the wave of Clodhna of the heavy storms
To the river of the Two Kine.

Dunchad son of Caem of the roads of spoil,
the son of the hightking of the noble young steeds,
Let him bring to the army without reproach
The descendants of generous valiant Echu.

Let Dunchad the Dun come there,
And Suilleban of the radiant eye,
Along with nimble Duinechán,
And Eigertach together with them.

Let sportive Ribardan come,
(And) his valiant, victorious host.
Let the people of the house of the king come with you,
Four hundred noble men.

The race of Echu and of generous Fingin,
Let them all come together,
Let them come to the valiant host,
The descendants of Mac Calla and those of Liathan.

Let the Ui Conaill and the Ui Cairbre the fierce
Assemble the number of their host,
Let the Ui Cormaic come from the sea
In defence of Cellachan of the palisade.

Proceed to fair Dun Baile
Where are — — — artists of the lovely hair.
And bring with you from Loch Léin
The two Eoganachts with one will.

Tell from me brave Fergal
To make a strong valiant gathering,
before Cellachan is carried off
in ship eastward out of Erin. 1)

And when you have done speaking to the descendants of Eogan and mustering them in one place, proceed forward to the king of Dal Cais, said Cellachan, namely to Cennedig son of Lorcan, and tell him to remain and defend the territory of Munster, lest the Connaughtmen plunder it in battle. And tell the men of Uaithne and the men of Ormond to come to this gathering. Proceed

1) Only the first line of this poem is found in the Book of Lismore; the rest is translated from a paper-copy in the Royal Irish Academy.
to the people of Ely and tell them to remain defending the territory of Munster, and tell their lord, even Cernbhall, son of Dublaích, son of Cennamhan, that we are brothers of Alili (i.e. that we are closely related to the race of Alili Olom). Proceed to the descendants of Conula, namely to the hosts of Ossory, and tell them to protect Munster from Bladhma southwards to the sea and to protect Ely as far as Bladhma, as it has always been done. Proceed to the hosts of the Deisi, and let them and the inhabitants of Muscraige come into this great hosting. And when you have finished addressing Cennedig and the descendants of Eogan, go for me to the chieftains of my fleet and bring them with you to Strath-na-Maeile, and if I am carried away from Erin, let the men of Munster take their ships to follow me. For it is not more proper for the champions of Lochlann to show valour in contesting our country than it is for the soldiers of Munster to act bravely in defence of their own country and in revenging ourselves upon them. Go first to the three kings of Corcolaighde, to Flann, to Eterscel, and to Cobthach, and to Dubdaboirenn, the king of Western Ui-Echach. Go to Seghida, to Failhe, and to Conghal, the three kings of Corcoduibhne. Go to Conchobar, the son of Bethach, the king of Ciarraige Luachra, to Donnall and to Baiscinn, the two kings of Corcobaiscinn, and to Conchobar and Lochlann, the two kings of Corcomruadh, and let them bring with them ten ships from each cantred, for that is the full muster of our own fleet.

After this Aistrechan proceeded to Cashel, where the champions of Munster were, and he told them these news, namely that Cellachan and Donnchuan were captured, and that the 80 men who had accompanied them were slain. They were sorrowful, heavy in mind and sad on that account, when they heard that Cellachan their noble king was captured and their young men slain. Aistrechan addressed them and related the admonitions Cellachan had given in his song, namely to redeem him by the power of blades, and armour, and broad shields, and not to allow Munster to be put into slavery or servitude by Danes or ignoble Norsemen. He told them to remember the promise they had made the day Cellachan left them, and he told them that Cellachan was being carried to Armagh to be there in close custody. When Donnchad, the son of Caem, heard those words, he told the clan of Cormac Cas to form an alliance, and the descendants of Eogan to go in search of their king, and the clan of Cairebre to arise, and the clan of Lugaid to show full valour, and the descendants of Fergus to show true nobility, and the descendants of Cellachan to show devotion, and the descendants of Tadhg to make a powerful defence, and the descendants of Fiachu Suigde musther in full. Indeed, said Donnchad, if it were your brave men and your chieftains who were in the power of the Lochlannaighs, Cellachan would collect an army in search of you and give battles to rescue you. For he has fought fifteen battles with the Danes in your defence, viz. the first of these battles at Limerick, the second battle at Corc, the third battle at Siaib Crot, the fourth at Thurles, the fifth at Cashel, the sixth at Port Lairge, the seventh at Muscraige, the eight at Ard Osraige, the ninth at Glenn Corbraigh, the tenth at Senguala Cladad of Ui Conaill, the eleventh at Cromad, and four battles against the men of Leinster and Ossory. And all this will be concealed by the champions of Lochlann if Cellachan goes with them without being rescued.

48. Then they deliberated in council how to begin that hosting, and they settled to be a fortnight from that day at Magh Adhar, those of them who were on land, and those of them who were on sea to be at Bel Atha Láighin. Well, the day they had promised that their hosts should be at these places, they were there, as they had promised. This was the number that came to Magh Adhar, namely four battalions of equal size. And Cennedig, son of Lorcán, and the Dalussian nobles also arrived there, and Cennedig entertained them that night. When they arose the next morning, Cennedig said that he would go with them. Donnchad said that they would not let him go with them under any conditions. For it is in search of your king and for his defence that we go, and we will not take you with us, but
remain and protect the country. «If that is so, said Cenneidig, »since I shall not myself go there, I shall send two thousand men with you, and I myself shall remain with the same number to defend Munster, and I shall send my three brothers with you.« He told a young nobleman of his people to go seek his brothers, and he said to him: »Let Coscrach, and Lonngarcan, and Congalach come, with two-thousand men. Let Assid, son of Assid, come, and 500 of the descendants of Cairthenn along with him. Let Degadh, son of Domnall, son of Donn, come and 500 of the men of Ely with him. And I know, said Cenneidig, a thing which, I expect, will cause you to be defeated, namely that you have no king to lead you, who might give you counsel and contest the battlefield for you. And since there is none, let Donnchad, son of Caem, be made king by you, and if Cellachan is rescued, let his kingship be given to him. Cenneidig put his hand in the hand of Donnchad in presence of the men of Munster, and they did so all after him.

50. Cenneidig began to tell Donnchad to act bravely and to relate to him, how many kings there were of his family, who had obtained the kingship of Munster before him, namely Airtir, and Cathal, and Finguine, and Cathal, and Cu-gan-mathair, and Cathal, and Aed, and Flann, and Cairbre, and Crimthan, and Eochaid, and Aengus son of Niatraech, from whom the nobles branched off, so that from Aengus to Donnchad there were eleven kings, who obtained the kingship of Munster, and the length of their reigns was 52 years, and in order to verify this the historian has made the following song:

>Enjoy thy noble kingship<, etc.

51. After that they marched forward in their arranged battalions, and their fleet set out the same day. The place, where their host was that night, was in Ath-na-Righ. They went next morning to Sliab Cain, and set up huts and open sheds. But although the rain fell heavily, nobody was heard complaining, so great was their eagerness to reach the Lochlannachs.

52. They sent out foragers as far as the Muaidh, and spoils were collected by them to be brought to their camp. While they were there, they saw a host coming towards them. Ten hundreds was their number. And they were arranged in the following way. One man was right in front of them. They asked, who he was, and who were the host. »A host of Munstermen«, answered he, »but the Munstermen do not know that they belong to them, namely the Dealbna, the Gailliga, and the Luighne, of the descendants of Tadg, son of Cian. And there are three valiant chiefs leading them, viz. Aed son of Dualascach, and the Gailliga around him, and the Luighne around Diarmuid son of Finnachta, and the Dealbna around Donnchadh son of Maeldomnall. And this is their number, five hundred with armour and five hundred without armour.« They encamped besides the Dalcassians, and they stayed there that night happily and peacefully. They arose early the next morning, and crossed Esgara, and the bright little bridge of Matra, and the ancient streams of the Sligech, their right hand towards the windycold Ben Gulban. They crossed the Dubh and the Drobaia, and crossed the verdant appleblossomed Magh Ene, and came to royal Ess Ruaid. They sent foragers eastwards across Ath Senadh, and collected the spoils of Crich Conaill from the east and brought them to their camp. Muirchertach son of Airmelach, the king of Conaill, pursued them and was demanding his spoils from them. Donnchadh replied that he would not restore them, before the host had been satisfied from them. »But we shall not take with us the least of our leavings; for it will not be a country without cattle to which we shall come.« Muirchertach however returned northwards before them, and sent messengers to Armagh to tell the Norsemen that they were approaching towards them, and to tell the children of Turges to bring Cellachan to Dundalk. When the children of Turges heard this, they left the town with the nine eared who had been around Cellachan when he was taken prisoner at Ath Cliath. But the Norsemen of the town itself remained there, namely Lulach, and Amlaibh, and Lagmann, and Turcaill, and Gilla Ciarain, son of Henrue the old king, and Otithe the Black. And their number was, 700 and an arranged battalion.
54. As to the men of Munster, they arrived at the southern side of Armagh. Donnchadh then told them to take their battle apparel, and let four battalions of us attack the fortress. Let the Dal Cais, and the Gailinga, and the Dealbhna, and the Luighne approach Armagh from the west. Let the Ui Conaill, and the Ui Caire, and the Ui Meic Caille, and the Ui Liathain go from the north into the town. Let the Deisi go to the southern side. I myself, and the Eoghanachts, i.e. the Eoghanachts of Cashel, and the Eoghanachts of Aine, and the Eoghanachts of Glenamain, and the Eoghanachts of Ciu, and the Eoghanachts of Durlus, and the Eoghanachts of Loch Lein, and the Eoghanachts of Rathlin shall come to the eastern side. Let the battalion of the Muscraige, the Uaithne the Fir Maige, and the Ui Cuanach remain stationary. For a battle without a check is not common. And we do not know whether we or a part of our people shall be routed, and if that should happen, they will know the way in which they may escape. They did so, and marched forward to the town, as Donnchadh had instructed them.

As to the Danes of the fortress, they assembled in one place. Lagmann addressed the champions, and this is what he said: ‘We are not sufficient in number to cope with them, as they do not come from one side. But let us attack one battalion of them, and give battle to them. And if a part of them is routed, it is likely that they will be so all of them. That advice was adopted by them, and they arranged themselves into a glittering, deathbringer circle of combatants. Then they attacked the battalion nearest to them, namely the battalion of the Deisi. There was fought a hard, stubborn battle between them, so that soldiers were destroyed and champions wounded by them, and skins were lacerated. Nevertheless the nobles of the Norsemens fell, and the Norse heroes were forcibly driven from the battlefield northward through the centre of Armagh, until they met the battalion of the Ui Caire who came bending their standards and battleflags against them from the north, so that the Norsemens were turned westward in full derout, until the battalion of the Dal Cais and the Gailinga, and the Dealbhna, and the Luighne met them, coming against them from the west, so that they were turned back eastward, quickly, perilously, and through sharp wounding, until the battalion of Clan Eoghahan came against them, so that there was opened a brave, high spirited breach in the close phalanx like a very large court, and the Eoghanachts then dexterously carried out a firm, compact flank-movement round them, until they got the stream of those rough Lochlannachs into that passage and into that fold. Then the breach was eagerly and very strongly closed behind them, and the champions were slaughtered, so that they did not find any opening or escape from their kings, but fell like heavy, deadly thunder on that battlefield. It is then, that the van of the Eoghanachts destroyed the people (?) who escaped from them. When Donnchadh saw that the battalions were intermingled, he ordered them all to separate and to stop. They did so, and entered the town, and the town was in their power that night. But they got no news of Cellachan.

55. They arose next morning, and went to the battlefield, and collected the bodies of their people into one place, and the heads of the Lochlannachs, and they placed the heads upon spikes. Donnchadh son of Caem then asked if there was any Gael in the town from whom he might get news of Cellachan. A man in the town answered him, and said that his origin was from the clans of the Gael. Donnchadh asked who he was.

56. (He answered): ‘It is I who was chief prophet of Armagh, before the Lochlannachs arrived; but now I am doorkeeper here.’ «Have you any news of the king of Munster?» said Donnchadh. «I have», said he. «The night you were at Ess Ruaid, there came messengers from the king of Cenel Conaill to this town to tell news of you. And Cellachan and the ten earls who were around him, when he was captured, were removed to Dundalk, the place where their ships are.» «Let us march after them!» said Donnchadh, «for we shall not leave a Norse stronghold in Ireland which we shall not reach, in fulfilment of our word.»
58. They went forward in arranged battalions to Sliaub Fuaite and to Fid Conaill, and to Magh Murthemne and straight to Dundalk. But the Lochlannachis went away from them in their ships, and they themselves went to the seashore. And the ship that was next to them was the ship of Sitric son of Turgeis, and it was in that ship that Cellachan was. Donnchadh asked them if they might get Cellachan for a ransom. Sitric pledged his word that he should never be given up, unless they brought back to him all who were slain in the fifteen battles which Cellachan had fought, and all who were slain in the battle of Armagh. When Donnchadh heard this he began to reproach them, and he said that they had not captured Cellachan in battle or open fight, but by lying and open perjury. And he said that after this he would not trust any oath of the Norse. «Give honour to Cellachan in the presence of the men of Munster!» said Sitric, «let him even be bound to the mast! For he shall not be without pain in honour of them.» Thus it was done. «The women of Munster will lament this,» said Donnchadh, «and your own wife will lament it, O Sitric. And there is not among you a man to carry out that cruelty but has been spared by his sword and his fight.» Donnchaun the son of Cennetig was likewise lifted up in the ship of the son of the king of Fuarloch-lann. But Donnchadh said, that he would rather prefer to have a fair fight with them, and he recited the lay: 1)

You pledged a false word, O man,
That if the champion were destroyed by you,
Nobody after you should trust
The oath of a Norseman.

The women of Munster will lament,
If Cellachan comes to harm.
Their loud weeping will not be gentle,
From Uighne to the fort of Eochair-mag.

If Gormflaith of the white hands hears,
The daughter of Buadachan of the banquets,
Her outcry will not be gentle,
The good wife of Donnall, the descendant of Faolan.

If the death of Cellachan of the sharp weapons
Is related to your own wife,
Mór of the soft eyes will lament him,
The daughter of the king of the Islands of the Fair Foreigners.

Well has curly Cellachan deserved
Of you that you should not let him out!
Often with the feet of his ships
He has followed the Norse heroes.

There is not among you without death
A warrior, but has been spared by his sword,
Who has fled through cowardice without strength,
In dread or in panic from the high-king.

Every reward, which a man may choose,
The king of Cashel of the pleasant banquets has given,
'Tis from the wealth of the Norse he gave it
To the host of Munster, O Sitric.»

59. Then Cellachan said: «It is not the revenge you will take upon me, that is to be lamented. For I give you my word that I feel more sorry that Cashel is without a
successor of the descendants of Eoghan than because I myself am in this torture. And my benediction upon the Dal Cais, as a reward because they have come to my help. »After this Cellachan lifted his head and said: »O Donnchadh, has a fleet set out with you?« »It has«, said Donnchadh. »I see them«, said Cellachan, and he said the lay.

60. 

»O Donnchadh, who darkens the spear,  
Do not reproach the Norse heroes!  
They have not destroyed us till now,  
In fulfilment of their truth.

The word Sitric gave in the south,  
It is that which is still helping us.  
It is because of that I am taken eastwards  
To be destroyed in Norway.

It is a greater sorrow upon my mind,  
Than to be in great torture,  
Not to be able to protect Cashel for you,  
O noble descendants of the race of Eogan.

To me has ever been attributed  
What you did both east and west.  
To yourself it shall now be attributed.  
Show bravery without me!

A king worthy of Cashel,  
A match for the splendid Munsterman,  
Shall help you out of every need: —  
Let Cenneidigh be made king by you!

My benediction — the cause is true —  
Upon the Dal Cais who excel the rest!  
Bravely they have come hither  
to fulfil their brotherhood.

You have come on a warlike hosting,  
O valorous descendants of Eogan,

Through the province of Medb northward;  
Great was the courage of the noble host.

When you crossed Assaroe,  
There came messengers northward,  
From Muirchertach — a great deed —,  
From the high-king of Cenel Conaill.

Although we left Armagh,  
We left there a full battalion  
Of champions of Norse heroes  
For the Gaels to destroy them.

Thanks to God that he has heard it,  
O valorous host of Munster,  
That the hue of every spear was reddened  
Yesterday in the battle of Armagh.

It is sweet to see you to-day,  
O valiant host of Munster,  
Your travelled faces without stain  
Upon the lawn of Dundalk.

I see what your champions do not see,  
Since I am at the mast of the ship,  
A fleet that will not flee to the sea;  
It is a place of watching where I am.

Gentle royal nobles of Western Munster,  
Beloved the fleet that has not been shown,  
If they have set out from home,  
It is they I see, O Donnchadh.  

O Donnchadh, who darkens the spear.
yonder will undertake to check us in battle to-day, and who are the chiefs of those who are there. Duinechad, son of Fiangus, said that if he got a boat to man and permission to go and to come, that he would go and get knowledge of these news on behalf of Sitric. He got what he asked.

62. Duinechad went to the place where the fleet was, and asked news of them, and told them news of the men of Munster at Armagh, and he related that Cellachan was in the ship of Sitric, bound to the mast. But, continued Duinechad, you said, that when all your hosts were assembled you would have a sufficient number to give battle for us. And it would be a shame for you now to let your chieftain and your lord be taken away from you to the sea, since you have followed him to the waves.

63. We have given our word, said they, that if the Munstermen and the Norsemen were joined together, we would not let Cellachan be taken away by them without giving them battle. If that it so, said Duinechad, then tell me which of the Lochlann heroes you will choose to match yourselves against? And these are they: Lochlannach of the Blades, and the handsome (?) Lochlannach, and Old Amlaib, the three guardians of Cork. Let them be given to us, said the three kings of Corcodubne, namely Flann, and Cobthach, and Edircvel. For it is to us that they have given cause after coming to Inis Clerc, when they carried off our women and youths in captivity. And we have not overtaken them to avenge ourselves upon them, but we shall take them in hand to-day. Which of you, said Duinechad, will undertake to fight against Lenn-Turmann of the Journey? Let him be left to me, said Dubdaboirenn, the king of Western Uí Echach, for he has slain a good son of mine, (viz. Aedh, the son of Dubdaboirenn). Which of you, said Duinechad, will undertake to fight against the three sons of Turges, namely Sitric, and Tor and Magnus? And it is in their ship Cellachan is. Let them be left to us, said Segda, and Failbe, and Congal, for they went to Scellig Michil and devastated the country. But we shall take them in hand for our share to-day.

64. Another reason, said Failbe, is that we have given our word that there shall not be on sea or on land a place where we see them that we shall not reach to attack them. Which of you, said Duinechad, will engage the son of the king of Fair Lochlann? Let him be left to me, said Conchubar, king of Ciarraige Luachra, for he has burned Ard Fothaigh BroughSIDE. But I shall avenge that upon him to-day. Who will engage in battle with Lenn Turmumn na Pers (i.e. of the Berserks) said Duinechad. Let him be left to me, said Diarmuid and Baiscinn, the two kings of Corcobaiscinn. For they have plundered Inis Cathaig, and we have not overtaken them before to-day. Who will engage in battle with the king of Cold Lochlann? said Duinechad. It is in his ship that Donnchuan is, and he bound fast. Let him be left to us, said the two kings of Ciacruadhagh, for they went to Arann, and it was plundered by them, and we shall avenge it upon them to-day.

65. How shall the ships recognise each another? said Duinechad. For the shields and ensigns you have are not those that are known to them. That is easy, said Failbe the Fair, for they know the situation of our territories belonging to our houses, namely Corculaighdhi furthest to the south, and the Uí Echach next to them. Corcodubne next to them. Ciarraige next to them. Corcobaiscinn next to Ciarraige. Ciacruadhagh next to Corcobaiscinn. And let us arrange our fleet according to our lands, and let them come to meet us. Duinechad then went to the Norse fleet, and related those answers to the children of Turges. This has fallen out prettily, said Sitric, for these are the very opponents we have chosen. Duinechad went ashore and told the Munstermen of these engagements. And the sagaman said the lay.

Relate, O Duinechad the Dun, [etc.] 1) To us, who are they, the couples

1) The poem is found in full in H.f.a., p. 80 f., whence I transliterate the whole.

7
Which they have chosen, the twelve chieftains
From western Munster of the great riches.

Name each brave Norseman
Whom every single man of them has chosen,
And each man of those whom they have taken
upon themselves.

Of the Norsmen in the quick fight!

Eiderscel yonder has chosen
From among you Lochlann of the blades.
Cobthach and Flann of Fál have promised
To beat off the other couple.

failbh [will go] against Sitric of the hosts,
Ségh[dh]a against red-haired Magnus,
Conall against Tor over the wave,
The (?) Clarraig against Fair Lochlann.

Conchobhar against noble Ibrec,
The king of Ciarrage of the rough sword,
And the Corcobaiscinn from the wave
Against the Berserks of the two strong Tormuns.

[To fight with] the Cold Norsemen of the harbour
The two Corcamruadh have undertaken.
These are, as we think manifest,
The full number of the engagements made.

67. However, when those redarmed chiefs of Western Erinn,
namely the powerful, very brave, noble clans, arrived
from the whitebodied wave of Clodhna in the south to
the ever pleasant harbour of Traigh Baillii in pursuit of
their champion and their lord, and to fight for their
heroic king and deliver him from the strait in which he
was, when they saw him bound and fettered to the mast
of the Norse ship, the senses, and feelings, and thoughts
of the heroes underwent a change, their aspect became
troubled, their colour changed, their looks became threaten-
ing, and their lips grew pale. And to defend Cellachan
there was bravely arranged by the heroes a strong and
cunning, quick [i.e. quickly arranged] circle of ships,
and a fortified city of helmets, and a firm fold of bows,
and a manly, angry, venomous hedge of bright spears.

68. Then arose those truly heroic, broadweaponed Norse-
men and the darkfaced, sullen, terrible Foreigners,
and the base, lowborn Danes [who were] without
any hereditary right to the truly beautiful island of
Fodla, and without origin in, or relationship to Banba.
There was arranged by them a dense fortress of dark
shields, and an immovable oakwood of venomous and
strong spears. But, however, when they had reached
the warriors in their impetuous and headstrong course,
their ships went bravely to the battle so that listening to
the noble clans was like listening to the sound, which
arises from a seashore full of stones trodden by teams,
and herds, and cattle, horses and racing horsemen, and
bright cavalry, as the bloody, sharp showers poured
down, and their swords and javelins rang forth in cutting
up cuirasses and splitting shields, breaking helmets and
head-gear and each other's fair bodies around Cellachan.

69. Then the three fiercely active kings of Ui Luigdech, namely
Flann, and Cobthach, and Eiderscel reached the southern
angle of the brave hosts. They and the three guardians of
Cork, namely Lochlannach of the blades, and the hand-
some (?) Lochlannach, and Old Amlaib, the senior of the
army, went at each other and encountered each other in
the battle. However, neither the great size of their
shields, nor the excessive strength of their spears, nor
the whistling shots of their arrows, nor the smiting of
swords upon the heroes were of any use to the Norse
heroes. For those chiefs leapt into the Norse ships and
single them out under the masts of the galleys till they
met in the middle of each ship. And those six fell to-
gether along with their hosts, as the poet has said:

I am grieved for the fall of the chiefs
Of the children of Lugaidh of the bright shields,
From the southern part of Munster in the south.
By the host of Lochlann of the swift feats.

I grieve for the noble Eiderscel,
The brave, red-sworded hero,
Though through him by force was slain
The Norseman of the full-sharp blades.

I am sorry that Flann, the descendant of Lugaidh
of Luan (?),
Should be in famous Traigh Baile,
Though he cut off — without treachery — in the
battle
The head of the handsome (?) Lochlannach.

Sorrowful the fall of the son of great Mac Niadh;
Of the descendants of Ith of the noble host,
I grieve for Cobthach with the ruddy face,
The descendant of Lugaidh, a hero without deceit.

Ten ships and twenty in truth
Of the Clan Luigdech, with full force,
Of them did not reach home — it is known —
The crew of a ship of his garrison of heroes.
I am grieved.

71. Then the chief of Uí Echach, namely Dubdaboinnn, and
Lenn-Turmun of the Journey met with their swift barques
to fight and to smite each other like two dragons for
cunning wounds or like two hawks for eager deeds. The
army of the active, and famous clan of Cas leapt into
the ships of the Norsemen so that they fell upon the
rowences and strong oars of the mighty ships.

72. Then the three valiant champions, namely Segda, and
Fáilbe, and Congal came up to the strong fleet of
the sons of Turgeis, to Sitric, Tor, and Magnus. The Irish-
men quickly flung tough ropes of hemp over the long
prows of the Norse ships in order that they might
not be separated from each other. The Norsemen
then flung rough chains of blue iron over the stately
prows of their vessels. There were arranged between
the heroes smooth-shafted, sharp-pointed rows of long
and stout, most venomous spears. Their helmsmen left
off steering, and their crews arose with the oars around
the splendid sides of their strong ships, and they raised
a barbarous uproar against each other, so that the . . . .

and mighty onset of those fierce . . . . was a raging
sea of . . . . .

73. Then the ship of the heroic Fáilbe was hurried up and
rowed up to the battle-ship of Sitric, and Fáilbe made a
high, and deerlike leap from the broad deck of his ship
to the mast of [the ship of] Sitric. The royal champion
unsheathed his two brisk, keen-edged blades, and he took
one of the swords in his stout right hand encountering
the champions of the ship, and the other sword in his
heroic left cutting the ropes and fetters that were round
Cellachan.

74. The nobles of Clan Corc [then] arranged an artfully
weaponed, hard and keen-edged enclosure round the mast
while the hero was cutting the long ropes, so that they
left the battle-soldier in the centre of the ship between
the champions. Fáilbe gave one of the two blades into
the hand of Cellachan in the hard fight. But Cellachan
began to smash the bones of the heroes along the sides
of the noble ship, until he leapt into the ship of the
heroic Fáilbe. But there was poured down a vehement
and fierce shower of arrows upon the brave Fáilbe in
the dark ship, as many are wont to overpower few.

75. When the furious Foreigners had slain and stripped that
true hero, they struck off the brave man's head and raised
it upon the prow of the ship. When the hard, impetuous
troops and the sprightly young men of Munster saw that
decapitation, the battle became more furious, and the
fight closer with the brave hosts. Fiangal arose bravely,
though every good hero had become weak, lowspirited
and thinking of flight after the fall of his chieftain. He
began to lament his lord and pledged his word that
Sitric should not get back alive to the Lochlann hosts.
For the hero was a fosterbrother of the gentle Fáilbe.
But he was aware that his weapons would take no effect
upon the mailclad veteran, and he thought it a pity that
his lord should lay in the ship without revenge. And
he said the lay:

> Do you grieve for the body of the Ua Conaire? etc. 1)

1) The poem is found in full in H. I, a., p. 85, whence I translate.
Do you grieve for the body of Ua Conaire
Being in the Norse ship,
And his head upon its curved prow,
The descendant of Mugh of the beautiful, heroic
hands?

He did not deserve above all others,
Not to be followed [i.e. to be abandoned] — the
cause is true —,

If I myself could have been in the ship
Of Failbe, the man of the heavy, golden hair.

Cheerful and thoughtful before the hosts,
Was the champion of the great victories.
He was a generous giver in the banqueting-house,
The descendant of Aengus with great nobleness.

Fair Failbe! O fair Failbe!
He gave his life for my sake.
I grieve that he is left behind me
In the ship of Sitric, the son of Turgeis.

I shall not come alive southward
To the country of Munster of the great forts,
Unless he is left behind shamefully
The man whose handsome body has fallen,
The body.

ships, (or) like the violent indomitable waves over the
long sides of the Norse ships. And the heroes left
their own ships void and empty, while the Norse
ships became full in their hold, and their sides leaned
over. For the pouring in of the clan of Corc into their
wombs was a terrible addition to the ships, and they [i.e.
the ships] were full of Norsemen before; so that the ships
did not wait for the fight of the heroes, but burst open
to the salt sea, so that every barquee wass wamped with
its troops. Hence the poet said these words:

Great the courage of the noble soldiers, etc.¹)

¹) Only the first line of the poem is found in the Book of Lismore. The
poem is found in full in H. i. a. 43., b. 86, from where I give a translation
of it here below.

Great the courage of the noble soldiers,
Failbe, Seaghda and fierce Connall,
Two of them of the blue-weaponed race of Conaire,
Men most brave at maiming bodies.

The leave their own ships empty,
Those soldiers — 'twas not a grievous thing —
So that they leapt into their ships,
Upon the chosen children of Turgeis.

Those strong and brave three
Made battle upon the foaming sea
To that they leapt — though difficult the feat —
upon the troop of the full-blue armour.

Too heavy for each hard ship
Were the crews of two ships — though it was a full
disturbance —

And the sides of the barques tilted
For the Norsemen . . . . . of the fair sea-shores.

The sea sucks down — alas!
Each ship, each boat with hard swords,
78. Then the martial warships of Ciarráige and the furious angry crews of Fair Lochlann met, and they exchanged showers of arrows, and sudden fusilades of hard stones, and sharp showers of javelins, and skilfully directed, very stout spears. And they made a sudden, fierce attack, and a rough, hostile combat. Then Conchubar, the heroic king of Ciarráige, met the slaughtering Ilbreach, son of the king of Fair Lochlann. They fought very hard and eagerly, because the Ciarráige remembered the plundering of their country by the champion. They pled their spears with excessive eagerness, their battle-axes with powerful onslaught, their swords with fierce fight, and their knives with furious, sudden assault. For the good ships were close to each another, and their weapons reached each other’s breasts and bosoms, so that they fell together on this side and that in their ships. Conchubar however dragged Ilbreach by his head towards him, and struck off the head of the good champion, and exhibited it in triumph. But he fell himself on the neck of the soldier, and thus died. And to verify this the poet sang the lay:

Conchubar, valiant was the champion,
The king of Ciarráige of the beautiful hair,
His fall — sorrowful is the deed —
By the people of the full-blue cuirasses.

They did not therefore abandon their strife,
The sons of Turgeis and of strong Cairbre.

Thus did my nimble heroes die,
On the sea — ’tis not a false tale —,
Seghda and Conall of the hosts,
Tor and active, great Magnus.

80. Then the descendants of Caibre which are called Baiscne and the fleet of the Berserks met to attack each other. But they remembered their recent enmities and their hostility, and the noble hosts especially laid to the charge of the cruel fleet the violation of Senan and the plundering of Scattery Island. Diarmaid and Baiscenn skilfully stroeared their barque, they hurled their arrows and spears against each other, went upon their stout oars of strong ash, and dealt hard blows to each other.

80. However, this eager, indomitable couple, namely Diarmaid and Baiscenn, rushed in their fierce onset into the ship of the Norseman, and slew the champion in the very middle of his ship, viz. Leinn Tarmun of the Berserks. Diarmaid fell in the black ship, but Baiscenn struck off the head of the fierce Norseman, and exhibited it in triumph, as the poet has said:

There fell in the hard battle
the descendants of red-sworded Caibre,
and the battalion of the Berserks, though it was in vain.

All except Baiscenn of lastling victories (?)..

81. Then the strong and vigorous descendants of Fergus and the far-plundering descendants of Corc reached the watchful Donnchuan. When they saw the hero as a bound and fettered captive, they ordered that the swift, big ship of Lochlann should be brought up to the one side of the Norse ship and the brownplanked ship of Conchubar to the other side of the high ship. This advice was adopted by the champions, and they leapt over the broad railings of the ship of the Norseman, and untied the hard fetters, and let down the ropes, so that the hero-champion, i.e. Donnchuan son of Cinneideigh, was left free in the middle of the ship. But while the chiefs were removing the champion from the mast, the Lochlannachs of the ship slaughtered their people.

82. The champions became fiercely angry because of this, made a violent attack upon the sullen Lochlannachs, and dealt hard, dangerous blows upon the gloomy Lochlannachs, so that they left their shields, and cut their armour into pieces, and tore their targes. And the son of the king of Cold Lochlann fell with the flower of his people. While they were slaying the great Lochlannach, the Lochlannachs of the ship were harassing the rear of the brave champions. They then quickly and suddenly turned round upon the warriors and gave a hard, vehement onslaught on the champions, so that they did not stay in the ship before the heroes, but the champions of the ship leapt over the broad railings into the sea, where they were quickly drowned. But when they found no more Norsemen to slay in the ship, they raised the head of the son of the king of Cold Lochlann in triumph upon the prow of the galley. Conchubar came upon the bow of the ship, and the Norsemen . . . . and they severed their bodies from their souls. Donnchuan began to lament, and he said:

>Valiant the triumphs of the fierce heroes, etc.1)

83. However, it was ebb-tide when the fleets met, and the broad waves of the flood-tide brought the ships of the Munstermen to land. But when the ships had reached land, the Munstermen went into them to join those who were left of their people. But when the Lochlannachs who were left perceived this, they went away in thirteen ships and left the harbour at once, and carried neither king nor chieftain with them.

84. Then Cellachan arrived in the ship of Failbe the Fair, but Failbe lay slain in it on his bed of gore. Cellachan was greatly lamenting him and said: >It is a loss to us that this man has fallen, and there will not be found a hero after him who will rescue his lord, as he did, for his sword gave a brave sound as he fought for me in the galley. And he said, lamenting Failbe:

>A loss to Munstermen is Failbe the Fair,
Who gave his life for my sake,
He sprang to bring it back
into the ship of Sitric, son of Turgeis.

There was a sword in his right hand,
And a sword in his nimble left,
So that he drove them into the sea,
Where the Norsemen perished.

By him my fetters were cut,
Though not with the consent of the men.
The sword which was in his left
the heroic king put into my hand.

I myself destroyed with the sword
All that were between me and the side of the ship,
Failbe fought in my rear,
So that I left the ship of the son of Turgeis.

Failbe was not slain alone,
Woe that he should have been in peril!

1) I have not been able to find more than the first line of this poem.
[He did not fall], until the ship was red of their blood,
of the blood] of his hosts and [of] the Norse host.

Manly Fiangal leapt away from us
To avenge his lord.
He carried Sitric with him from his ship,
So that the son of the Lagmann’s son was drowned.

A blessing upon the soul of Fiangal,
Though he died without fierce wounds,
If Sitric were not under the sea,
The drowning of Fiangal were a loss.

He was the darling of the maidens,
the descendant of Aengus, the fair bright man.
He brought me out of their fetters,
He was the flower of our noble Munstermen.

He was the leader of our battalions,
He was the conqueror of every chieftain,
Our man of battle at every hour,
The descendant of red-weaponed Conall of great deeds.

Failbe, king of Corcoduibhne,
He was a comely man at courtship,
He was the love of the women of Munster,
The gentle-worded descendant of Conaire.

I would have enjoyed to night,
Although I have sustained battle and great evil,

If Failbe were alive after him,
The drowning of Sitric son of Turgeis.

It is sad that Failbe of the comely hair
Should not return to the land of Cashel,

It would have been delightful to us in the south,
If he had come with us to be healed.

O Donnchadh, and o Donnchuan!
Gather forthwith your hosts . . .
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . marching homewards,
Although we took . . . . . . . . .
 Failbe fair is a loss to the Munstermen.

86. The heroic Munstermen assembled their ships from the wide sea, and brought them to land, and Cellachan and Donnchuan were welcomed by the heroes. They began to lament their nobles, their chiefs, and their warriors. And Donnchadh son of Caem said the lay:

87. It is good for us, O gentle Cellachan,
O son of Buadachan of fair aspect,
That you have not gone over the full sea,
With Sitric, eastward over the bitter brine.

The Munstermen have delivered you,
O Cellachan of the blue blades,
It is they who made a bold march,
To Armagh of the great towers.

If they had not gone in their ships
Across the waters, across the heavy waves,
The chieftains of Western Munster,
Your hard fetters would have been long and lasting.

There came six score ships,
To seek you with fierce resolve,
The men of (Corco) Laigde and Duibne across the sea,
The Ciarraige and Corcobaiscinn.

The Ui Echach and the Corcamruadh
Came over the sea of cold waters,
Until they reached the beautiful Struth na Maeli
To slay the bright-blue Foreigners.

They sprang upon the fierce battalions
Around the Height of red-haired Macha,
North, east, and south,
And west alike dexterously.

88. Then they brought the nobles of their people into the
town to bury them. And they were greatly sorrowful
and exhausted after the battle during that night: They
arose early next morning in order to bury their people,
and they carried the highest of their chieftains and the
nobles of their people with them to the church on the
northern side of Dundalk. Their chieftains were placed
in four graves, and Donnchadh son of Caem came before
them and began to relate their triumph. And he made
the lay at the end of the story [i. e. which finishes our
story].

89. Seven score ships on the sea
Came with the chieftains;
There escaped not without slaughter
But three score of their people.

Cobthach of the battles was slain,
Bloody Flann was slain,
. . . Eiderscel was drowned,
And his crew was slain.

Cobthach fell in the battle
Together with the Lochlannach Ladhach.
. . . . . . . . . . . a vast amount of gold
In Ath Cliath of the drinking-horns.

Eiderscel fell here
Together with the Lochlannach of the blades.
And bloody Flann fell
Together with Old Amlaib, the mighty dealer of
wounds.

Dubdaboirenn, a brave man (?) (fell)
With Lenn-Turmun of the Journey,
When the earl was slain there,
Who was the strongest of the men of Lochlann.

Segda and Failbe were slain,
It was a cause of woe to us,
And wounded to death was fierce Conall
From the country of Munster of the great host.

They encountered them upon the sea,
Sitric with the Norse ship,
And Magnus, the strong tower,
And Tora of the sharp spear-points.

Magnus fell on the sea
And Segda of the shining armour,
Tora and Congal likewise,
Sitricon and ever-active Failbe.

The hard Ciarraighe fought
With Fair Lochlann from the northern land,
When noble Conchobar fell
Together with the king of Fair Lochlann of the
drooping hair.

Corcobaiscinn, the expert troop, [fought]
Against Lenn-Turmun of the city of the Berserks.
When there fell together upon the sea
The Berserks and Corcobaiscinn.

There met in the harbour,
Cold Lochlann and Corcamruadh,
Until they had slain each other
On the sea full readily.

Then the flood-tide brought to land
Some of their ships with full force.
In them the Munstermen went out
Upon the sea full of ships.
After Cellachan had gone on board
To the people of Failbe of the dark weapons,
When he had arrived at the battle-place,
They did not dare to encounter the chieftain's son.

The Norsemen went away
From the prows of their shining ships.
There did not come on the journey
But only six out of seven.

When their people had arrived at one place, they collected their own ships and the ships of the Lochlannachs, and burned them all, and they (also) burned the town. Some of them were saying that they ought to decide which way they would take, and some of them were asking where they should go to reach their own country.

> The way right to the south, said some of them. > Not so, said Cellachan and Donnchadh son of Caem, but let us proceed to Ath Cliath, where the sons, and women, and people of the Lochlannachs are, and the woman for the sake of whom Cellachan was captured and our men were slain, even Mor, the daughter of Aedh son of Echu. And he made the lay:

> Make a valiant resolution,
O handsome, active heroes,
Which way you will go to the south
Into the country of Munster of the great forts.

If you go across the plain of Cruachan,
You will meet a fierce, overwhelming contest;
They will not let you reach your home
Without battle and hard fight.

If you cross the plain of Meath,
O host whose valour is all-sufficient,
You will find on the way to the east,
Donnchadh and the Lochlannachs.

We shall proceed through the plain of Meath,
For 'tis there is the hostile tribe,

Until we reach — though it be a hard task —
South to Munster the red maned.

Proceed ye to Ath Cliath.
To Meath it shall be great sorrow.
Though its aspect is fair to-day,
There shall be forts there under black smoke.

Make a valiant resolution.

Then the men of Munster set out on their way, and journey, and expedition orderly, bravely, and prudently. They plundered each territory, and burned each fortress and town that they met on their straight way from Dundalk to Ath Cliath. There came a message before them to the royal town, and it was told to the women of the Norsemen that their husbands were slain, and that Cellachan was taken from them by force.

Then the wife of Tora, son of Turgeis, namely Mor, the daughter of Donnchadh, said: > I know, said she, > a plot that will result in the death of Cellachan and in the destruction of the Munstermen: Let us even go to the summerhouse where Mor, the daughter of Aedh, son of Echu, is, the woman, who loves Cellachan, and tell her that Cellachan has perished, and that the Munstermen are slain, and she will die from grief for Cellachan, and he himself will die from grief for her, and the Munstermen will be routed, when he has died. > Let this be done, said the women, and they told the young woman these tidings. > It is not true for you, O women, said Mor, > and it would be better for you if that story were true. And it is certain that Cellachan would die, if I should die. But I get news of him every night in my bed, and yet I am not his wife, said the woman.

Then the van of the Munster army reached the town, and they collected the cows and cattle-drovers of the town, and its gold, and silver, and many riches, and brought the women and young men of the town together. Mor, daughter of Aedh, son of Echu, and Beinn, the daughter of Turgeis, were brought to Cellachan, who said to Donnchuan, son of Cennedig, that he should take Beinn to his wife. And so it was done by them, and
each man of them likewise had his choice of women afterwards. They spent a week in arranging this. And as they went away they burned the town.

95. They proceeded forward to the eastern point of the plain of Almuin. And as they were there, they saw five battalions drawn up in the middle of the plain with choice shields, and swords, and coats of mail, and with shining spears, and targets, and helmets. And he who was there was Murchadh, son of Finn, king of Leinster, and his three brothers, Donnchadh, Finn, and Aedh, and Conghal, son of Laigsech, king of Leix of Leinster, and Donnchadh, son of Aedh, king of Fotharta of Leinster, and Murchertach, son of Tuathal, king of Ui Mael, and Conchubar, son of Donnchadh, king of Ui Failghe, and Bran Berba, son of Amalghadh, king of Omagh and of Ui Maigri.

96. When the king of Leinster saw the Munster army coming towards him, he said to a priest of his people: "Arise, said he, and go to the men of Munster, and demand hostages for me from them, and those hostages shall be Cellachan and Donnucan, and tell them that I shall not accept other hostages, but those two, or else let us fight on the mountain." The priest proceeded to the place where the Munstremen were, and delivered his message to them.

97. Anger and rage arose in the champions of Munster at those big words. Donnchadh, son of Caem, said: "... our march, and it will not be easy to save (?) ... and for destroying nobles and chieftains ... in fighting for those two, if we gave them to them. And tell them that we would not give to them the worst gillie in this host to avoid the battle."

98. Then Donnchadh said: "I wish to ask a boon from you, O men of Munster, namely to let me be in the front of the battle and have what is left of the descendants of Eoghan here, and that Cellachan shall not go into battle." That was granted to him. And Cellachan said: "Since I am not myself permitted to come into the battle, avenge ye Cormac, the son of Cüllenman, well upon the men of Leinster; for there are two years and a half, and two score years without revenge. And for every cleric who was slain there they offered but one cow. And he recited the lay:

"Send against Leinster of the graves! etc."

99. Then the noble, valiant descendants of Eoghan arose, and arranged themselves into a furious, steady, brave battalion of champions.¹)

100. However, when all the fierce Lochlannachs were drowned, and when the noble lords of Munster had fallen, Cellachan went on land, and the minds and spirits of the high chieftains rejoiced before him. Cellachan sent people to burn the bulk of the fleet which had not gone down in the salt sea. And the resolution the champions came to, was to attack the king of Cenel Conaill, for it was he who had sent messengers (as we have told before) to Armagh to the Lochlannachs, to tell them to bring Cellachan to Dundalk. Murchertach did not show himself before them, although they raided and plundered the whole country. After that they came to Tara, and sent messengers to proclaim battle against Donnchadh, son of Flann Sinna, king of Erin, for he had previously permitted that Cellachan was taken prisoner in Ath Cliath. Donnchadh refused to fight with them, and when he had refused, they plundered the territory of Tara. After this they came to Cashel in Munster, and the territories were divided suitably by Cellachan among the nobles. And thenceforth they spent the time peacefully and tranquilly, until Cellachan of Cashel, the son of Buadanach, died a laudable death at Cashel Anno Domini 952.

¹) Here the story ends abruptly. The last chapter is translated from the paper manuscript in the Royal Irish Academy, p. 87–88.
Notes.

§ 1. Cogadh Gaedhel also says that the reign of Airtri, son of Cathal, fixes the era of the Viking invasions. The portion of this work which is preserved in the Book of Leinster begins¹: «There was great oppression on the men of Erin, throughout its breadth, from Lochlannachs and from fierce, hardhearted Danars, during a lengthened period and a long time, viz. for eight score and ten years. Or, two hundred years, according to some, i.e. from Airtri to Brian, son of Cennedig, in Cashel; [and] from the time of Aedh, son of Niall Frossach, in Tara, that is, sixteen kings during that time in Cashel, but twelve kings in Tara during the same time.»

According to Dr. Todd, Airtri, son of Cathal, seems to have reigned from A. D. 800 to 820². — All the authorities give twenty years as the length of his reign. — But this calculation is far from being satisfactory, as according to other authorities, his father Cathal died about A. D. 743. In his Book of Pedigrees² (Leabhar Ginealach), the antiquary Dualaí Mac Fibris fixes the reign of Aedh Oirdnide, son of Niall Frassach, at the beginning of the Viking invasions. This king is said to have begun his reign in the year 797.

The invasions of Ireland seem actually to have begun in the year 795. In this year the Vikings burned the Island of Rechru (now Lambay island, north of Dublin), and pillaged

and devastated the Isle of Skye, in Scotland.³) These Vikings, probably Norwegians, were most likely identical with those who during the same year pillaged Glamorganshire in southern Wales.⁴)

§ 2. Cogadh Gaedhel has also (chap. II) a list of the kings of Munster, from Airtri to Brian Borumha, the hero of the saga, but does not give the length of their reigns. The list from Airtri to Cellachan is, as follows: »Airtri, son of Cathal, son of Finguine; and Feidlimid, son of Crimthann; Olchobar, son of Cinaed; Allgenan, son of Dungal; Maelguala, son of Dungal; Cennfaelad, son of Murchad; Donnchad, son of Dubdahoibenn; Dubhachta, son of Maelguala; Finguine, son of Laegaire (surnamed) Cenngeagain; Cormac, son of Cuilennan; Flaithbertach, son of Immhainne; Lorcan, son of Connligan; Cellachan son of Buadachan.« The list of the names is omitted in the Book of Leinster, and is therefore, according to Dr. Todd, probably an interpolation. If so, it has probably been taken from a more ancient copy of the saga of Cellachan of Cashel. — The Book of Leinster copy only says that from Airtri to Brian, son of Cennedig, there were sixteen kings of Cashel, while the Dublin MS. gives the names of eighteen kings.

»Feidlimid, son of Crimthann, seems to have been a profligate. He usurped the abbacy of Armagh, where he remained a whole year, during which he preached to the people every Sunday. In 846 he plundered the lands belonging to the monastery of Clonmacnois. The next year he died of a disease which was supposed to have been miraculously inflicted by St. Ciaran of Clonmacnois himself, in punishment of his sacrilege. Other authorities also tell that he reigned 27 years, and that he was one of the five kings of Munster who obtained the monarchy of all Ireland, subsequently to the introduction of Christianity.«⁵)

Scé³ (later: Scéach) Nechtain was a place near Castledermot, county of Kildare. This battle, which took place A. D. 847 or 848, is also mentioned in Cogadh Gaedhel (p.

¹) Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh (The Wars of the Gaedhel with the Gall), ed. Todd, p. 221.
³) Cogadh, p. XXXII.
20): "Olchobar, son of Cinaedh, king of Cashel, and Lorcan, son of Cellach, king of Leinster, defeated them (i.e. the Norsemen) in the battle of Scathach Nechtain, where the heir of the king of Lochlann fell, and twelve hundred of the nobles of Lochlann along with him." According to the Annals of Ulster and the Annals of the Four Masters, the name of this chieftain was Tomair, Tomkair. Chronicum Scotorum (A.D. 848) calls him Tomchair Iarla Tanaisi Righ Lochlann (Tomchair the Earl, tanist of the king of Lochlann). Tomair is the Irish form of the Norwegian and Icelandic name Þórir, a derivation of the name of the god Þórr, which name originally had had a nasal before the r. Tomchair therefore represents an older form of the name than Þórir. Tomar is a more corrupt form. The same name also occurs in this saga in the forms Tór, and Tora. Maelguala, son of Dungaille, was killed in the year 959, his back being broken by a stone.1

Chronicum Scotorum (A.D. 902) has: Findguine Rí Caisil a suis occisus est.

§ 2, l. 13, fleghi, leg. flede.

Cormac, son of Cuillennan, is the famous king, bishop, and scholar, who has written a still existing glossary. According to Chronicum Scotorum, he was killed A.D. 907 (908) in the Battle of Belach Mugna, i.e. Mugain's Road, now Ballaghoon, in the south of the county of Kildare, about two miles and a half north of the town of Carlow.2 Other Authorities (e.g. the list of Munster-kings in the Book of Leinster) call the place of this battle Mag Aile.3 As professor Kuno Meyer points out to me, the Three Fragments (p. 204) mention Drochth Leithglinn the Bridge of Leithglinn and Leithglinn (now Leighlin) as places in the neighbourhood of the battlefield. Cath Leithglinde is therefore probably an erroneous form of cath Leithglinde.

Lorcan, son of Connligan, began to reign A.D. 922.4

§ 3. The story of the Norsemen's oppression of Ireland is told in nearly the same words in Cogadh Gaedhel and by Dional Mac Firbis. Cogadh Gaedhel (pp. 48

---51) says: "And such was the oppressiveness of the tribute and rent of the foreigners over all Erin at large, and generally, that there was a king from them over every territory, and a chief over every chieftainry (or better: cantred), and an abbot over every church, and a steward over every village, and a billeted soldier in every house, so that none of the men of Erin had power to give even the milk of his cow, nor as much as the clutch of eggs of one hen in succour or in kindness to an aged man, or to a friend, but [was forced] to preserve them for the foreign steward, or bailiff, or soldier. And though there were but one milk-giving cow in the house, she durst not be milked for an infant one night old, nor for a sick person, but must be kept for the steward, or bailiff, or soldier of the Foreigners. And, however long he might be absent from the house, his share or his supply must not be lessened, although there was in the house but one cow, it must be killed for the meal of one night, if the means of supply could not be otherwise procured. And the most fit person of the family was obliged to take wages, the day on which he embarked on board ship with his lord, [and] he must be supplied with provision, as if he was at home. An ounce of silver or Finnruine (i.e. white bronze) for every nose, besides the royal tribute afterwards every year, and he who had not the means of paying it, was himself compelled to go into slavery, or else his nose was cut off."

In a portion of Dional Mac Firbis's celebrated Book of Pedigrees,-1) called On the Fomorians and Lochlannach (Do Fhomerchubh agus do Lochlannachubh), there is a similar description: "The Foreigners appointed a king over every cantred, an abbot over every church, a steward over every village, a billeted soldier in every house, so that no Irishman had in his power from the brood of a hen to the first milking-cow, so that they did not dare to show devotion or care to father or to mother, to a bishop, or to an ollav, or to a confessor, or to people who were ill or afflicted, or to an infant one night old. Although an Irishman had but one cow, he was forced to give the soup of her to the soldier,

---1) The original MS. is in the possession of Lord Roden, and is not accessible. A copy made by the late E. O' Curley, is preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.

---2) Four Masters, p. 504.

---3) Cogadh, p. 238.

---4) Cogadh, p. XCVII n.
the night when they could not get milk from her, and an ounce of gold, or of silver, or of findruine, as the royal rent every year; and the man who had not the means [of paying it] was himself to go into slavery, or his nose was cut off."

The memory of the oppression of the Norsemen has even been preserved in tales from the 18th century, where the Norsemen, however, have been displaced by the mythical Fomorians. 1) A version of the story of the "Fate of the Children of Turann," translated by Dr. Joyce in his "Celtic Romances" (pp. 34–96), tells: "When the Dedannans held sway in Erin, a prosperous freeborn king ruled over them, whose name was Nuada of the Silver Hand.

In the time of this king, the Fomorians from Lochlann, in the north, oppressed the Dedannans, 2) and forced them to pay heavy tributes, namely, a tax on kneading-troughs, a tax on querns, and a tax on baking-flags; and besides all this, an ounce of gold for each man of the Dedannans. The tribute had to be paid every year at the Hill of Usna; and if any one refused or neglected to pay his part, his nose was cut off by the Fomorian tyrants: ......... For the whole Dedannan race stod in great dread of these Fomorian tax-collectors; so much that no man even dared to chastise his own son without first seeking their consent." 3)

"Cogadh Gaedhele," "The Book of Pedigrees," and the Fomorian tale contain one interesting passage which is not found in our saga: "An ounce of silver or Findruine for every nose besides the royal tribute afterwards every year; and he who had not the means of paying it ..... his nose was cut off."

This tax which was exacted from every nose is the so-called nefgild (a tax of every nose—nef—, i.e. a poll-tax), which is said to have been introduced into Norway by king Harald Haarfaugre (i.e. the fair-haired), and to have been paid in olden times by the Swedes to the

temple of Upsala. 1) The so called "Book of Rights" (Leabhar na g-Clait) mentions this tax as introduced by the Norsemen into the kingdom of Dublin (p. 229):

> "Hereupon the host brought to him (i.e. to St. Patrick)
A screepell 4) for each man, an ounce of gold,—
An ounce for each nose besides. —
And a screepell of gold for each man."

§ 4. Cellachan is in the Annals usually called "Cellachan of Cashel" (Cellachan Caisil), probably not because of his being king of Cashel, the official title of the kings of Munster, but because he conquered Cashel from the Danes. The first time he is mentioned is in Chronicum Scotorum, in the year 935 (i.e. 936), when he and his men plundered Conmacnuin. This plundering is also mentioned in the Four Masters (A. D. 934). According to the list in our saga, Cellachan must have begun his reign in the year 926 or 927. According to the Book of Leinster, however, his predecessor Lorcan reigned 7 years, in consequence of which Cellachan must have begun his reign A. D. 934, which is probably the right date. According to the same authority, Cellachan's reign lasted ten years. Cellachan's father, Buadachan, was not king of Munster, but belonged to the royal race of the Eoganacht. He was not married to the mother of Cellachan. For a pedigree of Cellachan of Cashel, see The Battle of Magh Rath, ed. O'Donovan (the Genealogical Table).

There is a close resemblance between the early career of Cellachan and that of Brian Borumha. When Mathgamain, the brother of Brian, had made a truce with the Norsemen, Brian was unwilling to make peace, but went back again to the forests, woods and deserts of north Munster with the nobles of the Dal Cais. 4) The Anglo-Saxon king Alfred the great also sustained similar tribulations. 5) With wenge men Aethelingen, Dienstmannen und Kriegen, unter denen wir Aethelnoth, den Ealdorman der Sumorsätten, kennen, brachte

1) Vergings Saga, ch. 8.
2) The screepell (Lat. scripulum) weighed twenty or twenty four grains of wheat, and was of the value of three pence.
3) Cogadh, p. 256.
4) Cogadh, p. 61.
der König, von seinem Volke verlassen und getrennt, in den Wäldern und Marschen Somersets mehrere Wintermonate gleich einem Flüchtlinge zu. Der Untertan der seigenen musste mit Lister Gewalt die Heiden oder den denselben untergebenen Christen entwenden werden.1) — This was about the year 878. I do not know, whether this coincidence is accidental or caused by literary influence.

§ 5. Caisel, now Cashel, in the county of Tipperary, was once the capital of Munster, and the chief residence of its kings. The word caisal signifies a circular stone fort, and is probably a derivation of the Latin castellum. The city of Cashel was at this time in the possession of the Norsemen.

Glennamain is in the next chapter written Glennamhain (gen. Glennamnachh), which is probably the right form of the name. — Glennamhain is derived from abhainn >abounding in rivers, and signifie <the watery or marshy glenc.2) The place is now called Glanworth, and is situated in the barony of Fermoy, in the county of Cork. I should think that in Munster there has also been another Glenmain, near Cashel, since our Place is called »Glenmain of Cashel«. In the barony of Coshmore and Cosbhzride, in the county of Waterford, there is a valley called Glenn-Damhain »the valley of the young bull«; but this is probably not the place mentioned in our saga.

Cennedig, son of Lorcan, was the head of the Dal Cais; to his race belonged the hereditary kingship of Thomond, in northern Munster (the County of Clare). Cennedig had three sons, Donnchuan who is also mentioned in our saga, Mathgamhair, king of Munster (murdered A. D. 978), and the famous Brian Borumha, who fell in the battle of Clontarf 1014. In our saga (§ 26) it is said, that »the tanistship of Munster, and its kingdom after Cellachan« was given to Cennedig. He was in other words »their apparent of Cashel«, as he is called in Cogadh Gaedhel. According to Cogadh Gaedhel (pp. 42—45), he was slain in the year 949.

The Eoganachts of Cashel, as well as the Dal Cais, both descended from Ailill Olom, the first of the family of

Heber, son of Milesius, who found himself in undisputed possession of the throne of Munster. Ailill Olom had two sons, Eogan Mór and Cormac Cas. Eogan Mór was the ancestor of the Eoganachts, and Cormac Cas the ancestor of the Dal Cais. The pedigree of Cellachan is given in the fourth chapter of our saga.

The name of Dal Cais (i. e. the race of Cas) is usually derived from Cormac Cas, the son of Ailill Olom. Dr. Todd, on the other hand, thinks that the name is derived from Casmac Tail, grandson of Lugaidh Menn, King of Thomond.3) I do not think that he is right. At any rate, it seems to me as if the author of our saga thinks that the name is derived from Cormac Cas.

It is well known that the Eoganachts of Cashel and the Dal Cais had »an alternate right to Cashel«, that is, the kings of Cashel were to be chosen in alternate succession by the descendants of Eogan Mór and Cormac Cas. This was according to the will of Ailill Olom, and probably not, as we might conclude from the verse in the next chapter, according to the arrangement of Fiacha Muileathan and Cormac Cas. This arrangement proved a perpetual source of discord, and was very seldom regularly observed. It did not exclude the right of the tribe to elect the king. But he could only be elected among those who were entitled to the throne by hereditary descent. And besides, the king ought, as we see from our saga, to be the senior of the candidates, and »the best in knowledge, true learning, and princely honour.«4) Nowhere, it seems to me, do we get such a clear description of the Irish way of electing a king as in our saga.

Donnchadh was the son of Cathal, son of Caem, and a descendant of Eochaid, king of Munster (d. 523); see »The Battle of Magh Rath« (Genealogical Table). This is the reason, why he is called caem-Donnchadh.

§ 6. Fiacha Muilethan (i. e. »the flat-headed«) was the son of Eogan Mór, and king of Munster A. D. 260. 

Oculus facshais Downchad in duma, »And Donnchadh left the mound«. This shows that the assembly (comhhdha), where Cellachan was elected king, was held on a mound (dumha). This meeting of all the seventeen tribes of Munster was a

4) Cogad, pp. CVII f.
5) Cogadh, pp. CVI—CVII and 235 f.
regular popular assembly, like the Scandinavian þing which used to be held on a hill (cf. Tynwald Hill on the Isle of Man), and corresponding to the popular assemblies (concilium) of the Germans, described by Tacitus in his »Germania«. All the Arian peoples have probably once known this kind of meetings where all the free-born men of the tribe gathered, decided about war or peace, elected their chieftains etc. But there is an especially close resemblance on the popular assemblies of the Celts and those of the Germans and Latins. As Müllenhoff says in his notes to ch. 12 of »Germania«, (Deutsche Altertumskunde 4, p. 254):

»Wir stehen hier aber dem boden der urverfassung und diese übereinstimmung mit der organisation bei Latiniern und Kelten würde schon die von Tacitus für die Germanen bezeugte tatsache gegen jeden zweifel sicher stellen, wenn auch sonst keine stützen dafür vorhanden waren«.

§ 7. tussad a ghairm rig »they set up his shout of kings«, i. e. they proclaimed him king; »gairm signifies a shout, proclamation, calling, name«. — The ancient Norwegians proclaimed their kings in the same way. See Snorre's description of the folk-moot where king Hakon the good was proclaimed king (A. D. 935): At þessu errandi vardo rómr svá mikill, at allr höndamugrinn opti ok kalladi, at þeir wíldu hanna til konungs taka, ok svá var gert, at þreindir tóku Hakon til konungs um all landiti.¹

Suilleabhan was a son of Maelugra (cf. § 10), and the ancestor of the O'Sullivans. His ancestor was Fingin, king of Desmond (d. 619), a descendant of Ailill Olom. That is the reason why his tribe is called cenn Fingin (i.e. the race of Fingin).

Professor Kun Meyer writes to me about Ribordan:

»The name Ribordan is very interesting. The correct form is Rigbardan, from rig-bard »royal-bard«. In our saga he is called R. na rann »of the poems«, and rebach »sportive«. Professor Meyer tells me that in »Irische Texte« (III p. 103) there is a quatrain about a king of the name Rigbardan:

Rí Éile cuin tolí immach sliaigedach
ni thora ammuig is é slíom Rigbardán.

»When the king of Ely with his hosts marches abroad,
Rigbardan will not come home unscathed.«

¹) Helmskr., Saga Hákonar góða, ch. I.
Connrach »the Fort of C.«. Dr. Todd says in his introduction (p. CXXXIX) that this place was probably situated in the neighbourhood of the town of Waterford. Professor Kuno Meyer remarks that Connrach might be written instead of Conrrach, as Temrach is used instead of the gen. Temrach. We see from Cogadh Gaedhel that in the year 978 »the Slope of Connrach« was in the possession of the vikings who had probably built a fort there (Dún Fain Connrach). From this I conclude that »the descendants of Connrach« have been lords of a hibernicised tribe of Norseman who had their stronghold at Dún Connnach.

As to Morann, see the notes to § 16 and to § 19. The poem (§ 19) mentions two different chieftains of the name of Morann while one only is mentioned here. The name is Irish.

The name of Magnus (later Manus) is derived from Charlemagne (Carolus Magnus). Several recurrences of the name are known from Limerick. Magnus Berna (i.e. Magnus the son of Bjarni), or »Magnus of Limerick« (Manus Lumnaig), was slain in the year 968, in the battle of Sulcoit. 1) A few years later »Inis-Cathaig« (Scattery Island in the Shannon) was plundered by Magnus, son of Airlait (≈ O. N. Haraldr), with the Lagmanni of the Islands (i.e. the Hebrides). 2) Dr. O’ Donovan is probably right in his suggestion that the name of Magnus was first introduced into Ireland by the Norsemen.

Lochlainn as a proper name must be a derivation of Lochlann (Old Ir. Lothlenn or Lothlienn), the common Irish name for Norway and the Scandinavian countries. 3) According to the Four Masters, »Lochlainn, lord of Corca-Moithruaidh, died A. D. 983. He was »the progenitor after whom the O’ Lochlainns, or O’ Loughlins of Burren, in Thomond, have taken their hereditary surnames«. From this we see that Lochlainn as a personal name was in use in Munster in the 10th century. The name became in later times very common.

In the next last line of the chapter the MS. has »gu brach, instead of the usual »gu brath (i.e. to the day of judgment; for ever). Is this a Munster provincialism? In the same way »gh is often written at the end of a word instead of the regular »dh, e.g. bhathbhuaigh = blathbhuaithd, »fgh = »fh, Gaeighel = Gaedhel, etc.

§ 9. Lochlannach (»a man from Lochlann«) signifies in Irish a Norwegian as well as a Dane, but it usually means a man of Norwegian descent (= Finnlochlannach). Danair, n. pl. (dat. pl. Danaraith) is the Irish form of the Norse Danar (= Danes).

Clann Cormac cais, »The descendants of Cormac Cas«, i.e. the famous Dal Cais.

Clann Echach, other wise called Ui Echach, Ui Eathach, i.e. the descendants of Eochoad, son of Cas, son of Core, king of Munster, the fourth in descent from Ailill Olum. They were seated on the S. W. shore of the co. of Cork, round Bandon and Kinsale.)

§ 10, first stanza. »gh Luidheach na cloch congail »to Limerick of the riveted stones«. This seems to show that ancient Limerick was surrounded by a stone wall, though probably not at the time of Cellachan, but later, in the 11th century, at the time when the saga was composed. Limerick was, I believe, originally fortified by an earthen or wooden wall, else it would have been impossible for Mathgamhain and Brian Borumha to burn the town in 968. Cogadh Gaedhel tells (p. 80): »The fort and the good town they reduced to a cloud of smoke and to red fire afterwards«.

Stanza 6, blathbhuaigh leg. blathbhuaithd.

Stanza 7, gliagh leg. gliadh.

Stanza 8. Morann, who (ch. 16) is called the son of the fleet-king of Lewis, is here called »the festive grandson (or descendant) of the king of Fuarlochlaich. Fuarlochlaich means »the cold Lochlaich. Mac Firbis, in his tract on the Fomorians and the Lochlannachs, mentions a country called criochnuaic heraclachte »the country of coldness«, possibly the same as Fuarlochlaich. Does »the cold Lochlan« signify Iceland or Hålogaland, the northernmost district of Norway?

§§ 11—12. The superiority of the Norse armour is also mentioned in Cogadh Gaedhel (pp. 52 and 152): »There was moreover not one Dane or Viking (Danar no dihergach) of those two thousand who had not polished, strong, triple-plated,
glittering armour of refined iron, or of cool uncorroding brass, encasing their sides and bodies from head to foot.

§ 15 bharran, leg. bharann.

§ 16. Morann is here called the long-haired, high-spirited Morann of the fierce people, i.e. the son of the fleet-kings of Lewis. In the poem (ch. 10) he is called the long-haired Morann from the country of Lewis of the Lochlannachs. Morann has consequently been a chieftain from the island of Lewis (Loedhus) in the Hebrides. The Irish name of Loedhus, Loedhus is a derivation of the Norwegian name of the Island, Ljóðbás. This name also occurs as a place-name in Norway and in Sweden. The Swedish town Ljóðse was in ancient times called Ljodhus. — Morann is an Irish name. Many of the Norse settlers of the Hebrides had, however, Irish names, as on the other hand many of the Celtic inhabitants had Norse names. The population, as well as the civilization of the Islands, was mixed Hiberno-Norwegian. The inhabitants were called Gaill-Gaethil or Norse-Irishmen. The Hebrides were not yet united into one kingdom, but divided among many Irish, Norwegian, and probably also Danish chieftains. — Two other kings of the Hebrides, Aedh, son of Ech, and Eiric, are likewise mentioned by our saga. — The father of Morann is called fleet-kings of Lewis (ri loings Loighsha). This expression corresponds to the Norse sækonungr »a seaking, a viking-chieftain of royal family. Snorre tells that the Norwegian krig Erik Bloody-Axe, having been expelled from Northumberland, went to the Orkneys and thence to the Hebrides; víru fyr margir vikinger ok herkonungar."

Our saga is not the only instance where it is mentioned that chieftains from the distant Hebrides came to the assistance of the Limerick-men against the Irish. There must — in the first part of the tenth century — have been a close connection between Limerick and the Hebrides. Dr. Steenstrup (Normannerne III, p. 213) also says: »Not few reasons seem to point to a connection between the kings of the Islands and the lords of Limerick. The same names are found in both royal families, and besides, we have seen how, on the great piratical expedition in the year 962, the son of Olaf and the

Lagmenn did not go against Limerick, but plundered the southern and eastern shores of Ireland. A son of Olaf is mentioned as lord of the ships, and we afterwards find Olaf (Amlaib), son of Olaf, in Limerick. We have seen that Ivar (Imhar) of Limerick is obliged to fly from his realm, and that he is absent one year, during which time he attempts the conquest of Wales. On this expedition the Limerick-men help the Vikings from the Islands. The author of our saga, then, has also known this connection between Limerick and the Hebrides. This strengthens our belief in the general trustworthiness of the saga.

§ 18. gur marbad isna tigibh 7 isna toraibh na trein-fhir, so that the champions were killed in the houses and in the towers. Before the English conquest the city of Waterford was not only surrounded by walls, but it also contained several towers of which the celebrated Reginald's Tower still exists.¹) Cogadh Gaedhel has (p. 78) a similar description of the sack of Limerick after the battle of Sulcoit (A.D. 968): »They followed them also into the fort (dun), and slaughtered them on the streets and in the houses (ar na srathuoc isna laigid)." The Irish sraith (pl. sraide)² is probably borrowed, not directly from the Latin [via] strata, but from the Norse stræti.

Cunadh da fhorgiúll sin do can in fili na fócaí s. »Therefore to testify to this, the poet sang the following words. Cogadh Gaedhel (ch. 54) uses the same expression: Ocu's do roine an file an laidh aga foirgell, »and to testify to this the poet made the following poem.

§ 19. The beginning of the poem, Crotta sin a chloinn Eogain, corresponds to the beginning of the poem in Cogadh Gaedhel, ch. 42: A Dail Cais is calma sin »O Dal Cais! This is brave!«, and to the poem in ch. 54 (the poem which follows the words aga foirgell): A Mathgamhain is math sin »O Mathgamhain! That is well!«.

Stanza 2. As to Morann, see the notes to § 16.

¹) A. Bogge, Nordisk Sprog og Nationalitet i Irland, Anbefl. for nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1900, p. 318.
a crích Leoghús Lochnonnáigh, i.e. «from Lewis, the
country of the Norwegians». Here as in several other in-
stances the word lochlonnach means «Norwegian», and not
Norse, Scandinavian or Danish.

Stanza 3. Maghnas, another form of the name of Magnus;
see the notes to § 16.

the notes to § 7. We learn from this poem that there
were two different Morans in Limerick. The one was
the above mentioned chiefain from the island of Lewis.
The other was Morann mac Conra crencaig (M. son of plun-
dering Conra). The sons of Conra belonged, according to
the poem, to the fortuth Eogain. The word fortuth signifies
«an additional tribe, a strange tribe in a territory». The word
is sometimes used of pure Irish clans, and it does not necessarily
imply that the fortuth was of foreign, e.g. of Norse origin.
But in this case we may, I think, from the use of the name
fortuth Eogain conclude that the tribe of which the sons of
Conra were lords lived among the Eoganachts in the county
of Kerry, and that they were descended from Viking-settlers
who had organized themselves as an Irish clan. The epithet
arbréithach «high-judicial, of the high judgments» is given to
the tribe on account of its bearing the name Morann. The
eponyme was a celebrated Irish judge or brehon who is said
to have lived in the first century of the Christian era.

Stanza 8. Buadachan is here called na Aedha (the
grandson or descendant of Aedh). This Aedh is probably
the same as Aedh dubh, who is mentioned as one of the
ancestors of Cellachan of Cashel (B. of Magh Rath, Gen.
Table).

§ 20. Corcaigh is the Irish name of the city of Cork,
in Munster. The city of Cork has probably been founded by
the Vikings in the middle of the ninth century. The Three
Fragments (A. D. 866) mention the Norse hosts (sloigh Loch-
lann) who «came from the harbour of Cork» (ó Phurt Cor-
craighe), whose chief had «a fortified castle» (castail dain-
gen), the earliest notice of a Norse castle in Ireland.1) In
the beginning of the 10th century new settlers came to Cork,
and to other parts of southern Ireland under Ragnall (i.e.

Ragnvald), the grandson of Imar (i.e. Ivar), and the Earl
Ottir (i.e. Ottar).2)

The inhabitants of Cork are called Danair and Dubh-
geinti. Danair is the Irish form of the Norse Danir «Danes».
Dubgente «dark gentiles» is also a name for the Danes, while
the words Finngeall «fair Foreigners» or Finngeinti «fair gent-
iles» signify «Norwegians». The Norse settlers in southern
Munster, Cork, Cashel etc., are by our saga constantly called
Danes, while the Vikings of Limerick are called Lochlannaig,
and those of Dublin Finnlochlannaig (Norwegians). I believe
that we from this are justified in concluding that the Norse
settlers of Cork, Cashel, Thurles etc. were of Danish and
not of Norwegian origin, as were the inhabitants of the king-
dom of Dublin. Ragnall, the grandson of Imar, who about
the year 914 came to Cork has, according to professor Steen-
strup, probably been a Dane; he is, in the Annals, called ri
Dubhgal (king of the Danes).3) At all events there must
have been many settlers of Danish origin in Munster. Other
Munster-sagas, e.g. Cogadh Gaedhel, usually call the Vikings
Danair or Danmarcaig (men from Denmark); even Munster-
poets of the 17th century use the word Danair in the meaning
of «strangers, foreign tyrants». These words, however, are
seldom used outside Munster. Annals written in other parts
of Ireland, usually call the Vikings genti «Gentiles», Gaill
«Foreigners», Lochlannaig, or Normannaig «Norwegians».
And still they very well know to distinguish between Danes
and Norwegians, as do for instance the Three Fragments.

As to the Vikings of Limerick, I feel inclined to think
that they have been of Norwegian, and not of Danish origin,
because of their being constantly called Lochlannaig and not
Danair by our saga.

arna Dubhghéintité danairda; I translate this sen-
tence: «on the Danish Black Gentiles»; danairda means
«Danish, cruel, barbarous». The same expression, Dubhgeinti
danairda, is also used by the author of Cogadh Gaedhel, ch. 20.
Caisil, now Cashel in the county of Tipperary. Accor-
ding to Cogadh Gaedhel (p. 70), Cashel of the Kings was in
the power of the Norsemen as late as in the year 904.

1) Three Fragments of Irish Annals, ed. O' Donovan, pp. 166 f.
We see from this chapter that the descendants of the Vikings have been settled in many places in the county of Tipperary, and that more especially they occupied the fortified places and the towns, e.g. Thurles and Cashel.

§ 21. Stanza 2. *Ua Echach*, i.e. the descendant of Eochaidh, king of Munster. *Ua Mogha*, i.e. the descendant of Mog Corb, who was not, however, the direct ancestor of Donnchadh.

Stanza 5. Eochaidh, the ancestor of Donnchadh, and Fedlimid, the ancestor of Cellachan, were sons of Aengus, son of Nathfraech.

§ 22. Port Largie is the Irish name of the town of Waterford (O. N. *Vesvragardr*).

We see from our saga that there was a close connection between the Viking-settlement of Waterford and the kingdom of Dublin. In the 10th and in the 11th centuries Waterford sometimes formed an independent kingdom, and was sometimes united with the kingdom of Dublin. It seems as if its kings at the beginning of the 11th century have belonged to the same family as the Dublin kings. Our saga seems to regard Waterford as a dependency of the kingdom of Dublin.

Sitrice, son of Turgais, is, according to our saga, lord (or king) of Dublin; see the notes to § 27.

Waterford is, like Limerick and Dublin, described as a fortified town. But the walls cannot have been high, since Cellachan and his men kept over them.

*Deisi*, i.e. the present baronies of Decies-within-Drum and Decies-without-Drum, county of Waterford. According to the Four Masters, Dinhall, son of Faelan, lord of the Deisi, died A. D. 995.

*Ua Mac Caille*, now the barony of Imokilly, county of Cork.

*Ua Liathain*. — This tribe derived their name from Eochaidh Liathanach, son of Daire Cerba, ancestor of the *Ua Fidhgeinte*. Their territory was nearly coextensive with the present barony of Barrymore, in the county of Cork.\(^{1}\)

*Eoghanachta Locha Lein* (the Eoghanachts of Lough Leane) were a tribe seated on the east of the Lake of Killarney, county of Cork.

\(^{1}\) Irish Typographical Poems, J. O' Donovan, note 549.
Musraige. This tribe were the descendants of Cahirbre Musc, king of Ireland in the third century. Their territory is represented by the present baronies of East and West Muskerry, county of Cork; and by those of Clanwilliam and of Upper and Lower Ormond, county of Tipperary. 1

Aes Ide. O’ Donovan supposes that this was the name of a territory along the river Mung in Kerry (Irish Topographical poems, ed. J. O’ Donovan, note 590).

Aes Irrais, or Irras, cf. Joyce, Irish Place-names, 2 ser., 208.
Congal mac Annrathair. Is he identical with Conghal, son of Anrudhan, lord of Corca-Modhruiadh, who died A. D. 987 (Four Masters)?

§ 23. CIARRAIGE, i. e. the present county of Kerry. The country was several times in the ninth century plundered by the Vikings (cf. Cogadh Gaedhel, pp. 15, 19, 25, 29, 227, 229).

Glenn Corbraigh, now Glin, on the Shannon, in the county of Limerick. — UI CONAIL; this tribe was otherwise called UI Conaill Gabhra, and occupied the present barony of Connello, in the county of Limerick. Their king, Flannabra mac Ciarmacain, was the son of Ciarmacan, son of Flannabra Ua Dunadhaig, who died A. D. 901 (Four Masters).

Donnchuan mac Ceinneidig was the elder brother of the celebrated Munster kings, Mathgamhain and Brian Boruma. 2

UI CAIRBRE, otherwise called UI Cahirbre Aebdhá. The territory of this tribe comprised the present barony of Coshma, in the county of Limerick, and the plains extending thence down to the Shannon. 3

As to Uainide (Uainigh), son of Cathal, king of UI CAIRBRE, see Cogadh Gaedhel, p. 249 (Dr. Todd’s notes).

§ 24. The beginning of this poem: Uathadh sin a clanna Cuirc, closely corresponds to a poem in Cogadh Gaedhel (ch. XLVI), where king Mathgamhain addresses his brother Brian. The latter poem begins: Uathadh sin a Brian Banba.

1) Cogadh Gaedhel, p. CXV.
2) Cogadh Gaedhel, p. 247.
3) Topographical Poems, note 673.

a clanna Cuirc, O descendants of Corc. Cellachan and his men are called so, because they were descended from Corc, who was king of Munster early in the fifth century.

Mogh Corb, son of Cormac Cas, was king of Munster at the end of the third century.

Fiacha Muilleathan was the son of Eoghan Mor.

§ 25. Do thintsl Uaithne mac Cathail 7 hi Chairebre; I have probably made an error in the translation of this passage. Uaithne is not a personal name, but the name of a territory comprising the present baronies of Owny, in the counties of Limerick and Tipperary. The passage ought perhaps to be translated: »The son of Cathal (i.e. Uainide, king of UI CAIRBRE) assembled the Uaithne and the UI CAIRBRE«.

Cromad, now Croom, on the River Maigue, in the county of Limerick, was the seat of the chief of the UI CAIRBRE Leabhadha. 1) O’ Donovan (B. of Magh. Rath, Gen. Table) says that it was Cathal, son of Uainigh, who was slain at Croom by Cellachan.

Coccrmradu, now Corcomroe, in Thomond.
Corco-Bhaicumin, now Corcovaskin, in the west of the county of Clare; da C, i.e. East and West C.

Cuirc na cuaine i.e. »the Cuirc of the harbours«, referring to the Coccrmrad and the Corco Baiscinn. »There is here, Dr. Kuno Meyer says in a letter to me, »a play upon the word core, which I think means some bird«.

§ 26. Ceinneidig was made tanist of Munster because of his being the head of the Dalcassian race. He did, however, never succeed to the kingdom of Cashel.

Osráid, i.e. Osraigh, i.e. the people of Osory. The ancient Osory comprised the barony of Upper Osory, in the Queen’s County, and nearly the whole of the county of Kilkenny.

Donnchadh, son of Cellach, lord of Osory, is also mentioned by the Four Masters, A. D. 945: according to the same authority, he is said to have died in the year 974. The war between Cellachan and the people of Osraige is mentioned by The Four Masters (A. D. 938, i.e. 940): »A great slaughter was made of the Osráigh by Cellachan, king of Cashel«.

1) Cf. O’ Donovan’s note to Four Masters, A. D. 1151.
The Norsemen plundered Ossory several times in the 9th century, especially about the middle of the century (cf. Steenstrup, Normannernæ II, pp. 125, 131; Three Fragments, pp. 129, 153).

§ 27. *Ath Cliath*, i. e. *the lord of hurdlers*, is the well known Irish name of Dublin. — As to the name of Dublin, see Joyce, Irish Place Names (fourth ed.), p. 362.

There is much confusion as to the kingdom of Dublin in the middle of the 10th century. This, the most powerful viking-colony in Ireland, must often have had more than one lord or king at the same time. Thus the king Blacair (= O. N. *Blakkr*), son of Godfred, is called *one of the chieftains of the Foreigners* (*aon do theaethcheathb Gall*). And one chieftain often expells an other. Thus in the year 945, Blacair abandoned Dublin, and Amlaib remained in his place. But Amlaib (i.e. Olav Kvaaran) went afterwards to Northumberland, and Blacair again appears as *king of the Foreigners*; he was killed in 948. We do not now the name of his successor. In the year 950, however, Ivar (*Imhar*) appears as *Tanist of the Foreigners*, and another of the chieftains of the Norsemen of Dublin is called *Godfred, son of Sitríc*. Ivar was killed in a battle (950), and Godfred was probably slain the next year. Olav Kvaaran (*Amlaib Cuairín*) comes back in the year 953 and again becomes king of Dublin. We see from this that there are intervals where we do not now the names of the lords of Dublin (949—950 and 951—953).

Our saga mentions *Sitríc mac Turgeis* and his brothers as lords of Dublin. Their names are not known by the Annals. But still they may be historical. About the middle of the tenth century there has undoubtedly been a lord of Dub- lin of the name of Sitríc. In the winter 941—942, Muriachertach of the Leather Cloaks made his famous circuit of Ireland, which has been described by a contemporary poet.

On his way he came to Dublin from where he brought *Sitríc of the jewels* (*Sitríc na sed*) as a hostage. Dr. Steenstrup and Dr. O' Donovan are of opinion that this Sitríc has not been the lord of Dublin, *but a noble warrior or perhaps a junior prince*. I cannot agree with them, because in the annals of the Four Masters (A. D. 939) he is called *tighearna Atha Cliath* *lord of Dublin*; in the poem he also, in my opinion, appears as the lord of this town. This Sitríc, who has probably belonged to another family than Olav Kvaaran, is perhaps identical with *Sitríc mac Turgeis*.

The name of *Sitríc* or *Sitríc* is, as we have heard, the Irish form of the Norse *Sigrýgjar*. The name of Turgeis is probably not the Irish form of *Þorgis* as has been suggested by Dr. Whitley Stokes, the Irish form of the Norse *Þorgestr*. Sitríc and his brothers are called *clann Turgeis* *the descendants of Turgeis*. From this we may perhaps infer that Turgeis has not been the father, but the ancestor of Sitríc. If so, we must necessarily think of the famous Turgeis, the founder of Dublin, who lived about the year 840 and who was the first king of the vikings in Ireland. Turgeis's name was well known in after times; he is mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis. Turgeis, who was drowned in 845, was probably succeeded by Zain and Iargna, the two half-kings (*leithri*) of the Norwegians, who in 851 were slain by the Danes. In the year 853 the Norwegian power was reestablished by Amlaíb Conung, son of the king of Lochlann (i.e. Norway), the same king whom the Icelandic Sagas call *Ólfr heitir* (Olav the white). His descendants, or rather the descendants of his brother Ivar were for a long time kings of Dublin. In this family the uncommon name of *Ierenc or Jarðgnma* (i.e. *iærínne*, Iron-knee) and its Irish translation *Glúanar* are often used. Thus the lord of Dublin about 890—895 has the name Glúanar. His son was probably *Ottir mac Jarðgni*, who fell in 918. This seems to show that there has been some family-relationship between the

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1) Four Masters, A. D. 945.
2) Annals of Ulster, 944; F. M. 943.
3) Annals of Ulster, 947; F. M. 946.
4) F. D., 948.
5) Steenstrup, Normannernæ III, p. 126 f.
6) Normannernæ III, p. 143.
7) The circuit of Muirechertach, ed. by Dr. Hogan, V. 12—13.
9) The word *clann* is in Windisch's Glossary translated: *Nachkommenschaft, Geschlecht, Clan, progenies*.
10) Three Fragments, pp. 11—123.
11) A. U. 894, F. M. 890; Three Fragments, p. 230. The son of *lorgu* or *Ierenc* is mentioned by the Annals of Ulster, A. D. 882.
later kings of Dublin and the half-king Largna who was slain in 851. The latter Largna has probably been the son of Turgeis, the founder of the dynasty. Thus the royal family of Dublin in the middle of the 10th century might be called >the descendants of Turgeis<.

The brothers of Sitric are Tor, Magnus, and Turgeis. Was Simon mac Turgeis who was slain in the battle of Clontarf (War of the Gaedhil, p. 266) the son of this Turgeis? Tor is not the Irish form of the name of the God (þór), but that of the Norse personal name þórr. The usual form of this name in the Irish Annals is Tomair, while the god Thor is called Tomair. The form Tor very seldom occurs. I have only found it twice: I. in Leabhar Genevaich Miic Fhirbhisch (The Book of Pedigrees, by Duald Mac Firbis), where Tor among viking-chieftains in Connaught (‘g-Connachtaithe) in the 10th century is mentioned, II. in a poem, said to have been written by Flann Mac Lonan († 918) in commemoration of Eigneachán, prince of Tyconnell (in Connaught). In this curious poem not only the names Tor and Turgeis appear, but also Bebhinn (i.e. bebhinn >the fair woman<), the name given to the daughter of Turgeis. Eigneachán had three daughters who were married to Viking-chieftains; as says the poem:

Tri h-ingheana Eigneachán uill,
Triur ban doibh sé a Leath-Choimm,
Dubhllinn is Bé-bhuadha
Is Bébhionn biadh-bhuadha.

Tug iad do Gallaih mara
Eigneachán, ar n-Ard-Charra.
Do chion logadh dá thir thall
Cúmadh na loingse Lochlanna.

Faodhís Dubhllinn, lé nior aíl,
Le Caithsis Sgeardhá sgiath-náir,
Be-bhuadha ag Turgeis na d-tóir,
Faoidheas Bebhionn le Gall-Tóir.

Three daughters of great Eigneachán,
three women, who were the best in Conn’s half,¹) Dublin, and Be-bhuadha (i.e. the precious woman), and Bebhinn always precious.

He gave them to the Norsemen from the sea
Eigneachán, in Ard Cara,
in order to deliver his country
from sorrow (caused by) the fleet of Lochlann.

Dublin goes, it was not pleasant to her,
with Caithsis² Sgeardhá of the golden (?), shields,
Be-bhuadha with Turgeis of the towers,
Bebhinn goes with the Viking Thore.

Tor, who is married to Bebhinn, is no doubt identical with the Viking-chieftain of this name who is mentioned by Mac Firbis and who plundered in Connaught. There must, however, have been some connection between these Norse sons-in-law of Eignechan and Sitric and his brothers. The names Tor and Turgeis are too uncommon; — the Annals do not know any other Turgeis than the founder of Dublin —. The Irish name Bebhinn is also a name that seldom occurs. From this I conclude that Bebhinn, the daughter of Turgeis, has been named after Bebhinn, the wife of Gall-Tóir. I may also mention that there is no literary connection whatever between the Saga of Cellachan and Flann Mac Lonan’s poem.

The three following names: in Lochlannach ladhuch 7
in Lochlannach na lann 7 Sean-Amlaibb are (§ 63 and § 69) called >the three guardians of Cork<. From this we may conclude that they do not belong to Dublin, but that they have been the rulers of Cork Lochlannach. This word, in the two first mentioned names, is not to be understood as a personal name: It means >the Norwegian<, or >the Norsemen<. —

The Sagateller has not known the real name of these chieftains.
— I have translated ladhuch (or ladhuch) by >handsome<, according to O’Reilly who has: laghuch = >handsome, comely<. But I am not sure that this translation is the right one.

¹) I only know this poem from a late paper copy in the Royal Irish Academy,
Dublin, "X. 7", p. 41. Cf. a paper by Dr. Petrie in the Irish Penny Journal, p. 185,

²) I. e. the northern half of Ireland,

³) Caithsis is perhaps a corrupt form of Caíth, i.e. Ketill, a common Norwegian name in the Viking ages.
Sean-Amlaibh (old A.) is also called the senior of the army.

Linn-Turmun (or Lenn-Turmun) na huidhi, i.e. Lenn Turmun of the Journey. Lenn, lend is an Irish word which signifies a mantle (toga, sagum). Tormun (also written Tormund) is the Irish form of Tornundr. This ancient Norse name never occurs in the Icelandic Sagas, but it is still in use in south-western Norway as well as in Denmark (Terman); the name is also found in a Danish runic inscription.

Mac Firbis, in his Book of Pedigrees, calls a Viking chieftain who in the 10th century invaded Ulster Tormin mac Celi. Is he identical with Lenn-Turmun na huidhi, or with Lenn-Turnum na Pers?

Lenn-Turmun na Pers, i.e. Lenn-Thormund of the Persians. The word Persa (nom. plur.), gen. pl. na Pers, dat. Persiaibh, originally signifies Persians, the inhabitants of Persia. It is, however, impossible that a Norse army in Ireland in the 10th century has actually contained a troop of Persians. A Norseman would never in olden times have had Norse warriors, who had visited the far East, Persians. He would certainly have used the word Serk (i.e. Saracen, Mauritan). The word Persar, Persac was only used by scholars. It is, however, most unlikely that the imagination of an Irish poet should have been sufficient, without any connection with the facts, to introduce Persians into a Norse army in Ireland. The author of the tale, or of the poems on which our Saga is based, must have heard that in the army of the Dublin-king there were warriors who were called with a name that he has misunderstood as Persians. The word Persa, na Pers must be the Irish misinterpreted form of some Norse word. It is, I think, the Irish form of Berserkir, gen. Berserkia, i.e. Berserks, a kind of wild warriors. If this explanation is the right one, the Irish have probably supposed that the word Berserkir was a contracted form of *Bers-Serkir (Pers-Serkir), i.e. Persian-Saracens, or Saracen (Serkir), who by other Norsemen are called Persar, Perse (Persians).

It is not difficult to understand a misinterpretation like this, because:

1) The inhabitants of Persia are actually called Serkir in the ancient Norwegian literature; see Stjorn, p. 72, l. 21: fsir finn skyld af par frodir byggja utr hans hafjuar sem Perse heita, hueria er var kyllum Serki; cf. Stjorn, pp. 65, 289.

2) The Icelandic Sagas often describe the inhabitants of Africa (blamen = blue men) as berserks, and even sometimes introduce them at the courts of Scandinavian kings.

3) Latin and Greek ἄρη, in the beginning of a word, is in Norse words often changed into ð in, e.g. bik (Ags. πικ) = Lat. picem.

4) Dr. Whitley Stokes has suggested that the dam dasachtach (i.e. the mad, furious company) of the Brudan da Derga (the Court of Da Derga) was suggested by the Scandinavian berserkir (Revue Celtique XXII, p. 45).

5) The Irish must have known that the Norse words Serkir and Blamen were names for the inhabitants of Africa, and of the East. The Fragments of Irish Annals (ed. O’Donovan, p. 162) tell that the sons of Ragnar Lodbrok, after their expedition to Spain and Northern Africa carried off a great host of them [the Mauritani] as captives to Erin, and these are the blue men (na fir gorma) [of Erin], for Mauri is the same as Akkermenn, and Mauritania is the same as blackness (nair is ionsann Mauri 7 nigri: Mauritania is ionsann is nigritudinis). These Saracens who were brought as captives to Ireland have no doubt served in the Norse armies there. And as wild and strange-looking warriors they may easily have been called Berserks.

The description of the Persians in our Saga very closely corresponds to the description of the Berserks in the ancient Norwegian and Icelandic literature. In our Saga the Persians form a separate division of the army (sluagh na Pers), and their chief, Lenn-Turmun na Pers, is mentioned as one of the Norse chieftains. He seems to have occupied a high position at the court of Dublin. In the naval combat of Dundalk the Persians form a separate division of the fleet (loingi na Pers), and fight against the kings of Kerry and of Corco Baiscin (Persa ocus Corco Baiscinn). The Norwegian king Harald Fairhair had in his service Berserks (berserkir, ílfeðnir) who are described in a contemporaneous poem by Torbjorn Hornklove. He tells that they formed a
separate division of the army (feim or pat syst saman), and that they belonged to the body-guard of the king. They took a prominent part in the celebrated naval combat at Hafrsfjord, where they had their quarters in Harald's own ship. Egil Saga (ch. 9) says: En berserkir konungs 12 væri í srynum. Snorre tells (Haralds s. hárf., ch. 9): Akt frá stafrinnum til austriams var kallat á raunum, þar var skipt berserknum. Not only Harald Fairhair, but several other ancient Norse kings are said to have had Berserks in their service, who are always described as the greatest champions.

I add that it is my father, professor Sophus Bugge, who first suggested to me that the word Persa signifies »Berserks«.

I have not yet tried to explain the word lenn, linn which, as an epithet, is prefixed to the name Turman (Leun-Turman ni hUdhi) and Leun-Turman ni Pers). This epithet seems to refer to something that is not peculiar to Berserks alone, but which also characterizes other warriors. The Irish word lenn, lend signifies, as we have heard, »a mantle«. But it is difficult to understand how a warrior might be called »Mantle-Thormund«. The ancient Norwegian word for »mantle« is kápa, f., a loanword from the mediæval Lat. capa, cappa. There is, however, another Norse word which in sound resembles kápa, viz. kappi (gen. kappa) »a champion«. In Norwegian popular ballads the word kappi is often used as an epithet prefixed to the name of the hero, e. g. kappen Illagi. It is easy to understand that a warrior might be called »Kappen Thormund« (i. e. the champion Thormund). I think that the Irish sagateller, who heard about Thormund and his berserks, has confounded the Norse kappi, gen. kappa »a champion« and the Latin cappa »a mantle«.

My opinion is that Leun-Turman na Pers has been the chief of the Berserks who served in the army of the king of Dublin, and who formed a part of his body-guard. His namesake is called Leun Tarmun ni huidhi, i. e. »the champion Thormond of the Journey«. He has, I suppose, been the chief of the gestir of the Dublin-king, a gestaðaféngi. The gestir (i. e. »the guests«) formed a separate class of the body-

1) Udhe, s. a journey (O'Reilly).
Bebinn (i.e., the fair woman) is not a Norse but an Irish name. Many Irish names were already in use among the Norsemen in Ireland in the beginning of the 10th century. Donnchad, son of Flann Sinna, was monarch of all Ireland; according to the Annals of Ulster, he died, A.D. 943 (alias 944).

Rí Temhair (the gen. of Temair), i.e., king of Tara, the official title of the monarch of all Ireland. That Cellachan had not done homage to Donnchad we learn from the Annals of Ulster (A.D. 940, n. 5).

§ 28. Ath Cliath (Dublin) is called a déin, because the city was fortified and surrounded by walls (déin N. eine umwaltte Stadt, Windisch). Cf. Móiríomchell Éirenne uile doirigne Muircheartach mac Neill (ed. E. Hogan), stanza 11: »A night we were at bonny Ath Cliath; it was not handsome towards the Gall (Norsemen); there was a woman in the strong fortress (isín déin from)

§ 29. Mór is a common Irish female name.

Eachtach is the genitive case of Echta, a man's name. Innsi Gall the islands of the Foreigners (i.e., of the Norsemen) is the Irish name for the Hebrides. The population of these islands was mixed, and consisted of both Norwegians and of Gaels. Aed, son of Echta, has probably been a Gael.

Sítruc mac Turgeis dona Finnlochamchabth, i.e., Stric, son of Turgeis, of the Fair Lochlannachs. In other words, the author of the Saga here expresses the opinion that the inhabitants of Dublin were Norwegians.

»And she recited the song; but there is nothing in this song but a repetition of the story«. These words prove that the copy of the Saga of Cellachan preserved in the Book of Lismore is not the original version of the Saga, but that the transcriber has used a more ancient copy which also contained the poem that I have printed from the paper-copy in the Royal Irish Academy.

§ 30. idir chois 7 each both foot and horse. The Norsemen in Ireland in the 10th century already had their cavalry (cf. Three Fragments p. 166, . . . aosa gradha righ Lochlann i. maresluagh righ Lochlann),

§ 31. Uí Faelain. There was a tribe of this name in the present county of Kildare. The Uí Faelain here mentioned were, however, lords of the Deisi (Decies, co. Waterford). Domhnall mac Paolain was king of the Deisi (Leabhár Oíris § 2, Êríu I, p. 78) about 980.

Magh-du-chon, plain of the two hounds. The name is now anglicized Mayacomb, a parish in the barony of Rathvilly, in the county of Carlow, and extending into the barony of Shillelagh, in the county of Wicklow. The O’Neills of this territory are mentioned in the Annals of the Four Masters, A.D. 1087; cf. Irish Topographical Poems, ed. by J. O’Donovan, p. 92. It must be through a mistake that the O’Neills are omitted in our Saga. The O’Neills were a Leinster, and not a Munster tribe, and they did not, as far as we know, belong to the Desies or Decies (Deissi) of Munster (Déissi Mumhan). The territory of this tribe is represented by the districts now called Decies, in the county of Waterford, and by the Northern Desies, in the county of Tipperary. In the fifth century, Aengus Mac Nafraeich, king of Munster, granted the Deissi the plain of Magh Feimhlin, in the county of Tipperary; but they were driven from thence by the Eoghanachts (Topogr. Poems, n. 528).

§ 35. Clanna Eachtach, i.e., the descendants of Echta. This tribe is otherwise called Uí Eachtach or Uí Eathach, and was seated in the county of Cork, round Bandon and Kinsale.

§ 37. Clanna Cairthin Finn, i.e., the descendants of Carthenn Finn (A.D. 430), the ancestor of Brian Boru mha (cf. the Genealogical Table, The Battle of Magh Rath, ed. O’Donovan).

§ 39. Muscreighe, now Muskerry, the baronies of East and West Muskerry, co. Cork.

§ 40. Cirrane Luachra, »C. of the rushes«, i.e., the northern portion of the county of Kerry.

§ 41. Corco-Dubhne, the present barony of Corca Guaín, in the county of Kerry. Clanna Cuirc meic Cairbre. There was a family Uí Cuirc, who were lords of Muscreighe (Four Masters, A.D. 1043).

Clanna Cairbre Cruithnech, i.e., the descendants of Cairbre the Pict (Cruithnech). A tribe, called Uí Cairbre Aebhdha, which was seated in the present barony of Coscna, in the county of Limerick, is probably not identical with this clan.
§ 42. Clanna Luighdeach, otherwise called Ui Luighdeach, or Ileagh, formerly a separate barony, but now included in the barony of Eliogarty, county of Tipperary. The Dalcassians were also sometimes called clanna Luighdeach (Cogadh Gaedhil. p. CVI).

The Irish Sagas often mention that the fallen warriors are decapitated, and that their heads are placed upon stakes. This custom seems to have prevailed as well among the Irish as among the Norsemen in Ireland, and was not, as far as I can see, introduced into Ireland by the Vikings. In the year 871 the Leinster-men expelled one of their chieftains. Some time afterwards he came with an army to Leinster, and committed many plunderings and depredations. The Leinster-men attacked him on every side with javelins, and axes, and swords, so that they hacked him into small pieces, and cut off his head. They also killed his people. His head was afterwards brought to the Lochlannachs, who placed it on a pole, and continued for some time to shoot at it. (Three Fragments, ed. O' Donovan, p. 184). In the legendary tale called "The Death of Muircertach mac Erca", king Muircertach says:

"Since I came over sea to Erin,
I remember the number of years,
I have never been a day — lasting the fame —
without a hero's head and triumph over him, etc.

Two years I was afterwards
in kingship over Danes,"
there has been no night there at
without the heads of twains on stakes."

The names of the fallen companions of Cellachan are also enumerated in the poem printed in a foot-note from a paper-copy in the Royal Irish Academy. I only note a few differences:

Stanza 9. Aedh mac Segda is in the prose (ch. 41) called the son of one of the three kings of Corca Duibhne

§ 43. Cath Seacht Neachtain (the battle of Scé or Sciaich Nechtain), see § 2.

It is an anachronism when Sitric requires ransom for the men who fell in this battle, which took place in the year 847 (War of the Gaedhil, p. 21). The reason is probably that the annals know another chieftain of the name of Tomar, viz. Tumar mac Elgi (Thore, son of Helge), who in the year 922 landed at Inis Sibhinn, in the harbour of Limerick. He seems to have died short time afterwards (War of the Gaedhil, pp. CVI, 39).

Ard Macha, «the Height of Macha», i.e. the present city of Armagh, in Ulster, seat of «the Successor of Patrick», and one of the most holy places of Ireland. The town was in the year 943 plundered by the Norsemen, and can at the time when Cellachan was captured only a few years have been in their power (Annals of Ulsters, A. D. 942, Four Masters, A. D. 941).

§ 44. We see from the poem printed in this chapter, that the Vikings of Dublin intended to sail with Cellachan to Norway «eastwards to Lochlann», if the Munster-men would not ransom him.

laoidheang, s. m. «ship or bark» (P. O' Connell); the word laidenf often occurs in the Destruction of Troy, Book of Leinster (ed. Whitley Stokes). The word is a loanword
from the Norse leidangr, m., i.e. 1) the levy of ships which the people of the different Norwegian districts had to equip, 2) a naval force.

Eiric ri na n-ainse, i.e. Eiric, king of the Hebrides. Eiric is the Irish form of the Norse name Eiríkr (Erik). There is only one other instance of the use of this name in Irish (F. M. 1103). In the middle of the 10th century a man of the name of Erik was actually king of the Hebrides, viz. the Norwegian king, Erik Bloody-Axe (Eiríkr blóðga). Expelled from Norway, king Erik went to England, and was made king of Northumberland. He was, however, soon expelled, came back again, but was expelled a second time about the year 953. Erik now went, first to the Orkneys and thence to the Hebrides, where there were many vikings and sea-kings who united their forces with his. From the Hebrides he, according to Snorre (Heimskringla, Saga Hákonar goða, ch. 4), went to Ireland, where he got reinforcements. Thence he returned to England. But he was slain, probably in 954, in Cumberland or Westmoreland, by the Anglo-Saxon Heaþgeræfa Osulf, and by Maccus, son of Olaf (Steenstrup, Normannerne III, pp. 88–89).

The name Maccus is a later form of Magnus. In the 10th century this name was only used by the reigning families of Limerick and of the Isle of Man and the Hebrides. Maccus filius Onlaf, who has probably been king of Man and the Hebrides, was the natural adversary of Erik Bloody-Axe, who had assumed the kingdom of the Isles. I have no doubt that Eiric, king of the Hebrides and the confederate of Sitric of Dublin about the year 953, is identical with the Norwegian king Erik Bloody-Axe.

Donnchad, the son of Cellachan of Cashel, died in the year 963 (Four Masters, A. D. 961).

§ 45. Clanna Cuirc, i.e. the descendants of Corc, or Conall Corg, who was king of Munster early in the fifth century (see the genealogical table, especially the Eoghanachts of Cashel).

Donnchad mac Caim meic Airt meic Cathail seems to have been the chief of Clan Echach (i.e. the Uí Echach) at the time of Cellachan. O’Donovan, in his notes to the Battle of Magh Rath, gives a genealogical table of the principal

families sprung from Oliill Olum. The pedigree of Donnchad, son of Caem, is here as follows: Donnchad (flourished 942), son of Cathal, son of Caem, son of Finguine, king of Munster, slain 902 (cf. War of the Gaedhil, p. 245).

Maelothartaigh, son of Flann (otherwise called son of Donnchad, or son of Bran), was the successor of Cellachan of Cashel and died in the year 957 (Four Masters, A. D. 953).

Suilleban, son of Mael Ugra; cf. O’Donovan’s Genealogical Table (Battle of Magh Rath). He and his men are called clanna Fingin on account of his descent form Fingin, king of Desmond († 619).

Cio-colma mac Cindfhealaidh; a descendant of Cennfaeladh, king of Muscraighe-Breoghain (fl. 850, War of the Gaedhil, 23)?

Clanna Failbhe, otherwise called Ui Failbhe; their territory extended from the river Maing to Ventry, in the west of the county of Kerry.

Ui Muirendhaigh; there were tribes of this name in Leinster (the southern half of co. Kildare) and in Connaught.

Airtir Cliach (the gen. of Cluair) eastern Cliach, a territory around Cnoc Aine in the county of Limerick. Cf. Book of Rights, p. 46 n.

Ui Cathbaide, otherwise called the Eoghanachts of Crich Chathbuidh (Irish Topographical Poems, ed. O’Donovan, p. 121 and n. 686). Their territory was situated in the county of Tipperary.

Clanna Sealbaigh, otherwise called clanna b-Sealbaigh. This was the tribal name of the O’Donoghues of the county of Kerry.

Flannabra mac Airindan meic Flannabra is probably a grandson of Flannabrat, grandson of Dunadach, king of Uí Conaill, who was slain in the year 869 (War of the Gaedhil, p. 33); cf. the Genealogical Table in the Battle of Magh Rath. Uí Conaill (otherwise called Uí Conaill Gabhra); the territory of this tribe comprised the baronies of Upper and Lower Conello, co. Limerick.

Ui Cairbre; the territory of this tribe comprised the barony of Coshma, co. of Limerick.

go roichid Árdmacha m-binn until they reach melodious A., binn referring to the bells, psalmsinging, etc.
Tonn Clíodhna, i.e. "the wave of Clíodhna". Clíodhna was the name of a rock, in the harbour of Glendore, a bay in the county of Cork. In this bay is the rock called Clíodhna's rock, upon which beats a wave called Tonn Clíodhna, said to utter a plaintive sound when a monarch of the south of Ireland dies (War of the Gaedhil, p. CLIX, n. 3).

Aibhinn Dúb-bhennchair, i.e. "the river of the two kine". This must be the name of a river in the north of Ireland probably in the county of Down, and near Bangor (Bennchair).

P. 27, last line; adhmár = óghmár.
P. 28, l. 28. Dún Baille is not identified; it must be a place in southern Munster.

§ 46. Connacht, i.e. the inhabitants of Connaught.

Uachtar, i.e. the inhabitants of the present baronies of Owney, in the counties of Limerick and Tipperary.

Urbaunna (Ir. arbaunna "East Munster"), i.e. the inhabitants of the baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond, in the county of Tipperary. Éile, dat. pl. Eithe; see § 20.

Bladhma, now the Slieve Bloom mountains, on the confines of the King's and Queen's Counties.

Sruth na Máel, i.e. the Current of the Headland of Cantyre, now the Moll (Maol) of Cantyre or Kintyre, in Scotland.

Concor-Laishe. This was the tribal name of the O'Driscolls, but was also applied to their territory, which comprised the south-western part of the county of Cork (Top. Poems, n. 965).

Dubhdhabhairrinn, king of Western Ui Echach. Is he identical with the later king of Munster, Dubhdhabhairrinn, who was slain by his own people, A.D. 957 (cf. War of the Gaedhil, the genealogical table, p. 248)? The latter king Dubhdhabhairrinn actually belonged to the Ui Echach.

Corco-Baiscinne. The two Corco-Baisciney originally comprised the baronies of Clonderalaw, Moyarta, and Ibrickan, in the west of the county of Clare.

Corcmhuad, otherwise called Corc Modhruaadh, i.e. the descendants of Corc Modhruaadh, third son of Fergus, dethroned king of Ulster, in the first century. The territory of the Corcamruadh comprised the baronies of Corcomroe and Burren, in the north-west of the county of Clare.

Lochlainn, king of the Corcamruadh, is probably identical with Lochlainn, lord of Corca-Medruadh, who died in the year 983 (Four Masters, A.D. 983).

And let them bring with them ten ships from each cantred, for that is the full muster of our own fleet. This phrase closely corresponds to the Norse expression gjalda fullan leiðangr, i.e. "to furnish the whole levy of ships and men", the terminus technicus of the ancient Norwegian laws. We have already heard that the Irish word laideng is a loanword from the Norse leiðangr. It is also well known, how many other Irish words for ships and parts of the ship are borrowed from the Norse. In consequence of this it is easy to understand that the Irish, who in the 10th century, imitating the Norsemen, began to build larger seafaring ships and warships, have also imitated the Norse custom of summons to arms, the leiðangr. Ancient Norway was for this purpose divided into districts (skipreður). Each of these districts had in war-time to equip and to man a warship; the number of these districts was fixed by law. This system has, no doubt, been imitated by the Irish. The present Saga is not the only instance where we hear of fleets equipped by the Irish. The Annals of the Four Masters A.D. 939 (recte 941) says: A fleet was conducted by Muirchertach, son of Niall (king of Elaghi), and he carried off much plunder and booty from the Insi-Gail (i.e. the Hebrides), after gaining victory and triumph. In the year 1005 king Brian Boru, as sent forth a naval expedition, viz. the Gaill (i.e. the Norsemen) of Ath Cliath, and of Port Lairie, and of the Ui Ceinnsealigh (in co. Wexford), and of the Ui Eathach of Munster, and of almost all the men of Erin, such of them as were fit to go to sea; and they levied royal tribute from the Saxons and the Britons, and from the men of Lennox in Alba, and from the inhabitants of Argyll. Therefore, when our Saga tells that the men of Munster sent forth a naval expedition in order to rescue Cellachan, this statement has, I believe, its foundation in fact.

§ 47. do bas (pass. pret. voice of bin); do bas acu vit was with them, they were.
Clann Cormac Cais, i.e. the descendants of Cormac Cas, the Dal Cais or Dalcassians.

Clanna Cellachain, i.e. the descendants of Cellachan, otherwise called O'Cellachain. The O'Cellachains, now O'Callaghans, are descended from Cellachan, son of Domhnall, son of Murchadh, son of Domnchadh, son of Cellachan, king of Cashel, or Munster, who died in the year 954, (Irish Topographical Poems, ed. O'Donovan, n. 657.) The O'Cellachans were seated in the Kinelea, in the south of the county of Cork. It is an anachronism when our Saga mentions the descendants of Cellachan among the tribes who were going to rescue Cellachan.

Clanna Taidg, i.e. the descendants of Taidg, who assisted Cormac mac Art in the battle of Crinna, in the third century, in reward for which king Cormac granted him the territory of Cianachta, in the east of ancient Meath. They must in later times have got new seats in parts of the King's County, which originally belonged to Munster (cf. Topographical Poems, p. 133, n. 760–761).

Clanna Fiachaig Suige (leg. Suige), i.e. the descendants of Fiacha Suige, the elder brother of Conn of the Hundred Battles. This tribe was otherwise called Deisi.

Ard Osraigh. I am not able to identify this place.

Glenn Corraige, i.e. Glinn, on the Shannon, in the county of Limerick.

Sengualainn Cladhaird na Conal, now Shanagolden, in the barony of Lower Conello (Ul Conal), county of Limerick.

§ 48. The route of the Munster-men is minutely described by the author of our Saga. Having started from the neighbourhood of Ennis (Co. Clare), they went northwards to Athenry (Co. Galway). From this place they went to Ballysadare (Co. Sligo), and thence they proceeded forwards, towards the N. E., to Ballyshannon (Co. Donegal). Thence they went straight eastwards to Armagh. Mach n-Adar (or Mach Adhar), a level district lying between the towns of Ennis and Tullagh, in the county of Clare.

Bel-Atha-Laigin. The word béil is very often united with atá, forming the compound bel-atha, which signifies ford-entrance, literally mouth of a ford. Bel-atha is often in modern names changed to báll or bally, as if the original root were baile a town, (Joyce, Irish place-names, 4th ed., pp. 356 f.) On the river Shannon is a place called Ballyleague, in Irish Ath-Liag-Finn. In the barony of Muskerry East, in the county of Cork, is a place called Ballyleague. Is one of these places identical with Bel-Atha-Laigin?

§ 49. Congalach, son of Lorcan, is mentioned in the Four Masters, A. D. 932.

Is Aissid, son of Aissid, identical with Eissidha, son of Sioda, who through Caisin, son of Cas, was a descendant of Cormac Cas, the ancestor of king Brian Borumha (cf. the Genealogical Table, Battle of Magh Rath)?

Deaghadh, son of Dornnall, son of Donn, was likewise, through Aengus Cinnathrat, a descendant of Cormac Cas. According to O'Donovan, he was the chief of Cinel Fermaic, in Thomond (cf. Geneal. Table, Battle of Magh Rath).

§ 56. The direct Ancestors of Donnchad were, according to O'Donovan (Battle of Magh Rath):

Nathraech M.  
Aengus, K. M., slain 489.  
Eóchaideh, K. M., d. 523.  
Crimthannon Srebh, K. D. 523.  
Cairbre Crom, K. D., d. 577.  
Aedh Flannnachrat.  
Cathal, K. D., d. 627.  
Cú gan mathair, K. M., d. 657.  
Finguine, K. M., 696.  
Cathal, d. 742.  
Arti.  
Gorman.  
Finguine, K. M., slain 902.  
Cáem, a quo O' Kefe.  
Cathal.  
Donnchad.

§ 51. Agh-na-Righ (the ford of the kings), now Athenry, in the county of Galway, barony of Athenry.

Sliabh Caim. I am not able to identify this mountain.

Is it a mistake for Sliabh Caim (Sliabh Gamh), now Slieve Gamp, a ridge of mountains, in the counties of Mayo and Sligo?

1) K. M. signifies king of Munster, K. D. king of Desmond.

Dealbhna. The Delbna were descended from Lugaidh Deallhna, son of Cas, who was the ancestor of the Dalcais of Thomond. The descendants of this Lugaidh acquired seven territories contiguous to each other, and beyond the limits of Thomond, in Meath and Connaught (Topogr. Poems, n. 26). The Dealbhna, who are mentioned in this §, must have been seated in Connaught, and have probably been the Dealbhna-Nuadhat, between the rivers Suck and Shannon, in the county of Roscommon. The Delbhna-Mór of West-Meath came to the assistance of Mathgamhain and his brother Brian in the year 968 (War of the Gaedhil, p. 75).

Gaillenga. There was a settlement of the Gaillenga in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, in Connaught. The tribe was descended from Cormac Gaillenga, son of Tadhg, son of Cían, son of Oílill Ollum, king of Munster (War of the Gaedhil, p. CLXV, n. 2). The name of Gaillenga is still preserved in that of the barony of Galen, Co. Mayo.

Luigne. The Lini or Luighne derived their name from Luigh, son of Cormac Gaillenga, and were, in fact, only a branch of the Gaillenga. Their territory is now represented by the barony of Leyney, in the county of Sligo.

§ 53. *Esdara*, i. e. the cataract of the oak, the ancient name of the beautiful rapid on the Owenmore river, at Ballysadare in Sligo (Joyce, Irish place-names, 4 ed., p. 460).

Droichead Matra, i. e. the bridge of Matra. This bridge seems to have crossed the cataract of Esdara, which was otherwise called *Martra* (Joyce, Place-names, second ser., p. 435). The bridge of *Matra* is mentioned in Silva Gadelica, ed. O’ Grady (translation), p. 51.

Sligeach (gen. Sligigh), i. e. the river Sligo.

Benn-Gulban, now Binbulbin, a remarkable mountain near the Sligo.

Dubh, or Black river, now the Duff, on the borders of Sligo and Leitrim.

Drobais, now the Drowis, which rises in Loch Melvin, and falls into the sea at Bun-drowes, near the town of Donegal.

Magh n-Eue, now Moy, a plain in Donegal.

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*Es Ruaidh*, otherwise called *Es-Aedha-Ruaidh*, i. e. Assaroe, now the Salmon Leap, on the river Erne, Ballyshannon (or better *Ballyshanny*).

Aith Senaig (or Bel-Atha-Senaig, mouth of the ford of Senach), now Ballyshannay, incorrectly *Ballyshannon* in the county of Donegal.

When king Brian Borumha, in the year 1005, made his expedition round Ireland he followed the same route from the Sligo to Ballyshannon (War of the Gaedhil, pp. 135, CLVII).

Conel Conaill, i. e. the race of Conall, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. They were seated in Tirconnell, which in latter ages was co-extensive with the present county of Donegal (Topograph. poems, n. 102). Their king, *Muircher-tach mac Airmelach*, is not mentioned in O’ Donovan’s list of kings of Tirconnell (Battle of Magh Rath, p. 337).

Clann Turgesius, i. e. the descendants of Turgesius. This and other instances seem to prove that Turgesius was not the father, but the ancestor of Sitric and his brothers. I may add that Munster-poets of the 17th century still call the Norsemen of Dublin *clanna Turgesius* (cf. The Poem of Egan O’ Rahilly, ed. by Rev. Patrick Dinneen, p. 193: *Is Brian liar treasgradh Clanna Turgesius*, i. e. *and Brian, by whom the children of Turgesius were laid low*).

Dun n-Dealgán, i. e. the town Dundalk, in the county of Louth. The name of Dundalk was originally applied, not to the town, but to the great fortress now called the moat of Castletown, a mile inland (Joyce, Place-names, 4 ed., p. 278). The place-names as well as the Annals prove that the Norsemen had colonies all along the coast of the counties of Louth and Down. These colonies were dependencies of the kingdom of Dublin; their rulers are called earls or chief-tains (Steensstrup, Normannerne, pp. 115—118). Dundalk has been the station of the Norse fleet.

*Iarla* is the Irish form of the Norse *earl* *an earl*.

In the middle of the 10th century *Ard Macha* must, as we have heard, have been in the possession of the Norsemen of Dublin.

*Lulach* is a Gaelic or a Pictish name; Lulach, Mormaer of Moray, was slain in the year 1058 (Chronicles of the Picts and Scots).
Amhlaithe is the Irish form of the Norse Ólafsr. Lagmann is the Irish form of the Norse logmaðr. This word originally signified a man learned in law a lawyer. In ancient Norway the word had this meaning. The Egil Saga mentions as present at the Gula Thing about the year 934 "lenda men ok logmen ok alla al þýfu" (ch. 57). These logmenn were probably identical with the domendar (i.e. judges), who were members of the lýgretta (court). The same logmenn, who are also called logkóner menn (learned in law) are also present at the Frosta Thing in the year 1114—1115. In ancient Sweden, the logmaðr occupied a much higher position. He was elected by the people, and had to preside over the Thing and to recite the law to the people. Dr. Johannes Steenstrup is the first who has called attention to the fact that lagmanni (judges) occur in England, within the district of the Danelaw, e.g. in Chester, in Stamford, and in Lincoln. Their number seems always to have been twelve, and their office to have been hereditary (Normannerne IV, 195—206). The lagmanni were no doubt members of the lýgretta (court). The office as member of the House of Keys (the ancient lýgretta) in the Isle of Man likewise descended from father to son. The English lagmanni seem to have formed a kind of aristocracy. The Lagmanni (lag-maini) of the Hebrides are mentioned several times in the 10th century. They follow the kings of Man and the Hebrides on their expeditions to Ireland (Normannerne III, 139, 192, 213). The lagmainn of the Isles seems to have been few in number, and they have, no doubt, been small chieftains from Man and the Hebrides; lagmann is their official title. This is also, I think, the reason why Lagmann was used as a proper name by the royal family of the Isle of Man; their ancestors had namely been chieftains of Islay in the Hebrides.

The Saga of Cellachan of Cashel seems to consider Lagmann as a proper name. In a following chapter (§ 55) Lagmann, however, acts as the governor of Armagh. He addresses the soldiers and leads the defence of the town. This seems to indicate that Lagmann is not actually a personal name, but a title, and that the commander of Dundalk has been called lagmann in his official capacity. In a later chapter (§ 85) lagmann also seems to be, not a title, but a proper name. One of the chieftains who were slain in the battle of Clontarf (1014) is called Amlaib lagmainn mac Gofraid (War of the Gaedhil, pp. 164, 206). Lagmann is here clearly a title, but later transcribers of the Saga have misunderstood the word and transformed Amlaib lagmann into Amlaib mac Lagmainn.

Turaill is the Irish form of the Norse Jorketill, Jorkell. Is he identical with Turaill Trebehan (i.e. Jorkell Trebeinn) who is mentioned by Mac Firbis (Book of Pedigrees) as one of the Vikings who invaded Ulster?

Gilla Ciariain is a Christian, Irish name. A son of Gluniarain, son of Olav Cuanan, who fell in the battle of Clontarf 1014, is called Gilla Ciariain (War of the Gaedhil, p. CLXXIV). Gilla Ciariain is called mac Henric in t-serrigh (son of H., the old king). Henric is written above the line. I do not understand this name. Is it miswritten for Henric (Henry), or does it stand instead of h-Eíric (Eirik)?

Oitir dubh, i.e., Otit the black. — Óttarr (Ags. Ódbre) was a common Norse name. — There were in Ireland several famous Vikings of the name Otit the black; see Steenstrup, Normannerne III, pp. 13, 56, 57, 161. The historical Oitir dubh was slain in the year 918 (Four Masters, 916). He is also called Oitir the earl (Oitir iarla), and Oitir mac Jairnogn (Three Fragments, p. 230). From his father’s name, Jairnogn (i.e. Jarraisk, i.e. Iron-knee), we may conclude that Otit the black belonged to the royal family of Dublin. By a mistake, Oitir dubh is mentioned among the chieftains, who were slain in the battle of Clontarf 1014 (Cogadh Gaedhel, p. 206). It is also, I think, an anachronism, when the copy of our Saga preserved in the Book of Lismore mentions Oitir dubh as one of the Norse chieftains of Armagh. This name has probably belonged to the original version of the Saga.

§ 54. Eoganacht Chaisil, i.e. the Eoghanachts of Cashel, a tribe anciently seated around Cashel, in the county of Tipperary.

Aine, now Cnoc Aine, a conspicuous hill in a parish of the same name, in the barony of Small County, Limerick.
Stanza 6. *Innis Finnall*, the islands of the Norwegians, i. e. the Hebrides.
St. 8. *uainh.* Professor Kuno Meyer writes: *uainh* as it stands means *cave*, but I think *uainh* *dread* is meant.
St. 9. *thogh.* better *toght*.
§ 39. *pón,* dat. *píon,* is a loanword from Lat. *póena*.
§ 50, stanza 7. *tré coiced Medbhba,* through the province of Medb*, i. e. through Connaught. Medb, one of the most famous women of the Irish heroic tales, was the wife of Ailill, king of Connaught.
St. 9. *Gaighealuih,* leg. *Gaidhealuih*.
St. 11. *t-sul.* The *a* is short, as it rhymes with *Delgún.*
§ 63. *Lochlanach na luan,* in Lochlanach ladhach, and *Sen-Amlaith* are here called *tri coimdeach Confcaigh* the three guardians of Cork* (comúnad, s. m., *Beschützer, servator, custos* [Windisch]; *cóimhéadach,* s. m. *a watch, a guard* [O’ Reilly]). They seem to have been the lords of Cork, and their title seems to have been *comúnad* *guardians,* not king. Viking-chiefains seem to have sometimes borne similar titles. The before mentioned earl Otir the black and one of his companions are by the English historian Henry of Huntington called *consules* (occidentul Rahald consulem et Geokil frarem Uhteri consuli*). In a Runic inscription, Brohärad, Upland (E. Brate and S. Bugge, Runverser, p. 54) we read: *Ginlaug Holmguis.doitR.,* lit. *... raisa staein penna eftir Assur bōnda sinn, sun HākunaR tārs, sāR var vikings værðr med Gaut.* *Ginlaug, the daughter of Holmger, erected this stone ni memory of Assur, her husband, the son of Hakon the earl. He was the guardian of Vikings with Gaut.*

**Inis Cler, i. e. Clear Island, an Island in cuan Cléire,** the harbour of Cler, i. e. the bay between Cape Clear and Mizen Head, in the south of the County of Cork. The O’ h-Eidirseoling assumed possession over the harbour of Cler* (Irish Topogr. Poems, p. 105).
Flann, Cobhthach and Eidirsceall are here called kings of Corca Duibhne; this is an error for Corca Liaghde.

*Scelíc Michil,* now Great Skellig, one of the Skellig Rocks, two lofty rocks off the coast of Kerry. Great Skellig was selected, in the early ages of Christianity, as a religious
retreat, and the ruins of some of the primitive cells and oratories remain to this day; the place was dedicated to the Archangel Michael, and hence it is called by Irish authorities Scellig Michil, Michael's scellig or sea rock. From these rocks the Bay of Ballinskelligs, on the coast of Iveragh, took its name (Joyce, Irish Place Names, 4th ed., p. 421).

§ 64. Ard Fothaidh m-Brenaind has probably been the name of a hill in Camas ó Fothaid Tire, in the south west of the present county of Cork (cf. Ard Fothaid, Silva Gadelica, ed. O' Grady; XII. XXXIIC.).

Diarmait, king of Corco-Baiscinn; his son Domnall mac Diarmada was slain in the battle of Clontarf (Annals of Ulster, ed. Hennessy I, 234 l. 4).

Inis Cethaigh, now Scattery Island, at the mouth of the Shannon, is several times mentioned as a stronghold of the Norsemen in the 10th century.

Ara, gen. Arann, is here probably the Island of Aranmore, in the bay of Galway.

§ 66. Flann Fail, i. e. Flann of Fal. Fál, gen. Fail, a poetical name for Ireland.

§ 67. Tráig Baili was another name of Dundalk.

§ 70. Lugaíd Luan, i. e. Lugaíd of Luan? Is Áth Luain (Athlone) meant? Cf. Cogadh, p. 112, l. 51, dream Danar luain (Luanís). Flann is called Ua Lugdach on account of his descent from Lugaíd Mac Ithu, the uncle of Milesius of Spain. His race were the O' Driscolls, whose territory was also called the land of Íth (Topogr. Poems, n. 579).

§ 71, l. 6, ar tophthaíbh 7 ar trenramhaíbhb. Three words are here omitted; read: ar tophthaíbh 7 ar tílthiibh 7 ar trenramhaíbhb.

§ 75, n. 1. Uí Conaire, i. e. the descendants of Conaire II, of the Deagads of Munster, monarch of Ireland in the year 212 (Irish Topogr. Poems, n. 592).

§ 78, n. 1. Conchobar, the king of Ciarraige, is called Ua Fergus, i. e. the descendant of Fergus, ex-king of Ulster, in the first century. Cf. Irish Topographical Poems (p. 112), where the king of Ciarraighe is called O' Conchobair (now O' Conor, or O' Connor Kerry).

§ 79. Senan, i. e. St. Senan, the patron of Scattery Island and founder of the monastery there.

§ 85, stanza 6. mac macg Laghmuinn, i. e. the son of the Lagmann's son. Lagmann seems here, as in § 53, to be a title, not a proper name.

St. 8. O Mogha, i. e. the descendant of Mug (Mug Corb)?

§ 87. Stanzas 1. Armagh na morthora, »Armagh of the great towers«. Dr. Kuno Meyer writes to me: »tora (the ð is long, as it rhymes with crótha) is interesting. The usual word for »tower« is tór, gen. tuiris.«

St. 5. Sruith na Maile, the sea between the Mull of Cantire and Ireland.

St. 6. Ard Macha mongruaidh, »the Height of red-haired Macha«, i. e. Armagh. Dr. Joyce says (Irish Place Names, 4th ed., p. 78): »It is a fact admitting of no doubt that Armagh received its name from some remarkable woman named Macha, and the ancient writer in the Dinnseanchus mentions three, from one of whom the name was derived, but does not decide which. The first was Macha, the wife of Nevy, who led hither a colony about 600 years after the deluge; the second, Macha of the golden hair, who founded the palace of Emania, 300 years before the Christian era; and the third, Macha, wife of Cunna, who lived in the reign of Conor Mac Nessu in the first century. The second Macha is recorded to have been buried there; and as she was by for the most celebrated of the three, she it was, most probably, after whom the place was called«. The author of our Saga is clearly of opinion that Armagh derives its name from Macha of the golden hair. In my own opinion Armagh derives its name from Macha, the sister of Balb, the ancient goddess of war.

§ 88. ar dereadh in scoil, »at the end of the story«, i. e. which finishes our story. The author, in other words, says that the poem printed in § 89 finishes the Saga. The following paragraphs must consequently be later additions. This conclusion is also forced upon us by other considerations. The version in the Book of Lismore states that Cellachan and his men went to Dublin, carried off its riches, and burned the town. This story is no doubt taken from the War of the Gaedhil (chs. LXVIII—LXIX), where it is told that king Brian Boruma after the battle of Glenmama (A. D. 1000) plundered and burned the Castle of Dublin. The Lis-
more version which, however, ends abruptly also seems to have related a victory that Cella Chan and his men won over the Leinster men. The later paper-versions do not know these exploits, which are quite unknown to the Annals. They tell that after the victory Cella Chan returned directly to Munster, where he died not long afterwards. This and other reasons lead me to the conclusion that the poems contained in our Saga are more ancient than the prose text. The poems are, I should say, nearly contemporary with the poems in the War of the Gaedhil, but the prose text seems to be younger.

§ 89. Stanza 5. Dubh-dha-bhóirenn maith duinne (leg. duine). Kuno Meyer writes: “maith duine is curious; as it rhymes with huidhe, the u is short. Is it maith duine “good (was) the man”?” Lenn Turmum na h-uaidhe is here called “earl” (iarla).

St. 7. Tóra is, like Tó, an Irish form of the Norse þórr. Many Norse words end in -a in Irish, e. g. iarla (= iar), garda (= garda).

St. 9. re Finnlochmann on tir thuaidh, “with Fair Lochlann (i.e. the son of the king of Fair L.) from the northern lands.” This seems to show that the author of the poem has known the geographical position of Norway.

§ 91. Clar Cruachan, “the plain of Cruachan”, i.e. the plain of Magh Naoi, or Machaire Chonnacht, in the county of Roscommon, in which Cruachan, the ancient palace of the kings of Connaught, was situated. It lies between the towns of Roscommon and Elphin, and Castlerea and Strokestown (Topogr. Poems, n. 224).

clar Midhe, i.e. the plain of Meath. ainmshine = anbh-fhine “a hostile tribe” (Kuno Meyer).

guma = gu mba.

§ 93. Mór was, no doubt, the daughter of Donnchadh, son of Flann Sionna, monarch of Ireland. We have already heard of his connection with the Norsemen. Mór is an Irish name which also in later times, like Bebinn, was used by the members of the royal family of Dublin. The Book of Hy Maine (in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin) contains a list of famous Irish women. Among these names we read (fol 97): Mór ingen Eacmarcaig meic Ragnall rig Gall, mathir Dondcada 7 Amlaim 7 Domnaill meic Taidg hua

Brian 7 Beind ingen Taidg, i.e. “Mor, the daughter of Eachmarach, son of Ragnall, king of the Foreigners, mother of Donnchadh, and of Amlaib, and of Domnaill, son of Taidg, grandson of Brian, and of Bebinn, daughter of Taidg.” Eacmarcach usurped the kingdom of Dublin in the year 1035.

§ 95. Magh na hAlmhaín, i.e. the plain of (or round) Almhaín, now known as the Hill of Allen, a celebrated hill in the County of Kildare, situated about five miles to the north of the town of Kildare.

Murched, son of Finn, king of Leinster, is mentioned in the Annals of the Four Masters, A. D. 956, 965, 967, 970. Laidhis Laigen, i.e. Leix, a territory in the Queen’s County.

Fotharta Laigen, is possibly the same as Fotharta (generally called Fotharta-Fea), now the barony of Fothar, in the county of Carlow (Topogr. Poems, n. 476).

O’ Mail (Imaille) is a territory in the barony of Upper Tullamore, in the county of Wicklow.

O’ bh-Failghe (Ui Failghe). The country of this tribe was very extensive before the British invasion, and comprised the present baronies of East and West Ophaly, in the county of Kildare, those of Portnahinch and Tinnahinch, in the Queen’s County, and that portion of the King’s County, which is comprised in the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin, cf. Book of Rights, p. 216 n.

O’ Mairgi, now Omargy, in the county of Wicklow.

§ 98. Cormac, son of Cuilennan, was, according to the Annals, slain by the Leinster-men in the year 908, in the battle of Belach Mughna, in Magh Albe (Co. Kildare). The battle took place in the autumn. The battle between Cella Chan, and his men and the Leinster-men must accordingly have taken place in the year 551.

§ 100. Nior thóg Muichtach a ghaidh, M. did not raise his face, i.e. “he did not show himself.”

The paper-copy says that Cella Chan died in the year 952. The actual year of his death, however, is 954, (Four Masters, A. D. 952).
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