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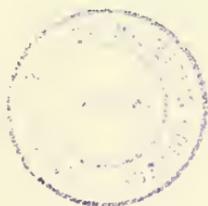
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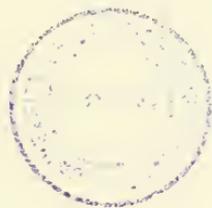
LEBOR NA CERT
THE BOOK OF RIGHTS



LEBOR NA CERT

THE BOOK OF RIGHTS

EDITED BY
MYLES DILLON



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INTRODUCTION

(I)

Lebor na Cert, 'the Book of Rights', purports to record the rights of the Irish kings, the king of Ireland, the provincial kings, and the tribal kings within each province. These rights are stated in terms of tributes due from the tribes to the provincial king, and of stipends due from the king of Ireland to the provincial kings¹ and from them to the kings of tribes. As in the Book of Invasions, the record is put into verse, so that the text consists, for the most part, of a collection of poems. Normally the poem is introduced by a prose summary of its contents, which usually ends with an attribution to St. Benignus.

The Book of Rights was long regarded as an authoritative source for the study of Irish history, a tenth-century recension of earlier originals.² It was associated with the name of Cormac mac Cuilennáin, and even the invocation of St. Benignus as the prime author was taken seriously. In recent years the tendency has been rather to cast doubt upon its authenticity and to question the early date supposed; and it has been shown that there is no valid reason for assuming a date earlier than the middle of the eleventh century for the original work.³ The text is, however, of considerable interest, and O'Donovan's edition, now more than a hundred years old, is unsatisfactory and long since out of print. This new edition, based upon all the vellum manuscripts, is an attempt to provide a satisfactory text and translation, and to assess the value of the Book of Rights as an historical document.

The work consists of seven sections, one for each of the seven kingdoms, Caisel, Connachta (Cruachain), Ailech, Airgialla, Ulaid, Temair, and Lagen, followed by (a) a poem on the Norse of Dublin; (b) St. Patrick's Blessing of the Irish; (c) a rhythmical poem on the duty of the *fili*, attributed to Dubthach moccu Lugair; (d) a fragmentary poem on Tara and the lesser kingdoms, here Ulaid, Nás

¹ There is no stipend from the king of Ireland to the king of Connachta.

² See O'Donovan, *Book of Rights*, Introd. p. viii; MacNeill, *Celtic Ireland* 85-86.

³ 'The Date and Authorship of the Book of Rights', *Celtica* iv. 239.

(Lagin), Caisel, Tuadmuma, Cruachain, Mide, and Cenél nEógain. This last poem is a flat contradiction of what has gone before, and cannot have been part of the original work.

The common form of each of the seven sections comprises two poems, one on the stipend received by the provincial king from the king of Ireland and the stipends paid by him to the tribal kings of the province, the other on the tributes he receives from the tribes. Free tribes are distinguished from the rest except in Airgialla and Tara; and in Caisel, Cruachain, and Ailech they pay no tribute.

To this there are two exceptions: the first section, which is about Caisel, has seven poems; the first recites the stipends of the provincial kings from the king of Caisel as king of Ireland; the second recites the tributes received by him from the tribes of his province; the third declares the supremacy of Caisel, and that when he is not king of all Ireland, he is entitled to tribute from the Lagin and the Connachta; the fourth repeats the matter of the second, but with quite different tributes and a different list of tribes; the fifth recites the stipends paid by the king of Cashel to the tribal kings of his province;¹ the sixth repeats the matter of the fifth, but with different stipends and a different list of kings; the seventh is a list of strongholds of the king of Cashel.

The other exception is the section on the Airgialla: here the first poem recites special privileges of the Airgialla, and there are no tributes; the second recites the stipends of the tribal kings.²

It is plain that the Book of Rights as we have it was compiled after Brian Bóramha became king of Ireland. The section on Cashel stands first and is much the longest, and extravagant claims are made for the king of Cashel. The conflict of testimony even within this section is remarkable, for there is no agreement either as to the stipends and tributes, or as to the tribes concerned. And in the later sections there is the same uncertainty. The list of kings receiving stipends and the list of tribes subject to tribute do not agree exactly for any one of the provincial kingdoms except Crua-

¹ This poem is not in the *b*-recension, *v. inf.*, p. xix.

² MacNeill says (*Celtic Ireland* 91) that these kings receive stipends not from the king of the province but from the king of Ireland; but the reading *Erind* is confined to Lecan and Ballymote. Lismore has *Airgiall*, and Hy Many has *an oirtear* (1137) and *.h.* (1179). The Airgialla were probably subject in fact to Cenél nEógain from the early ninth century, and this may explain the omission of tributes to the provincial king and the uncertainty about privileges and stipends, see MacNeill, *Population Groups* 109 and ll. 1062-6 *inf.* Cf. p. xviii n. 4.

chain.¹ It is as though these poems were mere praise-poems without any pretension to recite true facts. The seven sections on stipends and tributes form the body of the work, and to these a compiler has added various kindred texts, or texts which seemed to him appropriate.²

The poem on Tara at the end (ll. 1814–2205) deserves special consideration, as it presents a tradition independent of the main text. There are still seven kingdoms, but they are not the same seven. Ailech and Airgialla disappear, while Tuadmuma and Cenél nEógain are here separate kingdoms. The record of stipends and tributes differs, as the tables in the appendix show (pp. 179–90). A curious feature of this poem is that it records the tabus and lucky things of the kings of the Ulaid, the Lagen, Caisel, Tuadmuma (Thomond), Cruachain, and Cenél nEógain. There is an old text on these *gessa* and *buada* which precedes the Book of Rights in some manuscripts and was included by O'Donovan in his edition. I have not included it here, as it appears to be a separate text.³ It was edited in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, liv, Sect. C, no. 1 (1951). The details in the Tara poem do not agree with those in the other text, but the fact that tabus and lucky things are mentioned at all suggests that a recension of the Book of Rights including the old text served as a model for this later composition.

To take one example, the *gessa* of the king of the Ulaid are to approach a boar's lair, to listen to the birds of Lough Swilly and to bathe in Lough Foyle on May Day. In the old text they are five, namely to take part in the horse-race of Ráith Lini, to listen to the birds of Lough Swilly after sunset, to taste the flesh of Dáire's bull, to go into Mag Coba in March and to drink the water of Bó Nemid (an unidentified river) between dawn and darkness. His lucky things are here: to spend Easter at Caendruim (Tara?), to have his stewards at Teltown, and that his daughters be at Emain

¹ Even here the Ciarraige in the first poem are matched by the Partraige in the second.

² At some stage a fragmentary and corrupt text of the Testament of Cathair Már was taken into the section on the Lagen as a preface. It is not in Lismore, and in Hy Many it has been added at the end, see p. 144 n. Nor is it in any of the paper manuscripts. It is here printed as an appendix, p. 148. So too the old tract on tabus and lucky things (*v. inf.*) was early adopted as an introduction.

³ It is mentioned in the Dindshenchas of Carman as one of the recitations heard at the Fair (*Met. Dinds.* iii. 20. 252). The text here edited begins: *Incipit do Libur na Cert.*

Macha; to have a fleet upon Lough Cuan, to be connected by marriage with the Norse King, that Eanach Cain be of good repute and to have his stewards in Tara. In the old text they are five, namely, the games of Cualnge, to have his army in Mag Murthemne, to set out from Emain Macha on a hosting, to take hostages from as far as Dunseverick and to spend three nights under arms at Emain Macha before crossing the frontier.

The poem breaks off at different points in Li, B-M, and Lec., and even in Lec., which has the longest text, it seems to be fragmentary, although the end is in order. The section on Cenél nEógain (l. 2194) is incomplete, and there is some confusion, as Cenél nEógain has already appeared (l. 1926) as a tribe of the kingdom of the Ulaid.

I suggest that this Tara poem is a reply to the main text and written by a northern poet, and that it has been gathered in by a compiler who brought together the various texts mentioned above, including the old tract on *gessa* and *buada*. It would then be an anticipation of the famous Contention of the Bards in the seventeenth century.

The Book of Rights is thus a compilation. The main text was written probably in the second half of the eleventh century and by a Munster poet.¹ The author seems to have composed both prose and verse, so that neither can be said generally to derive from the other.² The compilation may have been made in the twelfth century, but not much later, as it appears as a whole in all the four principal manuscripts.³

(II)

The value of the Book of Rights as an historical document has been a matter of controversy. MacNeill, following O'Donovan, maintained that it is an authoritative source for the political history of Ireland in the early period, from the fifth to the tenth century.⁴

¹ O'Donovan suggested that possibly the whole work was produced at Cashel, *BR* 231, note q.

² Occasional discrepancy between prose and verse can be attributed to scribal interference.

³ The Book of Lecan, the Book of Lismore, the Book of Ballymote, and the Book of Hy Many.

⁴ *Celtic Ireland* 73, 76, 86. However, he admits a doubt elsewhere: 'In the Book of Rights Ireland is divided into seven chief kingdoms, whose kings have no suzerain except the King of Ireland. This division seems to represent an ideal rather than an actuality, for as far as one can judge from other evidences the kings of Osraige, Tuadmuma, Bréifne, and Cenél Conaill, perhaps also the kings

He believed that the original Book of Rights formed part of the Psalter of Cashel and was written *c.* A.D. 900, and that the claims made for the supremacy of Cashel in the first section were a later addition dating from the time of Brian Bóramha. O'Rahilly, in sundry references,¹ expressed his disbelief in so early a date, but he did not discuss the matter at length. Dr. Binchy has said that he regards the evidence of the Book of Rights as 'quite valueless' for this early period, and that the conditions reflected 'in this late compilation' are in no case much earlier than the eleventh century.²

The question may be approached in two ways, by the test of consistency and, in so far as there is consistency, by the test of plausibility.

One of the provisions is for a stipend received by each of the provincial kings from the king of Ireland. This matter is presented three times, first in one of the Cashel poems in which the king of Cashel is supposed to be king of Ireland, again in the poem on stipends for each of the seven provinces respectively, and finally in the long poem at the end in which these stipends are paid by the king of Tara. Now there is no agreement among the three passages for each king. For instance, the king of Ailech receives in the first poem fifty horns, fifty swords, and fifty horses; in the second fifty swords, fifty shields, fifty slaves, fifty suits, and fifty horses; in the third he is not mentioned. The king of Leinster receives in the first poem thirty ships, thirty horses, thirty slaves, and thirty cows; in the second ten ships, ten hounds, ten slaves, ten harnesses, and ten coats of mail; in the third he is entitled to brides for a hundred youths and fine clothing, seven gilt chariots, and seven score brightly coloured garments.

Moreover, even in the main text the list of those receiving stipends does not agree exactly with the list of those paying tribute.³ The Book of Rights fails the first test, and wears rather the aspect of a work of fiction.

of Iarmuma (Eoganacht Locha Léin) and Brega, were quite as independent—as the seven chief kings in the Book of Rights', see *Population Groups* 109.

¹ *EIHM* 24, 166–7, 406 n. 3.

² *Early Irish Society* 55.

³ Dr. Walsh reconciles the two Tara lists by assuming (*a*) that the names omitted from the first list (stipends) are those of vassal tribes of Brega, and (*b*) that the names omitted from the second list (tributes) are those of free tribes not liable to tribute (*Féilsgríbhinn Eoin Mhic Néill* 508). This is, however, his own construction. MacNeill simply says that no free states are specified except Tara itself, and that the two lists are not identical, as only five names correspond out of eleven (*Celtic Ireland* 92).

The section on Leinster makes the Norse kingdom of Dublin a tributary state of Leinster, which does not agree with historical fact prior to the eleventh century.¹ MacNeill explains it as mere application of theory, the Norsemen being outside the royal kindred and therefore liable to tribute. Elsewhere MacNeill himself suggests that the Book of Rights represents an ideal rather than a real state of affairs.² We have seen that in each section provision is made for the provincial king when he is not king of Ireland, as though his being king of Ireland were a normal eventuality. If this is more than mere schematization, it points to the troubled time before the Norman Invasion, when the High Kingship was open to the strongest contender. Moreover, the section on Tara presents the king of Tara merely as king of Meath, as he is in the Annals after Brian Bóramha, although Tara had been the titular kingship of the High King. These last considerations support the evidence for a relatively late date of composition (eleventh century); but apart from the lateness, one gets the impression of something schematic and imaginary.

The learned class in medieval Ireland delighted in imaginary regulations and distinctions. There are good examples of this kind of learning in the commentaries on old law-tracts. In one of these commentaries,³ various exemptions from liability for an injury are discussed in fantastic terms. When the hammer slips from an anvil, distinctions are made for the first, second, third, and fourth slipping, for the head of the hammer falling off, for the hammer slipping from the striker's hand, for the smith being aware of a defect while the striker is unaware of it, for the striker being aware of a defect, while the smith is not, and so on. A cat who injures someone while mousing is exempt from half the liability on account of the excitement of mousing. This spirit pervades the commentaries on legal tracts, where there was wide scope for the imagination in the subdivision of title to an inheritance or liability for a fine. Dr. Binchy has called attention to the numerous grades of society recognized in the Irish law-schools and suggests that they are imaginary.⁴ There is even an analogy with the well-known tract on

¹ The Norse of Dublin acknowledged the suzerainty of Diarmait mac Maíl na mBó, CS p. 280, *s.a.* 1050.

² p. x, note 3.

³ *Ancient Laws of Ireland* iii. 166 f.

⁴ 'A sevenfold classification was established by the jurists to correspond with the seven ecclesiastical orders. At first it embraced all ranks of free society from the humblest commoner to the king of the *tuath*. Later, however, the very real

legal status, *Críth Gablach*, although it dates from a much earlier time. Thurneysen and Binchy are agreed that it portrays an imaginary Irish society. Binchy says that it bears only a limited relation to the realities of life in ancient Ireland.¹ The Book of Rights is another example of the work of a learned imagination.² There is, indeed, nothing in the lists of tributes and stipends for the kingdom of Ailech, for example, that passes the bounds of possibility; but some of the provisions for Cashel seem extravagant, and we have seen that there are conflicting accounts of them.

Moreover, we have early texts dealing with these matters which seem genuine and which bear no relation to the doctrine of the Book of Rights. Two of these recount the dues of Caisel,³ and there is no mention of shields or ships or swords, but merely a sum reckoned in cumals to be paid to the tribal king, and certain privileges of service appointed to him. In both texts the Uí Liatháin come first, and we are told that their hostages are not taken until all the other kings have given hostages. Their king receives thirty cumals every seven years. The king of the Déisi receives fifty cumals. The king of Fir Maige receives twenty cumals and the Fir Maige supply a druid to Caisel, and their best man is in the confidence of the king of Caisel. The king of the Múscraige sits beside the king of Caisel unless the king of Uí Fhidgeinte or the king of Iarluchair or the king of Raithlenn be present, and he raises his knee before them.⁴ The king of the Múscraige is entitled to a cow from every prey from the king of Caisel, and to have three men in the king's council, and the queen shall have three of her women in the council of the queen of Caisel. Of the Osraige it is said merely that the king of Caisel marches with their king before the other tribes of

distinction that had always existed between "noble" and "commoner" led the jurists to separate these two orders more sharply and make a special sevenfold division for each. By the time the tracts were compiled there were thus fourteen "grades", each provided with separate privileges, functions, degrees of capacity and property qualifications', *Proc. Brit. Acad.* xxix 224.

¹ *Críth Gablach*, Introd. p. xix.

² One might also cite the tract on Ogam edited by Calder, *Auraicept na nÉces* 272, where 150 kinds of Ogam are distinguished by a crazy application of notions derived from Virgilius Maro Grammaticus (cf. Thurneysen, *ZCP* xvii. 300).

³ One of them (*YBL* 328al), referred to by O'Curry, *Mann. and Cust.* iii. 208, has been printed without a translation in *Irish Texts* i. 19. Another (*Lecan* 192b36), which is fragmentary, is unpublished.

⁴ An inferior stood in presence of his superior. Men of equal rank raised the knee in salutation, see Joyce, *Social History* ii. 489, and for the custom in Wales, *BBCS* ix. 219.

Munster; the sentry does not question his coming to Caisel with a retinue of nine; his couch is near to the king of Caisel and at the same distance as that of the king of the Éli, unless the king of Laigin be present, when a royal seat of the second degree is appointed to him. For these last two kings there is neither stipend nor tribute. The king of the Déisi receives fifty cumals, according to the Lecan text, 'for the Déisi first established the kingdom of Caisel'. In the Y text his stipend is fifty cumals, and the Déisi send a judge to Caisel. The Múscraige send poets and scholars, the Dál Mugaide send leeches, the Corcu Ché send harpers, the Cerdraige send smiths and bronze-workers, the Boindrige send dairy-stewards.

These old texts are obscure in places, but enough has been said to show that they differ widely from the Book of Rights, although it preserves fragments of this earlier tradition (ll. 1056, 1345, 1469, 1621).

Two later documents describe the lordships of O'Neill and O'Connor respectively. The first (16th. cent. ?) was edited without a translation by Professor Tadhg Ó Donnchadha, *Leabhar Clainne Aodha Buidhe*, pp. 41-47. The second (14th cent. ?) is a description of the inauguration of O'Connor as king, and includes some account of his kingdom, in which the rights and duties of the great families are stated.¹ Tributes from the subject families to O'Neill are mentioned in the first, but no stipends; stipends for the four 'royal chieftains' of Síol Muireadhaigh are mentioned in the second, but no tributes. And in neither document is there any agreement with the Book of Rights. We have also a separate tract on the Uí Maine (Hy Many), where a stipend is mentioned, but it does not agree with that recorded here (*v. inf.* p. 59 n. 1).

The Book of Rights fares no better by the test of plausibility than by the other. It seems likely then that the main text is the work of a professional poet who drew up lists of stipends bestowed by the kings, and of tributes received by them, which were simply intended to flatter the kings and particularly to exalt the king of Cashel.²

If the Book of Rights bears only a limited relation to the reality of the eleventh century, the question remains as to what this rela-

¹ *J. Kilkenny Arch. Soc.* ii (1852-53) 340; *Medieval Studies Presented to A. Gwynn S. J.*, p. 186.

² Dr. Walsh formed the opinion that 'the doctrine of tributes embodied in the treatise was more theoretical than practical', *J. Galway Arch. Soc.* xix. 6.

tion is. We know that stipends were paid by a superior king to his subject kings, and that the acceptance of the stipend was an acknowledgement of dependency.¹ In 1166 the Cenél Conaill submitted to Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair as king of Ireland and gave him hostages, 'and he gave them eight score cows and gold and clothing besides', AU iii. 154. 23. In *Caithréim Thoirdealbhaigh* there is a lively account of the meeting of O'Brien and O'Neill at Lough Erne in 1258, when O'Brien sent a stipend of a hundred horses to O'Neill. O'Neill proudly sent back two hundred horses with splendid bridles which he had brought as a stipend for O'Brien, whereupon O'Brien sent them back again together with a company of armed men to enforce acceptance of his gift, see S. H. O'Grady, *Caithréim Thoirdealbhaigh*, i. 2 = ii. 3 (trans.).²

The payment of a stipend was not so much an obligation upon the king as was the acceptance of it by his subject. It may not, therefore, be correct to regard these stipends as due from the provincial king and as rights of the tribal king. By accepting a stipend, the tribal king acknowledged the giver as his overlord. In practice, the provincial king probably gave what he wished, and the tribal king accepted what he got. Doubtless there was some agreement, but the duty lay rather upon the petty king to accept the stipend and to give hostages to his overlord.³ The Old Irish documents on Cashel and the later O'Connor document give us some plausible data. The stipend was probably in cattle merely, without the scores of shields and swords and coats of mail; and the numbers of cattle were not so great as the Book of Rights proclaims. The service of the petty king may have been personal service at court, maintenance of the king and his retinue while he was on a royal circuit, and the supply of men in time of war.⁴ The lands of subject tribes were

¹ We do not know whether the stipend was annual, or payable only at longer intervals, and the Book of Rights is vague on this point. Sometimes a stipend is paid every three years (ll. 1239, 1278, 1625); or else at Samain (ll. 256, 524), that is to say annually; or simply every year (311, 1474). A period of seven years is mentioned l. 1847, and in the Lecan text referred to above.

² Cf. *Tic mac Néill mic Cuinn a cend Í Néill 7 gabais tuaradal Í Néill*, 'The son of Niall son of Conn came to meet Ó Néill and accepted the stipend of Ó Néill', AU iii. 518. 6 (A.D. 1515); *co nach raibhe a comhshocus dó 'na dúthaidh féin ná a ndúthaidh aile énduine maith ná cenn fedhna nár ghabh a thúarastal*, 'so that there was not nearby in his own territory or in another any man of account or leader of a company that did not accept his stipend', *ibid.* 558. 18 (1525).

³ See Orpen, *Ireland Under the Normans* 21.

⁴ For special services as butler, doorkeeper, chief ranger and steward, see O'Donovan, *Tribes and Customs of Hy Many* 86-92; Gwynn Miscellany, p. 198.

liable for a tribute in kind and in cattle, to judge from the evidence of Norman and Tudor sources.¹

But there remains a good deal that is interesting and valuable for Irish history. First, there are the names of the *tuatha* or tribes, and the distinction between free and subject tribes. This distinction is stated for Caisel, Cruachain, Ailech, Ulaid, and Laigin, and in the first three the free tribes pay no tribute. The two lists of tribes for each province do not agree, and this presents a problem which I have not solved.² Then in each chapter there are special provisions which historians will examine with interest. In Connacht, according to the second list, all the tribal kings are eligible for the high-kingship by consanguinity. This statement may be intended to justify the succession of kings of the Uí Fhiachrach and of the Uí Briúin traced by Fr. Paul Walsh, *J. Galway Arch. Soc.* xvii. 124. But O'Rahilly has pointed out that the author seeks to mitigate the inferior status of the Uí Maine, the Delbna and the Luigni;³ and this may have something to do with it. The provisions for the Airgialla are of special interest. They are in a direct relationship to the king of Ireland, and are liable for military service only for six weeks (neither in spring nor autumn) once in three years; and they enjoy other special privileges. There is no list of tributes from them.⁴ A curious point concerning the Ulaid appears in the prose list of tributes (ll. 1344 f.). The normal tributes are stated to be due from the free tribes, whereas in Caisel, Cruachain, and Ailech no tributes are required from the free tribes (ll. 224, 324, 686, 891); and the subject tribes, who are unnamed, render milk, ale, and other commodities. The prose preface to the second poem for Mide (Tara) is not the usual summary of the poem, but a brief statement that the tributes are invariable, with a curious provision that the *foirbfine*-tribes (= *fortuatha*?) are entitled to a levying share. Peculiar features of the second Laigin list are (a) that Sí

¹ See W. F. Butler, *Gleanings from Irish History* 16, 20, 41.

² The lists of tribes are in Appendix B.

³ EIHM 406 n. 3.

⁴ MacNeill suggests that this is because the Airgialla were already subject to the Cenél nEógain by the time the Book of Rights was composed, *Population Groups* 109; but elsewhere he explains it on the ground that the entire state was settled by the conquering Uí Néill, none of the older dynasties having survived, *Celtic Ireland* 91. MacNeill's statement that 'the sub-kings of Oriel receive stipends not from a local over-king but from the king of Ireland' is based upon manuscript readings adopted here (1137, 1179). But the uncertainty may reflect the unreal character of the record. See p. 81 n. 4.

Fiachach and Síl Rosa Failge are exempt from tribute save for one night's hospitality, but tribute is paid by the subject kindreds of their territories; and (b) the provision for rendering of services and commodities by the *cocarts*.¹ In the poem it is said (ll. 1668 f.) that the normal tributes are paid by the free tribes (*saerchlanda*), and that the services and commodities, here called 'subject-rents' (*daerchísa*), are due from subject tribes (*daerchlanda*). This recalls the Ulaid list mentioned above.

These are matters upon which I am unable to comment with authority. But apart from the question of their truth as history, the statements reflect, or seem to reflect, customs known to the author.

Then there is matter for social history and material culture. The frequent references to slaves (*mug* m. and *cumal* f.) are of interest. *Cumal* is here sometimes left untranslated, as the term had become a measure of value, equal to three milch-cows. A distinction is made for foreign slaves, presumably acquired by purchase. In Wales a slave could be sold,² and the same was probably true in Ireland; but there was a penalty for injury to a slave.³

Three words for 'cloak' occur, *brat*, *lenn*, and *matal*, which should perhaps be distinguished.⁴ I have preferred to render *scing* as 'hide', so as to cover various possible uses. In the lists of cattle *dam* and *mairt* are perhaps the live and the slaughtered animal respectively. Among the gifts there is frequent mention of the *lúirech* (< *lorica*), and the question arises as to whether and at what period any such armour was worn.⁵ *Fidchell* is rendered as 'chess' but we know only that it was a board-game.

The chief importance of the Book of Rights lies in its witness for historical geography, and for the social system of Ireland in the eleventh century. But MacNeill pointed out that the division into seven kingdoms is probably unreal (p. x n. 3).⁶ The evidence is not clear or consistent, and the extraneous documents which have been added to the main work, notably the long poem at the end, add to the

¹ See p. 111 n. 2.

² Seebohm, *The Tribal System in Wales* 109.

³ *Ériu* xii. 6, § 2.

⁴ *Brat* and *lenn* are sometimes identical: 961 (1006), 973 (1050), 1145 (1211).

⁵ O'Curry says little of it, merely recording it as worn by the Norsemen at Clontarf, and here it is a metal corslet, *Mann. and Cust.* ii. 347. Joyce cites Giraldus Cambrensis (*Top. Hib.* iii. 10) who says that the Irish fought without armour, *Social Hist.* i. 110.

⁶ Mr. Francis Byrne has called my attention to the fact that it is peculiar to the Book of Rights. The period of Heptarchy in the history books is thus apparently an illusion.

confusion. But when the annals and genealogies have been sifted for evidence concerning political and dynastic history, the Book of Rights will help to confirm a fact, perhaps even to explain a difficulty.

The Book of Rights is a compilation of 'antiquarian learning' like the Book of Invasions, the *Dindshenchas*, *Cóir Anmann*, and in literature like *Acallam na Senórach*. Most of these can be dated in the eleventh century, though the *Acallam* is probably later. Already in the eleventh century there was an intellectual revival on the Continent, and some ripples of that movement may well have reached the shores of Ireland. But there is a simpler fact of Irish history which could alone explain the common effort of the learned men of Ireland, monks and laymen, which is manifest in the eleventh century. It was the age of Brian, whose twelve years as High King were, in the words of Curtis, 'the greatest moment in the history of native Ireland'. His reign was the beginning of a revival of piety and learning which culminated in the reforms of St. Malachy and lasted until the Norman Invasion. I do not believe that the Book of Rights, or any part of it, derives from a Psalter of Cashel composed by Cormac Mac Cuileannáin,¹ nor even from a recension made in Brian's lifetime.² But I suggest that it owes its existence like the Book of Invasions and the *Dindshenchas* to the revival of learning in Ireland in the eleventh century. The acknowledged source is the Book of Glendalough (l. 3), of which nothing definite is known.

(III)

The text was edited for the Celtic Society in 1847 by John O'Donovan from the Book of Lecan, with variants from the Book of Ballymote. In spite of its manifest defects, this edition has been of great assistance to me, and in one respect I have made no attempt to replace it. O'Donovan was expert in topography and history, and he supplied long notes on the places and peoples mentioned. These notes are indeed often too long, and many of them present as history what is now known to be legend; but the topographical information in the notes remains valuable, and it will not be found here. I have supplied an index of place-names with some identifications for which I rely upon O'Donovan and upon Hogan's *Onomasticon*.

¹ The Psalter of Cashel may well have been compiled by him, see *Celtica* v. 66.

² Charles O'Connor observed that it bears 'external as well as internal marks of forgery,' see *Cat. of Ir. MSS in the R. I.A.*, p. 1618.

Apart from the Introduction to O'Donovan's edition, which seems to have been written by W. E. Hudson with O'Donovan's help, the only study of the Book of Rights is that by MacNeill in his *Celtic Ireland*, to which frequent reference has been made.¹ MacNeill made a careful analysis of the text, and his discussion has been of great value to me, although his estimate of its date and its trustworthiness is, in my opinion, mistaken.

There are five vellum manuscripts of the Book of Rights: the Book of Hy Many (written 1378-94) ff. 76 a 1-80 c 29, the Book of Ballymote (written 1384-1406) ff. 268 a 36-281 b 53, the Book of Lecan (written 1416-18) ff. 194 d 12-202 d 26, the Book of Lismore (late 15th cent.) ff. 98 d 20-105 b 21, and National Library Gaelic MS. VI (16th cent.?) ff. 13^r 1-19^v 18 (f. 20 is misplaced). There are also ten paper manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy, none of them earlier than the eighteenth century: nos. 288, p. 251 (19th cent.); 485, p. 276 (18th cent.); 689, p. 103 (18th cent.); 712, f. 43^r (18th cent.); 756, p. 208 (18th cent.); 757 (copy of 756) p. 319 (18th cent.); 930, p. 75^a (19th cent.); 1012, p. 119 (19th cent.); 1195, p. 1 (18th cent.).² Of these nos. 712 and 1195 are the most important. Nos. 288, 485, 689, and 930 contain only fragments concerning Cashel. These paper manuscripts have not been closely examined. Only no. 712 (23 H 28) has been regularly consulted; it usually agrees with Lismore but is not a mere copy. The Abbotsford Irish manuscript contains a good text of the same recension.³

The vellum manuscripts fall into two groups: (a) Lecan and Lismore, and (b) Hy Many and Ballymote. Gaelic MS. VI belongs to the second group, but it contains only the prose summaries and is defective at the beginning and the end.⁴ Hy Many (M) and Ballymote (B) are earlier than Lecan (L) and Lismore (Li), but not appreciably earlier than Lecan. Hy Many is carelessly written and has some quasi-phonetic spellings: e.g. *gilicear* = *gilithir*, l. 13; *binnichir* = *bindithir*, l. 13; *dir* = *tir*, l. 36. B omits phrases here and there, and

¹ Valuable studies of two sections were made by Dr. Paul Walsh, 'Meath in the Book of Rights', *Féilscribhina Eoin Mhic Néill* 508; 'Connacht in the Book of Rights', *J. Galway Arch. Soc.* xix. 1-15.

² These do not include the two transcripts of Lismore (nos. 261 by O'Curry and 478 by O'Longan) nor the transcript of Lecan (no. 894 by Connellan). No. 712 seems to be the paper MS. referred to by O'Donovan, p. 274.

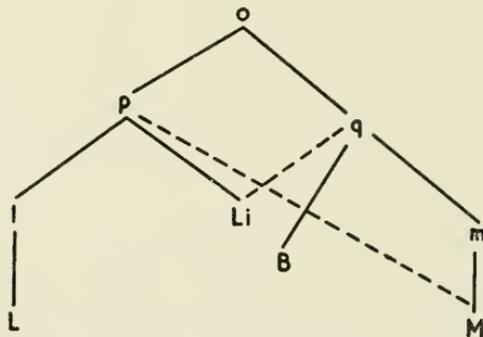
³ I am indebted to Professor Charles Dunn for calling my attention to this manuscript, and to the honorary librarian, Dr. Corson, for supplying a photostat.

⁴ A fragment comprising the proses for Ailech, Tara and Ulaid is in Egerton 1781, 72 a 10-74 b 35.

shares some late forms with M: *measrughadh*, l. 10; *muccaided*, l. 11. Occasionally these two preserve an earlier form: *headh*, l. 8; *dleagair*, l. 28.¹ In a few instances M alone preserves the correct reading, ll. 238, 682.

Lecan and Lismore are the best manuscripts and there is little to choose between them. Li is not a copy of L for L has minor additions which do not appear in Li, and Li does not include the Testament of Cathaír Már in the Laigin section, but adds it at the end of the text. Moreover Li frequently agrees with B-M against L, as will be seen from the variant readings.² In a few instances L and B agree against Li and M. Li and B sometimes agree against L and M, and B is sometimes alone. Sometimes Li stands alone, and more often M. The main difference between L and Li lies in the spelling. Li marks the spirant mediae (*bh*, *dh*, *gh*), but does not so often write the non-palatal glide vowel; L writes *b*, *d*, *g* for the spirant mediae (and often also for the stops), but more often writes *ceadamus*, *dealb*, *fearaib* where Li may have *cétamus*, *delbh*, *feraibh*. Lec has sometimes an older form: *do-rala* = *doraladar* 9; *grein* = *grian* 13; but the independent pronoun *he*, l. 32, is not in Li, B, M.

There is much cross-correspondence among the manuscripts, no two agreeing consistently against any other. This can best be explained by supposing a great many copies of the text, in which minor variations arose. But two distinct recensions emerge clearly, and the relation between them may be expressed in a stemma:³



¹ These examples are from the first page, and are given merely as an illustration.

² For instances see ll. 691-2, 770-1, 857-76, 918-38, 957-65, 1017-26, 1062, 1264-78, &c.

³ On closer examination of the manuscripts, I must withdraw the statement (*Measgra Mhichil Uí Chléirigh* 20) that B is a copy of M. They derive rather from a common exemplar.

The stages *l* and *m* are introduced to provide for innovations distinguishing L from Li, B, M, or M from L, Li, B respectively.

With regard to the stemma it must be said that the procedure applicable to languages for which there is a norm of grammar and spelling is not well suited to Middle Irish texts of uncertain date in which neither grammar nor spelling have been fixed. The Irish scribes often copied very old texts with remarkable fidelity, for example the early law tracts which were perhaps regarded as sacred, and which enjoyed also the hazardous protection of their obscure language. But when copying a text such as the Book of Rights, which he may have known almost by heart—the verse was composed for that purpose—the scribe apparently felt free to indulge his preference in matters of spelling and even of grammatical form sometimes in the turning of a phrase. Anyone experienced in copying manuscripts knows how difficult it is to make an exact transcript when the language presents no difficulty.

It is a different matter where the text is Old Irish with an overlay of later orthography and the intrusion of occasional later inflexions, for there is then a norm by which various copies can be measured against each other, and a valid stemma may clearly emerge. In Middle Irish it is still possible to distinguish earlier and later forms, but an increasing proportion of variants become indifferent as to date, and one's grasp grows less and less firm, so that it may eventually be necessary to discard the stemma.¹

These four manuscripts derive from a common source which may have been the original compilation of *Lebor na Cert* in its present form, but was not the original text of any of its parts. For there are errors common to all four, and passages where all are corrupt that point to a defect in the common source. Lists of common errors and corrupt passages are given below. To restore the original text would be impossible, for the scribes relied partly on a creative memory, and in many places the variants marked B, M are quite as acceptable as the readings of L and Li.²

Lecan is the basis of this edition, and where Lismore has an earlier form or the better form, I adopt it and supply the reading of

¹ Cf. the excellent observations of Professor Gerard Murphy in the Introduction to his *Early Irish Lyrics*, p. xxix. The linguistic evidence for the date of the Book of Rights is presented in *Celtica* iv. 244-6.

² Sometimes the readings of all four MSS. are supplied. Consistency has been the aim, but as the work has been delayed over many years, I will not claim to have achieved it.

Lec below. In emending the text the verse has been used as the norm. When the prose of L does not agree with the verse, and the prose of Li, B, M does agree, the latter has been followed. Where Lismore, Ballymote, and Hy Many agree against Lecan the majority reading has sometimes been preferred and the Lecan reading is given below.² Where this is the case, we must assume a source common to the other three, and the dotted line joining Li to *q* in the stemma is intended to provide for it. The few occasions when M alone has the better reading [ll. (63), 238, 682, (812)] would require a line joining B to *p*. But enough has been said about the difficulty of the stemma. Moreover, it is evident from marginal corrections that M was compared with a manuscript of the Lecan family (p. 133 n. 3; p. 144 note)

Occasionally a form has been borrowed from Ballymote or Hy Many, the readings of the other manuscripts being then supplied. Elsewhere the variants supplied are intended to show the affinity of the manuscripts or the practice of the scribes. The use of italics in the variants is not consistent. Where contractions are shown, it is merely for the purpose of comparison. In presenting a reading common to two or three manuscripts in the variants, differences of spelling are often disregarded, the spelling of one manuscript serving for all. The four manuscripts are available in facsimile.

Lenition of consonants has been supplied where omitted by the scribe of L, and the mark of length has been added over vowels. In one small matter I find that I have been quite inconsistent: *æ* is commonly ligatured in the manuscripts and it has been printed sometimes *æ* but more frequently *ae*. The inconsistency in the use of hyphens is deliberate. I have put in a hyphen whenever it seemed to me to be helpful. Contractions have been extended silently where there is no doubt.

Supplying lenition raises problems of which there is no perfect solution. I have not supplied lenition of initial *c* after the homorganic final *-g*, as in *ó rig Caisil* 6, nor of initial *t-* after final *-th*. But *ch-* is written in *chenéil* at 960, 962 (198 b 22, 23), and *th-* is written in *Thulcha* at 39 (194 d 49) and 89 (195 a 39), the only two such examples in the text. At 219 *flaith* is acc. so that lenition would not be expected. At 207 *Taidg* may have escaped lenition after *-l* (and so also *togaide* 531).

It is not certain that a dependent genitive was always lenited after a leniting form even in Old Irish (Gram. p. 142), and for Modern

Irish the Grammatical Tracts give no help. The usage may have varied, as it does in the spoken dialects. In this text *f* seems to escape lenition regularly in this position, as is shown by the alliterations: *do ríg Febail na faen-long* 913, *do ríg Febail na fót* 935, cf. 1155, (1158), 1164, 1279. At 1580 I have supplied it. *P* has been allowed to stand unlenited in *Partraige* 823, but I have supplied lenition in *Phádraig* 27 (194 d 35) and *Phortaib* 612 (197 a 4).

The form *forthuatha* is always so written in L, 495 (fcs. 196 c 33), 897 (198 a 23), 1342 (199 d 8), 1376 (199 d 28), 1557 (200 d 45), 1613 (201 a 30), 1639 (201 b 6). Lenition of the second element seems to have arisen here in late Middle Irish, or perhaps early Modern Irish (for the manuscript is of the fifteenth century). The Academy's Dictionary has *fortúath* which is confirmed by the early examples, and has been used in the translation.

The spelling *dligid* may represent pres. indic. sg. 3, or the *vn.* (*dliged*). The sequence *dligid ríg* in the manuscripts may therefore be ambiguous, since *rí*, *ríg* are not distinguished; and it may mean 'the king has a right to' or 'the king's due is'. Where the form *ríg* has been allowed to stand it must be taken as gen. sg. depending on *dligid*.

The map is the work of my friend Liam Price to whom a special acknowledgement is due. The making of it was a task that was simply beyond me, and it is a valuable addition to the book.

The indexes were checked by Mrs. Kinsella, and I have to thank her for discovering a number of mistakes.

For help and advice I am also indebted to my friends D. A. Binchy and M. A. O'Brien, John Kelleher and Brian Ó Cuív. Professor Binchy and Professor O'Brien have read the book in proof and made many important corrections and improvements, but they are not responsible for my errors or omissions. My thanks are due to the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies for a generous grant towards the cost of printing. M. D.

Common errors: ll. 20, 146, 172, 215, 317, 323, 375, 885, 889, 891, 1100, 1105, 1137, 1138, 1140, 1141, 1250, 1342, 1403, 1407, 1542, 1555, 1619, 1621, 1624.

Corrupt passages: ll. 69, 104, 112, 171, 195, 319, 472, 812, 903, 920, 957, 964, 973, 1246, 1293, 1305, 1315, 1363, 1382, 1386, 1476, 1498, 1504, 1524, 1560, 1580, 1598, 1631, 1879, 1945, 1960, 1989, 2004, 2048, 2123.

LEBOR NA CERT

THE BOOK OF RIGHTS

LEBOR NA CERT

I

Incipit do Libur na Cert. Indister do chásaib 7 tuarustlaib Éirenn amal ro ordnaig Benén mac Sescenén, salmchétlaid Pádraic amal atfét Leabur Glindi Dá Lacha.

Do dligeadaib chirt Chaisil 7 dia chásaib 7 dia chánaib ind 7 ass andso síis, 7 do thuarastalaib ríig Muman 7 ríig nÉrind archeana ó
 5 ríig Caisil in tan da-fállna flaithis ind. Caiseal dano cais-ail .i. cloch forsa fuirmidis géill nó cís-ail iarsand ail chása do-berthea ó féaraib Érind dó. Síid-Druim dano ba hed a ainm an inaid sin *prius*.

Do-rala *didiu* dá mucaid i n-aimsir Chuire meic Luigdeach ic
 10 tathaigi na tulcha sin fri ré ráithi ic mesrad a muc ar ba druim fidbaidi. Badur hé a n-anmann na mucaidi .i. Durdru, mucaid ríig Héle 7 Cularán mucaid ríig Múscraigi. Co tárfas dóib dealb ba gilithir gréin 7 guth ba bindithir meandchrot lais ic beandochad na tulcha 7 in baili ic tairngiri Pátraic, 7 asbert:

15 Fó fó fó fear fallnafass
 Caisil coir cémeandach
 i n-anmaim in Ard-Athar
 sceo Meic na hInge
 la rath Spirit Noib.
 20 Epscop maiseach móрмаith[mech]
 bár beatha co mbreitheamnus
 línfas Érind ardainglig
 d'aes cach uird co n-ilgrádaib
 la fognum Críst chaím.

1-3 Incipit . . . Lacha] *om.* L. 5 thuarastalaib] *thuarustlaib* Li. nÉrind] herind L; neirenn Li. 6 cais-ail] caisib L; cas-ail Li. 7 cis-ail] cisailgri B. iarsand] iarsan L, Li; iarsand B. 8 hed] sed L, Li; headh B, M. 9 do-rala *didiu*] *doraladar* Li, B, M. 10 mesrad] measrughudh B, M. 11 fidbaidi] *add.* he L; *add.* in tan sin B; *add.* a ainm in tan sin M. anmann] anmanda L. mucaidi] mucaided B; mucaigead M. 12 Múscraigi] muscraidi L. ba] fa L. 13 gilithir] gloinithir L; gilithir Li; gilighthir B; gilicear M. gréin] grien Li. ba] *om.* L. 15 fallnafass] fallnastair L. 16 coir] coir Li; corr L, B, M. 17 Ard-Athar] ardratha L. 19 Noib] naem L, B, M; noibh Li. 20 Epscop] esp⁻ L; eps⁻ Li; episdil B, M. móрмаithmech] morrnaith L, Li, B, M.

THE BOOK OF RIGHTS

I

Here begins the Book of Rights. It tells of the rents and stipends of Ireland which Benén son of Sescnén, Patrick's cantor, ordained, as related in the Book of Glendalough.

Here are the just dues of Cashel and its rents and taxes paid in and paid out, and the stipends of the kings of Munster, and the other kings of Ireland from the king of Cashel, when sovereignty reigns there.¹

Cashel is from *cais* ('hatred') -*ail* ('rock'), i.e. a stone on which hostages used to be placed, or *cís* ('rent') -*ail* ('law')² from the legal rent which used to be brought to him from the men of Ireland. Sí-druim was the name of the place formerly.

In the time of Corc son of Lugaid two swineherds happened to frequent that hill for a period of three months, masting their swine, for it was a ridge of forest. The names of the swineherds were Durdru, swineherd of the king of Éle, and Cularán, swineherd of the king of Múscraige. And they beheld a form as bright as the sun with a voice as sweet as the lute, blessing the hill and the place, and prophesying Patrick. And it said:

A good man shall reign over lofty and venerable Cashel in the name of the Father and of the Son of the Virgin with the grace of the Holy Ghost.

A bishop stately and benign, sage of all the world in judgement, will fill Ireland of the angels with people of every rank with many canonical orders in the service of gentle Christ.

¹ *ind* for *and*? But *do-fallna* is a curious form. The simple verb *folnathir* occurs as intransitive and transitive, 'reigns' and 'rules, governs'. The preverb here is apparently meaningless, but the compound might take a construction with *i n-*. The meaning is: 'when the king of Cashel is king of Ireland'.

² *ail .i. abair nó dlíged nó guide*, O'Dav. 9; cf. *ibid.* 631.

25 Is hí tra delb bac andsin .i. Uictor aingel Pátraic ic taircheadal Pádraic 7 ordain 7 aireochais Éirind do beith do grés isin baili sin. Cid fil ann *didiu* acht is cellphort do Phádraic 7 is prímhathair do ríg Hérind in baili sin. Acus dlegair cís 7 fognam fear nÉreand do rí in baili sin do grés .i. do rí Caisil tre beandachtain Pátraic meic
30 Alplaind.

1

At é andso immorro tuaristla na ríg ó rí Caisil mad rí Hérind hé 7 a chuairt seom 7 a biata som forra dia chind .i. cét corn 7 cét claideam 7 cét n-each 7 cét n-inar uad do rí Cruachna 7 biathad dá ráithi ó rí Cruachan dó-som 7 a dul lais a Tír Chonaill.
35 Fichi falach 7 fichi fichthell 7 fichi each do rí Ceneóil Chonaill 7 biathad mís ó Chenél Chonaill dó-som 7 teacht lais i Tír nEógain. Caeca corn 7 caeca claideb 7 caeca each do rí Ailig 7 biathad mís uada dó-som 7 a techt lais a Tulaig nÓc. Trícha corn 7 trícha [195a] claideb 7 trícha each do fláith Thulcha Óc 7 biathad dá thráth dég
40 lais 7 a theacht lais a nOirgiallaib. Ocht lúireacha 7 *sesca* inar 7 *sesca* each do rí Airgiall 7 a biathad ré mís a nEmain 7 a choimideacht in nUlltaib. Céd cornn 7 cét matal 7 cét claideb 7 cét n-each 7 cét long do rí Ulad, biathad mís dó-som a hUlltaib 7 Ulaid lais co Temair. Trícha lúireach 7 trícha falach 7 cét n-each 7 trícha
45 fithchell do rí Themrach 7 biathad mís i Temraig fair 7 ceitheóra fine Themrach lais co hÁth Cliath. Deich mná, deich n-eich 7 deich longa do rí Átha Cliath 7 biathad mís ó rí Átha Cliath dó-som 7 a chaemtheacht i Laignib. Trícha long 7 trícha each 7 trícha cumal 7 trícha bó do rí Laigen 7 biathad dá mís ó Laignib
50 dó-som .i. mí ó Laignib Tuathgabair 7 mí ó Laignib Deasgabair. Trícha each 7 trícha lúireach 7 *cethracha* claideb. It iad sin a
25 Pátraic] *om.* L. 27 *didiu*] *dano* B; tra Li, M. cellphort] ceandport L; ceallphort Li; ceallfort M; cellphort B. 28 dlegair] dlegar L, Li; dleghair B; dleagair M. 29 in baili sin] *caisil* Li. 29-30 tre . . . Alplaind] *om.* Li, B, M. 31 At] It Li, B; at M. andso] andsin B. rí] rí L. 31-2 mad rí Hérind hé] *om.* Li, B, M. 32 a biata] a re biatta Li; a re biata B. 36 teacht] a ndul M. Tír] dir M. 38 a techt] *toigeacht* L. nÓc] *nog* L. 39 fláith] rí M. Óc] og L. 40 theacht] *toigeacht* B, M. 41-2 choimideacht] chacimhthecht B, M. 43 cét long] .x. longa B; .c. long (*nó* .i. x.) uadhasan .i. o ríh *caisil* M. mís] *da mis* B, M. 46 Deich mná] *om.* L. 49 Laignib] ríg laigin M. 50 Laignib] laigin L *bis.* Tuathgabair] tuath ngabra Li. Deasgabair] tes ngabra Li. 51 It] Is M.

That form was Patrick's angel Victor prophesying Patrick, and proclaiming that the dignity and primacy of Ireland would be always in that place. Accordingly that is Patrick's sanctuary and the principal stronghold of the king of Ireland. And the rent and service of the men of Ireland is due to the king of that place always, namely to the king of Cashel through the blessing of Patrick son of Calpurnius.

1

Here are the stipends of the kings from the king of Cashel, if he be king of Ireland, and his visitation and his refection by them in return: A hundred horns, a hundred swords, a hundred horses, and a hundred tunics from him to the king of Cruachain and six months' refection from the king of Cruachain to him, and he escorts him into Tír Conaill. Twenty rings, twenty sets of chess, and twenty horses to the king of Cenél Conaill and one month's refection from the king of Cenél Conaill to him, and he escorts him into Tír nEógain. Fifty horns, fifty swords, and fifty horses to the king of Ailech, and one month's refection from the king of Ailech to him, and he escorts him into Tulach Óc. Thirty horns, thirty swords, and thirty horses to the chief of Tulach Óc and twelve days' refection with him, and he escorts him into Airgialla. Eight coats of mail, sixty tunics, and sixty horses to the king of Airgialla and his refection for a month in Emain, and the king of Airgialla escorts him into Ulaid. A hundred horns, a hundred mantles, a hundred swords, a hundred horses, and a hundred ships to the king of Ulaid, a month's refection from the Ulaid to him, and the Ulaid escort him to Tara. Thirty coats of mail, thirty rings, a hundred horses, and thirty sets of chess to the king of Tara, and a month's refection in Tara for him, and the four kindreds¹ of Tara escort him to Áth Cliath. Ten women, ten horses, and ten ships to the king of Áth Cliath, and a month's refection from the king of Áth Cliath to him, and he escorts him into Lagen. Thirty ships, thirty horses, thirty cumals, and thirty cows to the king of Lagen and two months' refection from the Lagen to him, a month from Lagen Tuathgabair and a month from Lagen Deasgabair. Thirty horses, thirty coats of mail, and forty swords

¹ Cf. *Leth Cuinn. i. cethri finí Temra 7 teora Connachta 7 Airgialla 7 Lagen 7 Osraige 7 na Dessi 7 Ernae*, O'Brien, *Corpus Genealog.* 17. 17. Ó Hairt, Ó Riagáin, Ó Ceallaigh and Ó Conghalaigh are mentioned as the four 'kings' of Tara by Ó Dubhagáin, *Topographical Poems* 6. 12 = Top.² 25.

tuaristla 7 a comaideachta conid dóib-side ad-féd int údar buada
.i. Benén mac Sescnéin:

55 Dligead cach rí g ó rí g Caisil
bid ceist ar bardaib co bráth.
Fogéibthar i tacib na táidean
ac suíd na nGacidel co gnáth.

60 Céd corn, cét claideam a Caisil,
cét n-each, cét n-inar ria ais,
as a tír co Teillis Tuathail
don rí g geibis Cruachain cais.

65 Biathad da ráithi ón rí g-sin
do churaid Muman ar mil;
dul leis ri tresa i Tír Conaill
co rí g Easa Modoirnn mir.

Rí Condacht la curaíd Caisil
co cathaib Bearnais, ní brég;
rí Conaill co clandaib Eógain
tarraid don deóraid las dét.

70 Fichi falach, fichi fichthill,
fichi each co ro-Eas Ruaid,
don rí g donár dealbas doraind,
do rí g Bearnais Chonaill chruaid.

75 Biathad mís ó maithib Conaill
do chúicead Muman a mairg,
7 dia rí g, ní dlug deólad
ria ndul a Tír nEógain n-aird.

52 tuaristla] do rigaib *erem add.* M. comaideachta] san uata san 7 biathad
add. M. dóib-side] da suideghadh B; da suigiughadh M. 60 Teillis
Tuathail] teilis tuachail L; telis tuathail Li, B; tealaigh tuathail M. 63 ar]
co M. 64 i] *om.* L; i Li; a B, M. 66 rí] rí g L. 69 tarraid]
tarad L; tarraidh Li, B; *tarraigh* M. dét] teit L, B; set Li; ded M. 72
dealbas] dearbas L; delbus Li, B; dealbas M. doraind] dogaing L; doroinde

[to the king of Lagen Deasgabair].¹ Those are their stipends and their escorts, and it is of them that the virtuous author Benén son of Sescnén tells:

The due of each king from the king of Cashel will be a question for poets for ever. The answer will always be found at the assemblies,² preserved by the sage³ of the Irish.

A hundred horns, a hundred swords from Cashel, a hundred horses, a hundred tunics besides, from his country to Tuathal's Fort⁴ to the king who holds pleasant Cruachain.

Six months' refection in honey⁵ from that king to the hero of Munster; to go with him upon occasion into Tír Conaill to the king of swift Eas Modoirn.

The king of Connacht with the hero of Cashel to the battalions of Bearnas⁶—it is no lie: the king of Tír Conaill escorts the trusting stranger to Tír nEógain.⁷

Twenty bracelets, twenty sets of chess, twenty horses to Assaroe, to the king for whom I have made a goodly verse, the strong king of Bearnas Conaill.

A month's refection, to their sorrow, from the nobles of Tír Conaill to the province of Munster and to its king, no mean claim, before going into lofty Tír nEógain.

¹ 'to the warrior of Gabrán' in the verse *inf.*, i.e. the king of Osraige, which is thus identified with Lagen Desgabair. This is an error peculiar to late texts according to O'Rahilly, *EIHM* 24. The prose here seems to derive from the verse, for the compiler leaves the sentence unfinished, apparently confused by the reference to 'the warrior of Gabrán'.

² *Taidiu* 'mill-stream' could be a river-name here as sometimes elsewhere (see T 25. 31). I take the word to be *taiden* 'band, company'.

³ Benén (?)

⁴ *Lis Tuathail* is a kenning for any royal dwelling, here for Cruachain. *Teillis* is formed with the prefix *tul-*, *teil-*, *til-* here used for alliteration, see T 374. 76.

⁵ The use of *ar* is peculiar, but I hesitate to read *co* with M against all the others.

⁶ Barnismore, Co. Donegal, i.e. to Tír Conaill.

⁷ For *tarraid* intrans. with *do*; see D 195. 22: *las dét* 'by whom he has been trusted'? But the text is doubtful.

Li; duraind B; doraind M. 74 maithib] clandaib M. 75 a] o Li. 76 dlug deólaid] dlig deolaig L; dlud deol⁷ Li; dluidh deolaig B; dluigh deolaigh M.

80 Caecca cornn is caeca claideb,
caeca each glésta co gnáth
d'fir raith ó doirib na ndaigmeas
do flaith Oilig ainces cách.

85 Biathad mís do macflaith Muman
a Muig Muman, ní saeb seach,
d'fir chúicid Brannduib gan beó-guin
ó chlandaib Eógain na n-each.

90 Trícha cornn is trícha claideab,
cert-trícha ruaid-each don ród
don fír dán maith drumchla duaine,
do flaith Thulcha uaine Óg.

95 Biathad dá thráth dég co dédla
do ríg Muman maídít baird
ó ríg Thulcha Óg cen dedail
noco tór co hEmain aird.

95 Ocht lúirecha do flaith Airgiall
a hoireacht Chaisil cét crech
don fír forsmbít cеста cinad
sesca inar, *sesca* each.

100 Biathad mís a mullach Eamna
ó Airgiallaib Átha Móir
do ríg Caisil chais ón chuchtair;
dul lais a nUltaib an óir.

105 Céd corn, cét claideb, cét matal
do mílid Boirchi, ní baeth,
cét n-each acht is d'eachaib donda
7 deich longa don laech.

Biathad dá aen-mís a hUlltaib
d'uasal-ríg Caisil ón chill
dligid ac tulaig chais chernaig;
Ulaid lais co Temraig tind.

88 dán maith] ca mbid L; dan maith Li, B, M. 91 maídít] midit L; miid
B, M. 92 dedail] degail L; deghuil Li; dedail B; deaghail M. 93 tór] ro
Li; tor B, M. co] o B; co M. 96 forsmbít] forsmid L. 93 mílid]
milig L; mílid Li. 94 n-each] each L; nech Li acht is] is da M.

Fifty horns and fifty swords, fifty properly harnessed horses to the prosperous man from the oak-groves of goodly mast, to the prince of Ailech who protects all.

A month's refection to the prince of Munster from Munster's plain, it is no false account,¹ to the man of Brandub's province² without injury, from the people of Eógán of the steeds.

Thirty horns and thirty swords, thirty roan steeds for the road, to the man for whom only the finest poem is³ meet, to the prince of green Tulach Óc.

Twelve days' rich refection to the king of Munster whom bards proclaim, from the king of Tulach Óc without separating until he escort⁴ him to lofty Emain.

Eight coats of mail to the prince of Airgialla from the assembly of Cashel of many forays, to the man upon whom rest the burdens of crime,⁵ sixty tunics and sixty horses.

A month's refection from the kitchen, on the hill of Emain, from the Airgialla of Áth Mór to the king of pleasant Cashel; and to escort him to the Ulaid of the gold.

A hundred horns, a hundred swords, a hundred cloaks to the soldier of Boirche, it is no folly; a hundred horses, brown horses,⁶ and ten ships to the warrior.

Two months' refection is due from the Ulaid to the noble king from the church of Cashel at the pleasant triumphant hill; the Ulaid escort him to stalwart Tara.

¹ *sech* 'saying, statement' is not attested elsewhere: it may be a learned form based on *sech is* and the vb. *seichid*, v. S 214.

² Leinster; but the title is here apparently used poetically for the king of Cashel.

³ *dán* = O.I. *dian*, *diant*, Gramm. § 798.

⁴ *tór* for *tóir* must be influenced by *-tora*, subj. pres. sg. 3 of *do-roich* 'comes to, reaches'; cf. the late vn. *tóraigecht*.

⁵ The reference is to the battle of Dubhchomair in which the Three Collas, ancestors of the Airgialla, were guilty of kin-slaying and thus deprived of succession to the kingship of Tara, see *ZCP* viii. 317; transl. *UJA* 3 Ser. ii (1939), 170.

⁶ This feeble line is perhaps better supposed to be corrupt in all the MSS. The reading *eich donda* is suggested by *deich longa* in the next line, but I cannot establish it.

[195b]

110

Trícha lúireach do laech Themrach,
trícha falach, is fír sin,
cét n-each, ní scíthad a scíthfeidm
la tríchaid fichthill ac fleid.

115

Biathad mís a mullach Themrach
do thrénfearaib Caisil chruind,
taidecht lais fine ara furmim
fír Midi co Duibhind nduind.

120

Deich mná, deich longa co leapthaib
ó laech Caisil 7 Cliach,
deich n-eich a n-uair blátha bladaig
do rí^g Átha cladaig Cliath.

125

Biathad mís ó maithib Tomair
do thigerna Chaisil chais:
rí in Átha díltaig nach daidbir
do thíchtain a Laignib lais.

130

Trícha long do laechraid Liamna
láiter trícha deg-each dó;
dligid imna crícha im Charmon
trícha ban-mog, trícha bó.

135

Biathad dá lán-mís ó Laignib
do laech Muman a Muig Ráth;
cuid mís a muig Brannduib brogda
ó chlandaib Condla seach cách.

Trícha each, éin-trícha lúireach
do laech Gabrán gloine dath
nochon eachlacha nos oilead
ceathracha claideam i cath.

10 laech] *flaith* Li. 12 scíthad] scíthad Li; scíth odoscíthfem B, M.
13 trichaid] trichat Li. 15 thrénfearaib] *so* Li; thigearna B, M. 16
taidecht] *so* Li; tegait B; teagaid M. 24 díltaig] dialtaig B, M. daidbir]
daigbeir L. 25 thíchtain] thiachtain B, M. 27 láiter] laitir B; la taeb
M. 28 imna] umna Li; mna B, M. 29 ban-mog] banmod L;
banmhugh Li. 31 a Muig] muige B, M. 35 gloine] glindi B, M.
36 nos oilead] ro sloidead L; nas ailet Li; nos oilidh B, M.

Thirty coats of mail to the warrior of Tara, thirty bracelets, it is true, a hundred horses who grow not weary . . .¹ and thirty sets of chess at the feast.

A month's refection from the hill of Tara to the champions of the round hill of Cashel; the tribe whom I appoint to come with him to the brown Duibhlinn are the men of Meath.

Ten women, ten ships with beds, from the warrior of Cashel and Cliu, ten horses in their prime and fame . . . to the king of Áth Cliath of the ramparts.

A month's refection from the nobles of Tomar² to the lord of pleasant Cashel: the king of the prosperous . . .³ Ford must come with him into Leinster.

Thirty ships for the warriors of Liamain, let thirty good horses be added to it: he⁴ is entitled to thirty female slaves and thirty cows in the territories about Carman.

Two full months' refection from the Laigin to the warrior of Munster from⁵ Mag Ráth: one month's share in the plain of mighty Brandub from Clanna Connla⁶ apart.

Thirty horses, thirty coats of mail to the warrior of Gabrán⁷ of fair colour—not servants those who used to care for them—, forty swords for battle.

¹ *scithfeidm* is a ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. I should like to emend to *scithlimm* 'weariness, exhaustion', but there is no support for it in the MSS; *scithad* is also doubtful.

² Tomar was a prince of the Norsemen slain at Sciath Nechtain in 846 (*AU*, s.a. 847), and ancestor of the Norse kings of Dublin, see *BR*, *Intro.* xxxvi.

³ *díлтаig* (v.l. *dialtaig*) is obscure to me.

⁴ i.e. the king of Laigin.

⁵ The rendering 'from' rather than 'in' is supported by the reading *muige* of M, B.

⁶ i.e. the Osraige whom the genealogists traced back to Connla son of Bresal Brecc, see *EIHM* 18. The other month was spent in Laigin Tuathgabair, see the prose, p. 4.

⁷ i.e. the king of Laigin Desgabair, here identified as above with the Osraige. But this identification is proper to later tradition; O'Rahilly shows that the Laigin Desgabair are identified in early documents with the Uí Chenslaig, see *EIHM* 23.

Ac sin tuaristla rí g nÉrind
 ó rí g Muman moldaid fir,
 140 's a biathad ó n lucht sin uile
 dearb re cach nduine co ndlig. Dligead.

2

Ceart Caisil acus rí g Caisil ó thuathaib ar meadón in so. Ó Mús-
 craigib chéadamus tús na cána sa .i. deich .c. bó 7 deich .c. torc and
 145 sin. Dá chét molt 7 cét torc 7 cét bó 7 cét leand uaine a hAraib ind
 sin. Céd bó 7 cét dam 7 cét torc ó Chorco Laígdi sin. Deich cét
 dam 7 deich .c. bó ó Chorco Duibne beos. Deich cét bó 7 .x. cét
 torcc ó Chiarraigi Luachra. Dá chét bó 7 .x. cét dam ó Chorco
 Baiscind. Míli bó 7 míli dam 7 míli reithi 7 míli brat a Boirind.
 150 Céd bó 7 cét dam 7 céd cránad asin Seachtmod. Dá míli torc 7
 míli bó ó na Désib. Nochon ar a ndaíri trá ícaid na císá sin acht tar
 ceand a tíri 7 ar saíri chirt Chaisil 7 ara beandochad do Phádraic
 amal adfét Benén:

155 Ceart Caisil cen chrád dia churaid
 ro thaisig dám dligid:
 maith le rí g Gabráin glain groigig
 a fágáil 'gá filid.

160 Ó Músraigib cen fáidb n-éithig
 do Chaisil ard uathaib
 míle bó sin port ro ráthaig
 míle torc ó thuathaib.

38 Ac sin] At soin B. 39 moldaid] moluit Li; moltaid B; molaid M.
 40 biathad] mbiathad L. 41 co ndlig] ro dlig L. 42 Caisil acus] *om.* Li,
 B, M. ar meadón] *om.* M. in so] andso L. 42-3 Músraigib] muscraidib L.
 43 chéadamus] cetamus Li. 43-4 and sin ó Músraigib] *om.* Li, B, M.
 44 Músraigib] muscraidib L. mbó] bo L. 44-5 and sin] *om.* Li.
 45-6 ind sin] *om.* Li. 46 Laígdi] laidi L; laighi Li; laige B. sin] *om.* Li.
 47 beos] *om.* Li. 48 Chiarraigi] ciarraidi L. Dá Deich L. 50 cránad]
 cráin Li. 51 nochon ar] nochar L; nochu ar Li; nochon ar B, M. a] *om.* L.
 52 chirt] ceneoil *add.* Li; so B. 53 amal... Benén] *om.* Li. 55 ro] do Li
 56 glain groigig] in gegair L, B. 58 Músraigib] muscraidib, L, B. fáidb]
 fedb B; feidm M. 59 uathaib] uaithib L; uathaibh Li. 60 ro ráthaig]
 a brathair L, B; M *illegible.*

Those are the stipends of the kings of Ireland from the king of Munster whom men praise; and it is certain to every one that he is entitled to his refection from all of them.

2

These are the rights of Cashel and of the king of Cashel from the tribes within.¹

From the Múscraige² first this tribute begins: a thousand cows and a thousand boars then from the Múscraige. Then³ a hundred cows, a hundred pigs, a hundred oxen from the Uaithne. Then two hundred wethers, a hundred boars, a hundred cows, and a hundred green mantles from the Arae. Then a hundred cows, a hundred oxen, and a hundred boars from Corcu Láigde. A thousand oxen and a thousand cows from Corcu Duibne. A thousand cows and a thousand boars from Ciarraige Luachra. Two hundred cows and a thousand oxen from Corcu Baiscinn. A thousand cows, a thousand oxen, a thousand rams, and a thousand cloaks from Boirenn. A hundred cows, a hundred oxen, and a hundred sows from the Seventh.⁴ Two thousand boars and a thousand cows from the Déisi. It is not on account of their subject status that they pay those tributes, but for their territories and on account of the superiority of the right of Cashel, and because it was blessed by Patrick, as Benignus relates:

The right of Cashel without grief to its hero, lawyers have preserved it: the king of fair Gabrán of the steeds is pleased to learn it of his poet.⁵

From the Múscraige without difficulty of falsehood to high Cashel from them, a thousand cows into the stronghold was his promise,⁶ a thousand boars from the tribes.

¹ i.e. within the province of Munster.

² The name is in the plural. There were seven *tuatha* of the Múscraige and two of the Uaithne, and they seem here to be thought of as sharing the burden of tribute.

³ I am not sure how *and sin*, *ind sin*, *sin* should be construed here.

⁴ For this territory, which was a part of Ara, see Lecan fcs. 85a 9.

⁵ The king of Cashel is here called king of Gabrán, but cf. ll. 297, 434, where the reference is apparently to the king of Osraige, and l. 1607 where the king of Laigin is meant.

⁶ The verse is suspect for there is no alliteration.

165 Céd bó for cnuc fri ham n-asdair
cét muc thall dia taiscid
cét ndam dont sluaigthreib do thoirsin
ó Uaithnib a n-aiscid.

Dá chét molt ón dáim adbearaid
cét torc in cháin chanaid
céd bó ro theand buaili ac brugaid
cét leand n-uaine a hAraib.

170 Ó Chorco Laigde co laechaib
cét bó ac taidle is tuachail,
sesca dam ndonn nocho díchaid
cét torc trom ó thuathaib.

[195c]
175 Míli dam isí in breath bearma
nír íc creach rem chuimni
míle bó ní mar bú baidbi
do brú Dairbri ó Duibni.

180 Ó Chiarraige cláir na claideb
deich cét bó, is caín cuman,
deich cét torc uathaib cen anad
a Luachair na lubar.

185 Ó Baiscnib dá chét mbó ar baethair
da rath cró tar críchaib,
don ríge ro char díne ndúthaig
míle dam, ní díthaig.

Míli dam, míle bó beanaim
don dún iar ló i lloigim
míli reithi arna n-at d'olaind
míli brat a Boirind.

190 Sloind cáin Seachtmaide na Sindach,
ní dleachtaidi dreandach;
cét crán nochar chró cen cheandach
cét ndam, cét mbó mbeandach.

62 asdair] aister L; asdair B; astair M. 64 dont sluaigthreib do thoirsin]
50 Li; dontluagaitreib coiscid L; dun tsluag treb na loiscid B; M illeg. 66
adbeairid] aderuid Li. 68 ro] do L. theand] tenn Li. 69 leand] lenn Li.

A hundred cows on the hill for a time of travel, a hundred pigs yonder to be stored, a hundred oxen to come to the stronghold as a gift from the Uaithne.

Two hundred wethers from the host, they say, a hundred boars is the tribute they declare, a hundred cows which crowded a farmer's paddock, a hundred green mantles from the Arae.

From Corco Laígde with warriors a hundred cows . . .¹ it is prudent, sixty brown oxen, they are not destructive,² a hundred heavy boars from the tribes.

A thousand oxen, it is the judgement that we give, they were never the reward of raiders in my memory, a thousand cows, not like the cows of Badb (?), from the middle of Dairbre from Duibne.

From Ciarraige of the plain of swords a thousand cows, it is a pleasant memory, a thousand boars from them without delay, from Luachair of the herbs.

From the Baiscinn two hundred wanton (?)³ cows from the livestock of the fold beyond the boundaries, to the king who loved his own clan; a thousand oxen, they are not destructive.

A thousand oxen, a thousand cows I exact for the fort in which I lie at night⁴; a thousand rams swollen with wool, a thousand cloaks from Boirenn.

Name the tribute of the Seventh of the Foxes, it is not a disputed right,⁵ a hundred sows, wealth not without purchase, a hundred oxen, a hundred horned cows.

¹ *taidle* 'brilliance' is possible, if we read *co taidle*. The variants do not help.

² Read *dithaig* as below l. 185. A hundred in the prose.

³ *ar baethair* is obscure: 'lowing', O'D.

⁴ This seems to betray the Munster origin of the author.

⁵ *dleachtaidi* (v.l. *drechtaidi*) may be an adjective from *dlecht*, here used as a noun.

70 Laígde] laígi L, Li; laigdi B; laidi M. 71 taidle] taigli Li; taidbi B.
 75 nfr ic] ní ria Li; nis ri B. 76 ní] nir B. 78 Chiarraige] chiarraidib L.
 79 is caín] in chain L; isam Li. 80 uathaib] uaithib L. 81 a] tar Li; ar B.
 lubar] lubair L. 82 mbó] bo L, Li; mbo B. baethair] so L, Li, B, M.
 83 da rath] do fáith Li, H. 90 Seachtmaidí] seachtmaigi L. 91 dleach-
 taidi] dreachtaidi L; dleachtaidi Li; dlechtaide B. 92 crán] crain B.
 nochar] ro char Li, B. 93 mbó mbeandach] bó beandach L, Li, M;
 mbo mbeannach B.

- 195 Dá míli torc iarna toga
 cusin enoc mar cheara,
 míli bó 'na n-éisib ana
 ó Désib ci ad-beara.
- Cís sin tar ceand tíri ar tosaig
 —saí rími ro thaisig—
- 200 ní ar daíre don dáim dia ndeissid
 acht saíri chláir Chaisil.
- An cís sin Muman co martaib
 co ria bunad brechtaig;
 Pádraic in phuirt ósna portaib
- 205 a ré Chuirc ro cheartaig. Cert.

3

- Is iad so beos tecusca Benén meic Sescnén sailmchétlada Pádraic,
 7 do Chiandachta Gleanna Gemin do shl Taide meic Cén a
 Mumain máir dó .i. corab ceand coitchenn cáich comarba Caisil
 feib is ed comarba Pádraic, 7 in tan nába rí for Éirind rí Caisil is ed as
 210 dír dó forlámus for leith Éirind .i. ó Thig Duind iar nÉirind co hÁth
 Cliath Laigen. Díles tuaristail 7 comaideachta ríg Caisil do grés .i.
 Síil mBresail Bric .i. Osraige. Dleagaid Laigin ar báig aenlaithi
 teacht la báig ríg Caisil i cend Chuind nó allmarach. Dliged *didiu*
 ó Gallaib Átha Cliath 7 ó deoradaib Éirind dula lais i cend catha
- 215 ar telgud a tír, 7 dliged aiscid ar coicrích ó Chondachtaib. Is ed dano
 foruair sin troscad do naebaib imdaib i Temair 7 sí ade fa tulach
 thigernais do Laiginib co cath Droma Dergaidi, ar is and do-bath
 forro a cuid do Muig Breg conad díleas Cloindi Néill ó sin i lle.

96 n-éisib ana] ndesi bana L; neisibh sona Li; ndeisib ana B, M. 97 ci ad-beara] cadbeara B; gedbeara M. 99 thaisig] leasaig L. 100 don dáim] na ndám L. dia ndeissid] dia ndesig L; o tosaig Li; dia ndeissig B, M. 02 cís sin] cisin L. 03 brechtaig] bechtaig L; breachtaidh Li; breachtaigh B, M. 06 Benén] beneoin Li. sailmchétlada] sailmchetlaig L, M; sailm cetludha Li; sailmceatlada B. 07 7] *om.* Li, B, M. Gleanna] glindi Li; glinne B. 08 Mumain máir dó] caisiul Li, B, M. cáich] caith L. 09 rí] rig L. for] *om.* L. rí] rig L. 09-10 as dír] is dleacht Li; is det B; teid M. 10 forlámus] forbflaithius Li, B. Duind] nduind L. iar nÉirind] *om.* Li, B, M. 12 mBresail] bresail L; breasail Li; mbresail B; mbreasail M. Osraige] osraidi L. Laigin ar] *om.* L. aenlaithi] naeinleithe Li. 13 Dliged] dligid B.M. *didiu*] dano Li. 14 Éirind] *add.* archena Li. 15 telgud] alegadh Li tír] thir M. coicrích] coicrichus Li. 16 sí ade] isi side Li. 17 Dergaidi] dergaiti Li; dergaidhe B; deargaighe M. 18 Muig Breg] mag midi L; mhuigh br' Li; muigh breg B; mhuigh breag M.

Two thousand choice boars to the hill . . .,¹ a thousand cows in flocks of wealth from the Déisi, though he say it (?).

That is a tribute on behalf of the territory at first, a sage in reckoning has preserved it—not because of the lowly rank of those for whom it has been settled, but because of the noble rank of the plain of Cashel.

That tribute of Munster rich in cattle, until . . .² Patrick of the site noblest among sites appointed it in the time of Corc.

3

These are the teachings of Benén son of Sescnén, Patrick's cantor, and he was of the Cianachta of Glenn Gemin of the line of Tadhg son of Cian from great Munster: that the heir to Cashel is the common head of all, as is the heir of Patrick;³ and when the king of Cashel is not king of Ireland, he is entitled to the overlordship of half of Ireland, namely from Tech Duinn west of Ireland to Áth Cliath in Leinster. Exempt from receiving stipend and escorting the king of Cashel are always the Síl mBresail Bric, i.e. the Osraige. The Laigin are obliged upon one day's summons to go at the summons of the king of Cashel against Leth Cuinn or against the foreigners. It is due from the Norse of Dublin and from the unfranchised of all Ireland that they go with him into battle, after their lands have been established (?),⁴ and he is entitled to a gift on the frontier from the Connachta. That was caused by the fasting of many saints at Tara, which was the hill of lordship for the Laigin up to the battle of Druim Dergaide; for it was at that battle that their part of Mag mBreg was taken from them, so that it is the property of Clann Néill since then.⁵

¹ *mar cheara* is obscure: 'as tribute', O'D. And *ci ad-beara* does not give good meaning.

² *co ria bunad brechtaig* is obscure: 'until the end of time shall come', O'D. *Brechtaig* is preferred to *bechtaig* merely on the weight of MSS.

³ i.e. the king of Cashel is supreme in the State, as the abbot of Armagh is in the Church.

⁴ *telcad* 'to release, to let back, to admit', s. T 28. 41; 140. 5. Cf. *áilsí Patraicc . . . ara tailced macca Cathbad* 'P. asked him to let back Cathbad's sons', Thes. Pal. ii 240. 22. Here the sense seems to be that of making land available: below in the verse (262, 266) that of admitting to possession of land. But perhaps the prose should be emended to read *ara telcud 'na tír*.

⁵ 'The writer . . . commits the absurdity of assuming that Tara was situated in Mag Mide and was won from the Laigin as a result of the battle of Druim Dergaidhe (A.D. 516)', O'Rahilly, *EIHM* 168, n. 4. Lecan reads *Midi* for *Breg* in Li, B, M. The prose goes beyond the verse (l. 271) which simply claims that with the cursing of Tara, Cashel became supreme. The claim is, of course, imaginary.

Iss ead immorro rod báidi flaith Temrach troscad Pádraic cona
 220 muinte for Laegairi mac Néill, ocus troscad Ruadán Lothra meic
 Aengusa co naebaib Éirind for Diarmaid mac Cerbail 7 for
 ceithri finib na Temrach; 7 ro gellsad na nacib sin na biad tech i
 Temair ó Laegaire ná ó Síil Néill co mbeith ó Síil nAililla Úlaim.

Trí ríg dano i Hleith Moga nach turgnad cís do rí Caisil .i. rí
 225 Osraigi 7 rí Raithleand 7 rí Lacha Léin. De quibus Benén mac
 Sescnén in sailmchétlaid:

[195d]

230

Benén, beandacht forin ngein,
 do-rad so a Saltair Chaisil
 senchas cach rí is a rath
 is deach im-thét tír Muman.

Rí Caisil do chind os cách
 is ead fil sunn co tí in bráth,
 fuigell beandachtan Dé duind
 altóir Pátraic meic Calpraind.

235

Caisil do chind ós cach cind
 acht Pádraic is Rí na rind
 Airdrí in domain is Mac Dé,
 acht maid sin dligid uaisle.

240

An tan nach rí ar Éirinn áin
 airdrí Caisil cona cháin
 is leis ferann Ébir uill
 óthá Áth Cliath co Tech nDuinn.

245

As díleas dia dliged de
 fine álaind Osraige,
 uair tucaid a n-éaic áin
 do rí Caisil cona cháin.

250

Dliged do rí Laigen lond
 eich is cuirn co Caisil corr,
 ór 7 indmas tar muir
 is ead dleagar ó Laignib.

19 rod báidi] rodbai do B; robaith M. flaith] flaiteamnas M. Temrach] temra Li. 21 co] cona L. 24 cís] om. Li, B. 24-5 rí Osraigi] rí osraidi L. 27 Benén] Beneoin Li, M. 30 im-thét] imtheit L; imshet Li; imted B. 31 do] na L. 34 Calpraind] alpraind L; (e)arplainn B; alpraind M. 38 so M; at esin dleagaid a lind L, Li, B. 39 ar] d B. 41 ferann] baili L. 42 óthá] o L. Tech] tigib L. 44 álaind] ailli Li, B, M. Osraige] osraide L. 47 rí] ri L. 48 eich] each L. corr] crom L, B. 50 dleagar] dlighius Li, B, M.

The principedom of Tara was extinguished by the fasting of Patrick with his people against Laegaire son of Niall, and the fasting of Ruadán of Lothra, son of Aengus, with the saints of Ireland against Diarmait son of Cerball and the four kindreds of Tara. And those saints promised that there would not be a house in Tara from Laegaire nor from the line of Niall until there should be one from the line of Oilill Ólom.

Three kings in Leth Moga, moreover, do not pay tribute to the king of Cashel, namely, the king of Osraige and the king of Raithlenn¹ and the king of Loch Léin.

Of which matters Benén the cantor said:

Benignus—blessed be he!—put into the Psalter of Cashel, the history and the revenue of every king who travels proudly the land of Munster.

It is prescribed here that the King of Cashel shall be head over all for ever, by sentence of the blessing of God Almighty, the altar² of Patrick son of Calprann.

Cashel to be head over all except Patrick and the King of the Stars, the Emperor of the world and the Son of God—save for them he is entitled to supremacy.³

When the high-king of Cashel with his law is not king over noble Ireland, the territory of mighty Éber is his from Áth Cliath to Tech nDuinn.

The fair kindred of the Osraige is free of his claim, because they were given as a good ransom to the king of Cashel with his law.⁴

It is the duty of the king of the fierce Laigin to send horses and horns to lofty Cashel: gold and wealth from beyond the sea are due from the Laigin.

¹ The name appears to be indeclinable in BR.

² Understand 'for Cashel is the altar', *altóir* (nom.) being in loose apposition to *Caisil*.

³ Here M alone has the true reading. The variant in L, Li, B is puzzling, as the rhyme is wrong and the meaning obscure.

⁴ The reference is to *éraig Feargusa Scandail* under which Osraige was joined to Munster. See ll. 627 f.

Dleagaid Laigin dula leó
i n-agaid Gall fri gach ngleó;
dia tístar chucu co fír
la ríg Caisil a cor díb.

255

Dligid féin rí Caisil chain
trí cét n-édach ar Samain,
caeca each ndubgorm ndatha
fo chomair cach prímhchatha.

260

Co feasadur meic is mná
uair is ina leath itá
dliged do ríg Gall iar fír
sin ara telcad 'na tír.

265

An tan fa sídach fris leath
indsi móiri Mac Mílead,
dligid cáin Connacht cen cleith
ara telgad 'na trén-leith.

270

Isí in cháin dligid, ní gó
caeca dam, trí caecait bó,
caeca ech, is amra a faill,
cét mbrat do brataib Umaill.

275

Ó ra thraisceadur na naím
for Temair sochluta saír,
do-riacht do ríg Caisil chruind
bennacht Phátraic meic Calpraind

280

Cid maith in senchas fors tú.
ní leasaigther la Laigniu;
ní coimétar la Leath Cuinn
seanchas Oilella Óluim.

52 ngleó] gleo L. 53 tístar] tiastar B; tísat M. co fír] dar fíor L₁; na fír B, M.
54 cor díb] coirdib B, M. 57 ndatha] co ndath Li, B. 58 is dula lais a
primchath Li, B. 60 leath] leith Li. 61 ríg Gall iar fír] each ríg iar
sin L. 62 sin om. L. telcad] talgan M. tír] tirib L. 63 fa] ba

The Laigin are bound to go with them against the Foreigners in every fight; if the invasion should come to the Laigin, the king of Cashel must drive it off.

The king of fair Cashel is entitled to three hundred suits of cloth at Samain, and to fifty roan steeds for each battalion.

So that children and women may know, since it concerns them (?), there is due from the king of the Foreigners that much for admitting (?)¹ them to their land.²

When the (other) half of the great island of the Sons of Míl is at peace with him, he is entitled to the rent of Connacht without concealment, for admitting (?) them into their strong half.³

The tribute due, no falsehood, is fifty oxen, a hundred and fifty cows, fifty horses—wonderful bounty,⁴ a hundred cloaks from Umall.

When the saints fasted against famous noble Tara, there came to the king of comely Cashel the blessing of Patrick, Calprann's son.

Though it be a great reproach to fair Ireland, neither the Laigin nor Síl Cuind will have a house in Temair Fáil until one is built by Síl nÓluim.

Though the history which I recount is good it is not cherished by the Laigin: the history of Oilill Ólom is not preserved by Leth Cuinn.

¹ See p. 17, n. 4.

² The quatrain seems to refer to the tribute mentioned in the previous quatrain, but the prose summary varies. L alone has a reading without reference to *rig Gall*, but the prose even in L refers to the Norse of Dublin

³ i.e. Connacht (?). Leth Cuinn is hardly meant, as the name Connachta, can here only refer to the western kingdom. Or 'at his house', Li, B, M.

⁴ Lit 'wonderful their being unguarded'. The *vl.* would mean 'that have never been unguarded'.

Li; bus B; bus M. 65 cleith] clith B. 66 'na trén-leith] ica tigh Li; iga thigh B, M. 67 Isi] As ead L; Asi Li; Isi B, M. in cháin dligid] in dliged L. 68 trí caecait bó] is caeca bo L. 69 is amra a] nach frith B; donach frith M. 72 for 'Temair] for temraig L; ar temair Li. sochluta] sochlata L, B. 73 rig] ri L. 74 bennacht Patraic méic alpráid L; bennachta moirmeic Calpráim Li; alpráid B, M. 75 'Temair] temraid L. 76 ind ail *etc.*] an oil dinis fail L. 78 Síl nÓluim] cloind niulaim L. 79 tú] du L. B and M omit this quatrain. 80 la] re L. 82 Oilella Óluim] aililla uluim L.

285 Coimédfad-sa i Caisil cháid
 prímhacair ind imarbáig
 dá chóicead fail sund for leath
 is a turgnom i n-aenteach.

290 Is hé in teach sin Mumu mór,
 is é in dá chúiced in slóg;
 is a Mumain mín, méd geall,
 is chóir¹ ardflaithius Érenn.

Ro bbé ith is meas is maith
 i Mumain mín co méd raith;
 mid is cuirn is cuirm is ceól
 do féaraib Muman is cól.

295 Fil trí ríga i Mumain móir
 a cáin do Chaisil ní cóir,
 rí Gabrán ná gabthar géill,
 rí Raithleand, rí Lacha Léin.

300 No fríth i saltair Dé déin
 seach ní thuilliub ní deidél
 ó Init co Cáisc ní chél
 a Caisil ro baí Benén. Benén.

305 Dál Cais ní robad i llén
 ro gabat fri frais ferén:
 dos-rat co hilda hár
 tigerna 'cá mbaí in Benén. Benén.

310 Leasaiged Sealbach in saí
 7 Aengus ar aenchaí
 sochar Muman mar adbér
 amal forácaib Benén. B.

84 prímhacair] forimthar L; primthachur B; co firtor M. ind] an L, B; in M.
 imarbáig] imarbaid L; imarbhaidh Li. 85 dá] do L. 86 i n-aenteach]
 ar aenleath (corr. nó t over the l) L. 88 sa da .u. id a fuil slogh M. 92
 i] a L. 94 dferuib muman maith as col Li. 95 trí ríga] triur rig Li; tri ri B;
 tri rígh M. i] a L; la B, M. 97 Gabrán] gabrain Li. ná] nach B. 00

¹ Lenited in L only.

I shall keep in venerable Cashel—choice musters in a conflict—the two provinces that are here apart,¹ and their provision in one house.

That house is spacious Munster, the two provinces are the people. It is right that the high kingship of Ireland should be in level Munster of many pledges.

May there be corn and mast and wealth in level Munster with prosperity: mead and cups and ale and music are well known to the men of Munster.

There are three kings in spacious Munster who pay no tribute to Cashel, the king of Gabrán whose hostages are not taken, the king of Raithlenn and the king of Loch Léin.

There was found in the psalter of the God of power—I will not make it more nor less—that from Shrove to Easter—I will not conceal it—Benén was in Cashel.

May Dál Cais not have cause to grieve, may they hold out against a host of . . .² The Lord whom Benén served has made them numerous and noble.

Let Selbach the wise and Aengus³ together enforce the profits of Munster as I shall declare them, and as Benén bestowed them.

¹ The reference is apparently to the two provinces of Munster, Thomond and Desmond, established by Turloch O'Connor in 1127.

² Cf. *slógh na bhfeirén*, *Top. Poems*² 71; *port feirén*, 195. 'holy men', O'D., reading *firén*.

³ Selbach was supposed to have been the scribe of the Psalter of Cashel, a work attributed to Cormac mac Cuilennáin, king-bishop of Cashel (†908) and not now extant. My only authority for this tradition is the note in an 18th-century manuscript 23 G 4 (RIA), p. 412; but Edward O'Reilly says that Selbach was scribe to Cormac, *Irish Writers* lxi. The name is associated with two unpublished poems in the Book of Lismore, a lament for Cormac, beg. *Truagh Caisel gan Cormac* (183 d 22), and an exhortation by Cormac, beg. *Érigh frisín iarmhéighi* (185 a 16). But a Selbach is also given as grandfather of Cormac in the genealogies. The reference to Aengus is obscure to me. The quatrain invokes these two venerated names in support of the claims made for Cashel.

thuilliub] thuillead L; thuilliub Li, B. 03 robad] robat Li., B. c4
gabat] gabsad L. fri] re L. ferén] firen L; feren B, M. 05 dos-rat] dorad L.
hér] tren L., Li; leoir M. 06 'cá] ca L; ga Li. 07-10] om. M. 10 forácaib]
ro fácaib L; ro ordaig Li; forfagaib B. Benén[beneoin M.

Císa Muman ar meadón beos and so do Chaisil 7 is cach bliadna do-bearar .i. smacht 7 biathad 7 turgnam 7 faesam. Trí cét mart chéadamus a Músraige 7 trí cét torc 7 trí cét bó. Trí cét torc 7 [196a] trí cét leand 7 cét lulgach ó Uaithnib and sin. Cét bó 7 315 trícha torc 7 trícha mart 7 trícha brat a hAraib ind sin .Lx. dam 7 .lx. molt 7 .lx. bó ónt Šeachtmad sin. Caeca bó 7 caeca dam 7 caeca mart a hOrbraigib inn sin. Trí chét dam, trí chaeca lulgach ó Dáirfine beos. Trícha bó 7 trícha dam 7 trícha brat a Corco Duibne. X.c. bó .x.c. dam .x.c. cráin a Ciarraige. Seacht cét brat, seacht cét 320 molt, seacht cét bó, seacht cét cránad ó Chorco Baiscind. Céd caerach 7 cét cránad 7 deich cét dam 7 deich cét brat a Corcamruad. Míli dam 7 míli caerach 7 míli brat 7 míli lulgach óna Désib. Céd bó a hOrbraigi 7 cét brat find 7 cét cránad. Ní ícat Eóganacht nach cís ar is leó na fearinda fogniad Caisil. Ní ícat Clanda Cais 325 ná Raithlind ná Glennamain ná Lén ná Huí Figinnti ná Áine Cliach. Conad airi sin adbeart in bár buada Benén in duain :

Cís Caisil in cualabair
 dá churaid ó chách,
 a buidni co mbuanfodail
 330 cach bliadna co bráth.
 Trí cét mart a Músraigi
 ar gurt nocho gó,
 trí cét torc nach túsibuidi,
 cét brat is cét bó.
 335 Trí chét torc a trom-Uaithnib
 do Chaisiul can choll,
 trí cét leand, is lomsuaithnid,
 la cét lulgach lond.

11 and so] *om.* Li 11-12 7 . . . do-bearar] in cech bliag Li, B, M. 12 turgnam] turtugud B. 13 a] o Li. Músraige] muscraidi L. 14 and sin] *om.* Li, B. 15 ind sin] *om.* Li. 16 sin] ann sin B. 17 hOrbraigib] horbraidib L. inn sin] *om.* Li. chét] chaeca L; .ccc. B, M. 19 X.c. bó . . . Ciarraige] *om.* L; .dc. (for .dcc.) *passim* B; cranad B, M. 23 hOrbraigi] horbraid L. ícat] icaid L. 24 nach] an Li. fearinda] feranna Li. fogniad] fognaid L; fognait Li; fogniad B; foghniaid M. ícat] icaid L. 25 Raithlind] a raithliunn B. Glennamain] a gleandamain L, B. Lén] a lochaib lein L; a lein B. Huí] a huib L, B. Aine] a haine L, B. 26 adbeart . . . in duain] asbert benen so sis Li; atbert benen in saith in so sis B; adbert benen M. 29 co mbuanfodail] ca mbuanfagail L; gan bhuanfaghail Li; co mbuanfodail B. 31 Músraigi] muscraidi L; *muscraigi* Li. 33 túsibuide] tuscaidi Li; túsibuidhi B; *tusgbuighi* M. 35 a trom-Uaithnib] o uaithnib L; ata buaithibh B. 37 lomsuaithnid] lansuaithnig L; lomsuaithnidh Li; lansuaichigh B.

4

Now these are the local (internal) tributes of Munster to Cashel, and they are paid every year, i.e. fine and refection and provision and protection. First, three hundred beeves from Múscraige¹ and three hundred boars and three hundred cows. Then three hundred boars and three hundred mantles and a hundred milch cows from the Uaithne.² Then a hundred cows, thirty boars, thirty beeves, and thirty cloaks from the Ara.³ Then sixty oxen, sixty wethers, and sixty cows from the Seventh. Then fifty cows and fifty oxen and fifty beeves from the Orbraige. Three hundred oxen and a hundred and fifty⁴ milch cows from Dáirfhine also. Thirty cows and thirty oxen and thirty cloaks from Corco Duibne. A thousand cows, a thousand oxen, and a thousand sows from Ciarraige.⁵ Seven hundred cloaks, seven hundred wethers, seven hundred cows, and seven hundred sows from Corco Baiscind. A hundred sheep, a hundred sows, a thousand oxen, and a thousand cloaks from Corcamruad. A thousand oxen, a thousand sheep, a thousand cloaks, and a thousand milch cows from the Déisi. A hundred cows from Orbraige,⁶ a hundred white cloaks and a hundred sows. Eóganacht pays no rent, for the lands which maintain Cashel belong to them. Clanna Cais do not pay, nor Raithlenn nor Glennamain nor Lén nor Uí Fídgente nor Áine Cliach. And about this the virtuous sage Benén made a poem:

Have you heard the rent of Cashel to its champion from all,
which its peoples pay each year for ever?

Three hundred beeves from Múscraige on the land in truth,
three hundred boars whose tusks are not yet yellow,⁷ a hundred
cloaks and a hundred cows.

Three hundred boars from the Uaithne to Cashel without
default, three hundred mantles, it is well known, and a hundred
strong milch cows.

¹ Múscraige is here in the singular. It is not clear whether one or all of the seven *tuatha* is here intended. The name is in the plural ll. 143, 158, as are the Uaithne, the Ara and the Orbraige here. Had these separate *tuatha* of the same kindred a common over-king, or are they imagined as sharing the obligation to pay tribute?

² Uaithne Cliach and Uaithne Tíre, the baronies of Owey in Limerick and Tipperary respectively.

³ Ara Cliach in Limerick and Ara Tíre, the barony of Arra in Tipperary.

⁴ Six hundred in the verse. ⁵ Seven hundred in the verse, *cf.* B.

⁶ They have been mentioned already in the plural with a different tribute. The duplication is repeated in the verse, and is common to all four MSS.

⁷ *túsc* is not attested elsewhere. I take it as a borrowing of ME *tusk*: 'not fit for journeying' O'D., but *toisc* is excluded by the rhyme.

- 340 Trícha torc, ná torgabaid,
trícha mart is mór,
trícha brat ó borb-Araib,
cét n-ógbó dia n-ól.
- 345 Seasca dam fri daigseachtmain,
seasca corrmolt ciar,
seasca glanbó ón glan-tSheachtmaid
do Chaisil na cliar.
- 350 Caeca ánbó a hOrbraigi,
caeca mart fria mes,
caeca dam cen dodbuidi
do Chaisil cen ches.
- Trí chéd dam ó Dáirfine,
ón dáim sea dá tor,
sé cét lulgach lánbuidi
ó chlandaib Meic Con.
- 355 Trícha casbrat cetluaitte—
is corcair nos cum,
trícha dagbó a Duibnechaib,
trícha dam ó Drung.
- 360 Seacht cét cráin a Ciarraigi,
seacht cét bó, ní brég,
seacht cét dam gan diamaire
do Chaisil na cét.
- 365 Seacht cét brat ó Baiscneachaib
seacht cét molt nach mael
seacht cét bó ó baistechaib
seacht cét cráin nach cael.
- 370 Dleagair a crích Corcamruad
cét caerach, cét crán
deich cét dam a donn-Boirind
míle brat nach bán.

40 mart] mat *corr.* to brat Li.
tsheachtmad L.; sechtmaidh Li.
B; orbraigi M.

48 fria] ria L, Li; fria B; re M.

41 brat] mart Li.

47 hOrbraigi] horbraidi L, Li; horbraide

49 dodbuidi] doghbaidhi

52 dá tor] do thor Li; di tor B.

53 sé

Thirty boars, make no mistake, thirty beeves, it is much,
thirty cloaks from the fierce Ara, a hundred young cows for
milk.¹

Sixty oxen for a good week's feasting, sixty sleek black wethers,
sixty clean cows from the fair Seventh to Cashel of the clerics.

Fifty good cows from Orbraige, fifty beeves to be appraised,
fifty oxen without . . .² to Cashel without grudge.

Three hundred oxen from Dáirfhine, from this community to
their chief, six hundred milch cows all tawny, from the
children of Mac Con.

Thirty curly cloaks . . .³—purple has dyed them—thirty good
cows from Corco Duibne, thirty oxen from Drung.⁴

Seven hundred sows from Ciarraige, seven hundred cows in
sooth, seven hundred oxen openly for Cashel of the hosts.

Seven hundred cloaks from Corco Baiscinn, seven hundred
wethers in fleece, seven hundred cows from . . .⁵ seven hundred
fat sows.

The territory of Corcamruad owes a hundred sheep, a hundred
sows, a thousand oxen from the brown Burren, a thousand
coloured cloaks.

¹ Lit. 'to be drunk'.

² *dodbuidi* is obscure: 'without staggering', O'D.

³ 'with the first sewing', O'D., following L. I cannot suggest a plausible emendation.

⁴ A mountain in Kerry.

⁵ 'cowsheds', O'D., but it appears to be a guess. I have no other example.

cét] .ccc. Li; tri .l.c. B. 55 cetluaitte] cetuaiti L; cetluaite Li; cetluaitte B, M.
56 is] a M. nos] ros B, M. 58 ó Drung] a druing L, Li; o drung B; a
druing M. 59 Ciarraigi] ciarraidi L. 61 gan diamaire] a diamdoirib L;
gan diamaire Li, B; gan diamraighi M. 65 o baistechaib] o baistecdaib Li;
ona baisedeachaibh B, M. 66 cráin] cran B. 67 dleagair] dleagar L, Li;
deich *cet* M. a crích Corcamruad] dona corcamaibh Li, B, M. 69 a donn-
Boirind] na dochtmholaídh Li; a donn-bairinn B.

Deich cét dam a Déisechaib,
 míli caerach caem,
 míli brat co mbánchosair,
 míli bó ar mbreith laeg.

375

Cét ó fhcaraib Orbraigi
 do buaib berar dó,
 cét brat find co find-Chaisil,
 cét cránad fri cró.

380

Ní dleagar do Eóganacht
 cís ná bás co bras
 air is leó na fearinda
 fogniat Caisil cas.

385

Do Chlainn Chais ní dlegait-som
 cís Caisil na cuan;
 ní dlegar a Glennomain
 ná ó Raithlenn ruad.

390

Ní dleagar ó laechaib Léin
 nach a Gabair gairg,
 ní dlegar d'Uíb Fidginnti
 nach a Áine aird.

395

Sochar maiseach mór-Chaisil
 meabraig leat cach mís;
 ní macflaith ar Mór-Mumain
 nech ná coingne cís. Cís.

Mise Benén bindfoclach
 bár buada mar bás.
 Fuaris atreib ingantaig.
 Do Chaisil a chís.

5

(*This section to l. 510 is omitted by B and M*)

[196b] Tuarastla ríg Caisil do rígaib a thuath: a leathlám chéadus 7
 400 deich n-eich 7 deich n-errid 7 dá fálaig 7 dá fichthill do ríg Dáil
 Chais, 7 tosach lais a crích anechtair 7 lorg iar cách. Deich n-eich

375 Orbraigi] orbraidi L. 376 berar] berthair L; berthair Li; berar B; bearar M.
 378 fri] co Li; gu B; co M. 382 fogniat] fognaid L; fhognuit Li; fogniat B;
 fhognas M. 383 Do Chlainn . . . dlegait-som] ní dlegar du clannaibh cais B;

A thousand oxen from the Déisi, a thousand good sheep, a thousand white-fringed cloaks, a thousand cows after calving.

A hundred cows from the men of Orbraige are given to him, a hundred white cloaks to bright Cashel, a hundred sows for the sty.

There is owed by the Eóganacht neither rent nor food-render with zeal, for the lands which maintain pleasant Cashel belong to them.

They are not entitled to the rent of Cashel of the wolf-packs from Clann Chais; they are not entitled to it from Glennamain nor from mighty Raithlenn.

They are not entitled to it from the warriors of Lén nor from fierce Gabair; they are not entitled to it from Uí Fídginte nor from lofty Áine.

Remember every month the handsome revenue of great Cashel; no-one is prince of Munster¹ who does not demand the rent.

I am Benén of the sweet tongue, excellent sage of tradition (?)² I have received a wonderful dwelling.³ Give to Cashel its rent.

5

The stipends given by the king of Cashel to the kings of his tribes: first, a place at his side, and ten horses, ten suits, two bracelets, and two sets of chess to the king of Dál Cais; and to lead with him an expedition into another territory and to return at the rear.

¹ Mac Cana discusses the Lecan reading, where *mumhaine* = *mughaine*, ÉC vii 93.

² *mar bís* lit. 'as it is'.

³ i.e. in Heaven.

dleadair M. *The quatrain is omitted from L.* 86 ná ó] nach a B; an a M. 88 nach] an M. 89 Uíb Fídgintí] íb fídgintí L; uíbh fídhgintí Li. 90 nach a] na o Li; an a M. 92 meabraig] meamraid L. 93 macfhlaith ar Mór-Mumain] so Li; mac ar beind mumaine L; macfhlaith ar meannmumain B; mac flatha muaid M. 94 ná] co L; na Li; nach B, M. coingne] caingne L; coingne Li; coingni B; cuindid M. 95 Mise Benén etc.] *This quatrain occurs only in L.* 99 chéadus] cetamus Li. 00 n-errid] nerrig L.

7 deich cuirn 7 deich claidib 7 deich scéith 7 deich sgingi 7 dá
 fálaig 7 dá fithchill do ríG Gabráin ind sin. Deich n-eich 7 deich
 mogaid 7 deich mná 7 deich cuirn do ríG Eóganacht in tan nach rí
 125 Caisil. Ocht mogaid 7 ocht mná 7 ocht claidim 7 ocht ngabra 7 ocht
 scéith 7 deich longa do ríG na nDési. Cóic eich 7 cóic matail 7 cúic
 cuirnn 7 cúic claidib do ríG Hua Liatháin. Deich n-eich 7 deich
 cuirn 7 deich scéith 7 deich claidib 7 deich lúireacha do ríG Raith-
 leand. Seacht n-eich 7 seacht n-inair 7 secht coin 7 secht lúireacha
 410 do ríG Músraigi. Seacht claidim 7 seacht cuirn 7 seacht lúireacha 7
 secht longa 7 secht n-eich do ríG Dáirfíne. Seacht coin 7 secht n-eich
 7 seacht cuirn do ríG Dáirfíne int sléibi. Seacht n-eich 7 seacht
 cuirn 7 seacht claidib 7 secht scéith 7 seacht coin do ríG Lacha Léin.
 Seacht mná 7 seacht matail co n-ór 7 seacht cuirn 7 secht n-eich do
 415 ríG Ciarraigi Luachra. Seacht n-eich 7 secht scéith 7 secht claidib 7
 secht longa 7 secht lúireacha do ríG Léimi in Chon. Deich n-eich do
 ríG Hua Conaill Gabra 7 deich scéith 7 deich claidib 7 deich cuirn
 7 gan giallu uad acht lugu fo láim ríG Caisil. Secht n-eich do ríG Hua
 Cairpri 7 seacht cuirnd 7 seacht claidim 7 secht ngilla 7 secht
 420 mogaidh. Ocht cuirnn do churaid Chliach 7 ocht claidim 7 ocht
 n-eich, dá fálaig 7 dá fithchill. Seacht n-eich 7 seacht cuirnn 7 secht
 scéith 7 secht claidim do ríG Gleandamnach. Ocht n-eich 7 ocht
 claidim 7 ocht cuirn la grádaib flatha 7 airdríg do ríG na nUaithni.
 Ocht n-eich do ríG Éili, ocht scéith 7 ocht claidim 7 ocht cuirn 7
 425 ocht lúireacha. It é sin tuaristal na ríG amal adféid in fili Benén:

A eólaig Muman móiri
 másat cuimneach canóine,
 éirig is leasaig 'na thig
 cert ríG Caisil ó a chrichaib.

430 Tosach lais i tír n-aill
 la ríG Dál Cais, ní ceile
 lorg na ríG Dál Cais in cheóil
 ic taidecht a tír aineóil.

04 mogaid] modaig L; moghaidh Li. 05 mogaid] modaid L; moghaidh Li.
 06 nDési] desi L; ndeisi Li. 07 Hua Liatháin] ua liathan Li. 10
 Músraigi] muscraidi L. 12 int sléibi] intleibi L. 15 Ciarraigi] ciarraidi L.
 16-7 do ríG Hua Conaill G.] *not brought forward in Li, but directly precedes gan*
giall. 18 giallu] giall Li. 18-9 do ríG . . . Cairpri] *not brought forward in Li,*
but follows mogaid. 22 claidim] sceith [sic] Li. Ocht] Sect Li. 24 do ríG Éili]
not brought forward in Li, but follows lúireacha. H omits the poem and resumes at 510.
 25 tuaristal . . . Benén] tuarustla na righ sin Li. 27 másat] masad L. cuimneach]

Then ten horses, ten horns, ten swords, ten shields, ten hides, two bracelets, and two sets of chess to the king of Gabrán. Ten horses, ten slaves, ten women, and ten horns to the king of the Eóganachta when he is not king of Cashel. Eight slaves, eight women, eight swords, eight horses, eight shields, and ten ships to the king of the Déisi. Five horses, five cloaks, five horns, and five swords to the king of Uí Liatháin. Ten horses, ten horns, ten shields, ten swords, and ten coats of mail to the king of Raithlenn. Seven horses, seven tunics, seven hounds, and seven coats of mail to the king of Mús-craige. Seven swords, seven horns, seven coats of mail, seven ships, and seven horses to the king of Dáirfhine. Seven hounds, seven horses, and seven horns to the king of Dairbre¹ of the mountain. Seven horses, seven horns, seven swords, seven shields, and seven hounds to the king of Loch Léin. Seven women, seven cloaks trimmed with gold, seven cups, and seven horses to the king of Ciarraige Luachra. Seven horses, seven shields, seven swords, seven ships, and seven coats of mail to the king of Léim in Chon. Ten horses to the king of Uí Chonaill Gabra, and ten shields, ten swords, and ten horns; and no hostages from him, but an oath under the hand² of the king of Cashel. Seven horses to the king of Uí Chairpri, and seven horns, seven swords, seven lads,³ and seven slaves. Eight horns to the hero of Cliu, and eight swords, eight horses, two bracelets, and two sets of chess. Seven horses, seven horns, seven shields, and seven swords to the king of Glennamain. Eight horses, eight swords, and eight horns, with the grades⁴ of prince and high king to the king of the Uaithne. Eight horses to the king of Éile, eight shields, eight swords, eight horns, and eight coats of mail.

Those are the stipends of the kings as the poet Benén tells:

Scholar of great Munster, if you are mindful of the Canon, arise and maintain in his house the right of the king of Cashel from his territories.

In the van with him into another country is the king of Dál Cais—do not conceal it; at the rear of the kings are the musical Dál Cais when coming out of a strange country.

¹ *Dairbre* is in the corresponding verse below, where O'D. suggests emending to *Dáirfhine*, but without sufficient reason. The margin of Li is damaged, and only *dair* remains. ² Presumably an oath of allegiance. ³ Presumably slave boys.

⁴ He seems to misunderstand the verse, see *inf.* 500-1.

| | | | |
|---------------|--------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------|
| cumhan Li. | 28 thig] luigh Li. | 29 a] om. L. | 31 ri dhail cais gen |
| connaide, Li. | 32 Dál] dail L. | 33 a tír aineóil] i crich naineoil L. | |

435 Deich n-eich do rí^g Gabráin guirm
ó rí^g Dala 7 deich cuirn
deich claidim, deich scéith, deich scing,
dá falaig is dá fichthill.

440 Deich mogaid, deich mná móra
7 deich cuirn chomóla,
manib leis Caisil na cacht,
deich n-eich do rí^g Eóganacht.

445 Ocht mogaid, ocht mná donda
do rí^g Déisi is deich longa,
ocht scéith, ocht claidim re guin
is ocht ngabra tar glasmuir.

[196c] Cúic eich, cúic matail co n-ór
7 cúic cuirn re comól,
cúic claidim re cor cach áir
do rí^g laechda Hua Liatháin.

450 Deich n-eich do rí^g Raithleand ruaid,
deich cuirn ó rí^g Caisil chruaid,
deich scéith, deich claidim chalma,
deich lúireacha lánbadba.

455 Seacht n-eich, seacht n-inair derga
secht coin re caithim selga,
seacht lúireacha i lló gaili
don fír fá mbiad Múscraigi.

460 Seacht claidim, secht cuirn chroma,
secht lúireacha, secht longa,
seacht n-eich fri fáidfine feirt
do rí^g Dáirfine in deisceirt.

465 Seacht coin fri corad n-aigi,
seacht n-eich int áirem aile,
secht cuirn fri caithem séri
do rí^g Dairbre in daigsléibi.

38 mogaid] modaid L. 42 mogaid] modaid L. 48 claidim] cloidhmhe
Li. 52-3 chalma . . . lánbadba] re gail / deich luirecha don laech soin Li.

Ten horses to the king of famous Gabrán from the king of Dala¹ and ten horns, ten swords, ten shields, ten hides,² two bracelets, and two sets of chess.

Ten slaves, ten strong women, and ten drinking horns and ten horses to the king of Eóganacht unless Cashel of the captives be his.

Eight slaves, eight swarthy women and ten ships to the king of the Déisi, eight shields, eight swords for smiting, and eight horses from over the sea.

Five horses, five mantles trimmed with gold, and five drinking horns, five swords for slaying, to the warrior king of Uí Liatháin.

Ten horses to the king of mighty Raithlenn, ten horns from the king of stalwart Cashel, ten shields, ten valiant swords, ten martial coats of mail.

Seven horses, seven red tunics, seven hounds for hunting, seven coats of mail for³ the day of battle, to the man whom the Múscraige obey.

Seven swords, seven curved horns, seven coats of mail, seven ships, seven horses to the mound of the kin of seers, to the king of Dáirfhine in the south.

Seven hounds for . . .⁴ of deer, seven horses is the next reckoning, seven horns for holding a refection to the king of Dairbre of the goodly mountain.

¹ Evidently Cashel, but the term is obscure to me. The stipend of the king of Dál Cais is omitted from both mss., an error in the common source of L and Li.

² Note the sg. form with a numeral, as in modern dialects. This is an early example confirmed by the rhyme.

³ Lit. 'on', i.e. to be worn on the day of battle.

⁴ *corad* is obscure: 'to chase down stags,' O'D. Cf. I. 85r.

56 gaili] gailli L. 57 Múscraigi] muscraidi L. 58 chroma] chama L.
 60 fáidfine] faigine L. feirt] fert L. 61 in] om. Li. deisceirt] descert L.
 62 n-aigi] naidi L; naidhe Li. 63 int áirem aile] anairem naile L.

Seacht n-eich do ríg Lacha Léin,
secht cuirn, secht claidim do chén
secht scéith a n-áirem n-uathaid
seacht coin áille a nIrrluachair.

470 Seacht matail co mbuindib d'ór
7 seacht cuirnd fri comól,
seacht n-eich, ní hiarmairi daill,
do ríg Ciarraigi in chomlaid.

475 Seacht n-eich do laech in Lémi
seacht scéith co scáth na gréni
seacht claidmi croma catha,
seacht longa, seacht lúircacha.

480 Sé heich do ríg Corcamruad,
sé claidmi re cirrad sluag,
sé cuirn, sé scéith fo-geba,
sé coin áille aengela.

485 Deich n-eich do ríg Hua nGabra,
deich scéith, deich claidim chalma,
deich cuirn 'na dún fo deme
cen géill uad cen eiteri.

Seacht n-eich do ríg Broga Ríg,
seacht cuirn asa n-eba fín,
secht claidim, is cor soraid,
seacht ngilla, secht mban-mogaid.

490 Seacht cuirn do churaid Áine,
seacht claidmi, ní cor táidi,
secht n-eich don laech sin re lind,
dá falaig is dá fithchill.

495 Seacht n-eich, seacht cuirnn don laech luath
do ríg ruireach na Forthuath;
seacht scéith, secht claidim i cath
berar do ríg Gleandamnach.

68 n-uathaid] aile, *with punctum under e and nuath added above, to read nuathail*
Li. 72 hiarmairi] hiardraidhi Li. 73 Ciarraigi] ciarraidi L. 76
claidmi] cl⁻ Li. 79 claidmi] cl⁻ Li. 80 fo-geba] fosgeaba Li. 82

Seven horses to the king of Loch Léin, seven horns, seven swords from afar, seven shields, their modest reckoning, seven handsome hounds to Irluachair.

Seven mantles with fringes of gold and seven horns for drinking, seven horses . . .¹ to the king of Ciarraige of the conflict.

Seven horses to the warrior of Léim in Chon, seven shields with the brilliance² of the sun, seven curved swords of battle, seven ships, seven coats of mail.

Six horses to the king of Corcamruad, six swords for smiting hosts, six horns, six shields shall he receive,³ six handsome white hounds.

Ten horses to the king of Uí Chonaille Gabra, ten shields, ten valiant swords, ten horns in his gloomy(?)⁴ fort without hostages from him or pledges.

Seven horses to the king of Bruig Ríg, seven horns out of which he may drink wine, seven swords, it is a welcome provision, seven lads, seven female slaves.

Seven⁵ horns to the hero of Áine, seven⁵ swords, no furtive contract, seven⁵ horses to that warrior in his time, two rings and two sets of chess.

Seven horses, seven horns to the swift warrior, to the high king⁶ of the Forthuatha, seven shields, seven swords for battle are given to the king of Glennamain.

¹ *iarmairi* does not occur elsewhere. If it is a by-form of *iarmairt*, it could mean 'progeny': 'no progeny of the blind', but this is hardly plausible; 'not used to falter' O'D.

² Or perhaps 'reflecting the sun', as the editors of S take it, 76. 85.

³ *fo-geba* pres. subj. sg. 3. For this late form of the stem, cf. *Cotageib*, LU 4643, 6849, 6853. Corcamruad is not in the prose.

⁴ *deme* 'darkness', Meyer; 'protective', O'D. wrongly reading *dhémhe*, which is a ghost-word and spoils the rhyme.

⁵ 'Eight' in the corresponding prose above.

⁶ *ri ruirech* was the highest grade of kingship, that of the *ri cóicid*, in early texts (see Binchy, *Críth Gablach* 104-5). Here it is used in a looser sense. O'Donovan identifies this 'king of the Forthuatha' as the king of Fir Maige (Ó Dubhagáin), distinct from the king of Eóganacht Glennamna (Ó Caoimh), so that the prose would be wrong in treating them as one. But each quatrain in the poem refers to a single king. (*Forthuatha* here has *-th-* in both MSS.)

| | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| Hua] na Li. | 84 fō deme] bu deme Li. | 85 cen géill] gan giall Li |
| eteri] eideire Li. | 88 claidim] claidib Li. | 91 claidmi] cl' Li. |
| don laech luath] nocha guach Li. | 95 rí] ri L. | ruireach] fuilech Li. |

500 Seacht n-eich do ríg na nUaithni
seacht claidim, is cor tuaichli,
seacht cuirn dia ndámaib dá ndíl
beith a ngrádaib in airdríg.

505 Ocht n-eich do ríg Éle in óir,
ocht scéith, ocht claidim is cóir,
ocht cuirn nos congaib ac fleid,
ocht lúireacha i lló gaiscid.

Ac sin tuaristal cach ríg
ó ríg Caisil co cét sním:
lám Beneóin ro thaisig sin,
leasaig acad, a cólaig. A cólaig Muman.

6

510 Dligead ocus fodail na tuarostal sin beós andso ó ríg Caisil do
rígaib tuath 7 mór-thuath iar sochar a forba 7 a ceneóil, a feib
dligid 7 dúchusa, 7 ar sochar grád 7 dílmaine, ar méit a nirt 7 a
forlámais, ar línmairi a fechta 7 a slóigid, 7 ar soirbi 7 ar sobraidi 7
ar sindseri 7 comairim fíond 7 febsa. Is foithib sin midithir a tuaristla
515 dóib ar slicht suad 7 senchad amal asbert Benén andso:

[196d] Atá sund seanchas, suairc sreath,
bis ainfis minab eólach:
tuaristal ríg Caisil chóir
dá rígaib caema a chétóir.

520 Tráth nach bia rígi ac Dáil Chais
for clandaib Eógain amnaís,
leathguala ríg Caisil chain
leó gid imda d'aigedaib.

525 Deich cuirn co n-ór cach Samna
trícha claideam, cor amra,
trícha each álaind i lle
do ríg Dáil Chais chúlbuide.

98 ríg] ri L. 99 is cor] cor gan Li. tuaichli] tuaithli L. 01 in] na
n- L. 04 ac fleid] a fíeigh Li. 08 ro] ros Li. 09 acad] agat Li.
11 mór-thuath] forthuath Li. 12 dúchusa] tochusa Li; tothchusa B;
tochosa M. 7 ar] a Li, B, M. méit] med L, B, M. 14 comairim]

Seven¹ horses to the king of the Uaithne, seven¹ swords, it is a clever contract, seven¹ horns for their companies, who are entitled to be in the noble ranks of the high king.

Eight horses to the king of Éile of the gold, eight shields, eight swords, it is just, eight horns, he holds them ready at a feast, eight coats of mail for the day of valour.

That is the stipend of each king from the king of Cashel with a hundred cares; the hand of Benén has preserved it. Cherish it, thou scholar!

6

This is the just duty and division of those stipends from the king of Cashel to the kings of tribes and territories according to the revenue of their land and kindred, by virtue of claim and heritage and according to the benefit of rank and nobility, according to the amount of their strength and suzerainty, the numbers of their foray and hosting, and according to convenience, moderation, seniority, and reckoning of estates and dignity. It is according to these that their stipends are awarded to them, following the doctrine of learned men and historians, as Benén said here:

Here is a tradition, pleasant series, which will be unknown unless it be learned, the stipend of the king of righteous Cashel to his gentle kings first.

When Dál Cais has not the kingship over the children of fierce Eógan, he shall be at the side of the king of fair Cashel though his guests be many.

Ten gilded horns each Samain, thirty swords, a wonderful covenant, thirty fine horses hither to the fair-haired king of Dál Cais.

¹ 'Eight' in the corresponding prose above except the first figure in Li.

comarli L; comhairimh Li, B, M. febsa] flaithisa M. midithir] midhighthir B; indistear M. tuaristla] tuarisla L. 15 senchad] senchusa L; sench Li; senchadh B; seancadha M. andso] *om.* Li, B, M. 17 bis] bus Li; bidh B. ní hainmhis da gach eolach M. 20 Tráth] tan Li. rígi] ri do Li. Chais] *add.* coir L. 21 amnais] ardmoir L; amhnais Li; ardmhais B; armglais M. 22-23 leo guala rig Caisil cain/acht gema himdha a aigid, M. 23 leó] *om.* L. d'aigedaib] da aigedaib L; dia slogaib Li; d'aigedaib B. 25 cor amra] comhamhra Li; naith namra M. 26 i lle] uili Li; malle B; alaili M (*om.* álaind). 27 rígi] ri L. Dail] dal L.

- 530 Dligid rí Osraigi ém
ó dib rígaib a ro-réir
in cach bliadna dá baile
dá thuaristal togaide.
- 535 Dligid ó ríg Themra tuaid
rí Osraigi co n-ard-buaid
deich scéith 7 deich claidim
is deich n-eich tar mór-moigib.
- 540 Dligid ó ríg Caisil chruaid
rí Osraige co n-ard-uail
deich scéith, deich cloidim iar cóir
7 dá falaig derg-óir.
- 545 Tuaristal rí na nDéisi
ó ríg Caisil adglé-si
claideam co n-ór, each co mblad
7 long fa láin-seólad.
- 550 Dligid tuaristal can tár
rí lánlaechda Ua Liathán
sciath ríg Caisil, claideam coin,
each is errid tar ard-moir.
- 555 Dligid oirrí Muigi Fian
each ó ríg Caisil is srian;
dligid sciath is cloideam coin
rí Fear Muigi co mór-goil.
- Cland Chairpre Músc, mór a mblad,
dligid a rí tuaristal,
sciath ríg Caisil co ndéni
a each 's a chú coin-éilli.
- Dligid rí Raithleand co rath,
is trén-mór in tuaristal,
deich claidim 7 deich cuirn,
deich mbruit chorera, deich mbruit guirm.

28 Osraigi] osraidi L. 29 a ro-réir] is rorer B; is roreidh M. 30 bliadna] bliadain Li, M. dá baile] ní buile Li, B; amale M. 32 tuaid] atuidh Li, B. 33 Osraigi] osraidi L. 35 mór-moigib] ardmuirib B; ar ard-oirbi M. 36 chruaid] coir B. 37 airdrig osraidi co mbuaid L, M; ri osraidhi gu n-arduail Li, airdri osraigi sa shloigh B. 38 scéith] *add.* is L. iar] *om.*

The active king of Osraige is entitled to his claim from two kings, two choice stipends every year to his homestead.

The king of Osraige with great prosperity is entitled to ten shields and ten swords and ten horses over the great plains from the king of Tara in the north.

The king of Osraige with lofty pride is entitled to ten shields, ten swords in justice, and two bracelets of pure gold from the king of firm Cashel.

The stipend of the king of the Déisi from the king of Cashel, examine it,¹ is a gold-hilted sword, a famous horse, and a ship fully rigged.

The warrior king of Uí Liatháin is entitled to no mean stipend: the shield of the king of Cashel, a handsome sword, a horse and harness from over the sea.

The petty king of Mag Fian is entitled to a horse from the king of Cashel and a bridle; the valiant king of Fermoy² is entitled to a shield and a handsome sword.

The clan of Cairpre Músc of great renown, their king is entitled to a stipend: the shield of the fierce king of Cashel, his horse and his leashed hound.

The prosperous king of Raithlenn—it is a generous stipend—is entitled to ten swords and ten horns, ten purple cloaks and ten blue cloaks.

¹ *adglési* for *ad-gléis-se*, pres. subj. sg. 2 of *as-gleim* (?).

² The king of Fermoy is apparently *airrí* of Mag Fian.

L; gu Li; ar M. 41 adglé-si] niamclesi Li; niclesi B, M. 42 co mblad]
 is blad L; gu mblaigh Li; cu mbladh B. 43 lán-seólad] -sheolaibh Li.
 44 Dligid] Dligi L. can] cántan L; gan Li, M; nach B. tár] tair Li, B.
 45 -laechda] -chalta Li, B M. Liathán] liathain Li. 46 coin] cain Li.
 48 Dligid] dlighedh Li. oirrí] oirrig L; do righ Li. Fian] fein M. 49
 srian] sreín M. 53 rí] rig L. 54 rí] airdrigh Li. ndéni] neimh
 Li; ndeinemí M. 55 coin-éilli] ar coineili Li.

560

Dligid rí Dáirfíne duind
ó ríge Caisil in chomlaind
trí claidmi cosnuid creacha
trí longa, trí lúircacha.

565

Tuaristal ríge Druing nach dis
ó ríge Éirind, ní dímis,
trí cloidmi cama caela
is trí longa lán-chaema.

570

Tuaristal ríge Lacha Léin
ó ríge Éirind co n-aird-méin
deich ngabra, donna a ndatha,
deich longa, deich lúireacha.

575

Tuaristal ríge Feórna Floind
ó huib Aililla Ólaim,
deich n-eich arna nglés don graig
's a chochall seang sróll-éaig.

580

Tuaristol ríge Lémi in Chon
ó ríge Caisil, is caem-chor,
a long dingbála dathach,
each, claideam, corn comrumach.*

585

Tuaristol ríge Gabráin gloin
ó ríge mór Muman medair
céin foraeli 'na thig thruim
dligid in rí a leathgualainn.

Isin tráth téid dia thig fén
dligid each is errid éim,
7 in lín do-théid soir
each is errid each énfir.

590

Tuaristol ríge Broga Ríge
ó ríge Éirind can imsním
deich n-inair donna derga
is deich ngoill can Gaedelga.

61 ríge] rí L. 62 cosnuid creacha] coindli datha L; caine datha B; caini
catha M. 65 dímis] heislis Li. 66 cama] coire Li. 67 longa]

* This quatrain is transposed in B to follow the third below, beginning Tuaristol ríge Broga Ríge. M has the order of L, Li.

The king of brown Dáirfine is entitled to three swords which defend spoils, three ships and three coats of mail from the king of contending Cashel.

The stipend of the valiant king of Drong from the king of Ireland¹ is not to be despised, three swords, curved and slender, and three fair ships.

The stipend of the king of Loch Léin from the king of Ireland of noble mind: ten brown steeds, ten ships, and ten coats of mail.

The stipend of the king of Feórann Flainn² from the descendants of Oilill Ólom: ten harnessed horses from the stud and his fine satin hood.

The stipend of the king of Léim in Chon from the king of Cashel, it is a happy agreement, his worthy ship brightly coloured, a horse, a sword, a splendid horn.

The stipend of the king of fair Gabrán from the great king of pleasant Munster: as long as he rules in his mighty house, the king is entitled to sit beside him.

When he goes to his own house, he is entitled to a horse and ready harness, and to a horse and harness for each man of those with whom he goes east.

The stipend of the king of Bruig Ríg from the king of Ireland without anxiety: ten dark red tunics and ten foreigners who know not Irish.

¹ The substitution of 'Ireland' for 'Cashel' in four of the following quatrains is in all the MSS. The author regarded the kingship of Ireland as vested in Brian and his descendants.

² Ciarraige, see *BR* 48, note f.

lanna B, M. 69 airdméin] airdmen L. 70 a ndatha] datha L, Li, M; a
 ndatha B. 74 don] du B; do M. graig] graid L. 75 's a] is B, M.
 79 comrumach] combladach B; comdathach M. 81 medair] medaigh B;
 meadhraigh M. 82 céin] cem L; cen Li, B; in gein M. foraeli] forfael
 Li; forfaeli B; raib M. thig] thir M. 83 in ri] in rig L, M; in ri B;
 uadh Li. 84 dia thig] ina thir M. 91 ngoill] findghaill B, and M
adds fin above the line.

595 Tuaristol rí^g Áine aird
ó rí^g Caisil chlaidim-gairg
a sciath is a chlaideam glé,
trícha bó cach Bealltaine.

600 Tuaristol rí^g na nUaithne
ó rí^g Caisil, is tuaichle,
sé scéith, is sé claidim chain
is sé heich ina ragnaib.

600 Dligid rí Arad co n-aib
ó rí^g Érind aiged-chain
sé claidim, sé scéith molta
is sé leanda lán-chorcra.

605 Tuaristol rí^g Éli in óir
ó rí^g Caisil in chom-óil
[197a] sé scéth is sé claidim chain,
sé mogaid, sé ban-mogaid.

610 Bid saí nó bid ollam án,
atá fris Mac Cuilindán,
ní fer bec-indmi re lá
cach aen gá mbia so mar tá. Atá.

7

Do Phortaib rí^g Caisil annso .i. Brug Rí^g 7 Muilthead 7 Seanchua
chain 7 Ros Raeda 7 Cluain Uama 7 Cathair Chnuis 7 Cathair
Fíndabrach, Cathair Thuai^gi, Cathair Glennamnach, Cathair
615 Chind Chon, Dún Fir Aenholca, Dún nGair, Cathair Methais,
Teamair Shuba, Airbili, Aenach mBearraín, Mag Cailli, Ard
Conaill, Ard Meic Conaing, Ard Ruidi, Tuaiscert Maigi, Mag
Saíre, Na Trí hÁirne ar muir máir, Aenach Cairpri, Druim Mór,
Druim Caín, Cathair Chuir^c, Murbolcan, Geibtine, Grafann, Aill
620 Meic Cuirr, Mag nAí, Mag nEtarbaine, Huachtmag, Caechán

94 glé] de B; glan gne M. 97 Caisil] eirenn Li, B, M. tuaichle] tuaithle L.
98 sé] secht B, M. is sé] ise L; is secht B, M. 99 is sé] ise L; is secht B, M.
ragnaib] raignib L; nallaib Li; radhnaibh B, M. 100 rí] rig L, M; om. Li; ri B.
102 sé] seacht B, M. 103 is sé] ise L; is secht B, M. 104 óir] oil M. 106
sé] secht B, M. is sé] ise L; isecht B, M. 107 sé] secht B, M. mogaid]
modaid L; sé] secht B, M. 109 atá fris] and adbeart M. 110 bid fer
leigcinn he re la Li; bid fear leigind e fria la B; is bidh fer leighind re la M.

The stipend of the king of lofty Áine from the king of Cashel whose sword is fierce: his shield and his bright sword and thirty cows each Beltaine.

The stipend of the king of the Uaithe from the king of Cashel, it is clever, six shields and six fine swords and six horses of the choicest.

The king of pleasant Araid¹ is entitled from the king of Ireland of gentle countenance to six swords, six prized shields, and six purple mantles.

The stipend of the king of golden Éile from the festive king of Cashel: six shields, six fine swords, six slaves, and six woman-slaves.

He will be a sage or a venerable *ollam*—Mac Cuilennáin² has promised it—he is not needy in his time, whosoever shall have memorized this as it is.

7

Of the Strongholds of the Kings of Cashel

Brug Ríg, Muilched, fair³ Senchua, Ros Ruada, Cluain Uama, Cathair Chnuis, Cathair Fíndabrach, Cathair Thuaiigi, Cathair Glennamnach, Cathair Chind Chon, Dún Fir Aenholca, Dún nGair, Cathair Methais, Temair Shuba, Ardbile, Aenach mBerráin, Mag Caille, Ard Conaill, Ard Meic Conaínd, Ard Ruidi, Tuaiscert Maigi, Mag Saíre, the three Arans on the ocean,⁴ Aenach Cairpri, Druim Mór, Druim Caín, Cathair Chuirce, Murbolcan, Geibtine, Grafann, Aill Meic Cuirr, Mag nAí, Mag nÉtarbaine, Uachtmag,

¹ A variant form of the name which occurs as *Araib* (dat. pl.), ll. 315, 341.

² This reference to Cormac Mac Cuilennáin prompted O'Donovan to suggest that the Book of Rights derives from the Psalter of Cashel as revised by Cormac (*BR*, Introd. viii-x), and MacNeill wrote in the same sense, *Celtic Ireland* 85.

³ *chain* is not part of the name (Shanahoe, Co. Limerick), and is thus poetic diction showing that the prose derives from the verse.

⁴ *ar muir máir* clearly derives from the verse.

11 so mar tá] mar ata M. 12 annso] a mumain and so B; and so sis a mumain M. Muilthead] mulcait Li; mulchiat B. Senchua chain] seanchruachain M.
13 Ros Raeda] ros na righ M. 15 Fir] fír L. Dún nGair] Li, B, M but om. L.
16 Airbili] ardbili L; arbile B; arbili M. 17 Meic Conaing] meic conaínd L;
meic conain Li; meic conaing B; conaing M. 18 hÁirne] airme B, M. máir]
om. B, M. 20 Cuirr] cuirce M. nÉtarbaine] nedur bane L. Huachtmag]
uchmhag Li, B, M. Caechán] caechain Li, B.

Boirne, Murmag, Mag nEnaig, Tuaim nEtain, Mag nAsail,
 Eibliu, Ucht na Rígha, Cuilleann, Cua, Cláiri, Indeoin, Áine, Ordd,
 Uilleand Etan, Loch Ceand, Ccand Nathrach, Rafand, Druim
 Caín, Druim Fíngin, Treda na Ríg, Ráith Eirc, Ráith Faelad,
 625 Ráith Arda, Ráith Droma Deilgi, Benntraigí, Crecraigí, Orbraigi
 7 Huí Chuirb, conad dóib ro chét in breó Benén:

Ara fesadar a ngair
 éraic Fëargusa Scandail
 táthud adbar a fësa
 630 ó Éóraid co Dún nDreasa.

Éric Fëargusa in rígh
 itir seóta 7 tír
 nírbó beg leó ina guin
 Laigin Deasgabair co muir.

635 Do chirt Chaisil cona brígh
 Brug Rígh 7 Muilthead már,
 Senchua chaín, Rus Raeda réil
 7 leis Cluain Uama án.

640 Cathair Chnuis, Cathair Fíndabrach,
 Cathair Thuaigi cona bail,
 Cathair Gleandamnach, Cathair Chind Chon,
 Dún Fir Aenholga, Dún nGair.

645 Cathair Meathais, Temair Šuba,
 Airbili máрмаíneach ruad,
 Aenach mBearrán, Mag Cailli cain,
 Ard Conaill fa chomair chuan.

650 Ard Meic Conaing la hArd Ruidi,
 Tuaiscert Maigi, muineach clár,
 Mag Saíri ro-segad áirme
 la teóra Áirne ar muir már.

Aenach Cairpri, Druim Mór, Druim Caín,
 Cathair Chuire foraicí muir,
 Murbbolcan, Geibtine, Grafand
 is les uili Aill Meic Cuir.

21 nEtain] neidim Li; neden B; nedain M. 24 Treda] tregua Li; tredhua
 B; tredu M. *But Treda is supported by rhyme below, l. 666.* Eirc] eir L. 25
 Crecraigí] crecraidi L, Li; crecraidhe B; creagraighi M. Orbraigi] orbraidi L;

Caechán Boirne, Murmag, Mag nEaig, Tuaim nÉtain, Mag nAsail, Eibliu, Ucht na Rígna, Cuillenn, Cua, Cláire, Indecoin, Áine, Ord, Uillenn Etan, Loch Cend, Cend Nathrach, Rafann, Druim Caín,¹ Druim Fíngin, Treda na Ríg, Ráith Eirc, Ráith Fhaelad, Ráith Arda, Ráith Droma Deilge, Benntraige, Crecreaige, Orbraige, Uí Chuirp. And of them the glorious Benén sang:

That the eric of Fergus Scandal² may be briefly known, you have the substance of the knowledge, from the Nore to Dún nDreasa.

The eric of king Fergus in riches and land, they thought Laigin Desgabair³ as far as the sea enough for slaying him.

To powerful Cashel belongs Brug Ríg and great Muilched, fair Senchua, bright Ros Ruada, and noble Cluain Uama too.

Cathair Chnuis, Cathair Fhindabrach, Cathair Thuaiigi with its prosperity, Cathair Glennamnach, Cathair Chind Chon, Dún Fir Aenholca, Dún nGair.

Cathair Methais, Temair Shuba, Airbile prosperous and gay, Aenach mBerrán, fair Mag Caille, Ard Conaill for the use of troops.

Ard Meic Conaing and Ard Ruidi, Tuaiscert Maige, a bracken-covered plain, Mag Sáire which crowds frequent, with the three Arans in the ocean.

Aenach Cairpri, Druim Mór, Druim Caín, Cathair Chuirc which overlooks the sea, Murbolcan Geibtine, Grafann, his is the whole of Aill Meic Cuir.

¹ Appears already above.

² Fergus Scandal was killed by the Laigin (CS *s.a.* 583), and the territory of Osraige was ceded by them to Munster as eric for the crime, see BR 88 note t.

³ Glossed, i.e. Osraige, B.

orbhraige Li; orbraidhe B; orbraigi M. 26 Hui] hua L. 27 fesadar] feasadair L; fesadar B; feasadar M. ngair] B; ngoir L. 29 adbar]B; adbeir L. 30 Dún] dumaig L; domun B; dun M. 33 leó] do B, M. 34 muir] .i. Osraige *add. B in marg.* 36 Muilthead] muilchiat B. 37 Senchua chain] seanchruachain M. Raeda] reta B; reda M. 38 7 leis] is les gidh B; is leis gidh M. 42 Fir] fir L; fir B. 45 mBerrán] mbearrain B. 46 fa chomair chuan] baco marcuan B; bacomar cuan M. 47 Conaing] Conaill L; Conaing B, M. 53 Grafand] grafrand L. 54 Cuir] cuire M.

- 655 Mag nAí, Mag nEdarba, Uachtmag,
Caechán Boirni, buan don rí,
Murmag már, Mag nÉnaig Rosa,
Tuaim nEidin abra do thír.
- 660 Asal, Eibleo, Ucht na Rígna,
in muir ima lína lorg,
Culleand 7 Cua 7 Cláiri,
Indeoin 7 Áine is Ord.
- 665 Huilleand Etan is Loch Cend,
Ceand Nathrach alta Rafann is fír,
Druim Caín, Druim Fíngin feda,
is leis cid Treda na Ríg.
- 670 Ráith Eirc, Ráith Faclad, Ráith Arda,
is Ráith Droma Deilge thes,
Beandtraigi, Crecraigi, Orbraigi
7 Uí Chuirp a ro-feas. Aī.*

II

Do sóchar Chondacht andso síis amal ad-féd Benén

1

- [197b] Císa acus tuaristla Condacht .i. mór-chís Condacht itir biathad 7
coimideacht céadamus co Cruachain. A hUmall dano eirníghther
císa Condacht co Cruachain *prius*: cóic fichit bó 7 cóic fichit torc
675 7 cóic fichid leand a hUmall sin. Cóic fichit dam 7 cóic fichit
lulgach 7 trí fichit muc 7 .lx. brat ó Cregraigi andsin. Ceathracha ar
dá chéd brat 7 dá chéd bó 7 fichi ar chéd muc ó Chonmaicnib sin.
Céd bó 7 cét ndam ó Chiarraigib indsin. Seasca brat dearg 7 seasca
torc o Chiarraigib beos andsin. Seacht caeca lulgach, trí chaeca torc,
680 trí chaeca brat óna Luignib cacha bealltaine 7 trí chaeca dam; 7 ní

55 nAí] glai B; nglai M. Uachtmag] uchtmagh B; ucmagh M. 56 buan]
add. in rod L. 58 nEidin] nedim B; nedain M. do] co M. 60 muir
ima lína] in muiri malina B; mear imlan M. 61 B omits the first 7 63
is] om. L. 64 alta] elta B; is ealta M. is] add. a L. 68 is] add. leis
L. Droma Deilge] troma teilg L. 69 Crecraigi] greccraidi L; gregraide B.
Orbraigi] orbraidí L; orbraide B. 70 Uí] hua L. a ro-feas] arafes B;

* This poem is omitted from Li.

Mag nAí, Mag nÉtarba,¹ Uachtmag,² Caechán Boirne ever for the king, Murmag, Mag nEnaig Rosa, Tuaim nÉitin . . .³

Asal, Eibliu, Ucht na Rígná, the fort in which followers abound, Cuillenn, Cua, Cláire, Inneóin, Áine and Ord.

Uillenn Etan, Loch Cenn, Cend Nathrach of the flocks (?), Rafann truly, Druim Caín, Druim Fíngin of the wood, even Treda na Ríg is his.

Ráith Eirc, Ráith Faelad, Ráith Arda, and Ráith Droma Deilge in the south, Benntraige, Crecraige, Orbraige and Uí Chuirp, this is what is known.

II

Of the profits of Connacht as Benén tells

1

The rents and stipends of Connacht: the great rent of Connacht first of all in maintenance and attendance at Cruachain. From Umall the rents of Connacht are paid to Cruachain first: a hundred cows and a hundred boars and a hundred mantles, that is from Umall. A hundred oxen and a hundred milch cows and sixty swine and sixty cloaks, that is from the Crecraige. Two hundred and forty cloaks and two hundred cows and one hundred and twenty swine, that is from Conmaicne. A hundred cows and a hundred oxen, that is from the Ciarraige.⁴ Sixty crimson cloaks and sixty boars, that is also from the Ciarraige. Seven times fifty milch cows, a hundred and fifty boars and a hundred and fifty cloaks from the Luigne every

¹ *Etarbaine* in the prose, but no MS. has the longer form here. Not identified.

² The name is doubtful, as appears from the variants. Not identified.

³ *abra do thír* is obscure to me: 'with its brow to the land', O'D.

⁴ The name is sometimes singular in the MSS. There were three groups of Ciarraige in west Roscommon and Mayo. They are mentioned as assembled at Cara (A.D. 1315), s. *Annals of Connacht*, p. 238; Hogan, *Onom.* 232.

arafheas M. 71 *Title in L only.* 72 tuaristla] tuarista L; tuarustlu Li; tuarastla B; tuarastail M. mór-chís] moirbiathad Li; morcisa B, M. 74 prius] ar tus Li; prius B, M. 75 sin] innsin Li, B; and sin M. 76 muc] torc B, M. .lx.] .xl. B; ceathracha M. Cregraig] gregraidi L; cregraide Li. 77 dá chéd bó] .c. bo Li; om. B, M. 78 Chiarraigib] chiarraidib L; chiarraigi Li, so M. seasca] .xl. M. brat dearg] dam Li. 79 Chiarraigib] chiarraidib L; chiarraidhi Li, so M. Seacht caeca] se chaeca L; .xxx. Li; se .l. ad B; .uii.l. M. trí chaeca] .xxx. Li.

ar daíri na fineadach sin acht ar daíri féir 7 fearaind. Ceathracha ar chéd bó 7 seacht caecait caer iaraind, caeca ar trí cét muc 7 caeca ar trí céd dam óna Corcaib indsin. Caeca ar chéd brat nderg 7 caeca ar chét torc 7 caeca ar chét ndam ó na Dealbnaib indsin ara tealgad
 685 na tír. Seachtmoga brat, seachtmoga torc a Huíb Maine tar cend a tíri. Hua Briúin 7 Síil Muireadaig 7 Huí Fíachra 7 Cenél nAeda saorthuatha indsin 7 comsaera fri rí, 7 ní thiagat feacht na sluaiged acht ar crod, 7 ní thiagat i cath la rí acht ara lóg, 7 dia mbertar 7 curo marbtar, dligid in rí a n-éic do íc ón rí; 7 in tan nách bia
 690 rígi la Síil Fíachra, nó Aeda nó Guairi, is léo guala deas rí Condacht lasin fer is fearr díb. Mádá tegma ar deóraideacht a crích n-ailli, is léo guala rí Caisil nó rí Náis nó rí Emna Maichi. Conad dóib sin ro chachain in bili buada Benén:

695 Éistid re seanchas nach suail
 airdríg Condacht claideam-ruaid
 do neoch dliges 'na thír thall
 'na eineach, 'na einiccland.

700 Mór-chís Condacht co Cruachain
 cen dímeas ó deg-thuathaib
 cach aen dia ndlig, dílsi smacht,
 biathad 7 coimideacht.

705 Cóic fichit bó, buan a mblad,
 cóic fichit torc taeb-leathan
 cóic fichit leand lígda gart
 a hUmall do rí Condacht.

Airdchís Creagraigi ní chél
 do rí Condacht, dáig adgén:
 cúic fichid dam cona ndath
 do rí Condacht is Cruachan.

81 ar daíri] hara ndaíri M. na fineadach] *om.* Li, B. ar daíri féir] *ar fer* Li, B; tar ceann a feir M. 82 seacht . . . iaraind] seacht cét caerach no is do chaeraib iaraind L, Li; .uii.l. caerach B; uii.l. caer iaraind M. 83 nderg] *derg* L. 84-85 ara . . . tír] ar telgad a tire Li; ar telgudh a tír B; ara tealgan ana tír M. 85 Huíb] huaib Li. 86 Muireadaig] *mureagaig* L. Fíachra] Fíachrach Li. 87 comsaera] *comfaesam* 7 *comsaera* M. 87 thiagat] *thiagaid* L. 88 mbertar] *marbthar* L; *om.* M. 89 dligid . . . rí] a n-eraic on righ Li, B; anderaic . . . rí *Connacht* M. 90 Fíachra, nó] *om.* Li, B, M. is léo guala] *twice by dittography* L. 91-92 lasin fer . . . Emna Maichi] *om.* Li, B, M. 93 Benén] *benein* L. 94 Éistid] *eistig* L; *eisdidh* Li. 95 -ruaid] -chruidh Li. 96 'na] o L. 97 eineach 7 eneclann M. 99 dímeas ó] *dinsem dia* Li, B; *dimeas o* M. 00 aen] *ni* L; *aen* Li, B, M.

Beltaine, and a hundred and fifty oxen; and that is not on account of inferior status of the tribesmen but on account of the inferior status of the grazing and land.¹ A hundred and forty cows and seven times fifty ingots of iron,² three hundred and fifty swine and three hundred and fifty oxen, that is from the Cuirc. A hundred and fifty crimson cloaks and a hundred and fifty boars and a hundred and fifty oxen, that is from the Delbna in consideration for settling (?)³ them in their land. Seventy cloaks and seventy boars from Uí Maine on account of their land. Ua Briúin and Síol Muiredaig and Uí Fiachrach and Cenél nAeda are free *tuatha* and of equal status with the king, and they go not on an expedition or a muster save for a payment of cattle, and they go not into battle with the king save for pay; and if any such are brought and they happen to be killed, their king is entitled to their *eric* from the king (of the province); and when the Síol Fiachra or Síol nAeda or Síol Guaire do not hold the kingship, the noblest man of them present has the right to sit at the right of the king of Connacht. If he chance to be abroad in another territory, he is entitled to sit beside the king of Cashel or the king of Naas or the king of Emain Macha. And it is of them that the virtuous and heroic Benén sang:

Hear a tradition that is not lowly of the high king of Connacht whose sword is powerful, what he is entitled to in that country⁴ of his for his honour, for his honour-price.

The great rent of Connacht to Cruachain without disrespect from the goodly tribes, everyone from whom he is entitled, appropriate rule, to maintenance and attendance.

A hundred cows of lasting fame, a hundred fat boars, a hundred mantles, splendid gift, from Umall to the king of Connacht.

I shall tell the high rent of the Creagraige to the king of Connacht, for I know it, a hundred oxen of good colour to the king of Connacht and Cruachain.

¹ This may be mere flattery of the Luigne, but I am unable to comment upon it. *ar dairi féir 7 fearaind* seems to echo the verse, l. 378. *Féir 7 ferand* is legal jargon for 'territory', cf. Welsh *tir a daear*.

² This is the true text as appears from the verse below l. 746. M alone is here correct. B alone has the error without qualification. L-Li have the mixed reading in common.

³ Cf. p. 17, n. 4.

⁴ *thall* suggests that the author was not in Connacht, that he was perhaps a Munsterman.

o1 biathad] moirchis (no *biathad sup.*) Li. o5 rí] ri L. o6 Creagraigi]
na ncreagraidi L; creacraidhi Li; gregraidhe B; creagraighi M. ní chél] ader L.
o7 rí] ri L. adgén] adber L; ader M. o9 7 .u. xx. iulgach B, M.

- 710 Trí fichit muc, mór in smacht,
7 trí fichit rí-*brat*,
cóc fichit loilgeach anall
ó Chre*craigi* na caemchrand.
- 715 Dá fichit *déc* brat co mbríg,
dá chét bó cen imarrím,
sé fichit *torc*, tenn in ail
dleagar dona Con*macnib*.
- 720 Cóc fichit bó mór co mblaid,
cóc fichit dam do damaib
ó Chi*arraigib*, cruaid in smacht,
do thabairt do rí*g* Con*dacht*.
- [197c]
725 Trí fichit brat dearg gan dub
trí fichit *torc* taeb-lebar
ó Chi*arraigib*, cruaid in breath,
's a tacar uili ar oen-leath.
- Dleagar do Lu*ignib* cen locht
a turgnom frisin longphort,
seacht caeca lulgach i lle
do thobairt cach belltaine.
- 730 Trí chaeca *torc*, is tarba,
a torachtain cach samna,
trí caeca brat cona mblad
do rí*g* Con*dacht* is Cruachan.
- 735 Is don cháin chét*na* ro clos
can ain*fír*, can ainbflaithus,
trí caeca dam ar ló i lle
do fritháileam thre*airi*.
- 740 Cé do-berat Luigne i lle
a cáin tar cend a tíre,
nochan iad Luigne is daer and
acht in fér is a ferand.

12-13 o chineadh gregráide glain/da torachtain co cruachain B, M.
13 Chre*craigi*] chre*craidi* L; creagraidhe Li; gregráide B; greagraigí M.
15 imarrím] imirghnimh Li. 16 ochtmoga muc, mor a mbloid L.

Sixty swine, it is a great stipulation, and sixty royal cloaks, a hundred milch cows hither from the Crecreaige of the pleasant woods.

Twelve score good cloaks, two hundred cows without error, six score swine, a firm demand, are due from the Conmaicne.

A hundred cows of great fame, a hundred oxen, from the Ciarraige, a hard stipulation, to be given to the king of Connacht.

Sixty pure red cloaks, sixty long boars from the Ciarraige, a hard judgement, assembled in one place.

There are due from the Luigne without fault to be brought to the camp three hundred and fifty milch cows hither, to be rendered each Beltaine.

A hundred and fifty boars, it is profit, to reach him every Samain, a hundred and fifty rich cloaks to the king of Connacht and Cruachain.

Of the same tribute, it is handed down, without injustice or oppression, a hundred and fifty oxen are brought hither one day to supply the husbandry.

Though the Luigne bring hither their tribute for their land, it is not the Luigne who are subject to it, but the grass and the land.

17 dleagar] dleagair M. 19 nó sé coica M *sup.* 20 Chiarraigib] chiarraidi
 L; chiarraige Li, so M. cruaid] buan B, M. 21 do thabairt] doberar B, M.
 rig] ri L; righ Li. 22 gan] nach L, B; gan Li, M. 24 Chiarraigib]
 chiarraidib L; chiarraige Li; so M. 25 tacar] tabairt L. ar oen-leath] an
 aeinteoh Li. 26 do Luignib] d'uibh luigne Li. 29 do] a Li, B, M. cach]
 la B. 30 tarba] tarbda L, B; tarba Li; tarbha M. 34 ro clos] gan ces Li;
 ro clos B; ro feas M. 35 ainfir] égóir L. (ainfir *has lenited f in* Li, B, M)
 37 do] fria Li, M; fri B. 38 cé] gidh Li. doberat] dabearaid L.
 39 tíre] criche Li; tíre B, M. 40 nochan iad Luigne] ní hiad na tuatha L
 41 a] in Li.

- 745 Airdchís na Core cen chruaidi
do thobairt cach aen-uairi
do ríg Maigi hAe na n-each,
seacht fichit bó, ní hainbreath.
- Seacht caeca do chaeraib iairn
seacht caeca muc co mór-gliaid,
seacht coeca dam, dílsi smacht,
do-bearar do ríg Condacht.
- 750 Trí chaeca brat corcra, ad-clos,
can ainfír, cen imarbus,
is do Delbnaib dleagar sin
do ríg Connacht co Cruachain.
- 755 Trí chaeca torc cen tacha,
trí chaeca dam ndeg-datha
ó Dealbnaib amáin, ní brég,
dleagar a cáin do chomét.
- 760 Nochon ar daíri na fear
menbad hé in fearann férmar:
ní thibraidis cáin i lle
menbad dar ceand a tíri.
- 765 Mór-cháin Ua Maine don Maig
is mebair le cach senchaid;
sechtmoga brat, nocho brég,
sechtmoga torc, is tromthré.
- Gé do-berar in cháin chain
ó hUíb Maine don mór-maig,
is tar cend a tíri thall
dleagur in cháin do chomall.
- 770 Saerthuatha Condacht na clann
ní dleagar díb cáin chomlann,
Huí Briúin 'na longaib tar lear
Síl Muredaig na muintir.

42 cen chruaidi] gach nuairi M. 43 cach aen-uairi] gan rocruaigi M.
45 hainbreath] banbreath L; bainbreath B, M. 46 caeca] caecad L; caegad
M. do chaeraib iairn] caer iaruin ain Li, H. 47 co mór-gliaid] san
mhordhail Li, H. 48 coeca] caecad L. 49 do-bearar] dobear L; doberur

The rent of the Corcraige without hardship to be given each time to the king of Mag nÁí of the horses is seven score cows, no unjust judgement.

Three hundred and fifty ingots of iron, three hundred and fifty noisy swine, three hundred and fifty oxen, appropriate rule, are given to the king of Connacht.

A hundred and fifty purple cloaks, it has been heard, without untruth or error, that amount is due from the Delbna to the king of Connacht in Cruachain.

A hundred and fifty boars without default, a hundred and fifty oxen of good colour, from the Delbna alone, it is no lie; their tribute must be maintained.

It is not on account of inferior status of the people, were it not for the grass-rich land: they would not bring tribute hither except on account of their country.

The great tribute of the Uí Maine to the Plain is remembered by every senchaid: seventy cloaks, it is no lie, seventy boars, a numerous flock.

Though the fair tribute is brought from Uí Maine to the great Plain, it is on account of their land yonder that the tribute must be rendered.¹

The free tribes of Connacht of the clans owe no service in battle: Uí Briúin in their ships across the sea, Síol Muiredaig of the households;

¹ O'Rahilly regarded this quatrain as evidence of Munster authorship on the ground that the Uí Maine had a tradition of friendship with the Eóganacht, EIHM 406 n. 3.

Li; tabar B, M. rí] rí L. Condacht] olnegmacht B; oll negsmacht M.
 51 ainfir] ecoir Li; anfir B; egoir M. imarbus] anmforos Li; anforos B; anforos M.
 52 dleagar] dleagair M. B passes from 52 to 56 by homoioteleuton.
 57 dlegar] dleagair B, M. 59 férmair] faingel Li, B; ferglan M. 61
 dar] ar L. 64 sechtmoga] ochtmoga L. 65 sechtmoga torc] ochtmoga
 troc (sic) L. 66 chain] caemh Li, B, M. 67 hUib] aib L. don mór-maig]
 na maghraen Li, B; na mag saer M. 69 dleagur] dleagair B. do chomall]
 gan chomhland B. 70 na clann] cen cheas L; na clann Li, B, M. 71
 chomlann] coimdeas L; comlann Li, B, M. 72 'na longaib tar lear] noch
 brec a mbladh Li, B; na longaib tar lear L, M. tar] na L; tar M.

775 Huí Fíachrach in moigi móir,
Cenél nAeda, ní hécóir,
ní dleagar díb cáin ná smacht
do thobairt do ríge Condacht.

780 Na clanna sin can chís cain,
mad áil sloinded a sochair,
comdúthaig dóib ima le
cebé díb dá ró in ríge.

785 Gebé díb deach lais i cath,
le ríge Condacht is Cruachan,
dia marbthar do gaib 'san gleic,
dleagar a íc 'sa éreic.

Uair nocho dlig neach díb sin
dul i cath nó comlondaib
la ríge Condacht chaíme cruid
minab ar cend tuaristuil.

790 An tráth nach bia ríge thuaid
ac Síle Aedha is Guairi ghuair,
is ead dleagaid, ní gráin gart,
leath-guala airdríge Connacht.

795 Dá tecmad do deigfear díb
a thír d'fácbáil re hainfír,
guala cach ríge chúicid cain
dligid cach rí dá rígoib.

800 Maith foruair Benén co beacht
int eólus so, ní hégcert:
sloindfed-sa mar atá sin,
a daíne ána, éistid. Éistid re senchus.

2

[197d] Do thuarustlaib tuath Condacht andso ó airdríge Cruachan, ar is tar cend fearaind 7 tuaristail ícait seo in cís 7 nochon ar daíri cheneóil, ar id bráthair a n-urraid díb línaib i suidiu. Fo bíth conid

76 cáin] cis Li. smacht] smacht L, M; cacht Li, B. 78 cain] coin L.
79 mad áil sloinded] ata ag slonnadh Li; mad ail sloinnfet B; ge du ag loindedh M.
82 deach lais] dothoet Li. 83 is Cruachan] comrumach Li; na caemrath M.
84 do] im Li. 'san] non L. 85 dleagar] dligid B; dleagar M. 86
Uair] In uair Li. 87 nó comlondaib] na cruaidhirghoil Li; no i comraic-
thib B; na comlandaib M. 88 ríge] rí L. chaíme cruid] cain a cruigh

Uí Fíachrach of the great plain, Cenél nAeda, it is no wrong, they owe neither tribute nor tax to be given to the king of Connacht.

Those tribes that owe no fitting tribute, if one should wish to tell their privilege, it is a like inheritance for them all, whichever of them it be to whom the kingship may fall.

If any of them go into battle with the king of Connacht and Cruachain, and he be killed by spears in the fight, payment of his eric is due.

For none of them is obliged to go into battle or conflict with the king of Connacht of handsome wealth, unless it be for payment.

When the kingship is not north with Síl nAeda, or the tribe of glorious Guaire, they are entitled, no mean hospitality, to sit beside the high king of Connacht.

If it should happen to one of them to leave his country through injustice, each one of their kings is entitled to a place beside each fair provincial king.

Well did Benén find this exact knowledge,¹ it is correct. I shall tell how all that is. O noble people, listen!

2

Here are the stipends of the tribes of Connacht from the high-king of Cruachu. For it is on account of land and stipend that they pay the rent, and not on account of lowliness of race, for their freemen on both sides are akin in this case. And it is for that reason²

¹ *a neólas* might be preferred. I do not know how early *int* appears with an accusative.

² *Fo bith* 'because' is pleonastic here. It seems to have the force of *quapropter*, *quare*, anticipating the following *de*.

Li; caine cruith B, M. 89 ar] dar Li. 91 Aedha] fíachra L; naedha
Li; aedha B, M. 92 is ead *etc.*] is leosum cin cradh dia cradh Li; is ann
leo gan crad cain | leathgualu lanri cruachain B; is and is leo tre gradh
glain | leathguala tra rig Caisil (*with* cruachan *above*) M. 93 Connacht]
cruachan Li. 94-96 Dá tecmad . . . dá rígoib] Li, B, M *omit the quatrain.*
96 cain] coin L. 98 foruair] do uair L; foruair Li; fo fuair B; da fuair M.
99 int eólus so] int eolisa L; int eolus so Li; a neolusa na necert B; a neolas isa
nimteacht M. 00 mar atá sin] daib tre baid mbil B, M. 01 éistid] cistig
L.; eisdid Li. 02 thuarustlaib] thuarustol L. 0 áirdríg Cruachan] on
airdríg B, M. 03 fearaind] féraind Li. seo] sium B; *om.* M. in eis]
cisa B, M. 04 bráthair] braithre Li, B, M. urraid] aurraid B. i suidiu]
L. *begins a new sentence:* I Suidiu.

805 de imsaí cach flaithis 7 cach rígi ón gabail co séchi mina fallaig fál fingaili nó forbrecht for naebu nó díultad baisti, conid de imsaí flaith uaidib 7 conad íarum fogniat cís 7 gabaid tuaristol ó thellach ná fill 7 ná della Dia.

Dligid dano flaith Síil Mureadaig fail 7 errid rígi Condacht 7 a
810 sciath 7 a chlaideam 7 a lúreach. Cúic eich 7 cúic claidim 7 cúic longa 7 cúic lúreacha do rígi Umail. Sé scéith 7 sé claidim 7 sé heich 7 sé hinair 7 sé cuirnd do rígi [Delbna. Sé hairm 7 sé hinair 7 sé mogaid 7 sé mná 7 sé lúreacha do rígi] Crecraigi. Dá fálaig 7 dá fíchthill 7 deich cuirn 7 deich n-eich do rígi Conmaicne. Seacht
815 mbruit 7 seacht n-inair 7 seacht n-eich 7 seacht coin do rígi Hua Maine. Deich n-eich 7 deich mbruit 7 deich cuirn 7 deich coin do rígi Luigne. Cúic eich 7 cóic matail 7 cúic claidmi 7 deich cuirn 7 deich mogaid 7 deich fíchthilla do rígi Hua mBriúin. .U. eich, .u. matail .u. claidim .u. luirecha do rígh na Corc. Trí cuirn 7 trí
820 claidmi 7 trí heich 7 deich failgi 7 deich fíchthilla do rígi Hua Fiachrach in tuaiscirt. Seacht mogaid 7 seacht mná daera 7 seacht cuirn 7 trí claidmi 7 trí coin do rígi Ceneóil nAeda. Trí hinair 7 trí cuirn 7 trí heich do rígi Partraigi. Is amlaid sin midigther febsa rígi tuath *Condacht*, conid dóib ro chéad in Benén so:

825 Tuaristlu cúicid Chondacht
i lliubur chaem atchonnarc,
a tabair dia thuathaib tuaid
rí Condacht, cend in mór-šluaig.

830 Dligid in fer is fearr díb
do Síil Muireadaig ón rígi
fail 7 errid is each,
sciath, claideam 7 lúreach.

06 nó] *om.* L. forbrecht] forbrechta Li. for naebu] for naemu B; foirnima M. 07 fogniat] fognaid L; *fhoghmat* Li; fogniat B; fogabaid M. gabaid] ghabhut Li. 09 fail] fail oir M. 11 scéith] sleagha M. 12 heich] heit hL. 12-13 Delbna . . . do rígi] *om.* L, Li. 12 Sé hairm 7] *om.* M; and the numbers 3 4 for each item instead of 6. 13 Crecraigi] crecraidi L; creacraige Li; greagraigi M; B omits do rígi Crecraigi. 18-19 .U. eich . . . Corc] supplied from Li. which continues Da fál .x. n-eich .x.cl-.x. cuirn .x. mogaid .x. fíthchealla do rígh ua mbriuin, see variant below in verse, 858-9. And so B, M. 21 in tuaiscirt] *om.* Li, B, M. 22 trí] .uiii. B, M. trí] .uiii. B, M. 22-23 Trí hinair . . . Partraigi] *om.* Li, B, M. 23 midigther] mhidhigther Li; migithir B; minicear M. 24 ro chéad etc.] ro cet in bar buaghad beneoin Li; ro chéad in barr buadach benen co n-abair B; ro cead in breo buadha benen seo sis M. 25 tuaristlu] tuaristol L; tuaristlu Li. 26 lliubur] llebar L; liubur Li; libur B; lleabar M. atchonnarc] idchondarc L. 27 a] na L dia] da L. 28 mór-šluaig] caimšluaig M. 32 7] land is M.

that sovereignty and kingship pass from one branch to the other unless an impediment of kin-slaughter or oppression (?) of saints or denial of baptism (apostasy) prevents it, and sovereignty thus passes away from them; and then they are under service of rent and accept a stipend from the household which does not renounce or reject God.

The prince of Síl Muiredaig is entitled to the bracelet and battle-dress of the king of Connacht, and his shield and his sword and his coat of mail. Five horses and five swords and five ships and five coats of mail to the king of Umall. Six shields, six swords, six horses, six tunics, and six horns to the king of [Delbna. Six weapons, six tunics, six slaves, six women, and six coats of mail to the king of] Crecraige.¹ Two bracelets, two chess-games, ten horns, and ten horses to the king of Conmaicne. Seven cloaks, seven tunics, seven horses, and seven hounds to the king of Uí Maine. Ten horses, ten cloaks, ten horns, and ten hounds to the king of Luigne. Five horses, five mantles, five swords, ten horns, ten slaves, and ten chess-games to the king of Uí Briúin. Five horses, five mantles, five swords, and five coats of mail to the king of the Cuirc. Three horns, three swords, three horses, ten bracelets, and ten chess-games to the king of the northern Uí Fhiachrach. Seven slaves, seven bond-women, seven² horns, three swords, and three dogs to the king of Cenél nAeda. Three tunics, three horns, and three horses to the king of Partraige. Thus are estimated the benefits of the tribal kings of Connacht, and of them Benén sang this:

The stipends of the kings of Connacht I saw in a handsome book, what the king of Connacht, leader of the great host, gives to his tribes in the north.

The best man of Síl Muredaig is entitled to receive from the king bracelet, battle-dress, horse, shield, sword, and coat of mail.

¹ The text has been restored on the basis of the verse below. Lec-Li. omit Delbna by homoioteleuton, and B omits Crecraige and runs his stipend together with that of Conmaicne (BB 273 a 18). M has a complete text, but begins the stipend of Greccraige: *Ceithri hinair*, omitting *airm*: in B, M the number is four throughout.

² Three in the verse.

³ The verse awards him three swords also. This sentence and the corresponding quatrain are omitted from Li, B, M. In the preceding poem on stipends the Partraige are not mentioned and the Ciarraige appear instead.

835 Dligid rí Umail cen acht
 cóic eich 'na thír cen tromdacht,
 cúic claidim chorra chatha,
 cúic longa, cúic lúireacha.

840 Dligid rí Delbna ó Druim Léith
 sé claidim 7 sé scéth,
 sé heich, sé hinair co n-ór
 7 sé cuirn fri comól.

Dligid rí Crecraigi cain
 sé hairm 7 sé hinair,
 sé mogaid, sé mná daera,
 sé lúireacha lán-chaema.

845 Dligid rí Conmaicne cóir
 deich cuirn ar ndul 'na thech n-óil
 deich n-eich luatha fora ling,
 dá fálaig is dá fichthill.

850 Dligid rí Hua Maine in meand
 seacht mbruit, seacht ngabra tar gleann,
 secht coin fri corad sealga,
 is seacht n-inair urrderga.

855 Dligid rí Luigne na laech
 deich n-eich, deich mbruit nocho baeth,
 deich cuirn fri caithim meada,
 deich coin chaema chnes-gela.

860 Dligid rí Hua mBriúin co mblaid
 cúic eich 7 cúic matail,
 cúic claidim, deich cuirn chama,
 deich mogaid, deich fichthella.

Dligid rí na Corc ón choill
 cúic maire 7 cóic mataill,
 cúic claidmi nár chlaí fri cnáim,
 cúic lúireacha fri lom-gaib.

38 claidim] cloidhme Li. 40 fri] re L. 41 Crecraigi] crecraidi
 L.; creacraige Li; gregraidi B; greagraighi M. cain] gloin L,B,M; cain Li. 42
 sé hairm *etc.*] .ii. nairm 7 .iii. ninair Li; .iiii. hairm .iiii. hinair B, M. 43-44 sé

The king of Umall is entitled without condition to five speedy horses in his country, five pointed swords of battle, five ships, five coats of mail.

The king of Delbna from Druim Léith is entitled to six swords, six shields, six horses, six tunics embroidered with gold, and six drinking horns.

The king of fair Crecraige is entitled to six weapons, six tunics, six slaves, six bond-women, and six coats of mail.

The righteous king of Conmaicne is entitled to ten horns on entering his drinking chamber, ten swift horses to mount, two bracelets, and two sets of chess.

The famous king of Uí Maine is entitled to seven cloaks, seven horses to cross the glen, seven hunting¹ dogs, and seven scarlet tunics.

The king of Luigne of the warriors is entitled to ten horses, ten cloaks—no idle talk—ten horns for drinking mead, ten fair glossy hounds.

The renowned king of Uí Briúin is entitled to five horses, five mantles, five swords, ten curved horns, ten slaves, and ten chess-games.

The king of the Cuirc from the forest is entitled to five horses, five mantles, five swords that have not bent² against a bone, five coats of mail to ward off spears.

¹ *fri corad sealga*: *corad* (see vii.) is obscure, but the sense is clear. Cf. l. 462. A quite different stipend is recorded in a separate tract on the Uí Maine: ten horses, ten foreign slaves, ten standards and ten mantles, *Tribes and Customs of Hy Many*, p. 92.

² Cf. *ní for brágtib dam ná bó | clóthir colg mo ruanado*, LU 9672. Here the verb is intransitive.

mogaid etc.] .uii. mogaid 7 .uii. mna | is .uii. luirecha fria la Li; .iiii. throughout B, M. 47 ling] lind L; ling Li, B; rodas ling M. 49 in meand] muadh M. 50 tar gleann] fri geall Li; nimgell B; re luag M. 51 corad] corcrad Li; corrad B; coradh M. 55 caithim] caitheam L. 56 chaema chnes-gela] garbha glaisgheala Li; garga glaisgeala B; garga glegheala M. 57-64 Dligid etc.] *This and the next quatrain are in reverse order in* Li, B, M. co mblaid] mbladach Li; mbladaig B, M. 58-59 cúic . . . cl uidim] .x. n-eich 7 da fhalach .x. cl- Li; and sim. (fhalaig) B, M. 61 ón choill] gan ail M. 62 cúic] .uii. Li. maire 7] eich meara M. cóic] .uii. Li 63 nár] nach Li, B, M. chlaí] cle Li.

- 865 Dligid rí Partraige in phuirt
trí cuirn, trí claidmi no chait,
[198a] trí hinair 7 trí heich
ó ríg Cruachan cen chain-chleith.
- 870 Trí cuirn do ríg Hua Fiachrach,
trí cloidim fri clód cliathach,
trí heich i nAidne in lenna,
deich failgi, deich fichthilla.
- 875 Dligid rí Cencóil Aeda
.uii. mogaid, .uiii. mná daera,
trí cuirn is trí claidim cain,
trí coin fria dumha a ndairibh.
- 880 Is ead sin dleagaid tuatha
chóicid Chondacht is Cruachna
ó ríg Muigi Hac na n-ag
do neoch dliges tuaristal.

III

Císsa ríg Ailig agus a thuaristal andso .i. a chísa-son ó thuathaib 7 a thuaristal-son dóib-seom.

1

- Céd caerach 7 cét brat 7 cét bó 7 cét torc dó ó Chuilenraigi.
Trícha torc 7 trícha bó 7 trícha molt ó Thuath Rátha. Trí cét torc,
885 trí cét bó, trí cét molt ó Féaruib Luirg. Trí cét bó, trí cét mart, cét
tinne ó ríg Hua Fiachrach. Cét mart 7 caeca bó 7 céd torc 7 caeca
brat a Huib Meic Cairthaind. Trí chét torc, trí cét bó, trí cét mart
ó Chiandachta Glenna Gemin. Deich cét lulgach, cét mart, caeca
dam, caeca torc ó Féaraib Lí. Céd lulgach, caeca torc, caeca brat ó
890 Huib Tuirtri. Céd mart, cét lulgach, caeca brat ó Féaraib Muigi

65 Dligid *etc.*] Li, B, M *omit this quatrain.* Partraige] partraidi L. 70
fri] re L. cliathach] cliachach L. 71 i nAidne in lenna] nach caibne cena L.
73-76 Dligid rí *etc.*] L *omits this quatrain.* 75 cain] *om.* B. 75-76 .uii.
ngabra creaca tar tuind | .uiii. mbeanda breaca buabuill M. 81 thuaristal]
thuarastail Li; thuarastla B, M. .i.] 7 L, Li. 82 thuaristal] tuarastail B;
thuarastla M. 83 brat] mbrat B. Chuilenraigi] chuileandraidi indsin
L; cuilindraigi M. 85-86 Féaruib Luirg . . . tinne ó] *om.* L. 86 caeca]
cet L. 88 Glenna Gemin] *om.* Li, B, M. Deich] *om.* Li; .dd. B; .x. M.
cét mart] .x.c. M (*but .x.c. brat in the verse.*)

The king of Partraige, the stronghold, is entitled to three horns, three swords as his share (?),¹ three tunics, and three horses from the king of Cruachu without concealment.

Three cups to the king of Uí Fhiachrach, three swords for victory in a skirmish, three horses in Aidne of the ale-feasts, ten bracelets, and ten sets of chess.

The king of Cenél nAeda is entitled to seven slaves, seven bond-women, three horns, three swords, and three dogs for his hunting-mound in the forest.

Those are the stipends of the tribes of Connacht and Cruachu from the king of Mag nAí of the oxen, such as are entitled to a stipend. X

III

These are the rents of the king of Ailech and his stipend: his rents from the tribes, and the stipend he bestows upon them.

1

A hundred sheep, a hundred cloaks, a hundred cows, and a hundred boars to him from the Cuilennraige. Thirty boars, thirty cows, and thirty wethers from Tuath Rátha. Three hundred boars, three hundred cows, three hundred wethers from Fir Luirg. Three hundred cows, three hundred beeves,² a hundred fitches from the king of Uí Fhiachrach. A hundred beeves, a hundred cows, a hundred boars, and fifty cloaks from Uí Meic Cairthainn. Three hundred boars, three hundred cows, three hundred beeves from the Cianachta of Glenn Gemin. A thousand milch cows, a hundred beeves, fifty oxen, fifty boars from Fir Lí. A hundred milch cows, fifty boars, fifty cloaks³ from Uí Thuirtri. A hundred beeves, a hundred

¹ The conjecture is O'Donovan's and involves reading *'n-a chuit* and accepting the rhyme with *puirt*.

² One hundred in the verse.

³ The verse adds fifty fitches.

Ítha. Saerthuatha Ailig .i. Tulach Óg 7 Craeb 7 Mag nÍtha 7 Inis Eógain 7 Cenél Conaill, conid dóib ro chachain int cólach .i. Beinén mac Sescnén:

- 895 Ceart ríg Ailig éisdid ris
itir dairib nach dímis:
dligid crod, ní cís n-uathaid,
ó fínib, ó forthuathaib.
- 900 Céd caerach, céd brat, céd bó
7 céd torc tobair dó
ó Chuilennraige in chocaid
do ríg Ailig iar n-obair.
- 905 Trícha torc a Tuaith Rátha,
trícha bó co mblicht blátha,
trícha molt a mís buidí
dligid ríg Ailig uili.
- 910 Trí chét torc ó Fearaib Luirc,
trí chéd bó, ní bec in chuid,
trí chéd molt 'na mbeathaid
do ríg Ailig ailt-leathain.
- 915 Dligid do ríg Hua Fiachrach
trí chét bó, ní bág briathrach,
céd mart is céd tindi trom
do ríg Febail na faen-long.
- Céd mart a Huib Meic Cairthaind
7 cét torc, ní sárthim,
caeca bó, cid dál dligid,
caeca brat co mbán-bilib.
- 920 Trí chéd torc fris tuillter thuaid
trí chéd bó fri biathad sluaig,
trí chéd mart, is main chocaid
ó Chiandachta in trom-thocaid.

92 chachain] chan Li, M. 94 éisdid] eisd L; eisdid Li; esdigh B. ris] fris B. 96 n-uathaid] uaithib L. 00 Chuilennraige] chuileandraid L; cuilindtraigi M. 02 Trícha] triched L; .ccc. Li; trica B, M. 03 trícha] triched L. blátha] batha L; fatha Li; blatha B; mblatha M. 04 buidí] maidhe Li; buidhe B; buighí M. 08 mbeathaid] mbeathaig L; mbeth- Li. 09 ailt-leathain] aird-breathaig M. 10 ríg] ri L. 11 bág] baig Li, B, M.

milch cows, fifty cloaks from Fir Maige Ítha. The free tribes of Ailech are Tulach Óg, Craeb, Mag nÍtha, Inis Eógain and Cenél Conaill. And of them the sage, Benén mac Sescnéin sang:

Listen to the rights of the king of Ailech amidst his proud forests: he is entitled to cattle, a handsome rent, from both free families and vassal-tribes.

A hundred sheep, a hundred cloaks, a hundred cows, and a hundred boars is his tribute from warlike Cuilennraige—to the king of Ailech by their labour (?).

Thirty boars from Tuath Rátha, thirty cows with rich¹ milk, thirty wethers in the yellow month² the king of Ailech is entitled to all of them.

Three hundred boars from Fir Luirc, three hundred cows, no small feat,³ three hundred live wethers to the king of Ailech of the spacious house.

From the king of Uí Fhiachrach he is entitled to three hundred cows, no wordy boast, a hundred beeves, and a hundred heavy flitches to the king of Febal⁴ of the level ships.

A hundred beeves from Uí Meic Cáirthainn and a hundred boars—it is not trifling—fifty cows, a lawful measure, fifty cloaks with white borders.

Three hundred boars . . .,⁵ three hundred cows to feed an army, three hundred beeves, the spoil of war,⁶ from the prosperous Ciannachta.

¹ The readings vary in all four MSS. I take *blátha* to be a late g.sg. of *bláth*, 'flower' (an *o*-stem), as at l. 120 *sup*. See *IGT* § 38.

² 'August', O'D. I have no other example of the expression: *muid* 'milk-vessels' (cf. *Li*.) would alliterate, but is not convincing.

³ *cuird* is attested only in one other example: *ro chum cathraig, cróda in chuirid*, *LL* 161 b 49, which is cited in the glossary in H. 3. 18 and defined *i. ceird nó obair nó cathir*, see Meyer, s.v.

⁴ The royal dwelling was near Lough Foyle.

⁵ *fris tuillter thuaid* is obscure to me; 'by which the north is replenished,' O'D.

⁶ The text is doubtful: read *mám tocaid* 'a rich tribute'?

| | | |
|--|--|----------------|
| 13 faen-long] findlong M. | 15 ní sáirthin] marthairthin Li, M. | 16 cid |
| dál dligid] nocha bec sin Li; ní baidh nimnidh B, M. | | 17 mbán-bilib] |
| mbáinimlib Li, B, M. | 18 fris] fria M. tuillter] tailltear B. | thuaid] thuaig |
| L; thuaidh Li, B, M. | 20 chocaoid] cococaoid L; tagaidh Li; is mam tochaoidh | |
| B; isam tagaidh M. | 21 trom-thocaoid] cruadchagaoidh Li, B, M. | |

- Deich cét lulgach ó lucht Lí
cét mart, is breath fírinde,
is caeca dam do damaib
925 la caeca torc trom-tharaid.
- Céd lulgach ó thuathaib Tort,
caeca tindi, caeca torc,
la caeca brat ndatha dó
ó Dún na Huidri a n-aen-ló.
- 930 Céd mart ó Fëaraib Muigi
is cét lulgach lán-buidi,
caeca brat, is breath chána,
do ríg Ailig imdána.
- 935 Ní dleagur a Tulaig Óg
cáin do ríg Febail na fót,
dáig gabthar asa tír thend
rígi for fearaib Éirind.
- 940 Nocho dleagar asin Chraíb
cís do ríg Ailig co n-aíb;
ní dleagar a Muig Ítha
cáin ná cacht tar caem-chrícha.
- 945 Ní dleagur d'Inis Eógain
cís don aird-ríg nach deólaid;
ní dleagar do Chloind Chonaill
cís ná bás ná bán-olaind.
- [198b] Iat so cána ríg Ailig;
ní saí neach nachas airig;
ní dligend rígi ná reacht
in rí nach coingéba a chert. C.

2

- 950 At eat and so odra acus tuaristla ríg Ailig dia thuathaib 7 dia
aicmib ar biathad 7 ar choimideacht. Dligid *didiu* rí Ailig fodesin
in tan nach fa rí for Éirind leath-láim ríg Éirind ac ól 7 ac aenach 7
remimthús ríg Éirind i coraib 7 i comairlib 7 impidib. Dligid ó ríg

23 .x.c. brat ní breath neimhni M.
31 lán-buidi] gan luighi Li, B, M.

25 trom-tharaid] tidnaghair Li, B, M.
34 dleagur] dligéand L. 36 thend]

A thousand milch cows from Fir Lí, a hundred beeves, true judgement, fifty oxen, and fifty heavy boars.

A hundred milch cows from the Uí Thuirtre, fifty fitches, fifty boars, and fifty coloured cloaks from Dún na Huidre on one day.

A hundred beeves from Fir Muige¹, a hundred tawny milch cows, fifty cloaks is the rent assigned to the bold king of Ailech.

No tax is due from Tulach Óg to the king of Febal of the swards, for kingship over the Men of Ireland may come from their strong country.

No rent is due from An Chraeb to the gracious king of Ailech; no tax or thrall is due from Mag nÍtha for their fair lands.

No rent which is not gratuitous is due from Inis Eógain to the high-king; Cland Chonaill owes no rent nor service nor wool.

Those are the taxes of the king of Ailech. He is no sage who is not aware of them. The king who will not maintain his right is entitled neither to kingship nor to rule.

2

These are the payments and stipends from the king of Ailech to his tribes and kindreds for refecton and escort. The king of Ailech, when he is not king of Ireland, is himself entitled to sit beside the king of Ireland at a drinking-bout and at an assembly and to precede the king of Ireland at transactions, councils, and petitions. He is

¹ MacNeill observes that Fir Muige and Mag nÍtha must be different places (*Celtic Ireland* 90), and suggests that the former is Moy, Co. Tyrone. *Ítha* in l. 891 (all four MSS) must be an error in the common source.

theind M. 37 airdrighi uili ar erim M. *This quatrain and the next are in reverse order in M.* 38 asin] asa M. 41 na] no B caem-chricha] troimtricha Li; tromericha B, M. 43 nach] dan M. delóaid] teolaig L. 46 Iat so cána] ac sin cisa Li; ag sin cana M. 47 nachas airig] nach sarairig L; nachad soirigh M. 48 rígi] ri L. 49 a chert] an cert Li. 50 At eat and so] at iat so Li; as siat so B; om. M. odra acus tuaristla] fogla tuarastal B; tuarastla M. 51 rí] rig L. 52 fa] om. Li, B; ba M. rí] rig L. Érind] add. e M. leath-láim] so B; leathlam L, Li, M. 52-3 7 remimthús rig Érind] om. M. 53 i coraib] 7 i comdalaib add. B.

Érind caeca claideam 7 caeca sciath 7 caeca mogad 7 caeca errid 7
955 caeca each. Do rí Ailig in sin.

Fodlaid-seom didiu a thuaristol *sic*: cóic scéith, cóic claidim 7
cóic cuirnd 7 cóic mná 7 cóic mogaid 7 cúic eich do rí Cairpri
Droma Cliab. Cóic scéith, cóic mogaid, cóic mná, cóic claidim do
ríg Cenéil Aeda Easa Ruaid. Sé heich, sé scéth, sé claidim, sé
960 cuirnn, sé bruit gorma 7 sé bruit uaine do rí Chenéil Bógaine.
Cóic eich, cóic scéith, cóic claidim, cúic bruit, cúic lúireacha do
ríg Chenéil nÉnda. Seacht mná, seacht mogaid, seacht n-eich,
secht claidim do rí Ceneóil Lugdach. Seacht mogaid, seacht mná,
seacht claidmi, seacht cuirn do rí Indsi Heógain. Sé heich, sé
965 cuirn, sé claidim, sé scéith, sé coin do rí Muigi Ítha. Trí heich,
trí scéith, trí claidim, trí cuirn do rí Hua Fiachrach Arda Sratha.
Trí heich, trí scéith, trí claidim, trí cuirn do rí Fear Luirg. Trí
heich, trí scéith, trí claidim, trí bruit uaine do rí na Craíbi. Trí
mná, trí matail, trí hinair do rí Hua Meic Cáirthaind. Trí heich,
970 trí scéith, trí cuirn, trí claidmi do rí Ciannachta Glenna Gemin.
Sé mogaid, sé gabra, sé claidim, sé scéith do rí Fear Lí. Trí mná,
trí mogaid, trí heich do rí Hua Turtre. Caeca mogaid 7 caeca errid
7 caeca brat 7 caeca lúireach do rí Thulcha Óg. Conad don fodail
sin 7 don chomroind ro chachain Benén:

975 A fír dá ndeachais fo thuaid
tar Mag nÍtha n-imilchruaid,
indis tuaristal cach aín
ó rí Ailig abrad-cháin.

An tan nach rí d'Érind áin
980 rí Ailig co n-adbal-cháin,
dligid leath-gualaind cen locht
ó rí Érenn na n-ard-phort.

Caeca claideam, caeca sciath,
caeca mogad, is mór-fíach,
caeca errid, caeca each,
985 do rí Ailig na n-ard-breath.

54 mogad] modaid L; mogaig M. 55 in] ind L. Do rí Ailig in sin.]
om. M. 56 seom] rig oilig M. *sic*] *add.* da mhuindtir M. 57 mogaid]
mogaig L. 59 Chenéil Aeda] cenel naeda L. Easa Ruaid] *om.* Li, B, M.
scéth] sleaga B, M. 60 Chenéil] cheneil L. 61 scéith] sleagha M.
claidim] L *add.* 7. cúic lúireacha] *om.* L. 62 Chenéil nÉnda] ceneoil
nenna Li. 63 Cheneóil] ceneoil L; ceneil Li. 64 sé] .uii. M (*bis*) 65
sé claidim]. .uii. cloighimh nó .ui. cl- 7 se sleagha 7 M. 66 scéith] sceich
L. rí] ri L. Hua . . . Sratha] *om.* Li. 67 Trí . . . cuirn] an

entitled to fifty swords, fifty shields, fifty slaves, fifty suits of armour, and fifty horses.¹ That is for the king of Ailech.

He distributes his stipend thus: five shields, five swords, five horns, five women, five slaves², and five horses to the king of Cairpre Droma Cliab. Five shields, five slaves, five women, and five swords to the king of Cenél nAeda Easa Ruaid. Six horses, six shields, six swords, six horns, six blue cloaks, and six green cloaks to the king of Cenél mBógaine. Five horses, five shields, five swords, five cloaks, and five coats of mail to the king of Cenél nÉnda. Seven women, seven slaves, seven horses, and seven swords to the king of Cenél Lugdach. Seven slaves, seven women, seven swords,³ and seven horns to the king of Inis Éogain. Six horses, six horns, six swords, six shields, and six hounds to the king of Mag nÍtha. Three horses, three shields, three swords, three horns to the king of Uí Fhiachrach Arda Sratha. Three horses, three shields, three swords, and three horns to the king of Fir Luirg. Three horses, three shields, three swords, and three green cloaks to the king of aín Chraeb. Three women, three mantles, and three tunics to the king of Uí Meic Cáirthinn. Three horses, three shields, three horns, and three swords to the king of Ciannachta Glenna Gemin. Six slaves, six horses, and six shields to the king of Fir Lí. Three women, three slaves, and three horses to the king of Uí Thuirtre. Fifty slaves, fifty suits of armour, fifty cloaks, and fifty coats of mail to the king of Tulach Óg. And of that distribution and division Benén sang:

O Man, if you were to travel north across Mag nÍtha of the firm borders, tell the stipend of each one from the king of Ailech of the gentle brow.

When he is not king of noble Ireland, the king of Ailech, rich in tribute, is entitled to sit by the faultless side of the king of Ireland of the hills.

Fifty swords, fifty shields, fifty slaves—a heavy debt—fifty suits of armour, fifty horses to the king of Ailech of high judgement.

¹ Butscell. 37, 78 for a different stipend. ² Omitted in the verse. ³ 'Horses' in the verse.

| | | | | |
|--|---|--|------------|-------|
| coibheis cedna Li. | ríg] ri L. | 68 scéith] sleagha B, M. | ríg] ri L. | 69 |
| Cáirthaind] cairthinn Li. | | 70 scéith] sceich L; sc̄ Li; sleaga B, M. | | 71 |
| sé claidim] om. L, Li; cl- B; cloigim M. | | scéith] sleaga M. | ríg] ri L. | Fear] |
| bhfer Li. | 72 rí] ri L. | 73 brat] each <i>deleted before</i> brat M; .i. long <i>add.</i> | | |
| Li. rí] ri L. | fodail] fógail L; foġ Li. | 74 chachain] can M. | Benén] | |
| benin L; benen indso Li. | 75 ndeachais] ndighis Li. | 76 tar] co B, M. | | |
| 79 rí] rig L. | 81 -gualaind] guala L, Li, M; gualaind B. | 86 breath] | | |

chrech Li, B; M *omits the quatrain.*

- Dligid a rígrad co rath
 ó rí Ailig na n-arm-chath
 iar scís cruadastair ro cluin
 990 *tuarastail* is tidnocail.
- [198c] Cúic scéith, cúic claidim, cúic cuirn,
 cúic eich, cóic mná, mór a muirnn,
 do rí Chairpri Droma Cliab
 ó rí Ailig na n-óir-shrian.
- 995 Dligid rí Ceneóil Aeda
 cóic scéith, cóic claidmi caela,
 cóic mogaid tar moing mara,
 cóic mná finda fír-glana.
- 1000 Rí Ceneóil Bógaine buain,
 dligid sé eochu marc-sluaig,
 sé scéith, sé claidim, sé cuirnd,
 sé bruit uaine, sé bruit guirm.
- 1005 Dligid rí Ceneóil Énna
 cóic eich áilli im-thréna,
 cóic scéith, cóic claidim chatha,
 cóic leanna, cóic lúireacha.
- 1010 Dligid rí Ceneóil Lugdach
 secht claidmi re cruad-urbach,
 seacht mná, seacht mogaid co moch,
 seacht n-eich ána don ánoth.
- Dligid rí Indsi hEógain
 seacht mogaid, ní mór-deólaid
 seacht n-eich, seacht mná tar muir mór
 secht cuirn chaema fri comól.
- 1015 Dligid rí Muigi Ítha
 sé heich chaema tar crícha,
 sé cuirn, sé claidim, sé coin,
 sé scéith finda tar froigthib.

87 Dligid] dlegait B, M. rígrad] rigraid L; righrad Li; rigradh B; rigraigh M.
 89 -astair] aistir L; astair Li, B, M. 91 claidim] claidem L; cl- Li.

His prosperous kings are entitled to stipends and gifts from the warlike king of Ailech after the toil of a hard journey.¹

Five shields, five swords, five horns, five horses, and five women of high spirit to the king of Cairpre Droma Cliab from the king of Ailech of the gold bridles.

The king of Cenél nAeda is entitled to five shields, five slender swords, five slaves from beyond the sea, and five fair women.

The king of Cenél mBógaine is entitled to six cavalry horses, six shields, six swords, six horns, six green cloaks, and six blue cloaks.

The king of Cenél nÉnna is entitled to five fine strong horses, five shields, five swords for battle, five mantles, and five coats of mail.

The king of Cenél Lugdach is entitled to seven swords for hard smiting, seven women, seven slaves right soon, seven noble horses for the champion.

The king of Inis Eógain is entitled to seven slaves—no great bounty—seven horses, seven women from over the great sea, seven fair horns for the drinking feast.

The king of Mag nÍtha is entitled to six fine horses from abroad, six horns, six swords, six hounds, six white shields to hang on his walls (?).²

¹ *ro chluin* is left untranslated; *leg. ra chluin* 'hear it!'

² The text is doubtful. Other MSS. have 'six fine hounds for hunting the stag'.

| | | |
|--|---|--------------------|
| cúic] <i>om.</i> L. | 92 mór a muirnn] gu mormhuirn Li. | 94 óir] aird L; |
| ard B; ardrían M. | 95 Ceneóil Aeda] cenel naeda L. | 99 Rí] rig L. |
| oo sé] cuic L; .ui. B; .u. M; .u. eich <i>co n-arduail</i> Li. | | 03 Ceneóil Énna] |
| cencil nenda L. | 06 leanna] longa Li; lenda B. | 07 Lugdach] |
| ludach M. | 08 re cruad-urbach] gu caemchumhdach Li. | 09 |
| seacht] seach L. | 10 don ánróth] <i>conardroth</i> Li. | 12 seacht] se L. |
| deólaid] deolaig L. | 13 mór] moir L. | 14 chaema] sama M. |
| .uii. B, M. | 17-18 sé cuirn . . . froighthib] .ui. cuirn .ui. scéith .ui. claidim / .ui. | 16 sé] |
| coin ailli fri hoighibhLi, B, M (ar ardoighibh). | | |

1020 Dligid rí Hua Fiachrach find
trí heich áilli 'cá deiglind,
trí scéith, trí cuirn, trí claidim
ó rí^g échtach Ard-Ailig.

1025 Dligid rí Fear Luirg, in laech,
trí heich áilli tar ard-fraech,
trí scéith, trí cloidim chorra
7 trí cuirn chom-donna.

1030 Dligid rí na Craíbi crod,
trí heich thenda a thuaristol,
trí scéith, trí claidmi catha,
trí bruit uaine aendatha.

Dligid rí Hua Meic Cairthaind
trí hinair co n-órfáithim,
trí matail chaema chána,
trí mná daera dingbála.

1035 Dligid rí Glindi Gemin
trí heich donda co demin,
trí scéith, trí cuirn, trí claidim
cach bliadna a lláim rí^g Ailig.

1040 Dligid rí Fer Lí in lacha
sé scéith, sé cloidmi catha,
sé gabra senga sotla
is sé mogaid mór-obra.

1045 Dligid rí Hua Tuirtre thuaid
trí gabra mera marc-sluaig,
trí mná co cendaib caema
is trí mogaid mór-daera.

1050 Dligid rí tend Tulcha Óg
caeca mog rathmar ós ród,
caeca claidem, caeca each,
caeca leand, caeca lúireach.

19 find] fein Li, B, M. 20 trí] se L; .ui. Li; tri B, M. 'cá deiglind] dia
oigreir Li, B, M. 23 rí] rig L. in] don Li. 24 áilli] ualcha Li. 25

The king of fair Uí Fhiachrach is entitled to three fine horses at his goodly pool, three shields, three horns, and three swords from the martial king of Ailech.

The warrior king of Fir Luirg is entitled to three fine horses across the heather, three shields, three pointed swords, and three brown horns.

The king of An Chraeb is entitled to wealth, three sound horses are his payment, with three shields, three swords for battle, and three green cloaks.

The king of Uí Meic Caírthinn is entitled to three tunics with gold borders, three fine mantles as payment, three worthy slave-women.

The king of Glenn Gemin is entitled, in sooth, to three brown horses, three shields, three horns, and three swords every year from the king of Ailech.

The king of Fir Lí of the lake is entitled to six shields, six swords for battle, six horses, proud and slender, and six hard-working slaves.

The king of Uí Thuirtre in the north is entitled to three spirited cavalry horses, three graceful women, and three slaves.

The strong king of Tulach Óc is entitled to fifty prosperous slaves on the highway, fifty swords, fifty horses, fifty mantles, and fifty coats of mail.¹

¹ Does not agree exactly with the prose. See also v. ll. to 973.

chorra] cora Li, B, M. 26 chom-donna] comola Li, B, M. 35 Glindi]
gleanda M. 38 a] i L. 41 senga] senga L. sotla] socra Li; sotla B.
42 is sé] ise L. mór-obra] mhoršotla Li; morobra B. 43 Hua] na Li.
thuid] atuidh B, M. 47 rí tend] treinri Li. 50 leand] lan[n] Li;
land M.

Atá sund senchas Síil Néill
 fácbaim i llibur co léir:
 lám Beneóin cen dímeas ndil
 is sí scríbas ann, a fir.

IV

1055

Do sheanchas Airgiall andso

1

Ní dlegat trá Airgialla acht slóiged trí coicthigis cach treas bliadain
 la hairdríg Éirind, 7 ní thiagait and sin mad earrach 7 mad fogmar 7
 secht cumala cach fir díb i ndon int slóigid sin, 7 seachtmad cach
 haithgena uaidib, 7 ní ícat in gait dogniad acht luga mērlig 7 ní
 1060 gabthar a n-eiteri i nglas nó i slabrad acht luga fo láim rígh 7 má
 [198d] théis ass íarum *noco* gaib foirb thalman nó nime.

Dleaghait dano trian gach tabhuigh ó rígh Ailigh 7 trian in trín
 sin la Síil Colla Mend 7 forudh rígh Airgiall fria forudh rígh Taillten
 7 issed a thomus co ma-rua *claidem* rígh Airgiall co hind lámha in
 1065 dáilimh, 7 is lais tidnocul gach treas cuirn daró gu rígh Temra. A
 ríghan in cumat cédna. Conad dóib ro chéad Benén and so:

Éistid cáin cluinebair
 seanchas ad-féidim,
 aenta ard Airgiallach
 fri rígraid Éirind.

1070

52 llibur] llebraib L; libur Li, B. 53 Beneóin] *benen* L. dímeas] *dimus*
 Li; dimeas L, B, M. 54 is sí] *asi* L, Li; *isi* B, M. scríbas] *do scrib* L.
 56 dlegat] *dligid* L; *dleghat* Li; *dlegait* B; *dleagaid*, M. Airgialla] *oirgiallaig*
 M. coicthigis] *caeicthighis* Li; *caecais* B; *caicis* M. 57 thiagait] *thiagaid* L;
thiagat Li; *thiagait* B; *hiagaid* M. 7] *no* Li, B, M. fogmar] *aimsear* in *sluaghaidh*
add. M. 58 cumala] *cumal* L; *cumala* Li. i ndon] *imnon* L; *inon* (*nó ar son*) Li;
indon B; *indon* . . . *catcha om.* M. int slóigid] *intloigid* L; *int sloghaid* Li. 59 ícat]
icait L; *thegaid* B; *thabraid* M. luga] *lughu* Li. 60-61 má théis] *na teis* L;
da neloaid M. 61 *noco* gaib] *nocon* agaib L; *nochu* gab Li; *no go* na gab
 B; *ni gabaid* M. 62-66 [*Text follows* Li (*and* B, M)]. Dleagaid dano trian
 catcha toraid o rig erind .i. trian na boroma .i. cuit rig ulad ar ndith ulad i cath
 achaid leith deirg lasna trí colla 7 forad rig oirgiall laim re forad rig erind i tailltin
 7 a n-uisneach 7 ar fes na samna 7 is ed a thomas co ma-rua a claidem lam rig herind
 7 is leis tidnocul cach threas cuirn doroa co rig temrach. Trian catcha ndleagaid o rig
 erind dligid sil colla meand uaidib seom ara beith na trenfeair. An cudruma bis
 rig airgiall o rig temrach is ed sin dligis a rigan o rigain rig herind L. 62 trín]
 triain M. 65 dáilimh] *daileman* M. tidnocul] *tindlucun* M. 66 in
 cumat] *fon cuma* M. chéad] *cet* Li; *cacain* B; *can* M. and so] *in so sis* Li;
 in saethar sa sis B, M. 67 éistid] *eistig* L. 68 ad-féidim] *atfedeam* Li.
 70 fri rígraid] *raid fri rig* L; *fria rígraid aird* Li; *raid fri ri* B; *raidhidh* fria rígh M.

Here is the tradition of Síl Néill. I record it plainly in a book.
The hand of Benén with due regard wrote it, O man!

IV

The tradition of the Airgialla

1

The Airgialla are bound only to a hosting of three fortnights with the high-king of Ireland every third year, and they do not go in Spring or in Autumn, and seven cumals are paid for each man lost on that hosting,¹ and only one seventh of every restitution from them and they do not pay for a theft they commit, but they swear the robber's oath, and their surety is not held in fetter or chain, but he swears under the king's hand, and if he absconds thereafter, he does not inherit on earth or in heaven.

They are entitled moreover to a third of every levy from the king of Ailech,² and a third of that third belongs to the line of Colla Mend. And the seat of the king of Airgialla is beside the seat of the king of Taitiu, and the distance of it is so that the sword of the king of Airgialla may reach the tip of the cup-bearer's hand. And it is his privilege to receive every third horn that comes to the king of Tara. His queen is entitled to the same privilege. And for them Benén sang this:

Listen to a law that ye shall hear,³ the tradition which we relate,
the high covenant of the Airgialla with the kings of Ireland.

¹ The verse provides compensation of seven cumals for a hosting made across their territory without permission.

² This does not agree with the verse in l. 1105, but it is important as recognizing the subjection of the Airgialla to Ailech, see *EIHM* 224-5. *L* has a peculiar variant in the prose: They are entitled to a third of every kind of produce from the king of Ireland, i.e. a third of the Bóroma, i.e. the share of the king of Ulaid on account of the defeat of the Ulaid by the three Collas in the battle of Achad Leith Deirg; and the seat of the king of Airgialla is beside the seat of the king of Ireland at Taitiu and Uisnech, and at the Feast of Samain, and the distance is so that his sword may reach the king of Ireland's hand, and it is his privilege to receive every third horn that comes to the king of Tara. The line of Colla Mend is entitled to a third from them of all that they are entitled to from the king of Ireland, because he was a champion. The queen has a right to be as close to the queen of the king of Ireland as the king of Airgialla is to the king of Tara (Ireland).

³ *cluinebair*: 2 pl. pres. indic. of *atcluínim*, *cluínim*. I have no other example of the form, As the form is relative, lenition should probably be supplied.

- Dleagar ó Airgiallaib
iar reachtaib riagla
slógad tri cóicthigis
cind téora bliadna.
- 1075 Ní i n-earrach thiagaid-seom,
iss ed ro chuala,
nach ar chind fogamair
fri bruinne buana.
- 1080 Seacht cé t a tochamlad
iar ndul ó thuathaib,
seacht cé t dóib atharrach
do sédaib sluagaid.
- 1085 Sluagad dar Airgiallu
can iasacht n-árach,
seacht cumala dóib-seom
ind iarna bárach.
- 1090 Dia marbad indili
i laithib sluaigid
seachta cach aithgena
dobrontar uaidib.
- 1095 Mad liud líthear-som
in ngnímaib geimlig,
nocho dleagar díb-seom
acht luigi merlig.
- Aiteri in Airgiallaig
cia théis as samlaid,
acht luigi an aiteri
cen glas cen tsabraid.
- 1100 Dia n-éla int aideri,
feib colas daerda,
ní talman togaidi,
ní nimi naemda.

71-74 om. M. 73 cóicthigis] caeicthighis Li; caecais B. 74 cind] a cind Li,
B. 76 ro] do L. 77 nach] nass L. ar] for L. 78 bruinne]
brúine L. buana] buada L. 79 seacht] se B, M. tochamlad]
d cumlad Li, B. 81 seacht] sé B, M. atharrach] ahearrach B. 82

There is due from the Airgialla according to rule three fortnights hosting every three years.

They do not go in Spring, as I have heard, nor at the beginning¹ of Autumn at the approach of the harvest.

Seven hundred is their muster on going forth from their tribes; seven hundred sêts² are given them in return for the hosting.

A hosting across the Airgialla without giving sureties,³ seven cumals to them for it on the morrow.

If they kill cattle during a hosting, only the seventh part⁴ of restitution is given by them.

If a charge be made of crimes for which a prisoner is fettered, there is due from them only the robber's oath.

A hostage of the Airgialla, though he go, it is likewise, only the oath of a hostage without lock or chain.

If the hostage abscond as a churl absconds,⁵ he will not be chosen on earth nor blessed in heaven.⁶

¹ *ar chind* in this sense is not usual, but the sense is indicated here.

² The prose does not mention this reward.

³ 'without respite for the debt', O'D.

⁴ The prose has *seachtmad* 'seventh', but *sechta* is not attested elsewhere in this sense.

⁵ *eolas* is probably for *élas*, but the error is common to all four MSS.

⁶ The variants in Lismore give better sense but they defy the metre.

sluagaid] sluagaig L; sluaḡ Li. 83 Airgiallu] airgiallaib L. 86 b́arach]
 marach L. 88 i laithib sluaidid] a laidib luaidid L. 89 seachta] .uiii.
 a Li, B, M. 90 dobrontar] dabeantar M. 91 liud] luidi L. lithear] liter
 Li. 92 geimlig] geimlib L; geimhl- Li; geimligh B. 93 nocho] ni Li.
 94 luigi] luga Li. 95 in Airgiallaig] na nairgiallach L; o airgiall- Li; ana oirgiall
 B; in oirgiallaigh M. 96 samlaid] samlaig L. 99 éla] eloda L. o1 ní]
 add. gheib Li, M. talman] talmain L, Li; talman B; talam M. o2 ní] na
 foirb Li; add. gcib M.

- 1105 Dligid rí Airgialla
 fo Éirind n-oraig
 do rígaib reachtma[raib]
 trian cacha tobaig.
- 1110 A thrian in triain-sin
 co fír nís fonna,
 la Colla Mórmenda
 macflaith na Colla.
- 1115 Ó theclait Éireannaig
 co forum n-anteam,
 forad ríg Airgialla
 for deis ríg Tailtlean.
- 1120 Tomas an fóraid-sin,
 co fír ní hainfis,
 co ria a chruad-chlaideam
 in dáileam daiglis.
- 1125 Dligid rí Airgialla
 seach cach triath trebdach
 cach threas corn deigleanda
 for deis ríg Temrach.
- 1130 Dligid a rígan-som
 cen bréic, cen baili
 in cumad cétna-sin
 ón rígain aili.
- Aitchem in Dúileamoin
 na n-uili n-éscid,
 int airdrí adamra,
 oirdnidi, éistid. Éistid.

2

Tuarastol ríg Airgiall ó ríg Éirind in so 7 tuaristol tuath Airgiall ó ríg Airgiall fodesin. Dligid *didiu* rí Airgiall cédamus ó ríg Éirind [199a] saergéillsine fora giallaib 7 a n-aithni i lláim ríg Temrach, 7 a

03 Dligid] dleghar do Li. Airgialla] airgiall L; airḡ Li; oirgiall B, M. *And so at 13, 19.* 04 oraig] oraíd L. 05 o airdrig teamra M; reachtma] rachma Li; *rechtma* B. 06 tobaig] toraid L, B; tobhaig Li, M. 07 triain] trin L, Li, B; triain M. 08 co fír nís fanda L; as fír nus fonna Li; is fír nís fonda B; co fear nos folla M, 09 Mórmenda] mormenta L; *nach cranna menn* Li; *menndata*

There is due to the king of Airgialla throughout sea-girt Ireland from lawful (?)¹ kings a third of every levy.

A third of that third—truly . . .²—belongs to Colla Menn,³ the young prince of the Collas.

When the men of Ireland assemble to the brilliant⁴ gathering, the seat of the king of Airgialla is at the right hand of the king of Taitiu.

The distance of that seat—truly it is no error⁵—is so that his hardy sword shall reach the spencer of the goodly fort.

The king of Airgialla beyond every tribal chieftain is entitled to every third horn of ale at the right hand of the king of Tara.

His queen without falsehood or illusion is entitled to the same allowance from the other queen.

We pray the Creator of all living things, the wonderful supreme King.⁶ Listen.

2

Here are the stipend of the king of Airgialla from the king of Ireland, and the stipend of the tribes of the Airgialla from the king of Airgialla himself.

The king of Airgialla, first of all, is entitled to the status of free hostages for his hostages and to entrust them to the king of Tara,

¹ *rigaib reachtma* must be corrupt. Leg. *rechtmaraib?* The verse confirms the odd claim to a third of the revenues of the king of Ireland as stated in the prose of L.

² The line is obscure; 'not feeble', O'D. following L.

³ *Menda* is an abstract from *mend* 'stammering'.

⁴ *aintem* 'brilliant' (*an-teim*)? Cf. *eirg i féirmaig Tailtten tall | ar bélaib aintem nÉrenn, Ériu* iv. 106. 2; *Met. Dinds.* iii. 50. 40; Aisl. MC 83. 19; *Fergus Antem ZCP* viii 293. 3. L, Li are simply wrong, and M is probably a scribe's correction.

⁵ or 'dishonour' (B-M).

⁶ For the nom. here see Murphy, *Duanaire Finn* iii. 68 n. 1, and O'Rahilly, *Desiderius* 248.

B; meanda M. 11 theclait Éireannaig] theglaid erind L; thecait eireannaig Li; teaclaid ereannaig B. 12 forum n-anteam] so B; forud na temrach L, Li (temra); foradh nairdtreab M. 13 Airgialla] airgiall L. 16 hainfis] hainmes B, M. 17 chlaideam] *add.* soñ L. 18 in] ni L. daiglis] dailis Li; dailes B, M. 19 rí] rig L. Airgialla] airgiall L. 20 seach] ria Li. 21 deigleanda] daiglenna Li. 24 bréic] bed M. 25 cumad] cuma Li; cumat B; comad M. 27 Dúileamoin] duileamon L; duil- Li; duileamain B. 29 airdrí] airdrig L. 30 oirdnidi] oirnidí L. 31 in so] andso L. Airgiall] noirgiall M. 32 rí] rig L.

n-éited 7 a mbiathad dóib, 7 a mbeith a rúinib rí, 7 meath dóib-
1135 seom má fos-lúiset asa ngéillsine.

Dligid rí Hua Niallán chéadamus trí scéith 7 trí claidim 7 trí
cuirn 7 trí heich, ó rí Éirind insin. Cóic bruit chorera 7 cóic
claidim 7 cóic eich do rí Hua mBreasail. Sé bruit 7 sé scéith 7 sé
claidim 7 sé cuirn 7 sé heich do rí Hua nEachach. Ceithri cuirn
1140 7 ceithri claidmi 7 ceithri scéith, ceithri bruit do rí Hua Méith. Trí
bruit 7 trí scéith 7 trí claidmi 7 trí lúireacha do rí Hua nDorthain.
Sé heich, sé mogaid, sé mná do rí Hua mBriúin ar Choill. Ocht
mbruit 7 ocht n-eich 7 ocht scéith 7 ocht claidim 7 ocht cuirn 7 ocht
mogaid do rí Leamna 7 Hua Creamthaind 7 Síil nDuibthíri. Trí
1145 heich, trí scéith, trí claidim, trí bruit, trí lúireacha do rí Léithreand.
Ceithri heich, ceithri mogaid, ceithri cloidmi, ceithri scéith do rí
Dartraige. Sé cuirn, sé scéith, sé claidmi, sé mná, sé fichthilla do rí
Fearnmuigi. Cóic bruit, cóic scéith, cóic claidmi, cóic longa, cóic
lúirecha do rí Fer Manach. Sé mogaid, sé scéith, sé claidmi, sé
1150 cuirn, dá brat déc do rí Mugdorn is Ros. Conid do choiméd na
cána sin 7 int [š]ochair sin ros fig Benén and so:

In cheist sea for chloind Cholla
for sluaig luchair Liathdroma
can fis a tuarastail tall
1155 ó rí Fuaid na find-fearand.

Atá sund, sloindfed-sa daíb
senchos cloindi Cairpri chaím:
cluinnid, a lucht Fáil na fian,
tuaristla áilli Airgiall.

Dligid rí Airgiall co n-aíb
1160 ó rí Héirind aiged-chain
saer-géillsine, saer a chor,
tuaristol is tidnocol.

34 7 a mbiathad] *om.* Li, B, M. a rúinib] i ruinib *no incaib* (*written above*) Li;
for uinib B; *for uaineamh* M. 35 fos-lúiset] fosluidsed L. asa] a Li, B, M.
36 chéadamus] cetamus Li. 37 Éirind] *airgiall* Li; *herenn* B; oirtear M. insin]
sin L; *om.* Li; insin B; and sin M. 40 ceithri bruit] *om.* L. 41 rí] ri L.
42 Choill] Chailli Li, M. 46 ceithri scéith] *om.* L. 47 Dartraige] dartraidi coin-
dinsi L. Sé] Se lúireacha se L. 48 cóic] .ui. *pass.* B, M. cóic
lúirecha] *om.* L. 49 rí] ri L. 50 Ros] rois B, M. 50-51 cána sin . . . and
so] sochar sin ro chan benén na briathra so Li; socur sin ro fig Benen in saithe so
sis B; do cuimniugud na socor sin da raid beinen seo sis M. 56 sloindfider
de B, M. 57 caimcairpre B, M. 58 cluinid] cluinig L. lucht] lucht
sluaig M. 60 Airgiall] oirtear M. 61 ó] do Li. aigedchain]
abradchain Li, B. 62 sairgialla co sairi cor M. 63 tidnocol] tidhnocol L.

and to their clothing and food, and that they be in the counsels of the king; and it is failure¹ for them, if they abscond from hostageship.

The king of Uí Niallín first is entitled to three shields, three swords, three horns, and three horses² from the king of Ireland. Five purple cloaks, five swords, and five horses³ to the king of Uí Bresail. Six cloaks, six shields, six swords, six horns, and six horses to the king of Uí Echach. Four horns, four swords, four shields⁴, and four cloaks to the king of Uí Méith. Three cloaks, three shields, three swords, and three coats of mail⁵ to the king of Uí Dorthain. Six horses, six slaves, and six women to the king of Uí Briúin Ar Choill. Eight cloaks, eight horses, eight shields, eight swords, eight horns, and eight slaves to the king of Lemain and Uí Chremthaind and Síln Duibthíre. Three horses, three shields, three swords, three cloaks, and three coats of mail to the king of Léithriu.⁶ Four horses, four slaves, four swords, and four shields to the king of Dartraige. Six horns, six shields, six swords, six women, and six sets of chess to the king of Fernmag. Five cloaks, five shields, five swords, five ships, and five coats of mail to the king of Fir Manach. Six slaves, six shields, six swords, six horns, and twelve cloaks to the king of Mugdorn and Ros. And it is to preserve that law and those benefits that Benén composed this:

This difficulty rests upon the descendants of the Collas, the bright host of Liathdruim,⁷ that they do not know the amount of their stipend from the king of bright Fuaid.⁸

Here is the tradition—I shall relate it for you—of the descendants of gentle Cairpre: learn, people of Fál of the *fiana*, the handsome stipends of the Airgialla.

The gracious king of Airgialla is entitled to freedom for his hostages—a noble compact—and to stipend and bestowal of gifts from the serene king of Ireland.

¹ Failure to perform a duty entailed legal penalties, see *AL Glossary*, s.v. *meth*. ² The verse adds three women. ³ The verse adds five shields.

⁴ Horses in the verse. ⁵ The verse adds three mantles.

⁶ The form of this name is doubtful. I take it as gen. sg. The accent is supplied. Cf. *léithriu* 'thong'.

⁷ Tara. See ref. in Hogan, *Onom.* 488.

⁸ The king of the Airgialla.

1165 Nae ngéill do ríg Fótla ar feacht
do deóin ríg Airgiall acnfeacht:
a n-aithni ac ríg 'Thlachtga thair
cen charcra 7 cen cheangail.

1170 Errad a ndingbála dóib,
each, claideam co n-cltaib óir,
cocor cubaid, cumdaig niam
d'aitirib áilli Airgiall.

1175 Meath dóib-seom dia n-élad as,
mesa don ríge beas glas;
acht sin ní dlig neach ní de
do ríge Airgiall oirdnide.

1180 Trí scéith, trí claidmi, trí cuirn,
trí heich, trí mná, mór a muirn,
do ríge Hua Niallán, niam cloth
ó ríge Éirind na n-uair-loch.

1185 Tuaristol ríge Hua mBreasail
cóic bruit chorcra is caemchasair,
cóic scéith, cóic claidmi catha,
cóic eich diana deag-datha.

1185 Dligid ríge Hua nEachach æib
sé bruit chorcra chorrtharchæin,
sé scéith, sé claidim, sé cuirn,
sé eich glasa, gabal-guirm.

1190 Dligid ríge Hua Méith in mál
ó ríge Macha na mór-dál
ceithri claidim, ceithri cuirn,
ceithri heich, ceithri bruit guirm.

1195 Tuaristol ríge Hua nDorthain
trí bruit chorcra co corrthair,
trí scéith, trí claidim chatha,
trí lenda, trí lúireacha.

64 ríge] rí L. 65 do deóin] a laim Li; a llaim B, M. 67 cheangail]
cheangal L; cheangail Li; cuibrig B; cuibrigib M. 70 cubaid] cumaig L;
cumaig Li; cumaigh B. 72 élad] elat Li. 73 mesa] meath Li, M.
gebeas glas] nos geib i nglas Li; geib a nglas B; nos geib geas M. 74 dlig
neach] dlegur Li. 75 ríge] rí L. oirdnide] oirnde L. 78 ríge] rí L.
79 ó ríge] du ri B; om. M. Éirind] oirgiall Li; herenn B, M. 81 cóic] trí
L, Li, B; .u. M. 84 æib] aird L; æib Li; næb B; naeid M. 85-87 sé]

Nine hostages¹ to the king of Ireland on his circuit by consent of the king of Airgialla all together; they should be entrusted to the king of Tlachtga² in the east without prison-cells or fetters.

They should receive fitting raiment, a horse, a sword with guards of gold, proper rights of council and splendour in their surroundings (?)³ for the comely hostages of Airgialla.

It is failure for them if they abscond; worse for the king who uses a fetter. Save that, no one has a claim upon the honoured king of Airgialla.

Three shields, three swords, three horns, three horses, and three merry women to the king of Uí Niall⁴ of brilliant fame from the king of Ireland⁴ of cool lakes.

The stipend of the king of Uí Bresail is five⁵ purple cloaks and a fine brooch (?), five shields, five fighting swords, and five swift horses of goodly colour.

The king of noble Uí Echach is entitled to six purple fringed cloaks, six shields, six swords, six horns, and six grey horses with dark legs.

The noble king of Uí Méith is entitled to four swords, four horns, four horses, and four blue cloaks from the king of Macha⁶ of the meetings.

The stipend of the king of Uí Dorthain is three purple cloaks with fringe, three shields, three fighting swords, three mantles, and three coats of mail.

¹ O'Rahilly cites this passage as evidence of the origin of the epithet *noigiallach* used of Niall, and suggests that there were originally nine *tuatha* of the Airgialla, *EIHM* 233; cf. *BR* 146, note w. ² Evidently a title for the King of Ireland.

³ *cumtach* is here taken to mean 'surroundings' in a general sense; 'elegant apartments', O'D.

⁴ Lismore makes the king of Airgialla pay the stipends; and Hy Many has *oirtear* in the prose. All four MSS. have *Airgiall* at l. 1132. O'Rahilly suggests that in the early period the king of each tribe of the Airgialla was directly subject to the king of Tara, with no mesne king. The title 'king of the Airgialla' first appears in *AU*, s.a. 696, and he may not have had the prerogatives of a provincial king. After the battle of Leth Cam in 827, the overlordship of the Airgialla seems to have passed to the king of Ailech. See *EIHM* 224-5. If there was a mesne king of the Airgialla by the end of the seventh century, the confusion here cannot be explained by a tradition even more ancient, but is due rather to the fact that the Airgialla are now subject to the king of Ailech, who was sometimes king of Ireland.

⁵ M alone is right.

⁶ The king of the Airgialla, cf. 1155 where he is called *rí Fuaid*.

coic L *pass.* 85 chorrtharchæin] cheathairaid L. 87 glasa gabalgairm]
glesta co nglanmhuirn Li. 91 heich] bruit L. bruit] hech L. 92
Tuaristol ríg Hua] dligid arri o Li, B. 93 co corrthair] corrthorblaith Li.

Dligid rí Hua mBriúin ar Choill,
 sé heich bus triúin re togroim,
 sé mogaid nach caela a gcáin
 sé mná daera dá ndingbháil.

1200 [199b]

Dligid rí trí tuath is tír
 tuaristol aili don rí,
 Fir Leamna is Huí Chreamthaind chais,
 Síil Duibthíri triath-amnais.

1205

Ocht n-eich donna dleagar dó,
 ocht mbruit chorera bus caem-ló,
 ocht scéith, ocht claidim, ocht cuirn,
 ocht mogaid diana deag-duirn.

1210

Dligid rí Léithrind na laech
 trí heich áilli, ní hingaeth,
 trí scéith, trí claidmi catha,
 trí leanna, trí lúireacha.

1215

Dligid rí Dartraigi, in daig,
 ceithri mogaid mórastair,
 ceithri claidim chruaidi i cléith,
 ceithri heich, ceithri hór-scéith.

1220

Dligid rí Fearnmuigi find
 sé cuirn lánglana im lind,
 sé scéith, sé claidim chama,
 sé findmná, sé fichthilla.

1225

Dligid rí Fer Manach mór
 cúic bruit co corrtharaib d'ór
 cóic scéith, cóic claidmi catha,
 cóic longa, cóic lúirecha.

Dligid rí Mugdorn is Ros
 sé mogaid co mórdóchos,
 sé claidim, sé scéith, sé cuirn,
 sé bruit chorera, sé bruit guirm.

97-99 sé heich . . . ndingbháil] tri hinair co norfáithim / se hech, se mogaid
 malla / se mna daera dingbala L, at variance with the prose and with Lí, B, M.
 97 triuin re togroim] trena martarthaim M. oo trí tuath] .h. tuiitre L at

The king of Uí Briúin ar Choill is entitled to six horses for keen pursuit, six stout slaves in payment, and six slave women to match them.

The king of three tuaths in the country is entitled to another stipend from the king, Fir Lemna, Uí Chremthainn, and SílnDuibthíre.

Eight brown horses are due to him, eight purple fleecy cloaks, eight shields, eight swords, eight horns, and eight strong-fisted slaves.

The king of Léithriu of the warriors is entitled to three fine horses, a prudent pledge, three shields, three fighting swords, three mantles, and three coats of mail.

The king of Dartraige, a flame of valour, is entitled to four hardworking slaves, four swords hard in battle, four horses, and four golden shields.

The king of fair Fernmag is entitled to six polished horns for ale, six shields, six curved swords, six fair women, and six sets of chess.

The great king of Fir Manach is entitled to five cloaks with gold fringe, five shields, five fighting swords, five ships, and five coats of mail.

The king of Mugdorn and Ros is entitled to six willing slaves, six swords, six shields, six horns, six purple cloaks, and six blue cloaks.

variance with the prose and with Li, B, M. 04 dleagar] dleadar L;
 dlegur Li; dligid B; dleadair M. 08 Léithrind] leithrenn Li; leithrind B.
 10 catha] chatha L. 12 Dartraigi] dartraidi L, Li; dartraighe B. 14
 chruaidi] cruaid L; cruadhi Li. 16 find] in find L. 17 lánglana] losglana
 B, M. 21-23 cóic] .ui. pass. B, M. 24 Ros] rois B, M. 25 co mórdóchos]
 co mordathuis B; da mordais fois M.

1230 Atá sund senchas na slóg
 dá tuc grád co bráth Bencón;
 acht int í bus treórach teist
 ar cach n-cólach is ard-cheist. IN.

V

Do othraib *et* do thuaristalaib Ulad inn so

1

Dligid rí Ulad chédamus in tan nach rí for Éirind hé féin .i. leathlám
 ríg Héirind 7 corob hé bus túisci beas 'na chocar 7 chaeimtheachta
 1235 in comairead beas i fail ríg Éirind. Acus in tan muscérad, caeca
 claideam 7 caeca each 7 caeca brat 7 caeca cocholl 7 caeca sging 7
 caeca lúireach 7 tricha falach 7 dech mílchoin 7 deich matail 7 deich
 cuirn 7 deich longa 7 fichi glac losa 7 fichi ug failind do ríg Ulad,
 sin uili cach thres bliadan.

1240 Fodlaid *didiu* rí Ulad tuaristol dá rígaib .i. fichi corn 7 fichi
 claideam 7 fichi mílchon 7 fichi mogaid 7 fichi each 7 fichi brat 7
 fichi matal 7 fichi cumal ó ríg Ulad do ríg Dál nAraidi. Trí heich,
 trí mogaid, trí mná, trí longa do ríg Dál Riata. Ceithri longa,
 ceithri mogaid, ceithri heich do ríg in Airrthir. Sé mogaid, sé heich,
 1245 sé cuirn, sé claidim do ríg Hua nEarca Chéin. Ocht cuirn, ocht
 n-eich, ocht mogaid do ríg Dáil Buinne. Ocht mogaid, ocht n-eich
 co n-allaib argaid do ríg Hua mBlaithmeic. Dá falaig 7 deich longa
 7 deich n-eich 7 deich srén 7 deich scingi do ríg Duibthrin. Ocht
 longa 7 ocht mogaid 7 ocht n-eich 7 ocht cuirn 7 ocht mbruit do
 1250 ríg na Harda. Ocht mogaid 7 ocht mná 7 ocht n-eich 7 ocht longa
 do ríg Leithi Cathail. Trí heich 7 trí matail 7 trí cuirn 7 trí coin do

29 dá] dia Li, B. 30 teist] test L. 31 ard-cheist] ardcest L. 32
 inn] and L. 33 rí] ríg L. 34-35 túisci . . . comairead] tuisce cogair
 7 caeimtheachta cein Li; tosach cogair 7 coimhídeachta in eadh B; tosach cocair
 7 comairli 7 coimídeachta an gein rab a fail M. 35 muscérad] scerat Li;
 musgerad B; scaraid M. 38-39 longa . . . uili] longa do-som uile Li; longa
 do sin uile B; longa lais da thig o rígh erenn M. 39 bliadan] bliadna o rígh
 erenn Li; bliadna o rígh Herenn B. 40 Fodlaid . . . rígaib] om. Li, B, M.
 41 mogaid] moġ Li. 43 Dál] dail B; dala M. 44 in] ind Li. mogaid]
 mogaig L; moġ Li, B. 45 sé claidim] om. M. Hua nEarca Chéin] oendarc
 do chein Li; aendarc dí chein B; hua nerca cein 7 .ui. cl- do fos M. cuirn] cumla
 ocht nairdeocha B. 46. n-eich] ocht sceith add. Li. Dáil Buinne] so B; dal
 mbuindi L, Li, M. 47 allaib] adallaib L; alluibh Li; all- B; allaib M. ríg]
 ri L. 48 Duibthrin] in duib trin M.

Here is the tradition of the hosts whom Benén always loved: it is a great difficulty to all the learned, save him who is expert in testimony.

V

The wages and stipends of the Ulaid

1

The king of the Ulaid first, when he is not himself king of Ireland, is entitled to sit beside the king of Ireland and to be first in his council and retinue so long as he is with the king of Ireland. And when they part, fifty swords, fifty horses, fifty cloaks, fifty hoods, fifty hides (?),¹ fifty coats of mail, thirty bracelets, ten hounds, ten mantles, ten horns, ten ships, twenty handfuls of herbs, and twenty gulls' eggs² to the king of the Ulaid—all of that every three years.

The king of the Ulaid distributes a stipend to his kings as follows: twenty horns, twenty swords, twenty hounds, twenty slaves, twenty horses, twenty cloaks, twenty *matail*, and twenty cumals from the king of the Ulaid to the king of Dál nAraide. Three horses, three slaves, three women, and three ships to the king of Dál Riata. Four ships, four slaves, and four horses to the king of the Airther. Six slaves, six horses, six horns, and six swords to the king of Uí Ercá Chéin. Eight horns, eight horses, and eight slaves to the king of Dál mBuinde³. Eight slaves, eight horses with silver bridles to the king of Uí Blaithmeic. Two bracelets, ten ships, ten horses, ten bridles, and ten hides (?) to the king of Duibhthrian. Eight ships, eight slaves, eight horses, eight horns, and eight cloaks to the king of the Arda. Eight slaves, eight women, eight horses, and eight ships⁴ to the king of Leth Cathail. Three horses, three mantles, three horns, and

¹ *scing* 'covering, garment, clothes, cloak'; presumably to be distinguished from *brat*, *lenn*, and *matal*. The original meaning was presumably 'hide' < N. *skinn*.

² The verse in L adds fifty shields and twenty bridles.

³ The verse adds eight cups and eight women, as in the prose of B.

⁴ 'Horns' in the verse.

ríg Boirchi. Deich cuirn 7 deich claidim 7 deich longa 7 deich mbruit do rí^g Coba. Sé cuirn [199c] 7 deich longa 7 deich n-eich 7 deich n-inair do rí^g Murthemne. Conid do thaiscid na sochar sin
1255 fogní Benén ann so:

Atá sund sochor Ulad
cen dochor, cen drochbunad,
mar íthair tuaristail thair
ó rí^g Boirchi bennachtaig.

1260

Tráth nach rí d'Érind uili
rí Ulad na hurlaidi,
dligid i Temraig na treb
lám rí^g Banba na mbuailead.

1265

Caeca claideam, caeca sciath,
caeca brat, caeca ech liath,
caeca cochall, caeca scing
is caeca lúireach lángrind.

[199c]

1270

Trícha falach, is fír sin,
deich mílchoin is deich matail,
deich cuirn drolmacha deasa, X
is deich longa lándeasa.

1275

Fichi ug faflind fearrda,
fichi glac losa learrda,
fichi srian sreathach sotal
do chruan is do charrmogal.

Is hé sin tuaristal tair
dliges rí Cuailnge chétaig
cach threas bliadan, ní báig baeth, X
ó rí^g Fódla na fiadfraech.

1280

Fichi cornn, fichi claideam,
fichi mílchon is murer,
fichi mogaid, muirn n-uabair,
fichi gabar gnáth-sluagaid.

52 rí^g] ri L. 53 n-eich] om. L. 55 fogní] dogni B; dorigni M. ann so]
in suite so Li. 58 íthair] ichtar Li; as coir M. tuaristail] tuaristlu Li.
59 rí^g] ri L. bennachtaig] beandachtain L; bennachtaigh Li; bennachtain B, M.

three hounds to the king of Boirche. Ten horns, ten swords, ten ships, and ten cloaks to the king of Coba. Six horns, ten ships, ten horses, and ten tunics to the king of Muirthemne. And it is to maintain those rights that Benén composed¹ this:

Here are the revenues of the Ulaid without penalty or bad origin, as stipends are paid yonder by the king of blessed Boirche.²

When he is not king of all Ireland, the king of the hard-smiting Ulaid is entitled, when in Tara of the steadings, to sit next to the king of Banba rich in cattle.

Fifty swords, fifty shields, fifty cloaks, fifty grey horses, fifty hoods, fifty hides (?), and fifty well-fitting coats of mail;

Thirty bracelets in truth, ten hounds and ten mantles, ten horns with handsome handles and ten fine ships;

Twenty gull's eggs, twenty handfuls of herbs from the sea-shore,³ twenty bridles with splendid ornament⁴ of precious stones;

That is the stipend to which the king of populous Cuailnge yonder is entitled every third year, no foolish boast, from the king of Fótla of heathy wastes.

Twenty horns, twenty swords, twenty hounds—it is a burden—twenty slaves, care-free gaiety, and twenty horses used to hosting;

¹ *fogni* for *dogní*, see F. 238.60. The form may be present or a weak preterite.

² Here the king of the Ulaid, but Boirche appears as a separate kingdom 1252, 1320.

³ Or 'plentiful handfuls'. For *lerda* 'numerous' see *Ériu* xiv 140.

⁴ Lit. 'proud ornamental bridles of red stone and carbuncle', but *srethach* is a vague term, here perhaps used of rows of stones.

60 Tráth] tan Li. 61 hurlaidi] hirghuili Li, M; hurghaile B. 62 Temraig] temraid L. 63 mbuailead] mbailed Li; mbuainfleadh B; mbuigean M. 64-67 .l. cl. l. ech ndonn | .l. brat .l. cocholl | .l. scing is duinech (nduilleach M) ndatha | .l. luirech lanchatha Li and so B, M, *agreeing with the prose.* 71 is] *om.* Li, B, M. lándeasa] fria luaithleasa Li; fri(a) lantreasa B, M. 72 Fichi ug] Li, B, M *omit this quatrain.* 77 rí] rig L. 78 báig] baid L; baidh Li, B, M. 79 fiadfraech] fiadbraech B; findlaech M. 83 gnáth-šluagaid] gnathsluagaig L; gnathshluag- Li; glansluagaig B; glansluagaig M.

- 1285 Fichi brat breac, ní bec ní,
fichi matal, maeth a líí,
fichi corn, fichi caili
do rí^g échtach Araidi.
- 1290 Tuaristal rí^g Dáil Riata
trí heich duba daigriata, X
trí mná, trí mogaíd móra X
is trí longa lánchróda.
- 1295 Tuaristal rí^g an Airthir
ceithri mogaíd nach mairbfit,
ceithri heich donda deasa,
ceithri longa lándeasa.
- 1300 Dligid rí Hua nEarca Chéin
sé gabra glana re gréin,
sé claidim chocaíd, sé cuirn
is sé mogaíd re mórmuirnd.
- 1305 Dligid rí Dáil Buindi báin
ocht cuirn 7 ocht copáin,
ocht mogaíd, ocht mná mesa,
is ocht ngabra glantreasa.
- 1305 Tuaristal rí^g Hua mBlaithmic
ocht mogaíd chaema chaithmid, X
ocht n-eich a sliabaib, ní slat,
co srianaib do sean-arcad.
- 1310 Tuaristol rí^g Duibthrin déin
dá falaig, deich n-eich, deich sréin,
deich scingi nach scaitheann sluag
is deich longa for Loch Cuan.
- 1315 Tuaristol rí^g na hArda
ocht ngaill, ocht ngabra garga,
ocht cuirn, ocht mbruit co mbennaib,
ocht longa do laidengaib.

84 breac . . . ní] ni suaill in ni Li; ni beag ini B, M. 87 rí^g] ri L. 88
rí^g] ri L. Dáil] dal L. 90-91 tri mogaíd tri mna dæra | is tri longa lan-
chæmha B, M, H. 93 mairbfit] muirfid L; mairbhfit Li; mairfid B; milltir M

Twenty cloaks, no small matter, twenty mantles of soft colour, twenty horns, and twenty women to the valiant king of Dál nAraide.

The stipend of the king of Dál Riata is three black horses well trained, three women, three full-grown slaves, and three stout ships.

The stipend of the king of the Airther is four slaves who will not kill (?),¹ four fine brown horses, and four handsome ships.

The king of Uí Erca Céin is entitled to six horses shining in the sun, six fighting swords, six horns, and six merry slaves.

The king of bright Dál mBuinde is entitled to eight horns, eight cups, eight slaves, eight valuable women, and eight horses for racing.

The stipend of the king of Uí Blaithmic is eight comely slaves . . .,² eight horses from the mountains, not stolen, with bridles of old silver.

The stipend of the king of fierce Duibhthrian is two bracelets, ten horses, ten bridles, ten hides which a host cannot pierce (?),³ and ten ships on Loch Cuan.

The stipend of the king of the Arda is eight foreign slaves, eight mettlesome horses, eight horns, eight cornered cloaks, and eight ships.⁴

¹ The meaning is absurd and the rhyme is bad. *mairfit* 'will endure' is hardly better.

² *chaithmid* is obscure to me; 'expensive', O'D., taking the form for *chaithmig*.

³ Doubtful; 'which fatigue not on an expedition', O'D., following L.

⁴ Only Li gives good sense.

95 lándeasa] lanmeasa B; laintreasa M. 96 nEarca Chéin] ndearca chein L; nerca cein Li; ndearc du chein B; nearca cein M. 97 sé] coic L. glana re] geala mar Li. gréin] gren L. 98-99 sé . . . mórmuirnd] sé cuirn se claidim cocaid | se mogaid re morobair Li. *and sim.* B, M. 00 Dáil . . . báin] dal mbuindi mban L, M; dail mbuinne bain Li; dail buindi bain B. 01 copáin] copan L; coṑ Li. 02 mesa] deasa L; mesa Li, B; masa M. 05 chaithmid] caithmit Li; caithmet B; caithmid M. 06 slat] slaid Li, B, M. 07 cona srianaib senargait Li, B, M. 09 sréin] sceith L. 10 scaitheann] scithenn L, Li; scaiteann B; caitheand M. 11 longa] mogaid L. Loch Cuan] loch chuan Li. 14 mbennaib] mbuindib L; mbeannuibh Li, *and so* B, M. 15 do laidengaib] lánchuillig L; do laidengaib Li; lancennaigh B, M.

Dligid rí Leithi Cathail
ocht mogaid can mórfachaid,
ocht mná, ocht n-eich donda ac dún,
ocht cuirn chroma fri caemchlúd.

1320

Dligid rí Boirchi in bili
trí gabra móra ar miri,
trí matail, trí cuirn cheana,
trí coin áilli æingeala.

1325

Tuaristol rí Cobha chuib
deich cuirn, deich claidim othair,
deich longa dá leanann slóg,
deich mbruit cona mbordaib d'ór.

1330

Dligid rí Murthemne in mind
sé cuirn asa n-eabar lind,
deich longa do laech elga,
deich n-eich, deich n-inair dearga.

1335

Seanchas rí Cuailnge is Boirche
cuimnig cach lá is cach n-oidche;
Benén ro leasaig ria lá
in sochar sin mar atá. Atá sund sochar.

2

[199d]

Biata ocus císá tuath nUlad and so

.i. i rRáith Móir Muigi Line chéadamus a chédbiathad. Trí chét
mart 7 trí chéd brat a lLine ind sin. Trí chaeca dam a Dál Riata, 7
trí chaeca torc 7 trí chaeca bó 7 trí chaeca brat a Semne. Dá chét
1340 torc 7 dá chét bó a Lathairnib. Céd bó 7 cét brat 7 cét molt a
Crotraige. Céd bó 7 cét molt 7 cét torc asin Brétaig. Céd mart 7 céd
molt 7 cét torc ó Forthuathaib ind sin. Trí chaeca mart 7 trí chaeca
torc óna Monchaib. Trí chét dam 7 trí chét bó asin Duibthriun.
Trí chét torc 7 trí chét brat a Leith Chathail. It é sin a biata ó

17 can mórfachaid] cach mórachaid L; gach morachaid Li; gan morfachaid B.
18 ocht . . . donda] ocht n-eich d'eachaib donda L. 19 caemchlúd]
claemhchudh Li. 21 trí] se L. 22 cheana] claena L. 23 æingeala]
firchæma L. 24 chuib] caeim Li; caim B, M. 25 othair] onchaeir Li;
ocair B; con-aib M. 27 mbordaib] nimlib Li; mbordaib B. 29 asa
n-eabar] leabra lan do L; asaneabhar Li; leabra lan am B; leabra lan da M.
34 Benén] benein L; beneoin Li; benen B, M. ria] re L, M; ria B; rea Li.
37 i rRáith] ar crich L; a raith Li, M; i rraith B. chéadamus]
om. Li. chéd-] ceit Li; cet B. 38-39 Trí . . . trí

The king of Leth Cathail is entitled to eight slaves without hardship, eight women, eight brown horses at his fort, eight curved horns for passing around.

The valiant king of Boirche is entitled to three big horses of mettle, three cloaks, three horns, and three handsome pure white hounds.

The stipend of the king of victorious Mag Coba is ten horns, ten wounding swords, ten ships which a host mans, and ten gold-bordered cloaks.

The proud king of Muirthemne is entitled to six horns for drinking ale, ten ships for the warrior of Elga,¹ ten horses, and ten red tunics.

Remember every day and night the tradition of the kings of Cuailnge and Boirche. Benén in his time established those rights as they are.

2

The refectations and rents of the tribes of the Ulaid

His first refectation is in Ráith Mór Maige Line: that is three hundred beeves and three hundred cloaks from Line. A hundred and fifty oxen from Dál Riata and a hundred and fifty boars; a hundred and fifty cows, and a hundred and fifty cloaks from Semne. Two hundred boars and two hundred cows from the Lathairne. A hundred cows, a hundred cloaks, and a hundred wethers from Crotraige. A hundred cows, a hundred wethers, and a hundred boars from the Brétach. A hundred beeves, a hundred wethers, and a hundred boars from the Fortuatha.² A hundred and fifty beeves and a hundred and fifty boars from the Monaig. Three hundred oxen and three hundred cows from Duibhtrian. Three hundred boars and three hundred cloaks from Leth Cathail. That is his maintenance from the free tribes apart from his subject tribes.

¹ The king of the Ulaid is here so called. *Elg, Elga* is a name for Ireland, see RIA Dict. E 108. 35, 50.

² *ó Fortuathaib ind sin* in L looks like a gloss which has crept into the text, having first been added to supply an omission by the scribe. The verse adds a hundred cloaks.

se . . . se L, Li; tri B, M. Dál] dail Li. 40 Lathairnib] lathairne L;
lathairnaib Li; latharnaib B; llatharnaib M. 41 Crotraige] crotraidi L,
Li; crotraige B. Céd bó] 7 ced brat *add.* L, Li. 42 ind sin] *om.* Li, B, M.
43 óna] o Li, B, M. Monchaib] manchaib. L. Duibhtrion] duibhtrian Li;
duibtrion B; Tri ched bo *add.* L. 44 biata] 7 a fesa *add.* Li.

1345 *šærthuathaib cenmothát a daerthuatha. Is lais-side immorro
turgnom loma 7 leanda 7 uamai can tacha uaidib. Conad dóib sin
ro chachain in suí Benén and so:*

1350 Dligid ríg Eamna agus Ulad,
ard in scél,
i Muig Macha fora chatha
nocho chél.

1355 Sé chaecaid mart a Muig Line,
ní luad mir,
sé chaeca bó, breath cean bine,
bearar lib.

Trí chaeca dam a Dál Riata
nos dlig díb,
7 trí chaeca muc mbiata
can breith síl.

1360 Trí chaeca sárbrat a Semne,
sloind do chách,
is trí chaeca sárbó selbe
rodath ráth.

1365 Dligid a Lathairnib loma,
ní luad ngó,
dá chéd torc co fiaclaib croma,
dá chéd bó.

1370 Dleagar a Crotraigi in choblaig,
cumnig lat,
céd molt, céd bó, nárbo dograig,
is cét brat.

1375 Céd molt, cét bó asin Brédaig,
borb in scél,
7 cét torc ina trédaib
mar adbér.

45 cenmothát] cenmotáit L; genmothat Li; gemotad B; gein mo ta M. lais-
side] laiside L; leosaidhe Li, B; leosighein M. 46 uamai] uamnai B, M;
umai H. can tacha uaidib] gach datha 7 oeini 7 esrada Li, B, M; gach
datha H. 48 rí] airdríg Li; airdri B, M. acus] is Li.

He has a right also to provision by them of milk, ale and needlework in plenty.¹ And of this Benén sang as follows:

I will proclaim, a noble story, the rights of the king of Emain and the Ulaid against his battalions on Mag Macha.

Three hundred beeves from Mag Line, no rash saying, and three hundred cows, is the faultless judgement awarded by you. ✕

He is entitled to a hundred and fifty oxen from Dál Riata and a hundred and fifty fat pigs that have had no young.

A hundred and fifty splendid cloaks from Semne—announce it to all—and a hundred and fifty fine cows of the herd. . . .²

From the bare Lathairne, it is no lie, he is entitled to two hundred boars with curved tusks, and two hundred cows.

From Crotraige of the ships are due—remember it—a hundred wethers, a hundred cows—may it be no bad herd!—and a hundred cloaks.

A hundred wethers, a hundred cows from the Brétach, a harsh tale, a hundred boars in flocks, as I shall declare.

¹ *uamai* for *uamma*. Or with Li, B, M: 'needlework of every colour and rushes and straw'.

² *rodath ráth* is obscure and probably corrupt. O'D., has 'in two days' following L, but this does not help. Alliteration is not required here, but *ráth* could mean 'surety' or 'guarantee'.

Ulad] Ultach Li. 50 i] ar L. fora] forsna Li; foradh M. 54
 bine] mine L. 56 Dál] dail Li, B. 61 sloind] sund L; slonn Li;
 sloind B. 63 rodath ráth] redathrath L; rodat rath Li; ro dath rath B; ro
 dhath rath M; robhadh rath H. 66 co fiaclaib croma] ata ula B. 68
 Crotraig] crotraidi L; crotraidhi Li; crotraige B. 70 céd bó] om. L. do-
 graig] doghraidh Li, B. 71 brat] mbrat B. 74 ina trédaib] ona treabthaib Li.

Céd molt a Forthuathaib arda
is cét mart
7 cét torc dianos tarda
la cét mbrat.

1380 Trí chaeca mart óna Monchaib,
nírbo mall,
trí chaeca caemthorc co corrthair
nocho cham.

1385 Trí chéd degdam asin Duibthriun
dleagar díb,
is trí chét bó cona nuithbriug
cosin ríg.

1390 Trí chét torc a tuathaibh Cathail,
nocha cruaidh,
trí chét degbrat cona ndathaib
dlegar thuaidh.

1395 Ac sin a chísa dia chobair,
cluínid lib,
cenmothát daerchlanda an domain
ina ndlig. *Dligid.*

VI

Do dligead ríg Theamrach and so

1

In tan nach rí for Éirind rí Temrach, is ed dliges céd claideam 7 céd sciath 7 céd n-ech 7 céd n-édach ndatha 7 céd lúireach. Ó ríg Éirind do ríg Theamrach ind sin. Ó ríg Theamrach dano dá rígaib 7 do 1400 thuathaib na Midi: fichi corn, fichi claideam, fichi mogad, fichi mílchon do ríg Breag. Cóic scéith, cóic claidim, 7 cóic bruit 7 cóic

76 a] o Li, B. 77 mart] mbrat L. 78 dianos] cianus B; rodu M.
tarda] targa M. 80-84 *This quatrain fols. l. 1371 in B, M.* 80 Monchaib]
manchaib L. 82 co] na Li, B, M. 84 degdam] dam L. Duibthriun]
diubtriun L. 86 nuithbriug] nuithbrig L; nuibrig B; nuibtriadh M; nuit-
briugh H. 88-91 Trí chét . . . thuaidh] om. L. 94 cenmothát] cenmotha
L. 97 In] An L. rí] ríg L. rí] ríg L; he Li; rígh B. dliges] do rígh

A hundred wethers from the high Fortuatha, a hundred beeves, a hundred boars, if he renders them, and a hundred cloaks.

A hundred and fifty beeves from the Monaig—let it not be slow—a hundred and fifty boars with straight. . . .¹

Three hundred goodly oxen are due from Duibthrian, and three hundred cows with their . . .² to the king.

Three hundred boars from the tribes of Cathal—it is not hard—and three hundred goodly cloaks well coloured are due in the north.

Those are his rents to maintain him. Hear ye, apart from the common people, what are his rights.

VI

The rights of the king of Tara

1

When the king of Tara is not king of Ireland, he is entitled to a hundred swords, a hundred shields, a hundred horses, a hundred coloured cloths, and a hundred coats of mail. That is from the king of Ireland to the king of Tara. Now from the king of Tara to his kings and to the tribes of Meath:³ twenty horns, twenty swords, twenty slaves, and twenty hounds to the king of Brega. Five shields, five swords, five cloaks, five horses, and five hounds to the

¹ *co* (v. l. *na*) *corrthair* is obscure; 'cloaks with borders', O'D.

² *nuithbring* is uncertain and probably corrupt; 'distended udders', O'D.

³ Note that Temair and Mide are here the same kingdom, a phase which O'Rahilly dates as beginning in the eleventh century, *EIHM* 166.

- cich 7 cóic coin do ríg Muigi Lacha. Deich n-eich, deich mogaid, deich mná, deich cuirn do ríg Laegairi. Seacht scéith 7 seacht n-eich 7 seacht mogaid 7 seacht mná 7 seacht coin do ríg Ardgail.
- 1405 Seacht n-eich, seacht claidmi, seacht cuirn, seacht mbruit do ríg Fear Cell. Sé heich, sé claidim, sé scéith, sé mogaid do ríg Fear Tulach. Ocht scéith, ocht claidim, ocht cuirn, ocht n-eich do ríg [200a] Fer Teathfa. Sé scéith, sé gabra, sé bruit, sé mogaid, sé cuirn do ríg Cuirene. Cóic cich, cóic claidmi, cóic bruit do ríg Hua mBecon.
- 1410 Cóic mná, cóic eich, cóic cuirn, cóic scéith do ríg Chailli Fallamain. Ocht mogaid 7 ocht mná 7 ocht n-eich 7 ocht scéith 7 ocht claidim do ríg Dealbna Móiri. Conid dóib sin ro chachain Benén:

- Dligid ríg Teamra tuirim,
ro indis Benén builid;
1415 ina ndligend i Temraig
saí laidne ro lán-meabraig.
- Céd claideab 7 céd sciath
dliges rí Temra na triath,
céd n-errad 7 cét n-each,
1420 céd leand 7 céd lúireach.
- Dligid find-ríg flatha Breag
fichi corn, fichi claideam,
fichi mílchon, fichi mog
ó ríg Themra i tuaristol.
- 1425 Dligid rí Muigi Lacha
cóic scéith, cóic claidmi catha,
cóic bruit chasa 7 cóic eich,
cóic coin gela 'na nglan-sreith.
- Dligid rí Laegairi luaith
1430 deich n-eich theanda dó 'na thuaith,
dech mogaid, deich mná móra,
deich coin, deich cuirn chomóla.
- Tuaristal ríg áin Ardgail
secht scéith, secht n-eich a hAlbain,
1435 secht mná móra, secht mogaid
7 secht coin do chonaib.

03 deich mná] *om.* L. 06 Fer Cell] bhfer gceall Li. 10 Chailli
Fallamain] caill follamain B; cailli oill- M. 12 Móiri] *om.* Li, B, M.
13 Dligid] Dligead Li; Dligheadh B. 14 builid] builig
L. 15 Temraig] temraid L; teamhraigh B. 16 laidne] leighind

king of Mag Lacha. Ten horses, ten slaves, ten women and ten horns to the king of Laegaire.¹ Seven shields, seven horses, seven slaves, seven women, and seven hounds to the king of Ardgal. Seven horses, seven swords, seven horns, and seven cloaks to the king of Fir Chell. Six horses, six swords, six shields, and six slaves to the king of Fir Thulach. Eight shields, eight swords, eight horns, and eight horses to the king of Fir Thethba. Six shields, six horses, six cloaks, six slaves, and six horns to the king of Cuircne. Five horses, five swords, and five cloaks to the king of Uí Beccon. Five women, five horses, five horns, and five shields to the king of Coill Fallamain. Eight slaves, eight women, eight horses, eight shields, and eight swords to the king of Delbna Mór. And it is for them that Benén sang:

Recount the rights of the king of Tara which gracious Benén has told; what is due to him at Tara has been memorized by a Latin scholar.

The king of Tara of the princes is entitled to a hundred swords and a hundred shields, a hundred suits and a hundred horses, a hundred mantles and a hundred coats of mail.

The fair king of the realm of Brega is entitled to² twenty horns, twenty swords, twenty hounds, and twenty slaves as stipend from the king of Tara.

The king of Mag Lacha is entitled to five shields, five fighting swords, five fleecy cloaks, five horses, and five white hounds in fine array.

The swift king of Laegaire is entitled to ten sturdy horses in his tribeland, ten slaves, ten full-grown women, ten hounds, and ten horns for the drinking-feast.

The stipend of the noble king of Ardgal is seven shields, seven horses from Scotland, seven full-grown women, seven slaves, and seven hounds.

¹ Details vary in prose and verse for Laegaire, and Fir Thethba.

² *Dligid* in l. 1413 is *asg.*, and it would be arbitrary here to amend *rig* to *rí*. In the following quatrains I have allowed either formula, *dligheadh ríogh* or *dlighidh rí*.

Li. meabraig] meamraid L; mheabhr- Li. 20 leand] lann B, M.
 28 coin] eich L; ech geala ech .u. coin B; coin Li, M. 33 rígh áin] trenri B, M.
 34 secht] se L; .uii. Li. secht] se L; .uii. Li. 36 secht] sese L. chonaib]
 naib L.

- Dligid rí Cailli Eachach
secht n-eich tréna don trebthach
 secht claidim re cor catha,
 1440 seacht cuirn, secht mbruit dergdatha.
- Dligid tend-ríg Fear 'Tulach
 sé heich a craesaib curach,
 sé claidim, sé scéith derga, x
 is sé gail cen gaeidealga.
- 1445 Tuaristol rí *Fear Teathfa*
 ocht scéith, ocht claidmi deabtha,
 ocht cuirn, ocht leanna 'na láim,
 ocht mná daera dá dingbáil.
- 1450 Dligid rí *Curcne* in chalaíd
 sé scéith 7 sé gabair,
 sé bruit 7 sé bachlaig,
 sé cuirn dála dian-athlaim.
- 1455 Tuaristol rí *Hua* mBeccon
 cóic eich luatha re lecon, x
 cóic bruit breaca, buan a ndath, x
 7 cóic claidim i cath.
- 1460 Dligid rí Cailli In Ollaim
 cóic scéith, cóic cuirn nos congaib,
 cúic eich a longaib lána,
 cóic mná daera dingbála.
- Dligid rí *Dealbna* na ndám
 ocht claidim, ocht scéith tar sál,
 ocht n-eich gu cosaib caela,
 ocht mogaid, ocht mná daera.
- 1465 Hé sin senchas rí *Temrach*
 ní fídir cach bard belgach;
 ní dír baird acht dír filead
 fis cach rí is a dliged. Dligid.

37 Eachach] *echt*ach Li; eachdach B; eathach M. 38 *secht* n-e ch] se
 coin L; .uii. scéith Li; .uii. neich B, M. 39 cor] coir M. 40 dergdatha]
 degdatha L; dergdhatha Li, B, M. 41 tend-ríg] tendrig L; treinri Li.

The king of Coill Echach¹ is entitled to seven strong horses from the king of tribes, seven swords for battle, seven horns and seven coloured cloaks.

The strong king of Fir Thulach is entitled to six horses from overseas (?),² six swords, six red shields, and six foreign slaves without speech.

The stipend of the king of Fir Thethba is eight shields, eight fighting swords, eight horns, eight mantles, and eight worthy slave women.

The king of Curcne of the fen is entitled to six shields, six horses, six cloaks, six slaves, and six horns for ready service.

The stipend of the king of Uí Beccon is five horses that are fast away, five brilliant cloaks of lasting colour, and five swords for battle.

The king of Coill In Ollaim³ is entitled to five shields, five horns for his treasure,⁴ five horses brought in well-laden ships, and five worthy woman slaves.

The king of festive Delbna is entitled to eight swords, eight shields from across the sea, eight horses with slender legs, eight slaves, and eight slave women.

That is the tradition of the kings of Tara—not every prattling bard can tell it—it befits not the bard but only the *file* to know the rights of every king.

¹ Fir Chell in the prose.

² 'from the middle of boats', O'D.

³ This seems to be another name for Coill Fállamain of the prose.

⁴ Lit. 'which he keeps'.

42 craesaib] creasaib L; grasaib M. 44 is] *om.* L. gaill] goill L. 45 rí] *om.* L. 46 deabtha] dethfa L. 49-56 *om.* B. 51 bachlaig] bachlaid L; bachel² Li. 54 lecon] licon L; lecon Li; leacon M. 55 buan a ndath] as buaine dath Li. 56 i cath] gu cruadhchath Li; a cruachath M. B *omits this and the preceding quatrain.* 57 Cailli] chailli L. In] imn Li. 63 ocht n-eich gu] coic eich L. 64 mná] mbann Li. 65 Hé sin senchas] Ac sin tuirthiudh Li; Ac soin tuarastla B; Ac seo tuarastla M. 68 is a] ima Li, B; is a M.

2

Tuarastla rí^g tuath Midi ro ráidseam. Císa *didiu* 7 bésa 7 biata
 1470 rí^g Temrach ó thuathaib andso feib ro hernit 7 ro hícait fri Cond
 7 fri Cormac 7 fri Cairpri conid díb gabsad rí^gi iar suidiu. Coimmes
 cána 7 coimíca cen tórmach ar dáig saidbri cen easnam ar daidbri
 acht mina theagain díth for finib nó pláig nó núna nó duinebath.
 A thobach iar coimméit 7 iar comlagat in cach bliadain. Trian
 1475 tobaig na cána sin do foirbfinib na Temrach i llón 7 i llongad dóib
 7 ar taiscid co huain, a thairic iar n-uain. Conid dóib atbert Benén:

Cís tuath Midi, mór in scél,
 ro indís filí fir-thrén
 [200b] mar fógnaid do Themair thair
 1480 ó aimseir Chuind Chétchathaig.

Dligid rí Temrach na tuath,
 saí no sealba co sársluag,
 caeca dam ón dáim Dési,
 caeca crán, caeca céisi.

1485 Trícha dam a Dáil Máthar,
 trícha cráin, ní cís bráthar,
 trícha molt, maith an áirim,
 do rí^g Midi mór fáilid.

1490 Trí chéd dam óna Dealbnaib
 do thorachtain co Temraig,
 trí chét torc, trí chéd tindí,
 trí chét molt ón mór-fíne.

1495 Trí chaecaid leand a Luignib,
 trí chaecaid torc nos tuirmid,
 trí chaeca mart cen mebail
 do thobairt co trom-Themair.

69 Tuarastla] Tuarostol L. tuath] thuath L, M. ro ráidseam] amal ro
 raidsemar L; ro raidhsium Li; ro raidseam B; da raidseamair M. 70 hernit]
 ernet L; hernid Li; hernit B; eirnit M. hícait] icaid L; hícait Li. 71
 Coimmes] comes L. 72 daidbri] daibri L; daidbre Li. 73 finib] fine B, M.
 núna] una L, M. 74 coimméit] coimed L. comlagat] comlaiged L.
 75 tobaig] tobaid L; tabhuigh Li. 76 thairic] tairec Li, B, M. n-uain]
 mbuain B, M. dóib atbert Benén] do sin ro raidh Beneoin Li. 78 fir-
 thrén] firen Li, B, M. 79 fógnaid] fhoghnuit Li. 82 no sealba] no sealb
 fai Li; ro scalbhtha B; rosealfach M. sársluag] sarluath L; sarsl- Li;

2

We have stated the stipends of the kings of the tribes of Meath. Now these are the rents, food-rents, and refectations of the king of Tara from the tribes as they were paid¹ to Cond and Cormac and Coirpre, and it is through them that the kings succeeded to the kingship afterwards. There is an equal reckoning of tax and payment without increase for wealth nor decrease for poverty unless want should come upon the kindred, or plague or famine or mortality. It is levied proportionately, great or small, every year. The levying third of that tax goes to the alien families of Tara for provision and sustenance, and for storing till the time of need, to be supplied in time of need (?).² And for them Benén said:³

The rent of the tribes of Meath, a great story, a powerful poet has told how it has served Tara in the east ever since the time of Conn Cétchathach.

The king of Tara of the tribes, a sage who owns it with a splendid host, is entitled to fifty oxen from the people of Déisi, fifty sows, and fifty young pigs.

Thirty oxen from Dál Máthar, thirty sows—it is not a kinsman's rent—thirty wethers, a good reckoning, for the happy king of Meath.

Three hundred oxen from the Delbna shall come to Tara, three hundred boars, three hundred fitches, and three hundred wethers from the great kindred.

Thrice fifty mantles from the Luigne, reckon thrice fifty boars as well, and thrice fifty beeves without deceit are to be given to mighty Tara.

¹ For *hernit*, *hicaít* s. *Féilsgribhinn Eoin Mhic Néill* 76 f.

² O'D. reads *co huain athairic iar n-uari* and translates 'to be stored by them for future occasion'. The sense is not clear and the text is doubtful.

³ Note that there is no prose summary of the tributes, and the names of the tributary tribes do not agree with those of the kings receiving stipends, except for the Fir Thulach and the Uí Beccan, cf. MacNeill, *Celtic Ireland* 92.

sarsluagh B; saersluag M. 83 ón] o Li, B, M. 85 Máthar] niathar L.
 86 ní] is L. bráthar] briathar L. áirim] monur L. 88 do] o Li.
 rígl] ri L. mórfáilid] in mormonad L. 90 Temraig] temraid L. 92
 ón] a B, M. 94 nos] is Li.

- 1500 Céd mart ó F'earaib Arda,
céd findmolt minas farcba,
cét torc, is trom in cumne,
ó bráithrib na mborb-Luigne.
- Cét sárbrat óna Saithnib,
céd crána, is crod firthaicid
7 céd mart ar moigib
is cet molt dia móroigid.
- 1505 Céd torc a Cuircne in chocaid,
céd mart, is mór an obair,
7 cet lulgach loma
do ríg láidir Liattroma.
- 0151 Trí chéd torc a tír Gaileang,
trí céd molt, trí chét ralenn,
trí chéd dam, dian in chobair,
don Chlaenráith do chualabair.
- 1515 Céd molt a Fearaib Tulach,
céd torc don dún nach dubach,
céd lulgach cona laegaib,
céd dam, nocho beart baegail.
- 1520 Trícha molt a Muig Lacha
do ríg Claenrátha in chatha,
trícha lulgach buidi bláith,
trícha dam isa deag-ráith.
- Seasca brat a Huíb Becon,
seasca mart, mór int egor,
la sescaid cránad cubaid,
seasca molt don móρθhulaig.
- 1525 Is ead sin dliges do chrua
rí Midi cen mór-fordul;
i Temraig buidi mar bis
is ead sin uili a ardchís. Cís tuath.

98 farcba] farga L; farcbha Li; fargbha B; farcba M. 00 ó bráithrib, etc.]
cet brat rib na morluigne L. 01 sárbrat] sarmart Li. óna] isna L.
Saithnib] saidnib Li, H. 02 crána] cran L; crain Li; crana B, M. firthaicid]
fri taicid L; fir thaigid Li; fir thaicidh B; firthaicid M; fir taibhghid H. 03
mart] brat Li. moigib] braighib Li; muigib B; aramuigh M. 04 is] la Li,

A hundred beeves from Fir Arda, a hundred white wethers unless you . . .¹ them, a hundred boars, a heavy memory, from the kinsmen of the haughty Luigne.

A hundred fine cloaks from the Saithne, a hundred sows—prosperous stock—a hundred beeves on the plains and a hundred wethers for slaughter.²

A hundred boars from warlike Cuircne, a hundred beeves, a great effort, a hundred sleek milch cows for the strong king of Liatruim.

Three hundred boars from the Gailenga, three hundred wethers, three hundred mantles, three hundred oxen, strong help, to the Crooked Mound, as you have heard.

A hundred wethers from Fir Thulach, a hundred boars to the happy dwelling, a hundred milch cows with their calves, a hundred oxen without fail.

Thirty wethers from Mag Lacha to the king of the Crooked Mound of battle, thirty milch cows, sleek and yellow, and thirty oxen into the goodly fort.

Sixty cloaks from Uí Becon, sixty beeves, a great array, sixty choice sows and sixty wethers³ to the great hill.

That is the amount of stock without error to which the king of Meath is entitled; in golden Tara where he dwells, that is the whole of his rent.

¹ *farcba* is doubtful. O'D. reads *farga* and translates 'unless they procure those'

² The text is doubtful. My rendering (following O'D.) requires the reading *-aidid*.

³ Li, B, M repeat *mart* here, so all seem corrupt, and there is no prose summary to guide us.

B, M. móroigid] moraignib Li; morshaighidh B; morfinib M. 07 loma]
 lana L. 08 rí] ri L. láidir] laidech L. Liattroma] liathtrága L;
 liathdroma B; liatroma M. 12 do] ro B. 13 a] o Li. 16 nochó . . .
 baegail] ona deagheraebaib Li; nochos dubhdhaeraidh B, M. 19 trícha
 lulgach *etc.*] .xxx. degdam is daire / .xxx. lulgach lanbaeidi Li; *and so* B, M.
 22 egor] eacor Li. 23 sescaid] sescad L; .lx. cranad as cubaid Li. 24
 molt don] brat sa L; mart don Li, B, M. 26 -fordul] ordul L, B, M; rordal
 Li. 27 Temraig] temraid L; temair Li, B, M. 28 ead] e Li. a] an L.

VII

1

1530 Ceart ríg Laigean ro luaid Benén
a mbreith ugdair uarustar;
ina ndligend rí cach thuaithe
tria thuaichle 'na thuaristol.

1535 An tráth nach rí d'Éirind uili
airdrí Laigen lind-uaine,
leis tosach in cach thír thréin-eng
ó ríg Éirind ind-uaire.

1540 Deich mogaid do laechríg Laigen,
deich coin tsolma súileacha,
deich scingi forscibset tonda,
deich longa, deich lúireacha.

Trícha falach, coíca claideam,
cét n-each ndond co ndínbrataib,
caeca cochall, nírbat athfuidb,
deich rachuirn, deich rígmatail.

1545 Sé cuirn, sé failgi d'Íb Faeláin
sé leanna arin láthair-si,
sé heich luatha cona láithrib, x
gia báigthir ní bráthairsi.

1550 Céd n-each uad-som do thurc Thomair
céd mbó ar tuilleam tuaristail,
trícha ban, re méd is muirear,
céd claideam, is cruad-ascaid.

1555 Ocht longa ón laech do flaith Chualand
co seólaib co srólbrataib,
ocht cuirn, ocht claidim co cinaid,
ocht n-inair, ocht n-órmatail.

30 ugdair uarustar] udair uaristair L. 31 rí] rig L. 32 thuaichle]
thuaithe L. thuaristol] tuarastail B, M. 33 d'Éirind] erenn M.
34 airdrí] airdrig L. 35 -eng] eing L. 36 ó] re Li, B; le M. 37
laechríg] laechri L, Li. 39 tonda] donna Li. 42 co] deich L; .x. Li,

VII

[Here is interpolated in L and B the Testament of Cathair Mór, as preface to the section on the Lagin.¹]

1

Benén has stated the rights of the kings of Leinster as he found them in the judgement of an author, the amount that the king of each tribe is entitled to as stipend for his wisdom.

When the high-king of Leinster of the green lakes is not king of all Ireland, he is to be allowed to lead the van into each strong country by the king of temperate Ireland.

Ten slaves to the warrior king of Leinster, ten fast dogs with keen sight, ten hides washed by the waves,² ten ships, and ten coats of mail.

Thirty rings, fifty swords, a hundred brown horses with sheltering cloths,³ fifty hoods—not mere spoil—ten horns, and ten royal mantles.

Six horns, six rings to Uí Fhaeláin, six mantles in that place, six swift horses with their trappings; though it be claimed, it is not by kinship (?).⁴

A hundred horses from him to the chieftain Tomar, a hundred cows for a stipend, thirty women with large families,⁵ a hundred swords,—an onerous gift.

Eight ships from the warrior to the prince of Cualu, with sails of fine cloth, eight horns, eight swords . . .⁶ eight tunics, eight gold embroidered mantles.

¹ At the end of the Testament, the text reads: Conad do dliged 7 do thuaristol cloindí na mac sin adbert benen annso (L 200 d 25). There is no prose summary of the poem which follows.

² *forscibset* may be either *for(a) scibset* 'over which (waves) have moved'. or a compound **for-scipai* which does not occur elsewhere. Were hides toughened into leather by immersion in sea-water?

³ The emendation to *co* is required, though no MS. supports it. I can only suppose that *o* in the archetype was read as *x* in a common source.

⁴ The Uí Fhaeláin were descended from Bresal Bélach, a grandson of Cathair Mór, O'Brien, *Genealogies*, p. 358.

⁵ *méd is muirear* is apparently hendiadys for *méd muirir*.

⁶ *co cinaid* 'with guilt' (so MSS.) gives no sense, but the rhyme is good; 'keen-edged', O'D.

B, M; deith H. 43 athfuidb] rath buidb L; athfhuidhbh Li; athuidhbh B;
dathdhuibh M. 44 rachuirn] rathchuirn L. 46 si] sin L. 47 heich⁷
heith L. 48 gia] dia B; da M. ní] nir L, B. 54 srólbataib] seolbrataib L.

- Seacht scéith, seacht n-eich do rí^g Forthuath
iar n-ól fína an airidig,
seacht cuirn cona mid don mairig,
1560 seacht claidim ná cairigid.
- Sé hinair do rí^g an Indbir,
sé doim luath^a léimnecha, X
sé lúireacha 7 sé longa, x
sé heich donna déinmecha.
- Seacht n-eich d'Uí^b Feilmeada finda,
1565 fir ^xdiana co ndemnaigi,
cóic cuirn chama la cóic brataib,
cóic matail cia mebraigi.*
- Céd mbó d'Í^b Cendslaig calma
1570 céd n-each ar tuaith tromaighear,
deich longa, deich srén, deich saidle,
deich failgi nach folaighear.
- [201a] Sé failgi a rraind do rí^g Raírenn
is sé rí^g-eich rímid-si,
1575 sé matail ar cae don churaid,
sé mugaid don mílid-si.
- Ocht claidim, ocht cuirn fri comól
ó rí^g Carman cosnamaig,
1580 ocht n-eich cen each dí^b ar drochfólt
do rí^g Fóthart osnadaig.
- Ocht n-eich d'Í^b Drona ac Dind Gabra
a glaic rí^g co rath-solad,
ocht coin re cor áir ar aigib
ocht claidim re cathugud.
- 1585 Ocht n-eich d'Í^b Bairrchi ara mbeódacht —
bec d'feraib a n-engnama —
ocht cuirn, ocht mná nírus mudaig
is ocht mugaid meanmara.

58 fína] om. B; ina M. an airidig] airidi L; an airighidh Li; in airidhen B;
airigin M. 59 mairig] mairidh B; moirear M. 60 ná cairigid] na cairidib
L; nac airigid Li; na cairighedh B; nis cairighidh M. 61 Indbir] indber L.
62 léimnecha] leitmecha Li. 65 Feilmeada] felmedhaib Li. 66 ndem-
naigi] neamnagi L; ndemnaige Li. 68 mebraigi] mebraidi L; meabhraigi

* This and the next quatrain are in reverse order in B, M.

Seven shields and seven horses to the king of the Fortuatha after drinking a cup of wine, seven horns of mead to the ruler,¹ seven swords—do not find fault with them.²

Six tunics to the king of the Inber, six swift bounding stags, six coats of mail, six ships, and six well-made brown horses.

Seven horses to the fair Uí Fheilmeda, fierce devilish men, five curved horns, five cloaks, and five mantles as you remember.

A hundred cows to the valiant Uí Chendselaig, a hundred horses are bestowed³ upon the tribe, ten ships, ten bridles, ten saddles, and ten bracelets that are displayed.

Six bracelets are given to the king of Raíriu, and reckon too six royal chargers, six mantles to be sent to the hero, and six slaves to this warrior.

Eight swords, eight drinking-horns from the king of valiant Carman, eight horses with glossy manes to the king of Fothairt Osnada.⁴

Eight horses to Uí Drona in Dind Gabra from the king's hand with bounty, eight hounds for killing the stag, eight swords for battle.

Eight horses to Uí Boirche for their vigour—not much for men of their prowess—eight horns, eight women whom he has not dishonoured and eight spirited⁵ slaves.

¹ *mairig* is probably for *múirig*, ds. of *múire* 'ruler'.

² *cairidib* in L is obscure to me: 'in their scabbards', O'D.

³ 'are exacted from', T 319. 45, but stipends, not tributes, are given here; 'by which power is added to the territory', O'D.

⁴ The form *osnadaig* is hard to justify. An adj. *osnadach* from Cill Osnada, a church in the territory (see BR 211 note j) should here be in the g. pl. The n. pl. form, as in *Fothairt Osnadaig*, seems to have become petrified.

⁵ *menmar* perhaps from *menmanmar*.

Li. 71 saddle] sailgi M. 72 nach folaighear] na follaighter B; nac folaicear M. 73 Sé] Deich L. arraind] arrind L; iairn Li; araind B; arind M. rí] ri L. Rairenn] raileand L. 74 is sé] ise L. rímid-si] rimigsi L; rimidsi Li; rimimsi B. 76 mugaid] mogaid L. mílid sí] miligsin L. 78 cosnamaig] cosdagaig L; cosnamaig Li, B, M. 79 ar] con Li. 80 osnadaig] osnaig L; fosdadaig Li; osnadaig B, M. 81 ac Dind Gabra] acind-gabra L; ac dín gabra Li; ag dind gabra B, M. 82 glaic] laim Li. rath-solad] rasolad L; rasol- Li; rathsholadh B. 83 aigib] moigib L. 84 cathugud] cathoghodh Li. 86 bec, etc.] ba beg d'fir a eangnoma L; bec d'firaibh a nengnama Li; ba beag d'fir a n-eangnoma B. 87 nírus] nirod Li. mudaig] mugaid L. 88 mugaid] mogaid L. meanmara] menmora B; meanmarda M.

- 1590 Ocht n-eich d'Uib Buidi na mbriathar
borba, bláithi, bircheanda,
dligid a rí ó ríG Gaiblí
trí failgi, trí fidchealla.
- 1595 Ocht n-eich dliges laech-rí Laígsi,
ocht coin solma súileacha,
ocht scéith ima scaílid renna,
ocht leanda, ocht lúireacha.
- 1600 Sé heich d'Íb Crimthandán cindid,
sé doim ina ndeagsomal,
sé cuirn is beiti 'na nglacaib,
sé matail cen mearugud.
- Deich scéith, deich cuirn is deich claidim,
deich failgi cen merugud,
do ríG Hua Failgi meic Cathaír
cen tathaír, is deagsolad.
- 1605 Iat sin tuaristla laech Laigen
a láim gloin mar geltorad
ó airdríg Gaiblí 7 Gabrán,
is comlán in certugud. Ceart.

2

Do chásaib ocus do biataib Laigen andso

- 1610 For Gallaib céatamus tús na cána sa .i. seacht cét tinne, seacht
cét torc, seacht cét molt, seacht cét dam, seacht cét bó, seacht cét
brat, ó Gallaib inn sin. Dá chéd iulgach 7 cét torc 7 cét brat ó
Forthuathaib Laigen. Ní ícad SíL Fiachach ná SíL Rosa Failgi acht
biathad aidchi do ríG Laigen má théis a ndáil fri Gallu sair nó fri
1615 Huí Néill fo thuaid nó fri Mumain fo deas. Cét mart immorro 7

91 a rí] arind L; a ri Li; raind B; a rig M. 92 fidchealla] fichthilla L.
93 Laigsi] laisi L; laighsi Li. 95 scaílid] scaileand M. 97 Crimthandán
cindid] cremthainn in chinn- Li. 98 ndeagsomal] ndeaghamol M. 99
is beiti] beti B; bithi M. 'na] ina B, M. 01 scéith] neich L. 03
ríG] ri L. 04 cen] ni Li. is] acht Li. 05 laech] rig L. 06 a
láim] na glaic M. geltorad] glantorad L; ghealtorad Li; gheldoradh B, M.
10-12 The text follows B (so also M). Seacht .c. brat o gallaib annso cheadus
do thus na cana sin 7 seacht cet tindi 7 seacht [sic] torc 7 seacht cet molt 7 seacht
cet dam o gallaib and sin, L; o gallaib cetamus tus na cana so .i. .cc. tinne .cc.

Eight horses to the noisy Uí Buide, proud, sleek, with fine heads: their king is entitled to three rings and three sets of chess from the king of Gabal.¹

The warrior king of Laígse is entitled to eight horses, eight ready keen-sighted hounds, eight shields by which weapons are scattered, eight mantles, eight coats of mail.

Six horses they assign to Uí Chrimthannáin, six oxen in good . . .² six horns to be in their hands, six mantles without error.

Ten shields, ten horns, and ten swords, ten rings without error, to the king of the race of Failge son of Catháir without reproach—it is good profit.

Those are the stipends of the warriors of Leinster, like fair fruit from a pure hand, from the high king of Gabal and Gabrán; the statement is complete.

2

Here are the rents and refectations of the Laigin

Upon the Foreigners is charged the first part of this rent,³ seven hundred fitches, seven hundred boars, seven hundred wethers, seven hundred oxen, seven hundred cows, and seven hundred cloaks, that is from the Foreigners. Two hundred milch cows, a hundred boars, and a hundred cloaks from the Fortuatha of the Laigin. Sílfíachach and Sílfíosa Failge pay only the refectation of one night to the king of the Laigin, if he goes east to meet the Foreigners or north against the Uí Néill or south against Munster.

¹ The name of a river in Offaly, now the Feegile, here used for the province of Leinster, see O'Donovan, p. 214 note o.

² *somal* is obscure; 'in good condition', O'D.

³ This may mean that the rent was collected first from the Foreigners and that the rent of the native tribes then fell due.

torc .cc. molt .cc. dam .cc. bo .cc. brat o gallaib ind sin, Li. 13 ícad]
 icaid L; ícad Li. Fiachach] fiach- with baiceda added above Li. 14 Gallu]
 gallaib L; gallu Li. 15 Hui] .h. L, M; hui Li; huib B.

céd bó 7 céd torc 7 céd tindi ó daerfinib a ferann. Dá chéd bó 7 dá chéd brat 7 dá chéd dam óna *secht* Fothartaib. Seacht cét bó 7 seacht céd torc 7 seacht céd molt 7 seacht céd mart, óna seacht Laígsib Laigin ind sin. Dá chéd mart 7 dá chét bó 7 dá chét brat
1620 ó Osraigib. Ó šoerthuathaib Laigen ind sin.

Néimid 7 úrad 7 únach 7 folcad immorro ó chocartaib na ngrád Féini ata hisleam leó. Corcair 7 ruu 7 snáth dearg 7 glas 7 oland find 7 blaán 7 bindén ón lucht ata fearr do chocartaib. Má frepait nó má theichit ind sin dá chuibeis forro.

1625 Cach treas bliadan *didiu* ícthar na císá sin anuas cenmothá mórchís ríg Érenn ut supra *diximus*. Conid dóib sin ro chan in suí .i. Benén:

[201b]
1630 Coistid, a Laigniu na laech,
risin seanchas nach sírbaeth
ara ndlig do chís chalma
rí Cualann is congabla.

Seacht cét tindi, secht cét torc,
secht cét dam, seacht céd ndeagmolt,
seacht cét brat is secht céd bó
1635 ó thuathaib Gall a n-aenló.

Dligid cét brat, nocha bréc,
céd do thorcaib, trom in tréd,
7 dá chét lulgach luath
ó foirbfinib na Forthuath.

1640 Ní dleagar cís, comoll ngloin
ó Uíb cróda Cendsealaig;
acht ó foirbfinib nach fand
chaithid a fér 's a ferand.

16 ferann] feraind B, M. Dá chéd bó] 7 secht .c. molt 7 seacht ced mart
add. L. 17 brat] mart B. 17-18 7 seacht céd torc] *om. L. The number is*
.cc. throughout in Li, but .dcc. in B, M. 19 .cc. bo bis Li. 20 ó] do L.
Osraigib] osarghibh Li. ó šoerthuathaib Laigen] *om. L;* o fearaib laighean B;
o saeraib laigean M. 21-22 Néimid . . . leó] *om. M.* 21 chocartaib]
cocairtib Li; cogairthib B. 22 ruu] ruadh Li. 23 chocartaib]
coicertaibh Li; cogartuibh B; fhothortaib M. 23-24 Ma frepait Caega ma
tecid insin da coibes forro B; mad preabad no mad theichead da coibeis forro
24 theichit] M. theachtaid L; theithit Li; tecid B. dá] a dha Li. forro]
forthu L. 25 Cach] cech Li; gac B; gacha M. bliadan] bl- Li, M; bliadna B.
ícthar] icair B; icthair M. 28 Coistid] coistig L; coistid Li. 30 ara
ndlig] a ndligend L. 31 congabla] *comlabra L; congabhla Li, B, M;*
congala H. 36 Da ched do brataib ni breg L. 37 is cet torc is trom
in tret Li, B. 39 foirbfinib] forfinibh Li. 40 ngloin] ndil Li, M; nail B.

But the subject families of their territories render a hundred beeves, a hundred cows, a hundred boars, and a hundred fitches. Two hundred cows, two hundred cloaks, and two hundred oxen from the seven Fothairt. Seven hundred cows, seven hundred boars, seven hundred wethers, and seven hundred beeves, that is from the seven Laígse of the Laigin. Two hundred beeves, two hundred cows, and two hundred cloaks¹ from the Osraige. That is from the free tribes of the Laigin.

The services of scavenging,² mending, bathing, and washing the head are provided by the husbandmen³ of the lowest degrees of the Féni among them. Purple and scarlet, and red thread and grey thread and white wool and madder (?)⁴ and *bindén* are provided by the higher husbandmen. If they abscond,⁵ there is double liability on them.

Those rents are paid every third year, besides the chief rent of the king of Ireland *ut supra diximus*. And of them the sage Benén sang:

Hear, ye warlike Laigin, a tradition that is not trivial about the worthy rent to which the king of Cualu is entitled . . .⁶

Seven hundred fitches, seven hundred boars, seven hundred oxen, seven hundred good wethers, seven hundred cloaks, and seven hundred cows from the tribes of the Foreigners in one day.

He is entitled to a hundred cloaks, it is no lie, a hundred boars, a goodly flock, and two hundred lively milch cows from the kindreds of the Fortuatha.

No rent—a fair compact—is due from the valiant Uí Chenn-sealaig, but only from the sturdy stranger-families that use their grass and land.

¹ The verse adds two hundred wethers. Cf. the v.l. in Li.

² *néimed* 'filth, dirt', see *Contrib. s.v.*

³ *cocart* for *coart*? It occurs only here (not in M) and in *Timna Cathair Máir* II § 8, and would be an error in the common source, the term *coart* having become obsolete.

⁴ Cf. *blaán buídi* inf. It is presumably a plant from which a yellow dye was made.

⁵ *nó má theichit ind sin* appears to be a correction which has crept into the text of the common source beside the form corrected: read *theichit*.

⁶ The text is doubtful. O'Donovan follows L and translates 'is to be mentioned' which is certainly wrong.

41 cróda] coemha Li; caemha B.

Li. 43 chaithid] eathaid M.

42 acht ó] fora L.

a] in L.

foirbfinib] forfinibh

- 1645 Cumal 7 cís is cáin
ní ícat Uí Fáilgi in áig
do rí^g Laigen ma laí ar feacht
acht cuid aidchi ar aigideacht.
- 1650 Céd mart ó cach thuait^h nach díb
la céd mbó berar don rí^g,
céd torc 7 cét tindi
ó dámaib na daerfíne.
- 1655 Óna Fothartaib uili
dleagar dá chéd bó buidi
7 dá chéd brat cána,
dá chéd ngargdam ngabála.
- 1660 Dá chéd mart, is mór in slicht,
dá chét brat, dá chét bó blicht,
dá chéd molt, maith in chabair,
óna Laignib Desgabair.
- 1660 Seacht cét bó a lLaígsib luatha,
seacht céd torc tarna tuatha,
seacht céd mart co mag Laigen,
seacht cét molt tar mórgaineam.
- 1665 Ac sin cís a tuath na treab
ó Laignib do rí^g Laigen:
níba saí nach sloindfea in cert,
is cóir do chách a choistecht. C.
- 1670 Na saerchísa, slicht adcuas,
it é ro ráidsem anuas;
ó saerchlandaib dlegar sin
bíd for fearand anechtair.
- 1675 Na daerchlanda, díth nach ceas,
bíd fora fearann díleas,
daerchís uaidib is é a fír
do breith co dúinib airdrí^g.

44-45 ní ícat failghidh anair / cís n̄ canaid na cumail Li, and so B, M.
45 ícat] icaid L. 46 la ar' huar L; lai ar Li, B, M. 47 aigideacht]
aidigeacht L; aidhigheacht Li; aidech B; aig decht M. 54 daerfíne] dairbini

The valiant Uí Fáilge pay neither *cumal* nor rent nor tax to the king of the Laigin if he goes on a journey, save a night's refectation in hospitality.

A hundred beeves and a hundred cows are brought to the king by every other tribe, a hundred boars and a hundred fitches from these subject families.

From the Fothairt are due two hundred tawny cows, two hundred cloaks as tribute¹ and two hundred rough oxen for the yoke.

Two hundred beeves, a great portion, two hundred cloaks, two hundred milch cows, two hundred wethers, a good help, from the Lagin of Deasgabair.²

Seven hundred cows from the active Laígse, seven hundred boars spread over the tribes, seven hundred beeves to the plain of the Laigin, seven hundred wethers across the sandy soil.

Those are the rents of the tribes of householders from the Laigin to their king. Let him not be reckoned a sage who will not declare it aright, and everyone should hear.

The freemen's rents, as they have been proclaimed, are those that we have told thus far; they are due from the free families who occupy land outside (the royal demesne?).

The subject families, loss without regret, who occupy his³ own demesne, must bring to the forts of the high-king a subject's rent.

¹ *bána* is supported only by B and the correction in Li. It would have to be construed as agreeing with *chéd*, and was probably prompted by the alliteration.

² Here, as elsewhere, identified with the Osraige, see O'Rahilly, EIHM 24.

³ There is no lenition, but the sense seems to require the singular possessive.

M. 54 cána] cana L, M; cána (*nó bana add. supra*) Li; bana B. 55 ngarg]
 ngarbh Li. 56 slicht] ticht Li; slicht B. 57 brat] is *add.* L. 62 co]
 a L; co Li, M; gu B. 64 na treab] na threib L; na treabh Li, B; na ceil M.
 65 do rig Laígen o laigin [*sic*] o laignib L; da rig laigin o laigneim M. 66
 nach sloindfea] na slonnfa Li. 67 choistecht] chloistecht L; choisdeachd
 Li, B, M. 68 Na saerchísa] na cisa sa M. 70 dlegar] dligit L; dlegar
 Li, B, M. 71 bíd] bis Li. fearand] ferunn Li.

Is hé cis dleagar díb sin
 cís duchunn is duibnéimid
 úrad a brat, buan in mod,
 cís d'únaig 7 d'folcad.

1680 Dleagar don lucht is fearr díb
 ruu is corcair co cáinbríg,
 snáth dearg, oland find, ní chél,
 blaán buidi 7 bindén.

1685 Na daerchlanda cen deilm n-oll
 teichid re cís a ferond,
 a dá chuibéis dleagar díb
 na tucsad ón atharthír.

1690 Nocho dligeand cuaird co tend
 ó ríg chóicid na Héirind
 fili nach fiasara sin
 a chísá 's a thuaristail.

1695 Dleagaid cáta is cuairt is crod
 ó gach ríg cusa riacht-som
 fili nos findfa co feib
 tuaristol is cís, coistid. Coistig a Laig.

VIII

Benén ro chachain inso do senchus Gall Átha Cliath:

*Atá sund seanchas suaire seang
 is maith le fearaib Éirind,
 sochar Átha Cliath, ní chél,
 1700 amal forfácaib Benén.

Dia táinic thuaid a Temraig
 Hua deochain in deigtheaglaig,
 d'apsdal Breatan 7 Breag
 nír chreit Laegairi lánmear.

76 Is] It Li. 77 do chondad is do nemead L; cis duchunn is duibneimidh Li; cis duchunnu is nemiu B; cis dunaid is demnig M. 78 in] an L. 79 d'únaig] dúnad L; dúnaid Li, M; dunaigh B. d'folcad] ffolcad L; dfolcadh Li; dfolcad B; deadfolcadh M. 84 deilm] deilb L; deilm Li, M; delm B. 85 a ferond] o ferand. L.

* A longer recension of this poem is preserved in the Book of Hy Many 125 d 53. Variants in this text are marked M².

The rent that is due from them is the service of scavenging,¹ the mending of his cloaks, lasting service, service of bathing and washing of the head.

There are due from the best of them scarlet and purple of good strength, red thread, white wool, I shall not conceal it, yellow madder and *bindén*.

The subject families of base degree² who abscond to avoid the rent of their land, must pay twice as much as they gave³ from the ancestral land.

The poet who does not know his rents and stipends is not strictly entitled to hospitality from any provincial king in Ireland.

The poet who knows exactly both stipend and rent is entitled to respect, hospitality and wealth from every king to whom he has come. Hearken!

VIII

Benén sang this about the tradition of the Foreigners of Dublin:

Here is a gay and graceful story, pleasing to the men of Ireland; the revenue of Dublin—I shall not conceal it—as Benén appointed it.

When the Deacon's Grandson of the goodly household⁴ came to Tara in the north, vigorous Laegaire did not believe that apostle of the Britons and of Brega.

¹ *duchunn* is obscure, and probably corrupt, but it is apparently an alliterating synonym for *duibnéimid*.

² Lit 'without great fame'.

³ *na* 'all that' for *a*, as in Scottish Gaelic cf. 1415. The meaning seems to be that the penalty for evasion of rent is double the amount due.

⁴ St. Patrick.

86 dlegar] dleagair M. 87 na tucsad] nac tísad M. 88 co tend] da chinn Li; ged cind B; ced cind M. 89 na Héirind] ind eirim Li. 90 nach . . . sin] na fiasa fir soín Li; na fiastar fir sin B; M *illegible*. 91 cisa teasda is tuarastail M. 93 cusa] ara L; cusa Li; ara B, M. riacht-som] riacht son L; riacht samh Li; rícton B. 94 filí] filig L; file Li; fili B. 95 tuarastla is cisa Li, M. coistid] coistig L; coist- Li. 96 ro] do L. inso] annso L. 97 Gaill Átha clíath in aimsir Phátraic madh fíor B *in marg*. 98 fearaib] gallaib M² 99 forfácaib] ró fácaib L, M; for facoib Li; forfagaib B. 101 Temraig] temraid L.

- 1705 Luid deisil Banba buidi
Hua deochain, in deagduine,
co toracht dún na nGall ngeal
do chobair Chland Mac Mílead.
- 1710 Is hé ba rí a nÁth Chliath chruaid
dia táinic Pádraic atuaid
Ailpín mac Aeoil Ádaig
do chloind Domnaill Dubdámaig.
- [201c] In lá táinic co hÁth Cliath
Pádraic Macha na mórfiach
1715 is and ros fuc bás bágach
aenmac Ailpín inmárach.
- 1720 Adagar co Ua ndeochain
aenmac ríG Gall gairg-Eochaid,
dia chrád 7 dia chelgad;
don apsdal rob imdeargad.
- Dia tuca anmain andsin,
a chléirig cháid chumachtaig,
sléchtfad duit 'con choill cheanaind,
sléchtfaid Gaill in glaisferaind.'
- 1725 Luid ina deisiul fo thrí
int apsdal is int airdrí
cora érig 'na beathaid
féinnid álaind aird-Eachaid.
- 1730 Ar sin adnagat dó in slóg,
screpall cach fíir, unga d'ór,
unga cacha sróna ar sin,
is screball óir cach énfíir.
- 1735 Trí huingi forácbad thall
don cháin a ngarrdaib na nGall;
aircther fo thrí ind Áth Cliath
ó Gaoidelaib na nglainsciath.

07 toracht] torach L. ngeal] nglan L, B, M. 09 ba] fa L. 11 Aeoil] eoil L.
Ádaig] athaig L; adhuigh Li; fathaig B. Ailpín mac Aoil fathaigh Rígh gall Atha
cliath et miorbhail Patraic for a mhac B *in marg.* 13 In] An L. 14
mórfiach] moriach L; moirfiach Li, B; mortriath M. 17 Adagar] adnadar
L; addaghar Li; adagar B; adadar M. 18 gairg-Eochaid] gargfeocair M.

That good man, the Deacon's Grandson, went sunwise around radiant Ireland until he reached the fortress of the fair¹ Foreigners, helping the children of the sons of Míl.

The king of stalwart Dublin, when Patrick came south, was Ailpín son of Aeol Ádach of the descendants of Domnall Dubdámach.²

On the day that Pátraic of Macha of the great tributes came to Dublin, victorious death carried off the bashful son of Ailpín.

The son of the king of the Foreigners, uncouth Eochaid, is brought to the Deacon's Grandson to trouble and ensnare him: it was an insult to the apostle.

'If you give him life, cleric revered and powerful, I shall bow before you at Coill Chenann,³ and the Foreigners of the green land will bow.'

The apostle and the king made three circuits sunwise, and the fair warrior, Eochaid, arose alive.

Then the host bring to him a *screpall* for each man, an ounce of gold, an ounce for each nose thus, a *screpall* of gold for each man.

Three ounces of the tax were left in the gardens of the Foreigners; Dublin is thrice plundered on account of it by the Gaedil of the bright shields.⁴

¹ The reading *nġlan* has the weight of MSS. in its favour, specially as it is common to L and M, but it makes a bad rhyme. The meaning is not affected.

² The legend of St. Patrick's conversion of Ailpínus, king of Dublin, derives from Jocelin's Life of St. Patrick, see Colgan, *Trias Thaumaturga*, pp. 90-91, cc. lxi-xlxi, written about 1186. The remote source of this tradition, if any, and of the names Aeol Ádach and Domnall Dubdámach, is unknown to me.

³ Perhaps a place-name not elsewhere recorded.

⁴ The meaning of this quatrain is obscure to me. It appears in all four MSS. It seems to refer to a story that part of the offering to Patrick and his companion was withheld.

21 Dia tuca] Da tuetha L. anmain] anum Li. 23 duit] duid L.
 24 sléchtfaid] slechtfaid Li. 25 deisiul] deisil L. 26 int airdrí] atairdrig L.
 28 féinnid] feindig L; mac rig gall co nġlan cleathaib M. 29 adnagat]
 adnadar L; atnagat Li; adnaghad B. 31 cachá] dor gach Li. ar] om. Li, B.
 32 is . . . óir] unga dór Li. 33 huingi] hunga Li. forácbad] rus facbad L;
 forfaebad Li; forfaccad B. 35 ind] anu Li; ind B; and M. 36 ó] ag Li;
 le M. nġlainsciath] ngallsciath L, B.

- ‘Dianam tora in cach bliadain
in cháin sea lib ó Liamain
nochon fétfad fir thalman
1740 bar ndún-si do díthfaglad.
- In dún i táid co dreaman
nos scér-sa fri duibdean;
bid hé in treas teine nach tim
bias fa deiread i nÉrind.
- 1745 Fácbaím forsan Áth uili
buaid mban ar a mbanchuri,
buaid ara nGallaib geala,
buaid n-áilli ara n-ingena.
- 1750 Buaid snáma ar macaib a mban,
buaid cocaid is buaid comrom,
buaid dia ndaltaib co nóna,
im luad chorn is chom-óla.
- 1755 Buaid ríg chaidchi i nÁth Cliath chruaid
buaid n-amais, buaid n-óclaig uaig,
buaid cádusa ’na chellaib,
buaid n-árais is naímchendaig.
- 1760 In dún asa tánac tuaid,
ná roib ara ríg robuaid;
is mór gallacht a gaili,
mo mallacht ar Laegairi.’
- Is de nach bia síth na nGall
re ríg Midi na mórland
itir Theamair is Liamain
cen debaid cach énbliadain.
- 1765 Hé sin senchas Átha Cliath
indisim daib tar ceand fiach;
biaid i llebraib co bráth mbras
mar atá sund sa seanchas. Atá sund.

38 ó] gu M²
dianalmhad M.

39 fétfad] fletfat Li; edfad B. 40 díthfaglad] dithfóglad L;
41 In . . . dreaman] An dun atait co dreamain L. 42 nos
scér-sa] no scera L; no scerfa B; ro scera M. fri] re L, M; fria Li; fri B. 43

'If this tax is paid me every year by you from Liamain,¹ the men of the whole world will not be able to despoil your fortress.

The fortress you occupy in force I shall deliver from the black demon: it will be one of the three last surviving hearths in Ireland.

I bestow upon all Dublin supremacy in womanhood for their women, supremacy for their fair Foreigners, supremacy in beauty for their daughters.

Supremacy in swimming for their sons, supremacy in war and in strife, supremacy for their fosterlings till evening in sending round the drinking horns.

Supremacy for the king for ever in stalwart Dublin, supremacy for the hireling, supremacy for the perfect warrior,² of reverence in its churches, supremacy for dwellings and sacred heights.³

The fortress in the north from which I have come,⁴ may its king be without success; great is his fierceness in a fight, my curse on Laegaire.⁵

Therefore the Foreigners will give no peace to the king of Meath of the long blades, but there will be strife every year between Tara and Liamain.⁵

That is the tradition of Dublin, I tell it to you in return for (payment of your) debts (?);⁶ it will be in books for ever as it is here in the tradition.

¹ Lyons Hill, about eight miles south-west of Dublin, Hogan.

² or 'for the warrior from me'.

³ *cennach* 'hill', Hessen.

⁴ Tara.

⁵ Lyons Hill is presented here, as in l. 1738, as the chief stronghold of the Norse of Dublin. The reference can hardly be to Dunlavin, which was in the territory of the Laigin.

⁶ 'in discharge of a debt', O'D.

teine] tine L, teined Li; teine M. 45 forsan] foran L. 47 gcala] glana
L, B, M. 51 ndaltaib] naltaib L; daltaib Li, B. 52 im] ac Li; im B;
um M. 53-56 *om.* M. 54 óclaig] óclaid L. uaig] uaid, L, B; uaim
Li. 56 naimchendaig] nimcenn- Li. 57 In] an L, Li, M. asa tánac
tuaid] as tanic atuid L; as tanac a.t. Li; asa tanag tuaid B. 58 a ri gu rob fa
dimbuaid Li; ni raba a ri robuaid B. 59 gallacht] gallolc Li, M. 62
-land] clann Li, B. 65 Hé] Ac Li; ag M. 66 na clandaib tar ceand a
fiach M; innseam daib ar ceand a fiach M². 68 sa] in Li; i B; a M.

IX

Patricius benedictionem pro habitatoribus hibernie insule dedit,
1770 conid adbeart Pátric and so:

Beandacht Dé foraib uili fearaib Érenn maccaib, mnáib seo
ingeanaim, flaitheandacht, balbeandacht, buanbeandacht, slán-
beannacht sárbeandacht sírbeannacht.

1775 Beannacht nime nélbendacht, beandacht mara mescheandacht,
beandacht thíri toradbennacht, beandacht drúchta, beannacht
daithe, beandacht gaili, beandacht gaiscid, beandacht gotha,
beandacht gníma, beandacht ordan, bennacht áine foraib uili
laechaib cléirchib céin forcongraid beannacht fear nime is mó
ebirt ós bithbeannacht. Bendacht.

1780 Ní dlig cuaird a cúiced i nÉrinn fili nach fiasara císa 7 tuarastla
in chóicid sin, amal asbert Dubthach mac Huí Lugair so:

[201d] *Ní dlig cuairt *ná* ceandaigeacht
ar ní fili fireólach
i feidm eólais ilchrothaig
1785 menib co féig feasara
císa tenda is tuaristla
corbad uili eirncide
iar n-urd eólais ilchlандаig
ó thosach co déid.

1790 Ní dlig cuairt a cáinchoiced
do chóiceadaib cloth-Banba
inas imchuart éntuaithe
mad dia féigthar firindi
fili nach dron deachraigfeas
1795 sochar dochar dílmáine
drécht cach thíri thic.

Is and is saí senchada
in tan légas lérgníma
indsi Ébir uais.

69 Patraic ra ráid seo ag beandugud erenn M. [benedictionem] benedconnem
L; hanc benedcom B. [hibernie insule] hibernia insola L; ybernia insole Li;
hibernie insule B; M omits the Latin sentence. dedit] deidit L. 71 Érenn]

* This poem occurs separately in B.M. Eg. 1782 62a, ed. Meyer, ZCP iv 237.

IX

Patrick bestowed this blessing upon the inhabitants of the island of Ireland, and Patrick said this:

The Blessing of God upon you all, you men of Ireland, boys, women and girls, blessing of rule, blessing of prosperity, a lasting blessing, a healing blessing, a great blessing, perpetual blessing; blessing of heaven, cloud-blessing; blessing of sea, fish-blessing; blessing of land, fruit-blessing; blessing of dew, blessing of light, blessing of valour, blessing of weapons, blessing of word, blessing of deed, blessing of dignity, blessing of rank upon you all, laymen and clerics, so long as you proclaim the blessing of the men of heaven which exceeds a worldly blessing beyond measure.¹

No province in Ireland owes hospitality to a poet who does not know the rents and stipends of that province, as Dubthach Mac Huí Lugair said:

He is not entitled to visitation or reward, for he is not a wise poet in the various kinds of knowledge, unless he know exactly the secure rents and stipends, that they may all be bestowed (?) according to many-branched knowledge from beginning to end.

He is not entitled to visitation in any of the fair provinces of Ireland nor (?) to the circuit of a single *tuath*, if truth be regarded, the poet who cannot distinguish firmly the revenues and burdens and exemption, the portion of each territory he visits.

Then is he a learned historian when he studies the zealous deeds of the island of proud Éber.

¹ Lit. 'beyond telling'. A blessing of the kings of Cashel occurs in a very similar form in the account of 'The Finding of Cashel', *Ériu* xvi. 65; cf. also St. Patrick's Blessing of Munster in a Middle-Irish homily, *Vit. Trip.* 470. 16 = *Lism. Lives* 527 = *Anec.* iii. 41. 26.

laechaibh cleirech *add.* M. 73 sárbeandacht] sairbeandacht B, M. 76
 daith] aichi L. 79 ebirt] .b. Li; beannacht M.
 80 cúiced] cuigiud B. nach] ná Li. cisa] cis L. 81 asbert]
 atbert L. 83 filii] filig L. 87 eirneide] eirnidhes Li. 89 déid] deig L.
 91 cloth] ol B. 92 inas] nach B. 93 fégtar] fechtar B. 94
 filii] filig L. deachraigfeas] derrscaighfes Li. 96 thic] a tic Li, B, M.
 99 Ébir] emir L; eimhir Li; ebir B, M *illeg*; Heibir Eg.

- 1800 Is and is ail ollaman
 amail oil cen indscuchad
 in tan tuiceas tuaristla
 la císa cen chunntobairt
 conus uili indisfea
- 1805 in each aireacht ard.
- Nárab soitheach seanáruisc
 ar chrod ná ar chairdine
 air ní sluindfea senbretha
 fear co córus coindirle;
- 1810 nírab nárach noisedach
 ar miad ná ar móraicme;
 menip samlaid sainiges
 a shochar ní dlig. Ní dlig.

X

- 1815 Temair teach a mbuí mac Cuind
 forad na laech a Liathdruim;
 atá limsa do mebair
 a díre dá deigfearaib.
- Cach rí gébus Teamair theand
 7 techtfas iath nÉrenn,
 is é as saíre díb uili
 do sluag Banba barrbuidi.
- 1820 Mad rí díleas do Theamair
 bus deach dona deigfearaib,
 giallad cách co ruici a theach
 don rí g fírén fírbrethach.
- 1825 Dleagar de-som réir na slóg
 acht co tísad 'na thinól:
 dleagar díb-seom giall each fir
 do breith dó-som co Temair T.

06 Nárab] *narbat* Li. áruisc] *arusec* Li. 07 chairdine] *chaird fine* L.
 11 ná] *nach* Li. 13 shochar] *sochra* Li. Conidh arna tuarastlaibh sin anuas
 agus arna císaibh ro cachain Benén hoc carmen ut Psalterium Caisil dixit *add.* B
as title, and sim. M. 14 mbuí] *mbi* L; *mbui* Li; *mbidh* B; *mbid* M. 15

Then is he a solid scholar¹ like an immovable rock, when he understands the stipends and rents without doubt, so that he will recount them all in every high assembly.

Let him not be a vessel of old proverbs for reward or friendship, for a man with proper training (?)² will not cite old judgments. Let him not be bashful or timid (?)³ in the presence of a great family; unless he is thus distinguished he does not deserve his fee.

X

Tara is a house where Conn's son dwelt, seat of warriors at Liathdruim; I can remember what she awards to her chieftains.

Each king whom strong Tara shall accept, and who shall possess the land of Ireland, is the noblest of all the host of fertile Ireland.

If it be a king who belongs to Tara⁴ and who is best of the chieftains, everyone should submit to the righteous king of true judgement by coming to his house.

He is bound to govern the hosts once they join his gathering; they are bound to bring to him in Tara a hostage for every man.

¹ Lit. 'a rock of an *ollam*'.

² *condircle* 'connivance, indulgence', Meyer, but the meaning is not certain.

³ *noisedach* occurs only here, and the meaning is doubtful. Even the form is uncertain, as I have supplied the accent, on the assumption that the word is cognate with *noisech* (: *toisech*), also of doubtful meaning.

⁴ i.e. who is within the *derbfine* of an earlier king of Tara.

forad] fearund B. Liathdruim] liatruim Li. 17 dire] ndire L,B,M.
 dá] do L. deigfearaib] ndegfearaib B, M. 18 Teamair theand] teamraig
 tinn B, M. 19 techtfas] teachtbus L; techtfageas B, M. iath] fir Li; om.
 B, M. 20 as] a L. 21 barrbuidi] braenuighe B. 22 rí] rig L.
 24 giallad] giallaidh B. ruici] nuige B, M. 25 don rí] mad ri Li.
 fírbrethach] foirglichthech Li. 28 giall] geill L. 29 do breith dó-som]
 acht co tisad L.

- 1830 Temair nocho dír do-son
minba senchaid sár-fosud
co n-innisea dia ruiiri
tuaristal cach aenduine.
- 1835 Ná tardad tar cert co neach
conách ruca féin gúbreath;
ná déntar debaid 'na thaig
dáig is geis mór dá geasaib.
- 1840 Conách dearna cocad cain
re slóg chóicid Choncobair;
ná falmaigthear Temair the
do chocad cland Rudraige.
- 1845 Dligid beith i Temraig thréin
7 cách ica óigréir:
mene fergna féin re goil
ad riarraig dó a chúicedaig.
- 1850 Dligid rí Ulad amra
flead dó cach sheachtmad Samna
is a cur dó cen gaindi
ós brú Lindi Luathgainni.
- 1855 Méd na fleidi dlegar and
do ríg Themra na trén-land
dá dabaig déc cach leanda
cona fuireac fír-grema.
- 1855 Dul co Temraig 'na deagaid
a thinól do deigfearaib,
indmos dóib ara n-astar
co findtais a tuaristal.
- 1860 Dligid rí Eamna Macha —
dóig nocho mac minflatha
gach flaith gébus gart ngáine —
nába holc dó a shomaíne.

31 sár-fosud] sarfosaid L; sarshossad Li; saerfosud B, M. 32 -innisea]
indised L. dia] da L; no go fira da cuire B, M. 34 tardad] tarda B, M. tar
. . . neach] cert fer cert nech B; cert for cert neich M. 35 ruca] bera B, M.

Tara does not belong to him unless there be a reliable historian who may tell his lord the stipend of each man.

Let him not give anyone more than is right, so that he may not give a false judgement; let there be no strife in his house, for that is one of his chief tabus.

Let him not¹ make war against the host of the province of Conchobor: let sheltered Tara not be laid waste by the warfare of the descendants of Rudraige.²

He is entitled to be in mighty Tara with everyone subject to him; when he is not himself prepared for battle, his provincial kings are at his command.

The worthy king of the Ulaid owes him a feast each seventh Samain, and to send it to him without stint, on the border of Lind Luathgainne.³

The amount of the feast that is due there to the king of Tara of the stout blades is twelve vats of each kind of ale with the proper supply of food.

He goes afterwards to Tara with his retinue; they make the journey eagerly so that they may discover their stipend.

The king of Emain Macha is entitled—every noble who accepts generous hospitality, is not the son of a weakling—to a payment that is fitting.⁴

¹ The clause is formally subordinate, matching that in l. 1835,

² The Ulaid. ³ *luathrinde* v.l. Not identified.

⁴ 'that his revenue shall not be bad for him'.

36 thaig] thig L; thogh Li. 37 geasaib] eigsib B, M. 38 Conách] guna
Li. cain] coin L. 39 re] ar 40 the] de L, M. fergna érgi L; 41
Rudraige] rudraidi L. 43 7 cách] is cach uile Li. 44 fergna] érgi L;
eirge Li; fergna B, M. 45 riarraig] riaraid L; riaraidh Li; riaruid B, M;
aliter it riarraig M in marg. 46 rí] rig L. amra] eamna L, B, M.
49 ós] co L. Luathgainni] luaithrindi L; luaithrinde Li; luathgainni B, M.
50 dlegar] adecar L; aderur Li; dlegar B. 51 na trén-land] nach taebhfann
Li; na trenband B, M. 52 dabaig] dabaid L; .xl. dabhuch leanna Li. 53
fuireac] furigh B; furig M. 54 Temraig] temraid L; temrag Li. 55 a]
na L; cu Li; a B, M. 56 -astar] aister L. 57 co findtais] is e sin B, M.
59 minflatha] midlacha L; midhlachda Li; minflatha B; mindfhata M.
60 gart] gort MSS., for the rhyme with olc, which is, however, not required.
61 n⁴ba] noch fa L; nabad olc do shomaine B, M.

- 1865 Dligid leath in tigi te
in slóg sin Eamna Maichi
7 gabaid, ní claen lind,
ceirt-leath araen re Héirind.
- Fín do dáil forro i Teamraig
co médaiged a menmain,
cuirn breca cona mbeandaib
foirni cona fichthillaib.
- 1870 Coimlethid a haigthi d'ór
don rí g díreagra dímór,
dá chét bó 7 dá chéd ech,
dá chéd carbad, ní claen-breth.
- [202a]
1875 Dá luing déc ar choblach cain
ó rí g Themra co treasaib,
a cur do macaib flatha
dóig is congaib indlatha.
- 1880 Dá sleig déc ara mbia nem,
dá chlaideam dé g mar caltain,
dá édach déc cach datha
fa chomair mac n-ardflatha.
- 1885 Roga tochmairc a Temraig
do rí gnaib co ro-menmain
a tobairt dó 'sa toga
mad dá roib a n-aentuma.
- Comairci gaei deirg dámaig
do rí g Ulad ilbágaig,
dá roib a Temraig na tor,
ná lam neach a shárugud.
- 1890 Gaileanga fo chís a each
Fir Breag fa fóiruib 'ma seach,
dá roib a Temraig thuathaig,
ro feas is dá fírthuathaib.

62 Dligid] Dlegur Li; Deagar B, M; 1 seems to have been added above in M.
te] om. L; dhe Li; te B, M. 63 in] dont Li; dunt B, M. Maichi] machae
Li; maiche B. 65 ceirt-leath] an leath Li; a leath B. re] fri B. 66 forro]
orro B, M. i Teamraig] a teamraid] L. 67 co médaiged a menmain] do
medughudh a menmain B; (menman) M. co] no Li. 68 cona mbeandaib]

Half of the warm house is assigned to that company from Emain Macha, and they take—we do not think it unfair—an equal half with all the rest of Ireland.

Wine is to be served to them in Tara so that their spirits rise, coloured drinking-horns sharp-pointed, chess-boards and chessmen.

The width of his face in gold is given to the great and mighty king, two hundred cows, two hundred horses, and two hundred chariots, no false judgement.

Twelve ships in a stately fleet from the king of Tara of the combats should be sent for the prince's sons for it is a princely escort.¹

Twelve poisoned spears, twelve swords . . .,² twelve garments of many colours for the prince's sons.

The fairest bride in Tara from among the high-spirited queens should be given to him as he chooses³ if he be unwedded.

Protection of the red spear with its retinue⁴ should be given to the king of Ulster of many boasts, if he be in Tara of the towers, a sanctuary which none dares to violate.

The Gailenga shall pay the cost of his horses, the Fir Breg the cost of his troops, if he be in Tara of the tribes, for they are of his own people.⁵

¹ *congair* = *congair* 'apparatus, construction'.

² Leg. *mairetaig* 'with heavy guards'? But there is no rhyme and the variants are unsatisfactory; 'with razor edges'. O'D.

³ Lit. 'whose choice she is.'

⁴ The reference is obscure.

⁵ The Gailenga and the Fir Breg are here wrongly attached to the Ulaid. The reading of B would classify them as *fortuatha* of the Ulaid.

buan a mbenn² Li. 69 cona fichthillaib] oir is fidhchealla Li; finna a fidhchealla B, M. 70 haigthi] haidchi L. 71 rí] ri L. 74 cain] coin L. 75 rí] ri L. 77 indlatha] indlacha L. 78 mbia] mbi Li; mbia B, M. 79 ealtain] altain Li; co n-altaib B, M. 81 mac] meich M. 82 Temraig] temraid L. 83 do rígnab] dun rígh sin B, M. 84 'sa] s co L; s cu Li; sa B, M. 85 mad] ma L. roib] rab Li, B, M. 86-89 Comairci etc.] *this quatrain is omitted from* Li, B, M. dámaig] damaid L. 88 Temraig] temraid L. 90 fo chís a each] fa caemcis ech B, M. 91 fóirnib] 'ma seach] oirnib aech L; fhoirnib fa seach Li; foirnibh masech B, M. 92 dá] cu Li, B, M, *but dá gives better sense*. Cf. l. 1888. Temraig thuathaig] temraid thuathaid L. 93 ro] daLi. fírthuathaib] fortuathaib B, M.

- 1895 A chuibrind a tig Themra,
córaidí dó mórmenma,
trí fichit mart, fichi muc,
fichi tindi co trén-lucht.
- 1900 Fichi glac losa dar lim,
fichi ug fáilind forfind,
fichi cliab i mbítis beich,
is a tobairt dó ar én-leith.
- 1905 Ní dligend acht mad sine
ó ríg Themra toinngile
7 aderim fo dí
ní hinand sin is nemthní.
- 1910 Iar sin téid roime dia thoig
rí Cuailgni cosna cathaib,
iar n-airisim dia astar,
do fódail a thuarastal.
- 1915 Do ríg Rátha Móir Muigi
dligid ro-chrud rígraidi
dáig is é is uaisle astar
is as túsca tuaristol.
- 1915 Dligid, ce iarfaigid sin,
minba hé bus rí ar Ultaib
ocht mbruit datha 7 dá luing
co sciath ngel ar gach ngualaind.
- 1920 Fidchell 7 brandub bán,
ocht cuirn 7 ocht copán,
ocht mílchoin 7 ocht n-eich
7 ocht sleaga ar éinleith.
- 1925 Dligid rí Muigi Coba
na n-arm n-édrom n-imthana
secht mílchoin 7 secht n-eich
7 secht sleaga for aeinleith.

94 Themra] temhrach Li. 95 dó] doibh B, M. mórmenma] beith men-
mnach Li. 97 -lucht] chucht Li. 99 forfind] foirind L. 00 imbítis]
ina mbiad L. 02 sine] saine B, M. 03 -gile] glaise L, B, M. 05

His portion in the house of Tara—he should be pleased with it—is sixty beeves, twenty pigs, and twenty flitches in a great load (?).¹

Twenty handfuls of herbs, twenty glistening seagulls' eggs, twenty hives of bees² shall be given him together.

That is all he is entitled to from the king of radiant Tara, and I say and repeat that it is no mere nothing.

After that the king of Cualnge returns home with the troops to distribute his stipends, having rested at the end of his journey.³

To the king of Ráith Mór Maige⁴ he owes more than a royal fee, for his is the noblest service (?) and he is the first to receive a stipend.

He is entitled, if you ask it, to eight coloured cloaks, two ships and a gleaming shield for each shoulder, if he be not king of the Ulaid;

A set of chess and white *brandub*⁵, eight horns and eight cups, eight hounds, eight horses, and eight spears together.

The king of Mag Coba of the light, slender weapons is entitled to seven hounds, seven horses, and seven spears together.

¹ *co trén-lucht*, cf. l. 2161.

² Lit. 'in which bees used to be', betraying perhaps the antiquarian focus of the poem. But L has the present *i mbiad*.

³ Or 'after having been entertained' (B, M.)

⁴ Ráith Mór Maige Line, cf. 1337 and see Hog. Onom. 575.

⁵ A board-game different from *fidchell*, see *Éigse* v 25f.

| | | | |
|--|---|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| nemhní] neifni Li | o6 Iar] ar L. | dia thoig] da thig L. | o7 rí] rig L. |
| cosna] cona B, M. | o8 dia astar] a aister L; da fostud B, M. | | o9 do] |
| co Li; gu. B, M. | fodail] fogail L, Li; fodail B, M. | io rí] ri L. | ii |
| dligid] dliḡ Li. | rígraidi] radhruire Li; righaide B, M. | 12 dáig] doigh Li, | |
| B, M. | astar] aister L. | 14 Dligid] dliḡ Li. | iarfaigid] iarfaidid L; |
| fiarfrughthi Li; iarfaigther B; iarfaigh- M. | | 18 Fidchell] Fichthill L. | |
| 19 copán] copain L; copan Li, B, M. | | 21 ar éinleith] for leith B, M. | |
| 24 secht] ocht L. | secht] ocht L. | 25 7 ocht ngabra ar glanreith L. | |
| aeinleith] leith B, M. | | | |

Dligid Eógan sluaiged leis,
 dligid Conall cen éisleis;
 fair nochon féllaíd a ndáil,
 is ed dleagaid beith d'aenláim.

1930

Dligid rí Airgiall a each
 tar cend a giall, ní gú-breath,
 7 dligid Conall cain
 suidi cach dú ara bélaib.

1935

Dligid rí Hua mBriúin miadach
 a each frangcach fírmiadach:
 dligid rí Conmaicne coin,
 each 7 roga n-édaig.

1940

Is airi do-beir sin dóib
 rí Ulad an airm thrénmóir
 co mbet a tresi 'na thoig
 co tecat leis co Temair. T.

1945

Geasa ríg Ulad Eamna
 7 a land lánmeabra
 dula dó a cend doiri thuirc
 aenfeacht d'aicsin dá fuabairt:

1950

Éitseacht re hénlaith nglindi
 Lacha Saileach saerlinne,
 fothrucad belltaine thair
 ar fíndloch álaind Fèbail.

Ac sin a gesa cruaidi
 airdríg cóicid Chraebrauidi;
 mádá ndearna co gnáth sin
 ní géba co bráth Temair. T.

1955

Do buadaib ríg Ulad uill
 coindmead a chás a Caendruim,
 a maír i Tailltin treoig,
 Eamain imma ingenaib.

27 dligid] 7 L. éisleis] aeingheis Li; co coimdeis B, M. 28 air noco gabann
 a mbaid B, M. 32 Conall] ri *conail* B, M. 33 cach] ingach Li, B, M.
 34-37 Dligid, etc.] *Quatrain omitted from Li.* 35 fírmiadach] *fo*miadach B.

The Cenél nEógain are bound to go on a hosting with him,¹ and the Cenél Conaill without fail; they do not fail him at a muster, their duty is to rally to him.

The king of Airgialla is entitled to his horse in return for his hostages, no false judgement, and the king of noble Cenél Conaill is entitled to sit opposite to him in every place.

The king of the honourable Uí Briúin is entitled to his splendid French horse; the king of Conmaicne is entitled to a hound, a horse and choice garments.

The reason why the king of Ulaid of the mighty weapon gives them those gifts is that their power may be in his house, and that they may come with him to Tara.

The *gessa* of the king of Ulaid of Emain and of his famous lands (?) are: to approach the lair of a boar at any time (?) to see it being attacked;²

To listen to the birds of the valley of noble Loch Swilly, and to bathe in the month of May eastwards on beautiful Loch Foyle.

Those are the severe tabus of the high king of the province of the Branch-red House; if he be used to do those things, he will never succeed to Tara.

Among the lucky things of the great king of Ulaid are to spend Easter³ at Caendruim,⁴ to have his stewards in Taitiu of the triple rampart,⁵ and that Emain shall harbour his daughters (?);⁶

¹ The king of the Uiaid. Here Cenél nEógain, Cenél Conaill and Airgialla are imagined as subject to the king of the Ulaid.

² The translation is doubtful, and I am not satisfied with *aenfeacht*. Li alone offers the reading *einech*: 'to see honour being attacked'?

³ Lit. 'coigny of his Easters'.

⁴ The old name for Uisnech according to O'D., but also a name for Tara, *FM* ii. 903 note x; and Tara was called Druim Cain, see *LL* 1667; Hog. *Onom.*

⁵ *tredach* may be an adj. from *tredua*, cf. *tredua Talten*, *Met.* Dinds. iv 156. 144.

⁶ 'Eamhain to be in the possession of his daughters', O'D., following L.

37 roga] toga B, M. 39 ri ulad co n-imad a sloigh B, M. 40 mbet] mbeid L. thoigh] thig L; thogh Li. 41 tecat] tegaid L. Temair] temraig B, M. 42 Ulad] aluinn B, M. 43 meabra] chalma L. 44 dula dosun i cenn tuirc B, M. 45 aenfeacht] einech Li. d'aicsin] decsain B, M. 47 saerlinne] saerbindi L, Li; saerlinne B, M. 49 findloch álaind] loch finnalaind B. 50-51 Ac sin . . . Chraebrauidi] *om.* Li; B and M omit the *quatrain*. 52 mádá] muna Li. 54 Do buadaib] a buada B, M. 55 coindmead a chásc] coinnmhedh i cáise Li; a coinmeadh casc B; a coimneadh casc M. 56 tredoi] tregail L, Li; tredhoigh B, M. 57 imma] aca L; imma H. ingenaib] ingenraig B, M.

- 1960 Coblach aici for Loch Cuan
cleamnas re ríG Gall glanuar,
Eanach Caín do beith fa blaid
7 a maír a Temair.* T.
- 1965 Dligid rí Náis anosa
flead adbal nach urusa,
fichi dabach do cach lind
cona fuireac ósa cind.
- [202b]
1971 Tuaristal ríG Laigen Luirc
ó ríG Themrach in trénp huirt,
a dream sa atáid in bar taig,
atá leam-sa do meabair:
- 1975 Céd mac uirríG is buan blad
lesiun co tua na Temrach,
ingen aentuma cach fír
édach taebthana i Temair. T.
- 1975 Seacht carbaid ara mbia ór
neach beireas leis co comól,
seacht fichit édach ndatha
fo chomair mac n-ardflatha.
- 1980 Ar sin téid roime dá thig
rí Laigen cusna laechaib,
co roich dún Náis iar n-astar
co fodail a thuarastal.
- 1985 Mad ac Ceindsealaib cróda
bes in flaithis fírmóra,
is léo fodail a cruid chain
dá macaib ríG 's dá rígaib.
- Dligid rí Hua Faelán find
seacht mbruit datha im cach deig lind
7 ceithri longa ar loch
co mbed a corra i coblach
- 59 re] fria Li. glanuar] glanbuan Li; nglasfuar B, M. 60 Eanach] airech
Li; airear B, M. 61 maír] shaeire Li; shair B, M. Temair] Temair. tech
a mbu: mac Cuinn add. Li; teamraig B, M. 63 urusa] uruosa L. 67

* The text ends here in Lismore and in H.

That he have a fleet upon Loch Cuan, that he be connected by marriage with the king of the cold Foreigners, that Eanach Cain¹ be of good repute and that his stewards be in Tara. T.

The king of Naas owes a great banquet, hard to provide, twenty vats of each kind of ale with their provision in addition.

The stipend of the king of the Laigin of Lorc from the king of Tara of the stronghold—O ye who are in your house—I have it in memory:

A hundred sons of princes of lasting fame go with him to the rampart of Tara; a maiden for every man shall be in Tara, jealous (?) and slender.

Seven gilt chariots which² he brings with him to a banquet, seven score coloured garments for the prince's sons.

Then the king of the Laigin returns home with his warriors,³ making the journey to the fort of Naas, and distributes his stipend.

If the valiant Uí Chennselaig have the great kingship,⁴ they have the distribution of its wealth to their princes and kings.

The king of the fair Uí Fhaeláin is entitled to seven coloured cloaks for every goodly mantle(?), and four ships on the lake so that their prows be in a fleet (?).⁵

¹ Presumably a place-name, but the text is doubtful.

² *neach* as rel. pron. indecl. is late Middle Irish, see *Contrib.* N 18.70.

³ It is clear from the variants that M was here corrected by p of the stemma.

⁴ The kingship of the Laigin passed from the Uí Dúnlainge to the Uí Chennselaig in 1042 when Diarmait became king. See Mac Neill, *Celtic Ireland*, 139. The form *Ceindsealaib* is not supported by B, M, but it is metrically right and perhaps defensible.

⁵ i.e. assembled together ? The reading of L is even less satisfactory.

| | | |
|--|--|--------------------------------|
| phuirt] tuirc B, M. | 68 atáid . . . taig] mar ata istig L. | 69 atá leamsa] |
| sa] leamsa ata L. | 70 uirrig . . . blad] rorigh co rath rath B. | 71 lesiun] |
| leis L. | tua na] tuatha B, M. | 74 ara] ima B, M. |
| 78 Ar] iar B. | roime] remi B. | thig] thaigh B. |
| leargaib B, M (aliter cus na laechaib sup.). | 80 co roich . . . astar] iar n-airiseam da fastud B, M (co roith dun nais in marg.). | roich] roith L. |
| aister L. | 81 thuarastal] thuaristail L. | 82 ac] a B. |
| cennselachaibh B, M. | 83 bes] bias L. | in flaithis firmóra] a fláthus |
| lanmora B, M. | 84 fodail] flaithes L. | 85 dá macaib] do mac L. |
| 87 seacht] ocht B, M. | im] in B, M. | 89 a] co L. |
| | | i] a L. |

1990 Dligid rí Húa Failgi fuar
ceithri scéith datha, is deagluag,
ceithri cuirn cache datha,
ceithri claidim chruad-chatha.

1995 Dligid rí Osraigi án
dá mílchoin déc co ndegál.
Dá each déc dó cen aife
co carbadaib deagmaithe.

2000 Rí Hua Cendsealaig na creach
leis cumas tigi Temrach;
is é seo a fír in cach than
uair is é teach ríg Laigen.

2005 Dligid rí Hua nGabla ngér
fáindi óir im cach n-én-mér,
7 fail óir ón geal gual
dligid rí find na Forthuath.

Geasa ríg Laigen adchím,
cath do uagra fair 'na thír,
7 Goill d'aimréir im rind
7 a géill co Duibblind.

2010 Rí ar aife cen fégad,
Caeimgin cana choimégad,
cen teacht co Nás re lind láin
do gesaib in ríg ro-náir.

2015 Brigid do réir ima rath
do buadaib na ríg Laigneach;
beth dó fo chís ina thaig
dola cach mís co Temair. T.

2020 Dligid rí Caisil na creach
dula co tua Temrach
da fichit cairptheach 'ma le
do thaisbénad a fílede.

90 Húa] .h. L; h⁻ B, M. fuar] uar L; fuar B; fuar M. 91 deagluag]
teagluag L; degnuall B, M. 92 cache datha] cama gan cleith B, M.
93 ocus .iiii. cruadclóidemb B, M. 94 Osraigi] osraidi L; osr⁻ B. án] ain
B, M. 95 ndegál] ndegdail B; ndeagail, *corr. to* ndeagd hail M. 96 dó cen
aife] d'echaib maithe B, M. 97 deagmaithe] comdaithe B, M. 98 Rí] rí L.

The king of cold Uí Fhailge is entitled to four coloured shields, it is a good stipend, four horns of every colour and four swords for battle.

The noble king of Osraige is entitled to twelve hounds with a good litter,¹ twelve horses without fail (?)² with goodly chariots.

The king of Uí Chennselaig of the spoils has control of the house of Tara; this is the truth for all time, for it is the house of the king of Laigin.³

The king of the keen Uí Gabla is entitled to a gold ring for each finger; and the fair king of the Fortuatha is entitled to a gold armlet from the white-hot coals (?)⁴

I observe the *gessa* of the king of the Laigin: that he be challenged to give battle in his own country, that the Foreigners revolt against him, and that he sends hostages to Dublin.

Moreover, that the king should not be respected, that Coemgein should not be held in high regard, not to go to Naas . . .⁵ are among the *gessa* of the noble king.

To maintain Brigit in her property is one of the lucky things of the Laigin kings, and to pay her rent in his house, and to go every month to Tara.

The king of Cashel of the spoils has a duty to go to the rampart of Tara with forty charioteers to present his banquet.

¹ It is clear from the variants that M was here corrected by B or its exemplar.

² *aife* = *aithbe* 'ebb'?

³ For the tradition that Tara once belonged to the Laigin see *EIHM* 168, 178.

⁴ If *gel* is a noun and *gual g.* pl., but I have no other example of *gel* in this sense.

⁵ 'with a full retinue', O'D.

| | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------|
| creach] nech B, M. | 09 tigi] taige B, M. | 00 seo] sin B, M. | 05 rí] |
| rig L. | 06 Gcasa] buada B, M. | 07 do uagra] dfuagra B, M. | thír] |
| thréntir B, M. | 08 d'aimréir] do rer B; da rer M. | rind] lind B. | 09 |
| géill] gell B, M. | co] in B, M. | 10 rí] rig L. | aide] aidi L. |
| eradh M. | 11 Caeimgin] caemgen B, M. | 12 teacht co Nás] teach i nais | |
| B, M. | 15 dlegar du rí na laighneach B, M. | 16 beth dó] a beth B, M. | |
| thaig] thig L; taig B, M. | 17 dola cach] dul gacha B, M. | Temair] temraig | |
| B, M. | 19 dul do thuathaib na temrach B, M. | 20 cairptheach] cairpeach | |
| L. | 1c] lle B. | 21 thaisbéad] chomaidheamh B, M. | |

- 2025 Dligid rí Temrach na tor
dul a choimlín sin leiseon
7 cen mac athaig and
do chaitheam fíleidi Érann.
- 2030 Dligid a Temair Luachra
rí Muman 's a mórthuatha
deich ndabcha fichead ro feas
cona furec, is fír-leas.
- 2035 Is hé seo in tuaristol tend
dleagar ó airdríg Éreand,
ocht n-eich, ocht carbaid fo chuing,
ocht failgi 7 ocht caemchuirn.
- 2040 Ocht fichid brat do brataib,
ocht scéith gela ós glan-glacaib,
seacht sesrecha 'na sreith sláin
is seacht fichit bó bennáin.
- 2045 Coiri uad do ríg Caisil
ó ríg Themra in trén-taisic,
a tabairt mar dlegur thrá
's a breith i Temair Luachra.
- 2050 Ar sin fodlaid rí Muman
na cath is na cét curad
do lucht a gníma co ngail
itir rí 7 rígain.
- 2050 Ocht n-eich maithi ara mbia grád
dligid rí na nDési nár,
is ocht mbruit uaine 'ma le
co n-ocht ndeilgib findroine.

23 techt i comlin B, M. leiseon] leisin L. 27 rí] rig L. 's a] na L.
29 furec] furig B, M. fír-leas] fírdeas B, M. 30 istaig] istig L; na thig
B, M. 31 Deagaid] dfeighain B, M. 32 7] s L. ar astar] as ar aistear

The king of Temair¹ of the towers has a duty to go with the same number, and none of them a churl's son, to hold the banquet of the Érainn.

In Temair Luachra the king of Munster and his tribes owe thirty vats with their provision, it is good cheer.

He¹ is entitled to a week's refection at Temair Luachra Degaid in the west, and not to depart until he distribute his stipend.

This is the firm stipend which is due from the high king of Ireland, eight horses, eight yoked chariots, eight rings, and eight horns.

Eight score cloaks, eight bright shields on goodly arms, seven plough-teams in a handsome file, and seven score cows with their calves (?).²

A cauldron shall be given to the king of Cashel as is due by the king of Tara who renders without fail,³ and it shall be brought to Temair Luachra.

Then the king of Munster of heroic battles distributes to his valiant champions (?),⁴ both king and queen.⁵

The noble king of the Déisi is entitled to eight good horses that will be prized, eight green cloaks, and eight brooches of *findruine*.

¹ i.e. the King of Ireland.

² *bennán* can mean 'a (little) horn' and also 'a calf'.

³ Lit. 'of firm restitution'.

⁴ I take *lucht a gníma* rather doubtfully as equal to *a lucht gníma*, and compare *fer gníma* 'champion'. L seems strangely corrupt.

⁵ Or 'to his princes and kings', following the variant.

| | | |
|--|--|-----------------------------------|
| L. | 33 fodla] fogla L; faghadh B, M. | 35 dleagar] dlighes B, M. |
| 36 eich] ech L, B. | fo chuing] ar tuinn B, M. | 39 ós glan-glacaib] o ri asail |
| B, M. | 40 ocht sesrecha threbas tir B, M. | 41 is seacht] iseacht L; |
| 7 ocht B, M. | bó bennáin] ailbhín B, M. | 42-43 a cairi uadh do chaisel / o |
| ri temra taebtaisean B, M. | 43 taisic] taisich L. | 44 a tabairt] ata beart L. |
| 45 's a breith] co mbed B, M. | 46 rí] rig. L. | 48 a gníma co ngail] an |
| gnim tendaid gail L; igníma co ngail B, M. | 49 da macaib rígh 's da ríghaib | |
| B, M. | 50-51 <i>These two lines are reversed in B, M.</i> | 52 is] om. B. 'ma |
| le] sund co se B, M. | | |

- 2055 Dligid ríg Hua Liathán lir
ocht cuirn 7 ocht claidim
7 ocht n-eich maithi dó
ó ríg Caisil can chlaechló.
- [202c] Dligid rí Hua nEachach n-oll
lúireach 7 ga i comlonn,
2060 7 dá fálaig d'ór dearg
7 dá each nach droch-beadc.
- Dligid rí Dáirine duind
ó ríg Caisil in chomlaid
ocht claidim chorra chatha,
2065 ocht longa is ocht lúireacha.
- Do ríg Lacha Léin lebair
dligid cumáin chairdeamail,
fichi bó 7 fichi each,
fichi long dó, ní droch-breath.
- 2070 Dligid rí Ciarraigi in chnuic
fichi each, ní fáth ard-uile,
7 trí fichid bó bán
7 trí fichit copán.
- Dligid rí Hua Conaill chain
2075 errid cásc ó ríg Caisil,
a llann lígda co lí ngloin
7 a gaí 'na deagaid.
- Dligid rí Éile mar tá
a thír saer co Sliab Bladma
2080 acht mina theachta cath cain
gan eachtra fair seach rígraid.
- Is aire dobeir sin dóib
rí Muman an aignid móir;
is de bus buideach na fir
2085 can a fuireach i Temair. T.

57 can chlaechló] i n-aenlo B, M. 59 lúireach 7 ga] a luirech sa ga B, M.
61 7] om. B, M. nach droch-beadc] maithi ni drochbedhg B, M. 62 ri
Dáirine] degri daire B, M. 63 rí] ri L. 66 rí] ri L. 67 chair-

The king of Uí Liatháin of the sea is entitled to eight horns, eight swords, and eight good horses from the king of Cashel without exchange.

The king of great Uí Echach is entitled to a breastplate and a spear for battle, two rings of red gold, and two sturdy horses.

The king of dark Dáirine is entitled to receive from the king of Cashel of the conflict eight pointed swords for the fight, eight ships, and eight coats of mail.

To the king of long Loch Léin he owes a friendly complement, twenty cows, twenty horses, and twenty ships, no unjust judgement.

The king of Ciarraige of the hill is entitled to twenty horses—no cause of harm—sixty white cows, and sixty cups.

The king of the fair Uí Chonail is entitled to his Easter raiment¹ from the king of Cashel, his flashing blade with bright colour and his spear as well.

The king of Éile is entitled to his country free as far as Sliab Bladma, without liability for service outside it, unlike any other king, unless fair battle should claim him (?).

The reason why the king of Munster of noble nature gives them all this is that the men may be thankful that they are not delayed in Tara.² T.

¹ i.e. what the king of Cashel wears on Easter Sunday.

² The meaning is not clear to me. Is it simply that the king of Cashel vies with the king of Tara in munificence? One might emend to *fuireac* 'entertainment'.

deamail] comramaig B, M. 70 Ciarraigi] ciarraidi L. 73 tri cuirn 7
tri copan B, M. 76 lí ngloin] rinn nglan B, M. 77 deagaid] deagaig
L; farradh B. 80 acht] is B. cain] coin L. 81 eachtra fair seach cach
rigraig L; gan echtra air seach rigaib B, M. 82 dobeir sin] sin dobeir L.
83 an] om. B, M. aignid] aignig L. móir] ardmóir B, M. 85 Temair]
temraig B, M.

Trí buada ríg Caisil cain
rígán aici i Condachtaib,
loingeas aici ar Sinaind sláin
7 Caisill do chongbáil.

2090

A thrí dímbuada iar sin
cath d'fuagra uad ar Laignib,
a choinmed a Caisil chain
7 gan dul co Temair.

2095

Dligid ó flaith Luimnig lir
flead aireagda forbaillig,
deich ndabcha fiched ro feas,
cona fuireac re fír-leas.

2100

Rí Tuadmuman in toraid
dligid cumaín chairdeamail,
trí deich mbó 7 dá chét each,
trí failgi d'ór, ní droch-breath.

2105

Ceithri longa re laíding,
gid ead ní hord anaíbinn,
dá sciath im cach luing díb sin,
dá laind 7 dá lúirig.

2110

Ní dligend acht mad saine
flaith Luimnig a Liathmune,
is é seo a fír imach,
7 ingen ríg Temrach. T.

2115

Dligid rí Chorco Baiscind
ó ríg Thuadmuman taistill
corn 7 dá fichit each,
édach in ríg, ní gú-breath.

Dligid uirrí Chorca Mruad
ó ríg Thuadmuman na tuath
a roga luingi ar ló ar feacht,
dá chét bó 7 a beandacht.

90 iar] ar L. 93 Temair] *add. temair .t. B.* 94-97 B and M omit this
quatrain. 00 deich] .xx. B, M. 01 d'ór] oir B, M. 03 gid] ge L;
gidh B. 06 saine] sine L. 08 is egosc a ríg amach L. 11 Tuadmuman]

The three lucky things of the king of fair Cashel are to have a queen from Connacht, to have a fleet on the noble Shannon and to hold Cashel.

His three unlucky things in turn are to declare war on the Laigin, to be maintained in fair Cashel,¹ and not to go to Tara.

He is entitled to a handsome and merry banquet from the king of populous Limerick, thirty vats, as is known, with their excellent provision.

The king of fruitful Thomond is entitled to a friendly reward, thirty cows, two hundred horses, and three gold rings—no unjust judgement.

Four ships with a boat, it is a pleasant rule, two shields for every ship, two swords, and two coats of mail.

The chieftain of Limerick from Liathmuine² is entitled only to this much in truth, and to the daughter of the king of Tara. T.

The king of Corco Baiscind is entitled to a horn, forty horses, and a royal garment from the king of Thomond of many journeys—it is no false judgement.

The under-king of Corco Mruad is entitled to the ship of his choice on the day of an expedition, from the king of Thomond of the tribes, two hundred cows, and his blessing.

¹ This probably refers to the handing over of Cashel to the Church by Muirchertach Ó Briain in 1100, see *Annals of Clonmacnoise* p. 188.

² i.e. the king of Thomond. Hogan has various places named Liathmuine, none of which are clearly suitable. The king may have had a residence in some place so called.

tuagmuman L. 13 in rí] da cet B, M. 14 mor a ndlig ri corcomruad
B, M. uirri] uirrig L. 16 a] om. B, M. ar feacht] ro fecht B, M.

2120 Ingen rí^g Tuadmuman tinn
do rí^g Chorco Mruad beirim
coma hí a bean ar cach leath
ar tocht a tig rí^g Temrach. t.

2125 Geasa rí^g Luimnig leathain
ainimair ós airdeachaib
beith triur ina chocar chain
7 a rún re rí^gain.

2130 As iad a buada in rí^g raith
nónbar 'na chocar chomaith,
raga ndelba air iar tain
7 a menma a Temair. t.

2130 Dligid flaith Cruachan, ná ceil,
dá fichid dabach ac fleid
7 can dul uathad ann
ó rí^g uasal na Hérind.

2135 Dligid rí Gaela in gosa
a chomaín uad anosa,
trí fichid bó, dá chéd each,
ceithri failgi, ní droch-breath.

2140 Ceithri cuirn ima mbí ór
neach beireas leis co comól,
is a fágbáil tiar 'na thig
do flaith Chruachan in chinid.

2145 Ceithri scéith dearga datha,
ceithri cathbairr chomdatha,
ceithri lúireacha 'na ndiaid,
ceithri sleaga ri sár-gliaid.

Geis dó Cruachu d'fás fo thrí
buaid dó loingear for Loch Rí;
mad dia ndearna seach cách sin
gébaid sé co gnáth Temair. T.

18 tinn] tend L. 20 coma] gurab B, M. ar cach leath] re gach fleigh B, M.
21 7 a fer i temraig B, M. 23 ainimair ós] amair osa B, M. 25 rún]
ruin M. 27 chomaith] comdaith B, M. 28 ndelba] dealba L. iar

I award the daughter of the strong king of Thomond to the king of Corco Mruad so that she be his wife wherever he be (?)¹ after he comes into the house of the king of Tara.²

The tabus of the king of broad Limerick are . . .³ to take part in a council of three, and to confide in the queen.

The lucky things of the virtuous king are to have nine in his goodly council, to be of handsome appearance, and to aspire to Tara.

The prince of Cruachain—do not conceal it—is entitled to forty vats at a feast from the nobleking of Ireland and not to go to it alone.

The valiant king of Gaela⁴ is entitled to his reward from him now, sixty cows, two hundred horses, and four armlets, no unjust award.

Four gilt horns to the prince of Cruachain of the royal line, which⁵ he brings with him to the drinking feast and keeps in his house in the west;

Four red shields, four coloured helmets, four coats of mail in addition, and four spears for battle.

It is a tabu for him that Cruachain should be three times plundered;⁶ it is lucky for him to have a fleet on Loch Rí; if he beyond all others do that, he will often win Tara.

¹ Lit. 'on every side' or 'at every feast' (B).

² i.e. when he submits; or 'when her husband is in Tara' (B).

³ 'To have his stewards on his noble steeds', O'D., following B, but the sense is not very plausible.

⁴ The king of Connacht according to O'Donovan.

⁵ For *nech* as indecl. rel., see p. 133 n. 2.

⁶ If this is correct, *fás* here serves as vn. of the denom. *fásaigid*.

| | | |
|---|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| tain] re gail B, M. | 29 menma] run B, M. | 30 Cruachan] cruachna B, M. |
| ná ceil] ní chel B; ní cel <i>corrected to</i> na ceil M. | 31 ac] na B, M. | 32 |
| uathad] uaithib L. | 33 ó] im B, M. | 35 uad] uada L. |
| da (<i>aliter</i> tri) M. | 38 mbí] mbia L. | 40 'na] ga B, M. |
| cruachna B, M. | chínid] curig L. | 45 ri] co L. |
| 47 for] ar B, M. | 48 seach cách] go gnath B, M. | 46 Cruachu] chruacha L. |
| gu brath temair B, M. | | 49 ní ghebha |

- [202d]
2151 Dligid rí Hua Maine mór
ceithri cuirn díb re comól,
fichi bó 7 fichi each,
édach dá chét, ní gú-breath.
- 2155 Dligid rí Hua Fiachrach find
ceithri longa re laíding,
deich mná fichet, aibdli duir,
7 trí cuirn do chornaib.
- 2160 Dligid rí na Tuath Teórach
gen gu *fetir* aneólach
fichi mart is fichi muc
fichi tindi co trén-lucht.
- 2165 Dligid rí Luigni lagaid
ceithri scéith co comramaib,
ceithri hinair co n-ór derg,
ceithri longa, ní droch-beadg.
- Ní dligend acht mad sine
ó flaith Chruachna cnesgile
dleagaid dó cach dáil mar sin
7 a ndáil co Temair. 'T.*
- 2170 Dligid rí Midi in marcaid
ó ríg Éirind co n-ardblaid
seacht seisreacha threbus tír
7 seacht fichit aibín.
- 2175 Dligid rí Breag in muirir
fichi each, ní hardpudair,
7 ní cóir a séna,
co n-édaigib n-imthréna.

50 mór] in mal B, M. 51 ceithri sceith datha is degdal B, M. 52 bó]
add. do B, M. 54 rí] rig L. 56-59 deich mná . . . aneolach] *these four*

* B ends here with the colophon: Finit. Amen. Solam ó Droma nomine sgridsid. M ends here also, and the Testament of Cathair Már follows, with a marginal note: Hic est quod ante deficit. But the remainder to the end of L has been added in the upper and right-hand margins (f. 80^v). M has thus been corrected by p as at 1979, 2130. Ll. 2170-2182 have been cut away by the binder.

The great king of Uí Maine is entitled to four horns¹ for the drinking feast, twenty cows, twenty horses, and clothing for two hundred men, no false judgement.

The fair king of Uí Fhiachrach is entitled to four ships with a boat, thirty women, wonderful . . .² and three horns.

The king of the Three Tribes,³ although the ignorant know it not, is entitled to twenty beeves, twenty pigs, and twenty fitches in a great load (?).

The generous⁴ king of Luigne is entitled to four ornamented⁵ shields, four tunics with red gold, and four ships, no mean effort.

That is all he is entitled to from the prince of bright Cruachain; they owe him attendance at each meeting and to come to Tara. T.

The king of Mide of the market is entitled to seven plough-teams that plough the land and seven score flocks from the famous king of Ireland.

The king of populous Brega is entitled to twenty horses, no shame, with goodly trappings not to be denied.

¹ I take *dib* as equivalent to *do chornaib*, cf. l. 2157.

² 'large and hardy', O'D.

³ Tír Briúin na Sionna, Cenél Dobhtha and Corca Achlann in the diocese of Elphin, according to O'Donovan. See also his map of Uí Maine in *Tribes and Customs of Hy Many*.

⁴ *laghadh*, g. *-aidh*, IGT 54 and ex. 403.

⁵ *co comramaib*, cf. *déca a churnu co comraim* (v.l. *cornaimm*), SC 396.

lines were dropped by the scribe of L. 61 trén-lucht] trenult B, M. 62
 Luigni] luighni in B. 63 comramaib] comragaib B, M. 64 derg]
 nderg B, M. 67 flaith] ri L. cnesgile] in cathaide L. 68-69 dlegait
 uili a ndul mar sain / 7 a ndail do themair B; (uili] ceana M). 74 ri] rig L.

2180 Dligid rí na Saidne só
each 7 dá fichit bó,
uair ní lugu a ngoiri amach,
a choiri 7 a dabach.

2185 Dligid rí na nDési anocht
fichi mart is fichi molt,
is dligid rí Luigni ar sin
fichi each co sadallaib.

2190 Dligid rí Gaileanga gáí
cona hindsma d'órcheardai
7 fichi srian sotal
do chruan is do charrmogal.

2190 Is amlaid sin dleagar de
tuaristol maithi Mide,
7 gan a cleith re gail
7 a mbreith co Temair. T.

2195 Geasa rí Eógain 'na thig
rígan aici a Condachtaib,
a síth re hAraidí anall
7 cacad re Conall.

2200 'Na aenar théid soir ó thig
rí Laisi cusna laechaib;
fichi ech dó ara astur,
is é sin a thuaristol.

2205 Rí nime 7 talman tréin,
co ndearnom uili a óigréir,
co robam co trén 'na thig
dáigh is aibhni ná Temair. Teamair. Finit.

78 rí] rig L. 82 molt] muc M. 99 rí] rig L. Laisi] laige M.
oz tréin] tren L; trein M. 04 co trén] uili M.

The king of Saithne is entitled to this, a horse, and two score cows, his cauldron and his vat, for their closeness of kinship (?) is no less.

The king of the Déisi tonight is entitled to twenty beeves and twenty wethers, and the king of Luigne is entitled to twenty horses with their saddles.

The king of Gailenga is entitled to a spear with a socket of wrought gold and twenty splendid bridles with red enamel and carbuncle.

Thus are due from him the stipends of the chiefs of Mide, and they should not be withheld (?)¹ by force, but they should be brought to Tara.

The tabus of the king of Cenél nEógain in his house are to have a queen from Connacht, to be at peace with Dál nAraide and to be at war with Cenél Conaill.

Alone the king of Laise² of the warriors goes east from his house; twenty horses are due to him for his journey, that is his stipend.

The King of heaven and solid earth, may we all do His will, so that we may be established in His house, for it is happier than Tara. T.

¹ lit. 'concealed'.

² i.e. the king of Cenél nEógain? The name is unknown to me, and O'Donovan makes no comment. This fragment seems out of place, as the Cenél nEógain have already appeared as subject to the king of the Ulaid (l. 1926).

APPENDIX A

TIMNA CHATHAÍR MÁIR

The Testament of Cathaír Már recounts the bequests made to his sons by Cathaír, king of the Lagen, supposed to have reigned in the second century.¹ It appears in some manuscripts in a sequence of Lagen genealogies, and it was taken into the Book of Rights as an introduction to the chapter on the Lagen. I have removed the Testament to an appendix, as it is plainly an interruption in the Book of Rights and does not appear in the Lismore text nor in that of Hy Many (where, however, it is added at the end); and also because it is a very difficult text which requires separate treatment. It is a unique document, and was composed presumably to validate the genealogies of ten supposed sons of Cathaír Már. It is not certain that Cathaír is merely a legendary figure; but the Testament is legendary.

The language is highly poetic and obscure, and the verse is in heptasyllabic metre with alliteration but no rhyme which appears with the earliest written tradition and probably derives from ancient druidic oral teaching. It is the form in which some of the earliest law-tracts are composed. This metre, however, survives into the Middle Irish period for mantic verse and in 'rhetorical' passages in the sagas, for example LU 6169, 7271, 7370, 10350. And the dating of such poems is difficult. Some of the late verbal forms in the Testament can readily be restored as Old Irish. Others would require drastic emendation, but these may be explained as due to improvisation by scribes writing from memory a poem they could no longer fully understand, or substituting late forms for forms long since obsolete.² The Testament may have been composed as early as the eighth century, and it may derive from an oral tradition even more ancient.

¹ FM *s.a.* 122 Meyer placed him in the fourth century, but O'Rahilly declared him to be an ancestor-god, see *EIHM* 268.

² This raises a question as to the nature of our manuscript tradition. Learning in Ireland was largely based upon memory. We know that sagas and genealogies were memorised, and works such as the Book of Rights and the Book of Invasions were composed in verse doubtless for the purpose of memorisation. When the manuscript tradition had passed from the monasteries to the lay-schools, and secular traditions were more and more being committed to writing, the scribes were copying texts that they knew by heart, and they were liable to depart from the exemplar. I am told that this is sometimes a difficulty even now in India.

The Testament is preserved in two recensions here referred to as I and II. Testament I is in the Book of Leinster (L) fcs. 385^c6–386^b53 (16th cent.) and in the Book of Ballymote (B¹) fcs. 127^b1–129^a39 (c. 1400). The spelling of L is late, but the text is good. It appears in a collection of Lagen genealogies between the list of descendants of Nia Corb, whose grandson Fedelmid was the father of Cathaír Már, and the account of the descendants of Fiacha Baiccid, son of Cathaír. In B¹ the Testament is preceded by a longer recension of the same genealogy and followed by a text on the stipends of Ros Failgi which is also preserved in LL, see vol. i, p. 249. There is thus no close relationship between the two manuscripts.

The text consists of ten poems and each poem is followed by a list of bequests (omitted in B¹) to one of the ten sons of Cathaír. The prose is not a summary of the poem, as in the Book of Rights. The poems are mantic utterances addressed by Cathaír to each of the sons, and seem to have been composed in imitation of Jacob's blessing of his sons in the forty-ninth chapter of *Genesis*.

Testament II is a much abridged form of I in which the metre is often irregular and the text plainly defective. But there are many lines which have not been preserved in I. The text is best preserved in the Book of Lecan, fcs. 87^a1–87^b38 (Lec¹). It is here preceded by the list of descendants of Nia Corb, as in LL, and followed by an account of the descendants of the sons of Cathaír, beginning with Fergus Luascán. It is also preserved in three manuscripts in association with the Book of Rights: the Book of Lecan fcs. 200^b28–200^d26 (Lec), the Book of Ballymote fcs. 277^b12–278^a47 (B), the Book of Hy Many fcs. 139^b15–139^c21 (M). In M the Testament is not in the chapter on the Lagen, as it is in Lec and B, but has been added at the end of the Book of Rights.

In editing the first recension, I give the text of L, as B¹ omits the lists of bequests, with variants from B¹. But where B¹ has the better reading, I adopt it, and L is removed to a footnote. A few emendations have been made, and the readings of both MSS. are then given below. Without the advice and active help of Dr. Binchy, I should not have attempted a critical edition. Lenition and marks of length have been supplied and contractions extended silently where there is no doubt. The text of Lec (the text of the Book of Rights), with variants from B, M, and Lec¹, and a translation of the verses that do not appear in the first recension, follow on pp. 170 f.

TIMNA CHATHAÍR MÁIR (I)

[I.L. (MS f. 244) 385^{e6} = BB 127^{b1}]

1. ¹Is so tra timna¹ Chathaír dia chlainn .i. fora *deich* macaibh ²remh-ráiti ór sílad² iar coitchinne² 7 mar ³do fágaib ferann 7 seóit 7 ní dá innmhus³ da gach mac díbh. Adubairt éim re ⁴Rusa Failgech, uair is é ba díliu lais díbh 7 is dó tuc cennus 7 cennach a chlainni 7 a tidhnaicul do shétaib 7 d'innairm^{4a} 7 do maithius Laigen⁴:

‘Mo ordan mo airechas
mo chaoime mo chlothaighi
mo shaoire mo shuthaine⁵
mo sheóit shinnsir sheineirce
mo chumus mo chomairce
dom Rus ruanaidh roghaidhe
dom Fhailghi uais fhaobarderg
dom dos donnbhailc deghdaira
dom err chatha chomramach
dom leoman go laimhthighi⁶
dom thriath talchur⁷ táobsholus
rop cenn is rob cóigedhach
in Rus fleadach⁸ Failgech-sa
rob diubla os derbhfhine
rob comram⁹ clúais¹⁰ inmholta¹¹
for médugud maithe¹² fo neimh.

Ar is dó is dán tighnacul
Nírop seóta sír-thaiscius¹³
sernas¹⁴ do chách cáemhratha
búaidh geilfhine nGailianach¹⁵
caín an minn mór-maisech
mo mac mínghar muirearach¹⁶
for Uíbh Tairsigh tosgailfidh¹⁷
mo chathbuadach coigeríche
¹⁸sofidh go tend¹⁸ Temhair-muigh
nit fella for bráthairsi
in féige finn fir-sholus
rob éscu na n-ollchúiged
rob grian sír a samradhaibh

1. ¹⁻¹ It é andseo timna ²⁻² airigda ³⁻³ dorad ní dia forba ⁴⁻⁴ rossa failgi ar tuss andso síis ^{4a} Leg. innmus ⁵ subaigi ⁶ laithmhi thighi L.; loimtigus B ⁷ talcar ⁸ fleadach ⁹ comroma L; comram B. ¹⁰ icluais L.; acluais B. ¹¹ ímholta L.; amolta B. ¹² matha L.; anatha B. ¹³ -taisicis ¹⁴ sernais L.; searnus B. ¹⁵ gaileonach ¹⁶ moraigintach ¹⁷ toirscaifid ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ imasoa fria

TRANSLATION

This is the testament of Cathaír to his descendants, to his ten sons aforesaid from all of whom there was offspring; and how he left land and chattels and something of his wealth to each son of them. He said to Rus Failgech, for he was the most dear to him of them, and to him he gave headship and supremacy¹ over his children and endowment in chattels and wealth and in the goods of the Laigin:

‘My rank and my lordship
my beauty and my fame
my nobility and my endurance
my cherished² ancestral possessions
my power and my protection
to my chosen champion Rus,
to my noble Failge of the red blade
to my champion stout as oak³
to my chariotfighter triumphant in battle
to my lion for daring
to my headstrong brilliant lord.
May he be head and king of the province,
this festive Rus Failgech!

May he be a protector of the *derbfine*!
May he be a triumph of fame, meet for praise (?)
in increasing goodness (?) under heaven.

For he has the gift of generosity
May he not hoard wealth
who apportions good grants to everyone,
flower of the kindreds of the Gáiliain.
Fair is the handsome diadem,
my dutiful son, rich in offspring.
He will extend his sway (?) over the Uí Thairsi⁴
victorious in battle on the frontier.
He will stoutly conquer⁵ the plain of Tara.
Let him not be a traitor to kinship!⁶
The fair-haired radiant ridge-pole,
may he be the moon of the provinces,
may he be the long summer sun,

¹ Reading *ceinmacht*.

² Reading *sainsheirca*.

³ Lit. ‘to my strong and sturdy bush (shelter) of good oak’.

⁴ A sept of the Fir Bolg in the territory of Uí Fhailge.

⁵ Lit. ‘turn, overthrow’.

⁶ Reading *ní* for *nít*.

rob tene trom trithemruad
 rop muir mothach¹⁹ (.i. toirthech) mórthonnach
 mo mac miled mílchlothach
 rop lir buaidh mo bennachtan
 for a shíl sháor shorchaidi
 Cathaír breo na Banbha-sa
 a athír uais oirdnighi²⁰
 ro thogh ósa²¹ thrénbráithribh
 rob uasal²² mo ord.'

²³Et dorat *dech* sgéith go srethaibh óir 7 *dech* cloidhmbe 7 *dech* cuirrn
 7 *dech* failghi óir do Rusa Failghi, 7 atbert fris: 'bidh saora do chlanna
 itir mo chlannaibh go brách.'²³

2. ¹Ocus atbert fri Dáire mBarrach mac Cathaír:¹

'Mo ghaisged go ngérloinne
 don Dáire borb beódha-sa
 dom mac neimnech niamdhatha
 dom gart ernaidh² erclothach
 scál fri scálaibh³ sgélmhaine
 sgál sgolaidhe⁴ sgiathchorach
 suídh erenach Tuath-Laigen
 cráidhfídh⁵ crícha Tes-Ghabaír⁶
 ná geibh seóta⁷ it chomairce
 buaid mbrethi dot inghenraid
 dia ⁸fesadh a senaithri⁸
 engfaidh do choin croibhderga⁹
 tes um¹⁰ Gabran nguinechdhai
 echrad¹¹ árdchenn aighidhfídh¹²
¹³i nAilbi uair fhorlethain¹³
 Cathaír cenn in chóigídh-si
 duit dobeír a bennachtain
¹⁴a Dáire óig ilchrothaig
 gurbat fial fri filedhaibh
 tú¹⁵ mac Eithne airegdha¹⁴
 gurbat nia co nert-chosgur¹⁶
 os ¹⁷Gáilianuib mo ghas¹⁷.' mo gasge.

¹⁹ molbtac ²⁰ oirdnide ²¹ asa ²² uasa ²³⁻²³ om.
 2. ¹⁻¹ adbert dídiu fri dairi mbarrach ² arnaid ³ scailie ⁴ scolbaidi
⁵ craidfea ⁶ deasgab- ⁷ seodu ⁸⁻⁸ feasad a seanathair ri
⁹ crobdonda ¹⁰ im ¹¹ teacrad ¹² aighidhfít L.; aenaigfid B.
¹³⁻¹³ a nalbain fhuair forlethain L; i nailbi uar oirlethan B. ¹⁴⁻¹⁴ om. ¹⁵ tua L.
¹⁶ sobartan ¹⁷⁻¹⁷ gailianachas

¹³ i.e. thy troops will ravage the borders of Munster.

¹⁴ A plain in Kildare where Cathaír Már and his line were buried.

may he be a fierce blazing fire,
 may he be a billowing fruitful sea,
 my famous soldier son!
 May the virtue of my blessing be as great
 upon his illustrious and noble seed!
 Cathaír, the torch of Ireland,
 his noble honoured father
 has chosen⁸ him over his brothers.
 May my ordinance be held in honour!

And he gave ten shields with bands of gold, ten swords, ten horns and ten gold rings to Rusa Failge, and he said to him: 'Your children will be exalted among my descendants for ever'.

2. And he said to Dáire Barrach son of Cathaír:

'My keen-edged weapons
 to this haughty, active Dáire
 to my brilliant mettlesome son
 to my famous firm generous one⁹
 a hero among heroes of tradition¹⁰
 a hero skilful with his shield (?),¹¹
 Chief of the rulers of North Laigin,
 he will harry the lands of Desgabair.
 Do not accept money¹² for protection.
 Thy daughters will be lucky in childbirth
 if they know their ancestry.
 Thy redfooted hounds will hunt
 south around death-dealing Gabhrán.¹³
 High-headed horses will race
 in cool wide Ailbe.¹⁴
 Cathaír, head of this province,
 gives thee his blessing,
 thou handsome young Dáire,
 so that thou mayest be generous to poets.
 Thou, son of famous Eithne,
 so that thou mayest be a victorious warrior,
 my stripling over the Gáiliain!

⁸ *ro thogh* is a late form. A prototonic **toígu*, **toíga* is possible, but the prototonic would be out of place here. ⁹ *gart* 'generosity' for 'generous one'?

¹⁰ *cél* and *célmaine* 'omen, augury'. The suffix may here be added to *scél* 'story'. It is the only occurrence of the word.

¹¹ *scolaige* 'scholar, learned man'; *sciathchar* = *sciath* in the only example: *conuargabthar hidnai arda áigthide uas sciathcaraib . . . na curad*, Alex. 9.

¹² Lit. 'do not take chattels'. [See foot p. 152 opposite for nn. 13 and 14]

¹⁸Et dobert ocht modhaigh ocht mná ocht n-eich ocht cuirn do Dáire Bharrach.¹⁸

3. Atbert fri Bresal Einechghlas:

‘Mo ler cona lántorad
dom Bresal binn briathrach-sa.
Rob¹ luam loingsi luchtmhaire
gach laoch lonn dot lorghabail
forc fri feraibh² fichdaidhe
fir³ sgeo mná⁴ do⁵ báinfine
do gormmac do⁶ grádhugud
⁷coin echrada⁷ cirimdhai
agat la hiath⁸ n-uisgidhi
maisi ar mnaib do móirchineóil,⁹
craísecha cró certaighfidh
tréith¹⁰ do thíre tuathghlaine¹¹
selbh lat Inber nAimirghin¹²
iar selbad¹³ na senrainde
uaitsi andsin¹⁴ éirighfitt
tuirc ³⁵traethfus gach tigernus¹⁵
a cín láime laimthighe¹⁶
níba seótu¹⁷ sirthaiscfit¹⁸
¹⁹ic cur dochra díbaige¹⁹
drong daigfer co ndénmigi²⁰
la Bresal mbale²¹ mbarrannta²²
rop conn críche cloidhemhdhai
cumall fri seilg sernatha
mo bár²³ buadach²⁴ buidhenda
²⁵bias co saor fri sen-chairdib²⁵
Cathair cenn²⁶ in chóigid-se²⁷
²⁸tidhnaices na sochair-si²⁸
duit a Bresail bennachtaigh²⁹
ar dho grádh ’gut glanathir
³⁰uad rod lá co³⁰ ler.’ mo ler.

³¹7 tuc do Bresal Einechglas sé longa (sé longa) sé hinair óirchimsacha sé heich go sránuibh órchumdaigh, 7 tuc ³²dó a sé doim³² fadessin co líon a fhúaláis.³¹

^{18 18} om.

3. ¹ rus L. ² fearba ³ fear ⁴ ban ⁵ dod ⁶ fri
⁷⁻⁷ coneachragud ⁸ iach ⁹ moircinid ¹⁰ triaith L. ¹¹ torachtglini
¹² namargen ¹³ selbaib ¹⁴ ann L. ¹⁵⁻¹⁵ traetsat a tiugradus
¹⁶ laimegigi ¹⁷ seota L. ¹⁸ sirthaisces L.; sircaifit B. ¹⁹ a cur
dochrachit dibhaighit L.; icur dochra dibigi B. ²⁰ ndenmhidhe L. ²¹ mbailc
L. ²² mbaranda ²³ brath ²⁴ beoda ²⁵⁻²⁵ om. ²⁶ cirt
²⁷ ceiniuil-seo ²⁸⁻²⁸ tidnastair intochair-seo ²⁹ beandacda ^{30 30} uaim
rela mo L. ³¹⁻³¹ om. ³²⁻³² so Lec. inf.; a seoit do L.

And he gave eight slaves, eight women, eight horses and eight horns to Dáire Barrach.

3. He said to Bresal Einechglas:

'My sea with its full harvest
to my sweetvoiced Bresal.
May each fierce warrior of thy numerous line
be the steersman of a well-laden fleet!
a spear against fierce men,
men and women of thy fair kindred
to love thy dutiful son (?).¹⁵
Many hounds and horses
are thine, and well-watered land,
beauty upon the women of thy race.
The lords of thy fair country
will poise socketed spears.
Inber nAimirgin shall be thine
after taking possession of the ancient heritage.
From thee will arise there
warriors who will subdue every lordship
by violence of a daring hand.
They will not hoard possessions,
making mean, unfair contracts,¹
a band of well-formed men
with Bresal mighty and furious.
May he be a ruler of sword-land,
a champion² for planning the hunt (?),³
my victorious prince with goodly retinue
who will treat old friends handsomely.
Cathaír, head of this province,
bestows⁴ these benefits
upon thee, blessed Bresal.
On account of thy father's love for thee,
he has sent thee from him to the sea.'

And he gave to Bresal Einechglas six ships, six tunics trimmed with gold, six horses with bridles decorated in gold, and he gave him his own six oxen with all their trappings.

¹⁵ Something is probably missing here.

¹ *dochrae* would be an abstract from *dochor* 'bad contract'. I owe the conjectural emendation and translation of these two lines to Dr. Binchy.

² Cf. *cumall* (of Cú Chulainn), KZ 33, 82; *Gáir Osair Osar Cumall*. TBDD 1049, 1060.

³ See S s.v. *sernad*; *fri seilg sernatha* seems to be for *fri sernad seilge*.

⁴ *tidnaices*, *tidnastair* are late, but *do-indnaig*, *do-rindnacht* can be restored.

4. Atbert fri Fergus Luasgán:¹

‘Ferghus fer go neimglindi²
 luidhes³ luasga⁴ lenbhaidhe
⁵laechda loingseach lánchomgneach⁵
 curson comnart certtrebtha
 goth gort⁶ Gailian gnóaigthech⁷
⁸Luascán lonnach⁸ lugamair⁹
 dir fri¹⁰ dána derbhnatha
 nípsa cenn cáidh cóigedhach
 nípsa ordan aithre¹¹
 ríge rot¹² ní rogebthar
 ót macni¹³ cen muirnighi
 feirghein deimin deimnigim
 uaitsi¹⁴ iar trell¹⁵ tuairgebthar¹⁶
 acht madh sin dot buadhaibh-si¹⁷
 Cathair flaith na Fótla-s[a]¹⁸
 t’athair díles¹⁹ derbhaim-si²⁰
 dó is réil ar do ráitsechaibh
 níbat²¹ rígh go²² rúanaidhecht
 níbat flaith ²³co féinnidecht²³
 for²⁴ finechas²⁵ fer²⁶.’ Fer

²⁷et ní tuc cuit timna d’Fherghus.²⁷

5.* Atbert fri Oilill Cétheach¹:

‘Oilill oll fer fírétrocht
 [itir]² selbaibh senbhrugad³
 céthach clannmaith clothamra⁴
 fer go n-ilur iaraicmi⁵
 uait go ngeinfít⁶ oíbleacha
 fir seo mná bat brígmara⁷
 fosadh flaith fri fídhellacht⁸
 ós ráthaibh ós ro-maighibh
 aicnid⁹ rígh ós ro-chathaib¹⁰

* Follows § 6 in B.

4. ¹ loscan ² nimglinne L. ³ luaid
⁴ luasgu ⁵⁻⁵ om. L. ⁶ gart ⁷ gnoaithech L.; gnoaigtheach B.
⁸⁻⁸ loscan lonfíach ⁹ lughadmur L. ¹⁰ for ¹¹ aithrimail
¹² rod ¹³ mac L. ¹⁴ -siu ¹⁵ trill ¹⁶ turgebaid ¹⁷ -siu ¹⁸ -sa
¹⁹ dilis ²⁰ derbaigim ²¹ nirbat bat L. ²² co ²³⁻²³ go feinighecht L.
²⁴ fer ²⁵ faineach L.; fineachair B. ²⁶ Feargus ²⁷⁻²⁷ om.
5. ¹ cithech ² om. L. ³ seanbriugad ⁴ clothamar L.
⁵ maraicme L. ⁶ ngeinit ⁷ brughmara L. ⁸ fídhellacht L.
⁹ acht nit L. ¹⁰ rocataib

4. He said to Fergus Luasgán:

'Fergus is an untrustworthy man,
 wayward like a child,⁵
 (warlike mariner full of prowess,
 strong sage⁶ of husbandry),
 . . . the successful⁷ Gáliáin
 Luasgán fierce, gleaming,
 fit for poetical compositions,⁸
 thou shalt not be the venerable head of the province,
 thou shalt not be honoured like thy father.
 Strong kingship will not be transmitted
 from thy spiritless descendants.
 I declare that a true male heir
 shall be raised from thee after a time.⁹
 Save for that much of thy good fortune,
 I, Cathaír, lord of Ireland,
 thy own father, assert—
 to him (*sic*) it is clear from thy prating:
 thou shalt not be a king with championship,
 thou shalt not be a lord with valour
 over thy male kindred.¹⁰

And he gave no bequest to Fergus.

5. He said to Ailill Céthech:

'Mighty Oilill, a radiant form,
 among estates of ancient holdings,¹¹
 the smiter,¹² rich in children and in fame,
 a man with many descendant kindreds,
 from thee will be begotten brilliant ones,
 men and women who will be powerful.
 A quiet prince while playing chess
 above ramparts and great plains;
 the (warlike) temper of a king over great battles

⁵ Lit. 'who makes childish movements'.

⁶ Some of the words used here recur in the obscure poem edited by Stokes, KZ xxxiii 82, and the glosses there supply the interpretations: *curson* .i. *saoi*; and *lugamair* .i. *coinnelda*. But these two lines seem out of place here. They do not occur in II below.

⁷ *gnoaigthech* from *gnougud*, see O'Rahilly, *Celtica* i 327.

⁸ i.e. 'worthy to be described in poetry' or 'able to compose verse'.

⁹ Several families are traced back to Fergus Luascán, among them the Uí Cholmáin and the Uí Énna, see O'Brien, *Corpus Gen. Hib.* p. 43.

¹⁰ Or 'Fergus is a man who loves his family', following B.

¹¹ Reading *senmruige*.

¹² *cethech* .i. *beimnech* .i. *buillech*, *ar bát mora a béimínna a cath*, Cóir Anmann 204. But this may be a mere guess.

cóicid¹¹ Loingsigh Labrada
 coin ¹²coirm eich¹² is echrada
 banntracht dalta dualmaithi
 milchnuas cruithnecht cétbuana
 dairmes dail¹³ do¹⁴ deghmucaibh
 beit it chróthreibh coitechta
 ainri¹⁵ imdai is eisrechta¹⁶
 cerda¹⁷ ¹⁸ciuil fri coirmilindí¹⁸
 mesi Cathaír comramach
 mé do draí do deghathair
 uaim is réil im rosgadhaibh
¹⁹nít mesctha¹⁹ not maídhim-sea²⁰
²¹comba uasal²¹ ail' oilill

²²Dobert iar sin a fhithchill cona fhithchellacht do Oiúill Chéthech.²²

6. Atbert fri Crimthann:

'Crimthand mo chur cluithechair
 glas for lunnu¹ lenbuidi
 ascna² ³iatha aindtrenta³
 itir tulchaib túathghébha⁴
 níba craebach⁵ crínfhedha
 bidh cáidh itir clothbhúidhnib
 ic cloinn Loingsigh Labhradha
 uaitsi a Chrimthainn cáingeinfid
 naímhthriar trocar togaidhe
 uaid go geinfíd gaiscedaigh
 a mic cáin cháid chlothamra⁶
 bid síl saidbir sonaidhi
 do chlann chaem⁷ gan crín-chésad⁸
 a Chrimthainn baile beannachtaidh⁹
 Cathaír¹⁰ triath in tíre-se
¹¹not tarngair no tingella¹¹
 itir toraibh trénchóicidh
 coin eich la mnaibh macaemhaibh¹²

¹¹ cóic L. ¹²⁻¹² gormeic ¹³ dal ¹⁴ fri ¹⁵ aindre ¹⁶ eistrechta
¹⁷ cartai ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ cuil la coirmilintib L. ¹⁹⁻¹⁹ mo measca ²⁰ maighimsi L.
²¹⁻²¹ comad tuasal ²²⁻²² om.

6. ¹ luna L; lunu B. ² ascnamha L. ³⁻³ iath andreanda.
⁴ tuaidgeba ⁵ craibhtech L. ⁶ -amrai ⁷ cain L. ⁸ ciancesacht
⁹ beandachda ¹⁰ cath L. ¹¹⁻¹¹ no tairngir na geallaid ¹² macaebnaib

of the province of Labraid Loingsech.
 Hounds, ale, horses and teams,¹³
 women, well-bred fosterlings,
 a harvest of honey, wheat of the first reaping,
 mast for feeding goodly swine
 shall be in thy populous household,
 many women and pet animals,
 musicians for ale-feasts.¹⁴
 I am Cathaír the triumphant.
 I am thy druid and thy father.
 It is plain from my pronouncements—
 it is not in drunkenness that I boast of thee—(?)
 that thou shalt be a noble rock.'

He gave then his chess and his skill at chess to Ailill Céthech.

6. He said to Crimthann:

'Crimthann, my game-loving hero,
 restrainer of childish angry ones,
 seek barren lands
 between lofty¹ mounds.
 Thou shalt not be a branch of dried wood.²
 The children of Labraid Loingsech
 will be revered among famous companies.
 Of thee, Crimthann, shall be begotten
 The holy three,³ merciful and elect.
 Of thee warriors shall be begotten,
 O my son, fair, venerable and famous.
 They will be a rich and happy seed,
 thy fair children, without withering away,
 thou strong and blessed Crimthann!
 Cathaír, lord of this country,
 prophesies and promises⁴
 among the hosts of the mighty province
 hounds, horses, with women [and] youths.⁵

¹³ Cf. *a n-eich 7 a n-echrada*, TBC 5699.

¹⁴ Cf. *ropadh maith lem cormind mór | do Rígh na rígh*, Mey. Contrib. s.v. *coirm*.

6. ¹ Reading *tuaithebra*, gen. of *tuaithebair*, a word commonly associated with *ulach* to which Dr. Binchy has called my attention.

² Cf. *Níba craeb crínfeda | Colum mac nár Nainmida | hua Nad Stáir co soerachtaib | huais hua Crimthaind Bic*, O'Brien, *Corpus Genealog.*, p. 56.

³ Three saints were descended from Crimthann: mo Maedóg of Fid Dúin, Colam of Tír dá Glas and Colam of Cúl, see O'Brien, *Corpus Genealog.*, p. 55.

⁴ Here the older forms *do-arngair*, *do-ingella* are easily restored.

⁵ If *coin*, *eich* be correct, the nom. for acc. is not earlier than the 10th cent. But this verse is all doubtful. Read *co mnaib* or *la mná*.

bidh mórdacht¹³ it mórtighibh
 sós la¹⁴ bérla breithemhan
¹⁵buidhni ban la¹⁵ bretnasan
 ingi¹⁶ madh¹⁷ nít cóicedhach
 ní tesbaidh dot buadhaibh-siu¹⁸
 a mu Chrimhthain[n] cur' Crimthann mo cur.

¹⁹Ocus dorad sé cuirn 7 sé mathla 7 sé damh go lín a fualais do Chrimhthann.

7. Atbert fri hEochaid Timíne iar sin:¹⁹

'Mo Eochu¹ trén Tímíne
 ní rath² tíre teclumas
 ní treóin ó tír turgebus
 nírop uaismar³ ollfhine
 nírop búrach betraighi⁴
 mo fhaíne⁵ mo esgaine
 sech⁶ a bráithribh buanmasa
 fairsimh go bráth⁷ bíd-sidi⁸
 garb in gním congní-sidhe⁹ (de)
 sárugud sruithi saorathar
 anindscima¹⁰ ardleptha
 cuitechta¹¹ serb séitichidhe¹²
 is esconn is étriathach
 in lepthachas lánamhnais
 athir is mac mí-chuirdech
 ic tuisliudh ic tairlighe¹³
 fri mnaí mir co mináire
 co n-amainnsi¹⁴ n-uallbraisi
 dáig ní hé nos¹⁵ rochennaigh
 for tindscra¹⁶ na¹⁷ turfochraicc¹⁸
 acht [a] athir ollamhnas
 Cathair¹⁹ cloithrí Cualann
 bhlaí aithecha²⁰ esconna

¹³ moarach ¹⁴ ros lá L. ¹⁵⁻¹⁵ búidhni bán lá L. ¹⁶ nighi L. ¹⁷ modh L.; mod B. ¹⁸ -se L.

7. ¹⁹⁻¹⁹ om. ¹ eoch- L. ² rad ³ uasmar. ⁴ beathraige ⁵ fainni
⁶ seoco ⁷ brach L. ⁸ biaidhsighi L.; baisaidi B. ⁹ coneirgine ¹⁰ animsca L.
¹¹ a cuidideacht ¹² seitidhe L.; seidcidi B. ¹³ tairlidhe L.; tarligi B.
¹⁴ add. co nuabais ¹⁵ ros ¹⁶ tindscena ¹⁷ no ¹⁸ turcomrac L.
¹⁹ caithair L. ²⁰ aith ech-

¹⁵ *oll + amnas*. Binchy suggests reading *ollamnach* 'supreme'.

May there be majesty in thy great houses,
 learning in the speech of judges,
 companies of women with jewelry.⁶
 Save only that thou art not king of the province
 naught shall be lacking to thy glories,
 my heroic Crimthann.⁷

And he gave six horns and six cloaks and six oxen with all their harness to Crimthann.

7. Then he said to Eochu Timíne:

'My stalwart Eochu Timíne,
 he shall not hoard⁷ property in land (?)
 he shall not raise⁸ strong men from the land. (?)
 May the great kindred not be arrogant!⁹
 May he not be the onset of a bear. (?)
 My imprecation (?)¹⁰ and my curse
 be upon him for ever
 apart from his handsome brothers!
 Harsh is the deed in which he takes¹¹ part,
 to outrage the dignity of a noble father,
 frolicking (?)¹² in an exalted bed,
 grievous partnership in a mate.¹³
 Impure and ignoble
 is the marriage-bed,
 father and unruly (?) son
 tumbling and wantoning
 with a fickle shameless woman,
 with keen and noisy ardour.
 For it was not he who purchased¹⁴ her
 with bride-price and fore-purchase
 but his more cunning¹⁵ father,
 Cathaír, the famous king of Cuala.
 . . . common churls

⁶ Reading *bretnasa* 'brooches'.

⁷ Reading *-tecmallfa*.

⁸ Reading *-turgéba*.

⁹ *Uaismar*, *uasmar* from *uais*, *uas* 'noble'. I suspect that in this poetic diction suffixes were freely added *metri gratia*, cf. *comardach*, *scélmaine*, and *séitchide*.

¹⁰ *Faen* is used of the hands outstretched in prayer. Or read *aine* 'fasting'? Neither explanation is satisfactory.

¹¹ *conéirgine* of B may be for *con-deirgéni* with both *con* and *di*.

¹² Reading *animscibad*: *scibad* 'moving', with reflexive *imm* and pejorative *an-*. But it is a mere conjecture.

¹³ *séitchide* from *sétig*.

¹⁴ The late verbal form is hard to emend: *ros cennaig-si*? I do not know how early *cennaigid* (for earlier *crenaid*) appears.

ro dingsigh ro dímhignidh
 itir dhámha²¹ derbráthar²²
 níba ruire ro-duasach²³
 aoinfher dia chlainn chomardaigh²⁴
 for aenaigib²⁵ ech.'

²⁶Ní tuc *didiu* Cathaír cuit timna dia mac 7 nír thoirmisg a beth a bail a bráithrech amail choart^{27, 26}

8. Is ed isbert re hÁengus Nig mac Cathaír 7 ní tuc dó:

'Nig ním thá selbh saer-orba¹
 do² mac Muchna midhaisi³
 bias for mí-roind meraighthi
 itir drongu derbhfhine
 cin cunnrad⁴ cin comarbas
 cin roinn ós roí⁴ romodhaigh
 itir ⁵naí tuaith⁵ turclotha⁶
 ara mhét is mínáire
 tuistin *clann* fri coibdelchu
 misi Cathaír curata
 conn na Banba bacbraisi⁷
 contuiles⁸ a n-aon-adhbaid⁹
 misi is Eithne oirdnidhe
 is finnmac¹⁰ fíal foltbuidhe
 aidhchi luain ar lán-meisci
 go ndernsam ¹¹dáil ndorchaidhe¹¹
 mé¹² 7 Eithne álachta
 diar tustin nír thoghaidhe
 mac nár maith re mórmarthain
 is fiu égaibh aithisi
 olc a¹³ beth rea buanugad¹⁴
 dáig níba¹⁵ nia Nig.'

²¹ damaib ²² dearbrathar ²³ rigbuasach ²⁴ comardil
²⁵ aonach mo L. ²⁶⁻²⁶ om. ²⁷ chodhairt L.
 8. ¹ saorfhorba L. ² dom L. ³ mithissi ⁴ roae L.; rai B.
⁵⁻⁵ notuait ⁶ turclochaig ⁷ bogbraisi ⁸ cultuiles L.; contuilis B.
⁹ naenadbaid ¹⁰ finnind ¹¹⁻¹¹ torchaide L. ¹² 7 me ¹³ gan
¹⁴ raembuanagud ¹⁵ ni biu

²¹ Cf. *diall fri coibdelaig .i. siair no ingein* LB 10 b 48.

²² If B has the true reading, the late form *ndernsam* is required, and the date of the text is affected. If *torchaide* of L could be justified (*torrchaige* = *toirrches*?), O.I. *ndergénsam* could be restored, but would give no alliteration.

He was scorned and spurned,¹⁶
 among the company of his brothers.
 No one of his children equal in rank,¹⁷
 will be a king rich in herds
 at the horse-festivals.'

And Cathaír gave no bequest to his son, and he did not forbid his being with his brothers as a husbandman.¹⁸

8. He said to Aengus Nic, son of Cathaír,—and he gave him nothing:

'Nic, I have no wealth in free land
 for the son of hapless (?)¹⁹ Muchna
 who shall have an unhappy wandering fate
 among the groups of the *derbfine*,
 without contract, without inheritance,
 without a share over the handsome plain
 among the nine famous tribes (?)²⁰
 because of the great shame
 of begetting children upon kinswomen.²¹
 I, Cathaír the valiant,
 head of Ireland of the wide valleys,
 slept in the same dwelling—
 I and honoured Eithne
 and a gentle fairhaired boy,
 one Monday night when drunk,
 so that we made a tryst in the dark,²²
 I and pregnant Eithne.
 Of our begetting it was no choice fruit,
 a son who was not fit to live long,
 a disgrace that is worthy of death (?).
 It were a pity that he should have long life,
 For Nic will be no champion.'

¹⁶ *ro dinsed* (*sic leg.*) for **do-ronsad* (*do-nesso*), but *ro dímiced* cannot readily be restored as from *do-meiccethar*; *ro dímiced-som?* denom. *dímicuid* might be early.

¹⁷ *comardach* is a poetic variant of *comard*. One other example occurs, also in verse, Cathréim Cellaig 954.

¹⁸ There must have been a tradition that Eochaid Timíne had incestuous relations with his father's wife, but I have not found any trace of it elsewhere. Cf. Gen. xlix 4 where Reuben is accused of defiling his father's bed. Reuben was the first-born son, so the similarity is not exact.

¹⁹ *mithise* is of doubtful meaning.

²⁰ *naituaith* could be asg. of a compound *naituaith*, some division of the Lagen into nine tribes. But I have found no other trace of such a division. Moreover, we lose the alliteration. L reads *na ituaith*.

9. Ocus asbert fri Cétach 'mac Cathaír':

'Cétach conn na críchi-se
 cét-gin amra aithreamail
 maccaem² míadhach móirfine
³rui[ri Raigni rodglaisi
 feirgen coigtreb cutulsa
 aigi ag]mar³ olléchtach
 druim fri dámha derbhfhine
 mac ná métaigh móрмаicne⁴
 húa Feidhlimidh fertresaigh⁵
 flaith nach fuicfi⁶ fercheinél⁷
 itir dainibh dualasa
 niba ruibnech ro-⁷Themra
 dóenna dia chlainn⁸ churata⁹
 ní thiglam¹⁰ thír torrachtaigh¹¹
 brigh na báigh a béochlainni¹²
 Cathaír fialmac Feidhlimidh
 fáidh fesa na fírinne
 flaith dian réidh¹³ ós rígh¹⁴-Themraigh
 dil a maicne muirnighe
 feib atféd mo bhélbraisí
¹⁵biaidh a mac i ndiubarta[ib]¹⁵
 i¹⁶ tuathaib i¹⁷ trebhclannaibh
¹⁸cin adhbaidh na atharrdha¹⁸
 co tí bráth¹⁹ na mbeo-theinedh¹⁹
 a²⁰ claiter²¹ gach cét.'

10. ¹Doluidh tra Fiacha Baicedh a ndochum a athar, 7 rob é sin sósar a chlainne, 7 ro bháí ac iarraid ferainn fora athair, 7 atbert Cathaír: 'ním thá-sa ní dhuit, 7 dobér mo bennachtain duit ó nach fil ferann lat, 7 bí, a mic inmhuin,' ol Cathaír, 'i n-aice do bráithrech comba séitrech.' Ciidh dano Fiacha insin a fiadhnaise a athar. Do ráidh Caithaír annsin re Fiacha: 'Déna, a mic,' ol sé, '7 beir bennachtain uaim .i. Faím mís la gach mbráthir duit 7 faí *secht* mblíadna la Rosa Failghi dia rom torracht mo bennacht.' Is aire sin doróine Cathaír in tecusc sin ar *Fhiacha* cunn ríghi d'fágbáil dó do brígh a bennachtan. Do[ró]ine *Fiacha* gach ní ro *conaigh* Cathaír fair conidh ann¹ isbert Cathaír fri *Fiacha*:

9. ¹⁻¹ o fuil cric na cetach ² om. L.; maccam B. ³⁻³ *Supplied from B. The scribe of L. passed in error from rui to mar and wrote ruimar as one word.* ⁴ -aicmi ⁵ fortreassaig ⁶ fuicbi ⁷ feircenen ⁸ curp ⁹ clandmairecht ¹⁰ tiglain ¹¹ torachtglain ¹² beoclaindi ¹³ reill B.; no l above = réil, L. ¹⁴ ro- ¹⁵⁻¹⁵ biad am̄ anubartan ¹⁶ a ¹⁷ a ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ ina nadba athardai ¹⁹⁻¹⁹ in breothineadh ²⁰ i ²¹ cnaí

10. ¹⁻¹ om.

⁷ Reading *remthorracht*.

⁸ The text is doubtful, cf. Testament II.

9. And he said to Cétach, son of Catháir:

'Cétach, head of this country,¹
 splendid first-born who resembles his father,
 noble youth of a great kindred,
 king of russet² Raigne,
 . . .³ man-child of five households,
 warlike leader whose deeds are mighty,
 a shelter (?) for the people of his *derbfine*,
 a son who has not increased great progeny (?),
 grandson of mighty Fedlimid,
 a prince who will not leave⁴ male offspring
 among men of his kindred (?).⁵
 Tara will not be thronged,
 peopled by his heroic children.
 The vigour and vow of his children
 does not unite⁶ a complete territory.
 Catháir, generous son of Fedlimid,
 prophet of true knowledge,
 prince to whom is clear over royal Tara
 the fate of his beloved sons,
 as my eloquence proclaims—
 his son will be in privations
 among tribes and families
 without dwelling or patrimony
 until the doom of fires
 in which each hundred is consumed.'

10. Fiacha Baiced came to his father, and he was the youngest of his children, and he was asking his father for land. And Catháir said: 'I have nothing for you, and I will give you my blessing since you have no land. And be in fosterage with your brothers until you have strength.' But Fiacha wept then in the presence of his father. Catháir said then to Fiacha: 'Do so, my son,' said he, 'and take my blessing. Abide a month with each of your brothers, and abide seven years with Rosa Failge, who first received my blessing.'⁷ The reason why Catháir gave that instruction to Fiacha was that he might obtain the kingship by virtue of his blessing.⁸ Fiacha did everything that Catháir asked of him. And then Catháir said to Fiacha:

¹ Refers to Crích na Cétach, cf. *Cétach mac Catháir a quo Crích na Cétach*, O'Brien, *Corpus*, p. 45. ² Cf. *in tsodh garb glastródh*, *Contrib. R* 84. 18.

³ *cuthal* 'empty', *cuthal* 'feeble' do not help.

⁴ *fuicfi*, *fuicbi* is a late form. The text might be emended: *flaith nach fergein fuicéba*. ⁵ *dualas*, *dualgas* in this sense is doubtful.

⁶ *thiglain* = *theglain* is a late form. *Torachtach*, *torachtglan* can mean 'complete, perfect, unbroken'. *Ní tír toirtheach teamalla* would be possible.

'Sruith in² sósar soineamail
 Fiacha fer³ in⁴ n-ilchétaib
 búidhghcin⁵ Berbha bruthmaire
 fogéna⁶ a bráithirse⁷
 Aillim⁸ aibind airdgéba⁸
 Carman clothach comghéba
 biaidh ós Almain armitnigh⁹
 Nás go niamdha nertaighfidh
 luam Ladrann go luchtmaire
 amra¹⁰int éo¹⁰ ós Airgetros
 Maisten na rígh roghéba
 Feimen fo chirt¹¹ certaighfe¹²
¹³Echtgi iathach imtechaí¹³
 Cruacha cróderg cuitecha
 Oilech uasal¹⁴ fhordergfa
 uair for Emain echtraife¹⁵
¹⁶triatha Temra taiscerea
 aenach Tailtlen tórmaighfe¹⁶
 Laigin ós ler loingsife
 Inber Étair¹⁷ airdghéba
 rindi ruadha rainfider
 for rígaibh na rán-chúicedh
 lat chloind choimghil¹⁸ choimchineóil
 coma¹⁹ lir a lechta-som
 [i ráthaib]²⁰ ós²¹ ro-maighibh
 cóicid²² Cathaír²³ chomromaigh
²⁴fri gainmech in²⁴ glasmara
 búaid mbérta 7 mbretheman
 ríghi²⁵ Loingsig²⁶ Labrada
 latsa a Fhiacha fheramail²⁷
 rob lir buada²⁸ bennachtan
 ar do shíl co suthaine
 a mu Fhiacha airmitnigh
 do²⁹ chuit³⁰ timna tarthadais³¹
 co sóinmhech co sruith. sruith³²

² mo ³ fir ⁴ co L. ⁵ buaidgein ⁶ foidheónaidh L.; fogenaid B.
⁷ braithfhine L.; brathairfíni B. ⁸⁻⁸ ard co n-ardgeba ⁹ airmidin
¹⁰⁻¹⁰ heo ¹¹ cert L. ¹² certaighim L.; ceartaigim B. ¹³⁻¹³ eachtga
 iathach imdeca ¹⁴ admall ¹⁵ echtraigfe ¹⁶⁻¹⁶ om. L. ¹⁷ eath⁻ L.
¹⁸ -dil ¹⁹ corba ²⁰ om. L.; arataib B. ²¹ a ²² coigedh L.
²³ caith⁻ L.; cath⁻ B. ²⁴⁻²⁴ os gainmechaib L.; friá gainmeac in B.
²⁵ leirgi ²⁶ loingsi L. ²⁷ fortamail ²⁸ buaidh mo L. ²⁹ om. L.
³⁰ chuid ³¹ tatharsa L. ³² Here BB diverges into the tract on the
stipends of Ros Failgi, cf. LL i. 242.

'Honoured is the unique youngest son,
 Fiacha, a man in many hundreds,
 lucky offspring of ardent Berba!
 His brethren will serve him.
 He will seize pleasant Aillenn.
 He will hold famous Carman.
 He will rule venerable Almain.
 He will strengthen⁹ Naas with splendour.
 Ladru the steersman with plenteous cargo (?),
 splendid salmon over Airgetros,
 he will seize Maistiú of the kings.
 He will settle Feimin under justice.
 He shall travel¹⁰ around land-rich Echtge.
 He shall have a share in blood-red Cruachu.
 He shall make noble Ailech red with blood.
 Some time he shall march against Emain.
 He shall overthrow the princes of Tara.
 He shall augment the Fair of Taitiú.
 He shall lead the Lagin on an expedition overseas.
 He shall seize Inber nÉtair.
 Stout spear-points shall be scattered
 against the kings of the splendid provinces
 by thy fair bright children of equal rank
 till their tombs be as many
 in mounds over the plains
 of the province of triumphant Cathaír,
 as the sands¹¹ of the grey sea.
 Success in speech and judgement,
 the kingship of Labraid Loingsech
 be thine, thou manly Fiacha!
 May the virtues of the blessing be as many
 for thy seed for ever,
 my honoured Fiacha!
 Thou hast come¹² to thy inheritance
 prosperously and nobly!

⁹ Recte *nerraigfeá* by Bergin's Law.

¹⁰ *imthéchai* could be a late 2 sg. *ē*-fut. of *imthigid*, and so *cuítecha[i]* from *cuítigid*.

¹¹ *fri* after an equative is not normal: *gainmecha in glasmara* might be restored.

¹² *tarradais* is mid. Ir. 2 sg. pret. for earlier *do-arrad*. But *-th-* gets into the stem under influence of *rethid*: pres. sg. 3 *tarthaid*, pret. *donarthaid*. The form to be restored here would be *tarrad-su*.

Ro boí trá Fiacha Baiced i fáil a bráithrech amail atbert Cathaír fris, conid de ro lil *Fiacha Baiced* dhe, 7 do bhaí secht mbliadna maille fri Rosa Failge, conid la Rosa do gabh airm ar tús, conidh ó shíl Rosa Failge dlighes gach do chlainn *Fhiacha Baiced* cét-gabáil arm ar tús.

Cathaír Mór trá ro boí-sidhe trí bliadna i rígi Éirenn go torchair a Muigh Agha la Conn Cétchathach 7 la Luaigni Temrach. Luaigni Temrach trá curaidh *catha* 7 irgaile iat, ar ro boí rígh-fhianus Éirenn acu géin mháir corus dílgenn Finn mac Cumail iat iar tain, 7 is iat robo túailngigh catha la Conn Cétchathach amail ro ráidh in fili:

‘Luaigni Temrach síl na rígh,
fir co cosgar laochrad lonn,
is iat ro minaigh gach cath,
roim in rígh go rath ria Conn.’

Fiacha Baiced abode with his brothers as Cathaír bade him, and from that he was called Fiacha Baiced. And he was for seven years with Rosa Failge, and it was with Rosa that he first took arms, so that it is from someone of the kindred of Rosa Failge that each man of the descendants of Fiacha Baiced should take arms for the first time.

Cathaír Mór was for three years in the kingship of Ireland, until he fell at Mag Aga at the hands of Conn Cétchathach and the Luaigne of Tara. The Luaigne of Tara were heroes of battle and warfare, for they had the office of military service for the king of Ireland for a long time until Find Mac Cumaill later destroyed them. And it was they who were smiters¹³ in battle for Conn Cétchathach as the poet said:

‘The Luaigne of Tara, race of kings,
triumphant men, fierce warriors;
it was they who won every battle
for the prosperous king, for Conn.’

¹³ Reading *tuaírnig*.

TIMNA CHATHAÍR MÁIR (II)

[Lec 200 b 28 (B 277 b 12 = M 139 b 15) = Lec 87 a 1]

1. At é and so Timna Chathaír Máir fora macaib aireagdaib 7 fora chloind chomarbais, 7 dorad ní cach meic díb dia foirb 7 dia indmus, 7 asbeart fri Rus Failgi cá beandochad:

‘Mo flaithis mo ordan
 mo saíri mo suntaidi
 mo séoid mo sóinerce
 mo chumus comairgi
 dom Rus rogar
 dom Fáilgi faebrach
 corab cuinneach comarbais
 do chách ara-mbiad.
 Ar is dó is dán tidnocol
 Ní rab séoid sírthaisceas
 sernas do chách caemratha
 cain in mind mórmaiseach
 mo mac mórgar mínaicnig
 cathbuadach coicríchi.
 Imsoa ria Temairmuig
 ní tella do bráthairsi
 bera báig lem buanmacaib
 fri nithaib a n-ecrata
 co bráth buidneach beandacht[ach]
 Rob fearr cach fear Failgi-Rus’

7 dobeart dó deich scéith 7 deich failgi 7 deich claidim 7 deich cuirn
 25 7 adbert fris: ‘Bad saera do chlanda itir clandaib mo chloindi sea.’

2. Ar sin asbert fri Dáiri mBarrach:

‘Mo gaiscead mo gérluindi
 dom Dáiri burb beoda-sa.

1. 1 At] it B, M; is Lec¹. fora] *bis* Lec; fora claind 7 fora macaib aireghdhaib
 7 durad ní du gach mac dib B, M. 3 Failgi] *om.* B, M. 5 suntaidi]
 shuntaighe B, M; suthaine Lec¹. 6 mo sóinerce] m sainserce B, M.
 11 mbiad] miad Lec¹. 14 sernas] sernais B, M, Lec¹. caemratha]
 caembratha B, M. 15 mórmaiseach] moraicnid maisceh B, M. 16
 mórgar mínaicnig] B, mingor M; mingor moraignig Lec¹. 17 cathbuadach]
 cathbuada B, M. 18 ria] fri B, M; re Lec¹. 19 teila] della, B,
 M, Lec¹. 20 lem] lam B, M. 22 co bráth . . . beandacht] gorbad
 buidni bennachta B, M; curbad buidneach Lec¹. 24 7 deich claidim] *om.*
 B; claidni Lec¹.

*Rob mac ochta aireachta
cach mac buan dod broindfine,* 30
a Dáiri co ndánadus
suig airinach Tuathlaigen.
Cráidfea crícha Desgabair
Ná gab seódu id chomairgi.
Buaid breithi dot ingenraid 35
dia faesad do senathair
Cathaír ceand in chóicid sea
dober duid a beandachtain
comad nia co sobarthain
ós Gailianchaib glas.' Mo gaiscead. 40

7 adbeart dó la sodain ocht mogaid 7 ocht mná 7 ocht n-eich 7 ocht cuirn.

3. Asbert didiu post fri Breasal nEineachlais:

'Mo lear cona lántorad
dom Breasal bind briathrach-sa. 45
Geib lat Innbear nAimirgin
iar selbad na seanroindi
fir saera co suthaine
uaid-seo íarum áirémthar
tuirc thraethsad a thiugradas 50
i cin láimi laimthigi
ci atresad a frithisi
niba sealba searcaigfid
icur dochra díb'

7 dobert dó sé longa 7 sé lúireacha 7 sé hinair 7 sé scéith 7 sé heich, 55
7 dobert dó [a] sé doim fodesin co lín a fualaisc.

4. Et dobert fri Cétach;

*'Mo chrícha seachtarda
do Chétach crideochair*

2. 32 suig] suid B, M, Lec¹. 34 seódu] crícha *vel* seodu B, M; seoid Lec¹.
chomairgi] cor. airce B, M. 35 breithi] breithri B, M. dot ingenraid] do
thigernais Lec¹. 36 faesad] feasat B, M. do] a B, M. 39-40 so-
barthain . . . glas] soborthonus gailianaib gas B, M. 41 adbeart] dobert B, M.
3. 43 nEineachlais] neneclus B, M; neineachglais Lec¹. 44 lántorad]
lanmainnse Lec¹. 48 co] cen B, M. 49 áirémthar] erigfid B, M;
eirigfead Lec¹. 50 thraethsad] *aethsat B, M; thaethsat Lec¹. 51 láimi]
lama B, M. 53 searcaigfid] searcaidfid Lec; *sercaighfit* B, M. 55 7 sé
scéith] *om.* B, M, Lec¹. 56 dó sé doim] a she damh B; a se dam, M, Lec¹.
fualaisc] fualais B, M, Lec¹.

4. 57 dobert] asbert B, M. Cétach] ectan B, M. 59 do] dum B, M, Lec¹.

60 *ba díth borb dod bráthirsi
cia beith seal fria saerforba
uad ní genfifear'*

7 ní thuc a chuid timna dó.

5. Iar sin asbert fri Feargus Luascán:

65 *'Feargus fear co n-imgloine
luaideas a luasc leanmaidi
ní fil lim do thidnocol
ar ní maenach nach macaemda
acht ma theagma dindarrad*
70 *talman talantriun iar tain
nimdam deinmeach dithiden
don fir luaideas luasc'*

7 ní thuc ní dó.

6. Asbert íarum fri Crimthand án:

75 *'Crimthand mo chur cluichechair
glas for lunu leanmaidi
gebus iathu aindtrennta
ní dil leam a danmaisi
niba coimsid cádusa*
80 *acht má thecma aen' .i. Colam mac Crimthaind.*

7 dorad dó secht n-eich 7 sé cuirn 7 sé matlu 7 sé dam co lín a fualais.

7. Aengus Nic dano, mac doroinde Cathaír tria mesci ria ingin .i. fri Muccna *ingiu* Chathaír. Is fris adbert Cathaír:

*'Nicc nímtha seilb saerforba
do mac Muccna mithisi*

85 *60 dod]* dun B, M; *dod Lec¹.* 61 *fria]* for B, M, Lec¹. 62 *uad]* ua B, M; *uad Lec¹.* *genfifear]* ginefer B; gignefer M, Lec¹.
5. 65 *co n-imgloine]* gen imglinne *recte* B, M, Lec¹. 66 *leanmaidi]* leanmaighe B, M. 67 *fil]* fuil B, M. 69 *t'indarrad]* tindard B, M; *tindarrad recte* Lec¹. 70 *talman]* talmain *recte* Lec¹. *talantriun]* triuin *recte* B, M, Lec¹. 71 *deinmeach]* demeach B, M. *dithiden]* dethiden B, M.
6. 74 *án]* n-an B, M; *om.* Lec¹. 75 *cluichechair]* so B, M; *cluitheochair* Lec, Lec¹. 77 *aindtrennta]* antrennta B, M. 78 *danmaisi]* lanmaisi B, M; *danmaisi* Lec¹. 79 *coimsid]* coimsig Lec, Lec¹; *coimsid* B, M.
80 *thecma]* thecmaidh B, M. .i. Colam . . .] *om.* B, M. *Crimthaind]* naindfeada Lec¹. 81 *dó secht . . . fualais]* .ui. matlu do 7 se daimh co lín a tualais B; .ui. cuirn .ui. matlu do 7 se daimh co lín a tualais M; se curnu 7 se matlu 7 se dam co lín a fualais Lec¹.
7. 82-83 *fri . . . Chathaír]* *om.* B, M, Lec¹. 83 *adbert]* asbert B, M, Lec¹. 84 *saerforba]* serbforba B; searbforba M; *saerforba* Lec¹.
85 *Muccna]* muchna B, Lec¹; *mucma* M.

ara méd is imnáiri
tuismed cland fri coibdelechu
is fearr écaib athaisi
olc buanugud béd'

7 ní thuc ní dó.

90

8. Adbert iar sin fri hEochaid Timíne:

'Mo Eochaid Timíne
treith fer ní tír theaglamas
ní treóin ó thir thuirgebdaid
nírob asmar ollfíne
níba burach beathraigi
mo fáindi mo eascaine
seach a bráithri buanmasa
fairseom co bráth bias'

95

7 ní thuc timna dó, 7 nír thairmisc a beith i fail a bráithreach amail **100**
chocart.

9. Adbert dano fri hAilill Cetheach mac Cathaír:

'Oilill oll
fear i selbaib senbrugad
níba huais do ráith
fer fosaid fri fichthillacht
uas romaigib rath.'

105

Dorad and sin a fichthill cona fithchillacht do Ailill *Chethach*.

10. Doluid dano Fiacha Fa hAicid a dochum a athar, 7 ba sé sósar a mac,
7 asbert fris:

110

'Ním thá-sa ní dobearar lat acht mo beannacht 7 ma beis i n-aicci cach
bráthar duit combad séidreach.'

86 ara] ar B, M. imnáiri] imnair B, M.

88 athaisi] aithis B, M.

89 buanugud] buanudug L; buanughudh B, M.

8. 91 fri hEochaid Timíne] om. B, M.

92 Eochaid] eoco B, M.

93 theaglamas] teclannfas B, M; teglannlas Lec¹.

94 treóin] treoir B, M;

treoin Lec¹.

thuirgebdaid] turgebdat B; *turgebus* Lec¹.

95 asmar]

asermar Lec; asmar B, M, Lec¹.

96 burach] buarach B, M; burach

Lec¹. beathraigi] baethraidi Lec¹.

98 bráithri] braithrib B, M, Lec¹.

buanmasa] buan ma Lec; buanmasa B, M, Lec¹, L.

00 nír] niro

B, M. bráithreach] brathar B, M.

01 chocart] cocairt B, M; chocairt Lec¹.

9. 02 Adbert] Asbert B, M, Lec¹.

Cetheach] cedach L; *cethach* B, M;

cetheach Lec¹. mac Cathaír] om. B, M, Lec¹.

04 so Lec¹, B, M; fear i

selbaid senmaid senbrudad Lec.

05 *huais*] fuais Lec; huais B, M, Lec¹.

ráith] rath Lec; raith B, M, Lec¹.

10. 09 Fa] ba B, M, Lec¹.

11 mo beannacht 7] om. *recte* B, M, Lec¹. beis]

bes B, M, Lec¹.

Cíid in gilla fiad a athar. Asbert iarum Cathaír fris: 'Faei mís la cach mbráthair duid 7 faí seacht mbliadna la Rusa Failgi mac Cathaír.'

- 115 'Dianam toracht do bennacht i son seilbi dognífind and sin.'
Conad and asbert Cathaír:

'Sruith in sósar soineamail
Fiacha fear a n-ilchédaib
buaidgen Bearba bruthmairi
120 fognífed a brátharfíne
Aillind ard con-urgéba
Carmon clothach coimgébaid
biaid ós Almain airmidin
Nás am nitha neartaigfid
125 luam Ladrand co luthmairi
fear amra ós Airgedros
iathu Ailbi ollgébaid
Liamain ós lir loingsigfid
triatha Temra traiscéraid
130 aenach Taillten tórmaigfid
cach crích fo chirt chomadais
rob lir buada beannachtan
ar do síl co suthaine
a mo Fiacha airmidnig
135 do chuid timna tarradais
co sóinmeach co sruith' Sruith.

Ro baí-seom didiu a fail a bráithreach amal asbert Cathaír conid de sin ro lil Fiacha Fa hAicid de ara beith a n-aicci a bráithreach, 7 ro baí la Rus mar sin seacht mbliadna conid lais ro gob armo 7 conaid ó Síil
140 Ruis dliges cach fear do Síil Fiachach cédgabáil n-airm.

Doluid Cathaír post co Tailltin 7 dober Cath Taillten co torchair and sin la féin Luaigne.

13 in gilla] dna fiacho B, M; didiu fiacha Lec¹. iarum . . . fris] a athair iarum .i. Cathair B, M; iarum Cathair Lec¹. 13-14 la cach mbráthair] gacha brathar B, M; la cach mbrathair Lec¹. 14 faí] faidhi B, M; foete Lec¹. la Rusa Failgi mac Cathaír] lam rus B, M, Lec¹. 15 dognífind] fognifind B, M, Lec¹. and] om. B, M; inni Lec¹. 17 soineamail] sainemain Lec¹. 23 airmidin] airdmidhin B, M; airmidnig Lec¹. 24 am] im B, M, Lec¹. 25 luthmairi] luchtmhaire B, M. 29 traiscéraid] taisceraid B, M, Lec¹. 30 tórmaigfid] tormaidfid Lec; tormaignfidh B, M; tromaigfid Lec¹. 31 fo] fod B, M, Lec¹. 32 beannachtan] bennachtain B, M. 34 mo] hui Lec. airmidnig] ardmignidh B, M; airmidnig L¹. 37 a bráithreach] na mbrathar B, M, Lec¹. 38 Fa] ba B, M, Lec¹. ara . . . bráithreach] om. B, M, Lec¹. 39 mar sin] om. B, M, Lec¹. armo] armu B, M. 40 dliges . . . airm] dleghar ganeach do shil fhiachach cetgabail a n-arm B, M (airm). 41 torchair] drochair B, M. 42 Luaigne] luaidne Lec.

Dá mac didiu Feidlimid Fírurglais .i. Maine Mál in sindser 7 Cathaír in sósar *unde* Lugair Lánfili:

Ósar eirchlos ordain áin 145
 nírbó tháir fa forgla fear;
 fácbad Cathaír, cond cach tšluaig,
 la Luaigne thuaid a Muig Breg.

Conad do dlíged 7 do thuaristol cloindí na mac sin adbert Benén ann so:

150

43 Mál] nal B; *om.* M. Cathaír] cathair mor B, M. 44 *unde*] ut B, M.
 45 Ósar] Ossar *gl.* .i. sine maine B, M. ordain] ordan Lec; ordain B, M, Lec¹.
 46 fa] ba B, M. 49–50 conid doib sin ro chachain in sai buadha benen B;
 conid dib sin 7c, *deleted* M.

Lec¹ *varies from 42: after* Luaigne *add* amail adfet in fili, *and the quatrain follows. Then* Dá mac . . . *unde* Lugair Lánfili. *No verse is quoted here, and the text continues with genealogies of the sons of Cathaír Mór, beg. Minegud senchasa mac n-aireaga Cathair so.*

TRANSLATION

The verses in italics are those lacking from Testament I. This second recension seems to be half-remembered oral tradition, with a certain amount of improvisation. It is a regular feature of the metre that sequences of heptasyllabic verses close with a pentasyllabic verse ending in a monosyllable. Verses 54, 89, 107 here are pentasyllabic final verses and correspond to heptasyllabic verses in I: verse 54 has become meaningless in the process. Elsewhere, as in 39 (*sobarthain*), 49 (*áirémthar*), 50 (*a thiugradus*), and 53, the scribe seems to fit in words at random. But most of the additional verses have a claim to belong to the original text. This would mean that both texts derive ultimately from oral tradition, and that the later supplements the earlier. Only the prose passages and the additional verses are translated here:

1. These are the bequests of Cathaír Mór to his famous sons and to his descendants, and he gave some of his land and of his wealth to each son. And he said to Rus Failge, blessing him

10 that he may be mindful of inheritance
 for all that come after him¹

¹ O.I. *arid-mbiad*; or 'according to his rank (*miad*)'.

- 20 He shall triumph with my faithful sons
 Against the attacks of their enemies²
 With many followers and for ever prosperous
 May Rus Failge be the best of men!

And he gave him ten shields, ten rings, ten swords and ten horns, and said to him: 'Your children will be exalted among my children's children'.

2. Then he said to Dáire Barrach

- 29 May each long-lived son of thy issue
 Be the beloved of the assembly,
 Thou valiant Dáire!

And he gave him then eight slaves, eight women, eight horses and eight horns.

3. He said then to Bresal Eineachlais

- 52 Though they rise again,
 They will not love possessions.

And he gave him six ships, six breastplates, six tunics, six shields and six horses, and he gave him his own six oxen with all their trappings.

4. And he said to Cétach

- 58 My outer territories
 to beloved Cétach.
 It will be³ a harsh privation to thy kindred.
 Though he be for a time in possession of free inheritance
 He shall have no progeny.⁴

And he did not give his share of bequests to him.

5. The he said to Fergus Luascán

- 67 I have no gift for thee,
 For no youth is wealthy (?)
 Unless thy reward be vouchsafed
 In strong land afterwards.
 I am not free of care
 For the wayward one.

And he gave him nothing.

6. He said then to noble Crimthann

- 78 I care not for his beauty.

Read *écraite*?

³ Read *bid*.

⁴ Read *gignethar*.

He will not be a revered master
 Save that there be one (among his children?)⁵

And he gave him seven horses, six horns, six cloaks and six oxen
 with all their trappings.

7. Aengus Nic, moreover, a son whom Cathaír begot in drunkenness
 upon his daughter, namely Muccna, daughter of Cathaír, to him Cathaír
 said

89 Evil is the prolonging of crimes
 And he gave him nothing.

8. He said then to Eochaid Timíne

And he gave him no bequest, and he did not forbid his being with his
 brothers as a husbandman.⁶

9. He said, moreover, to Ailill Céthech, son of Cathaír

105 He shall not be absolutely supreme
 Then he gave his set of chess and his skill at chess to Ailill Céthech.

10. Fiacha Fa Haicid came to his father and he was the youngest of his
 sons. And Cathaír said to him:

'I have not anything that you may take save that you be (?)⁷ in
 fosterage with each of your brothers until you are strong.'
 Fiacha weeps then in the presence of his father. Then Cathaír said to
 him: 'Stay for a week with each of your brothers, and stay seven years
 with Rus Failge, son of Cathaír.'

'If your blessing has come to me instead of possessions, I would
 do that.'

And then Cathaír said

127 He shall seize the lands of Ailbe
 131 Each territory under fitting rule

He abode with his brothers then, as Cathaír said, and thus he was
 called Fiacha Fa Haicid⁸ because he was in fosterage with his brothers.
 And he stayed thus seven years with Rus, and it was with him that he
 took arms, so that every man of Síil Fiachach is entitled to take arms for
 the first time from Síil Ruis.

⁵ So the glossator understood it, for he adds 'Colam son of Crimthann'.

⁶ For *cocart*, see p. 111 n. 2.

⁷ Read *bé-siu?*

⁸ An etymological explanation from *aicci* 'fosterage'.

Catháir went afterwards to Taitiu, and he fought the battle of Taitiu and fell there at the hands of a *fián* of the Luaigne.

Fedlimid Firurglas had two sons, Maine Mál, the elder, and Catháir, the younger, of which Lugair Lánfhile said:

The younger son—report of great dignity—was not lowly, but the best of men: Catháir, head of every host, was left with the Luaigne in Mag Breg to the north.

And it is of the right and stipend of the descendants of those sons that Benignus said this: (the poem *Ceart rig Laigen ro luaid Benén* follows, see l. 1529).

APPENDIX B
TABLE OF STIPENDS AND TRIBUTES
CASHEL 1. STIPENDS

| | Horns | Swords | Horses | Tunics | Brace-lets | Chess | Corselets | Cloaks (mattail) | Ships | Women | Cumals | Cotts | Period of refection |
|--------------------|-------|--------|--------|--------|------------|-------|-----------|------------------|-------|-------|--------|-------|---------------------|
| Cruachain | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 6 months |
| Cenél Conaill | .. | .. | 20 | .. | 20 | 20 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 month |
| Ailech | 50 | 50 | 50 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 " |
| Tulach Óc | 30 | 30 | 30 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 12 days |
| Airgialla | .. | .. | 60 | 60 | .. | .. | 8 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 month |
| Ulad | 100 | 100 | 100 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 100 | 10 | .. | .. | .. | 2 months |
| Temair | .. | .. | 100 | .. | 30 | 30 | 30 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | (or 1 month) |
| Ath Cliath | .. | .. | 10 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 10 | 10 | .. | .. | 1 month |
| Laigin Tuathgabair | .. | .. | 30 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 30 | .. | 30 | .. | 1 " |
| Laigin Desgabair | .. | 40 | 30 | .. | .. | .. | 30 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 " |

(179)

CASHEL 2. TRIBUTES

| | Cotts | Boars | Pigs | Oxen | Welthers | Mantles (lenn) | Rams | Cloaks (brat) | Socs |
|------------------|-------|-------|------|-------|----------|----------------|-------|---------------|------|
| Múscraige | 1,000 | 1,000 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Uaithne | 100 | .. | 100 | 100 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Arae | 100 | 100 | .. | .. | 200 | 100 | .. | .. | .. |
| Corco Laigide | 100 | 100 | .. | 60 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Corco Dubne | 1,000 | .. | .. | 1,000 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Giarrage Luachra | 1,000 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Corco Baiscinn | 200 | .. | .. | 1,000 | .. | .. | 1,000 | .. | .. |
| Beirenn | 1,000 | .. | .. | 1,000 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| In Sechtmad | 100 | .. | .. | 100 | .. | .. | .. | 1,000 | 100 |
| Dáisi | 1,000 | 2,000 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |

CASHEL 4. TRIBUTES

| | Beetles | Horns | Clocks (brat) | Cows | Mantles (lenn) | Oxen | Wethers | Milch cows | Sows | Sheep |
|----------------|---------|-------|---------------|------|----------------|-------|---------|------------|------|-------|
| Múscraige | 300 | 300 | 100 | 100 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Uaithne | .. | 300 | .. | .. | 300 | .. | .. | 100 | .. | .. |
| Arae | 30 | 30 | 30 | 100 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| An Sechtmad | .. | .. | .. | 60 | .. | 60 | 60 | .. | .. | .. |
| Orbraige | 50 | .. | .. | 50 | .. | .. | .. | 600 | .. | .. |
| Dáirne | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 300 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Corco Duibne | .. | .. | 30 | 30 | .. | 30 | .. | .. | 700 | .. |
| Ciarraige | .. | .. | .. | 700 | .. | 700 | .. | .. | 700 | .. |
| Corco Baiscinn | .. | .. | 700 | 700 | .. | .. | 700 | .. | 100 | 100 |
| Corco Mruad | .. | .. | 1,000 | .. | .. | 1,000 | .. | .. | 100 | 1,000 |
| Déisi | .. | .. | 1,000 | .. | .. | 1,000 | .. | 1,000 | .. | .. |
| Orbraige | .. | .. | 100 | 100 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 100 | .. |

Éóganacht, Dál Cais, Raithlenn, Glennamain, Loch Léin, Uí Fhigidente, and Aine Cliach pay no tribute

CAISEL 5. STIPENDS

| | Horses | Suits | Brace-lets | Chess | Horns | Swords | Shields | Hides | Slaves | Women | Mail | Tunics | Hounds | Corselets | Lads | Ships |
|-------------------------|--------|-------|------------|-------|-------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|------|--------|--------|-----------|------|-------|
| Dál Cais | 10 | 10 | 2 | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Gábrán | 10 | .. | 2 | 2 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Éóganacht | 10 | .. | .. | .. | 10 | 8 | 8 | .. | 8 | 8 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 10 |
| Déisi | 8 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 5 | 5 | .. | .. | .. | 5 | .. | .. | 10 | .. | .. |
| Uí Liatháin | 5 | .. | .. | .. | 10 | 10 | 10 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 7 | 7 | .. | .. |
| Raithlenn | 10 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 7 | 7 | .. | 7 |
| Múscraige | 7 | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 7 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 7 | .. | .. |
| Dáirne | 7 | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 7 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 7 | .. | .. |
| Dairbre | 7 | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 7 | .. | .. |
| Loch Léin | 7 | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 7 | 7 | .. | .. | 7 | 7 | .. | 7 | 7 | .. | 7 |
| Ciarraige Luachra | 7 | .. | .. | .. | 7 | .. | 7 | .. | .. | 7 | 7 | .. | .. | 7 | .. | 7 |
| Léim In Chon | 7 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 7 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 7 | .. | 7 |
| Corco Mruad | 6 | .. | .. | .. | 6 | 6 | 6 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 6 | .. | .. | .. |
| Uí Chonaill Gabra | 10 | .. | .. | .. | 10 | 10 | 10 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 7 | .. |
| Uí Chairpre (Brug Ríge) | 7 | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 7 | .. | .. | .. | 7 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Aine Cliach | 7 | .. | 2 | 2 | 7 | 7 | 7 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Glennamain | 7 | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 7 | 7 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Uaithne | 7 | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 7 | 8 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Éile | 8 | .. | .. | .. | 8 | 8 | 8 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 8 | .. | .. |

AILECH 1. TRIBUTES

| | <i>Sleep</i> | <i>Cloaks (brat)</i> | <i>Cotes</i> | <i>Boars</i> | <i>Wethers</i> | <i>Beevus</i> | <i>Flitches</i> | <i>Milch cows</i> | <i>Oxen</i> |
|-------------------------|--------------|----------------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------|
| Cuilenraige | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Tuath Rátha | .. | .. | 30 | 30 | 30 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Fir Luig | .. | .. | 300 | 300 | 300 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Uí Fhíachrach | .. | .. | 300 | .. | .. | 100 | 100 | .. | .. |
| Uí Meic Cairthainn | .. | 50 | 50 | 100 | .. | 100 | .. | .. | .. |
| Giannachta Glenna Gemin | .. | .. | 300 | 300 | .. | 300 | .. | .. | .. |
| Fir Lú | .. | .. | .. | 50 | .. | 100 | .. | 1,000 | 50 |
| Uí Thuirtre | .. | 50 | .. | 50 | .. | .. | 50 | 100 | .. |
| Fir Maige Itha | .. | 50 | .. | .. | .. | 100 | .. | 100 | .. |

Tulach Óc, An Chraeb, Mag nÍtha, Inis Eógain, and Cenél Conaill are free tribes and pay no tribute.

AILECH 2. STIPENDS

The king receives from the King of Ireland 50 swords, 50 shields, 50 slaves, 50 suits, 50 horses

| | <i>Shields</i> | <i>Swords</i> | <i>Horns</i> | <i>Women</i> | <i>Slaves</i> | <i>Horses</i> | <i>Cloaks (brat)</i> | <i>Corselets</i> | <i>Hounds</i> | <i>Matal</i> | <i>Tunics</i> |
|---------------------------|----------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|----------------------|------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| Cairpre Droma Cliab | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | .. | 5 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Cenél nAeda Easa Ruaid | 5 | 5 | .. | 5 | 5 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Cenél nBógaine | 6 | 6 | 6 | .. | .. | 6 | 6+6 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Cenél nÉnna | 5 | 5 | .. | .. | .. | 5 | 5 | 5 | .. | .. | .. |
| Cenél Lugdach | .. | 7 | .. | 7 | 7 | 7 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Inis Eógain | .. | 6 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | .. | .. | 6 | .. | .. |
| Mag nÍtha | 6 | 6 | 6 | .. | .. | 6 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Uí Fhíachrach Arda Sratha | 3 | 3 | 3 | .. | .. | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Fir Luirc | 3 | 3 | 3 | .. | .. | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| In Chraeb | 3 | 3 | .. | .. | .. | 3 | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Uí Meic Cairthainn | .. | .. | .. | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 | 3 |
| Giannachta Glenna Gemin | 3 | 3 | 3 | .. | .. | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Fir Lú | 6 | 6 | .. | .. | 6 | 6 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Uí Thuirtre | .. | .. | .. | 3 | 3 | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Tulach Óc | .. | 50 | .. | .. | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | .. | .. | .. |

AIRGIALLA 2. STIPENDS

| | Shields | Swords | Horns | Horses | Cloaks (brat) | Corselets | Slaves | Women | Chess | Ship |
|---|---------|--------|-------|--------|---------------|-----------|--------|-------|-------|------|
| Uí Nialláin | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | .. | .. | .. | 3 | .. | .. |
| Uí Bresail | 5 | 5 | .. | 5 | 5 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Uí Echach | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Uí Méith | .. | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Uí Dorthain | 3 | 3 | .. | 6 | 3 | 3 | .. | 6 | .. | .. |
| Uí Briúin ar Choill | .. | .. | .. | 6 | .. | .. | 6 | 6 | .. | .. |
| Fir Lemna, Uí Chremthainn and Sil nDuibhíre | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | .. | 8 | .. | .. | .. |
| Léithriú | 3 | 3 | .. | 3 | 3 | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Datraige | 4 | 4 | .. | 4 | .. | .. | 4 | .. | .. | .. |
| Fernmag | 6 | 6 | 6 | .. | .. | 6 | .. | 6 | 6 | .. |
| Fir Manach | 5 | 5 | .. | .. | 5 | 5 | .. | .. | .. | 5 |
| Mugdorn is Ros | 6 | 6 | 6 | .. | 12 | .. | 6 | .. | .. | .. |

ULAIÐ I. STIPENDS

The king receives from the King of Ireland 50 swords, 50 shields, 50 horses, 50 cloaks, 50 hoods, 50 hides, 50 corselets, 30 bracelets, 10 hounds, 10 *matail*, 10 horns, 10 ships, 10 handfuls of herbs, 20 seagulls' eggs and 20 bridles every third year

| | Horns | Swords | Hounds | Slaves | Horses | Cloaks (brat) | Matail | Women | Ships | Brace-lets | Bridles | Hides | Tunics | Cups |
|---------------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------------|--------|-------|-------|------------|---------|-------|--------|------|
| Dál nAraide | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Dál Riata | .. | .. | .. | 3 | 3 | .. | .. | 3 | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| In Airthir | .. | .. | .. | 4 | 4 | .. | .. | .. | 4 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Uí Ercá Chéin | 6 | 6 | .. | 6 | 6 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Dál mBuinne | 8 | .. | .. | 8 | 8 | .. | .. | 8 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 8 |
| Uí Bláthmeic | .. | .. | .. | 8 | 8 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| In Duibhrian | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| In Arda | 8 | .. | .. | 8 | 8 | .. | .. | .. | 10 | 2 | 10 | 10 | .. | .. |
| Leth Cathail | 8 | .. | .. | 8 | 8 | .. | .. | 8 | 8 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Boirehe | .. | .. | .. | 8 | 8 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Mag Coba | 10 | 10 | 3 | .. | 3 | .. | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Muirthemne | 6 | .. | .. | .. | 10 | .. | .. | .. | 10 | .. | .. | .. | 10 | .. |

ULAIÐ 2. TRIBUTES

| | Beetves | Cloaks (brat) | Oxen | Boars | Cotes | Wethers |
|--------------|---------|------------------|------|-------|-------|---------|
| Line | 300 | 300 | 150 | 150 | .. | .. |
| Dál Riata | .. | .. | .. | .. | 150 | .. |
| Semne | .. | 150 | .. | .. | 200 | .. |
| Lathairne | .. | .. | .. | .. | 100 | 100 |
| Crorraige | .. | 100 | .. | .. | 100 | 100 |
| In Brétach | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 100 |
| Forthuatha | 100 | 100 | .. | 100 | .. | .. |
| Na Mancha | 150 | .. | .. | 150 | .. | .. |
| In Duibhrian | .. | .. | 300 | .. | 300 | .. |
| Leth Cathail | .. | 300 | .. | 300 | .. | .. |

These are free tribes. The subject tribes supply milk, ale, and needlework.

TEMAIR 1. STIPENDS

The king receives from the King of Ireland 100 swords, 100 shields, 100 horses, 100 garments, 100 corselets

| | Horns | Swords | Slaves | Hounds | Shields | Cloaks (brat) | Horses | Women | Mantles (lenn) |
|---------------------------------------|-------|--------|--------|--------|---------|------------------|--------|-------|-------------------|
| Brega | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Mag Lacha | .. | 5 | .. | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | .. | .. |
| Laegaire | 10 | .. | 10 | 10 | .. | .. | 10 | 10 | .. |
| Ardgal | .. | .. | 7 | 7 | 7 | .. | 7 | 7 | .. |
| Fir Cheil (Coill Echach) | 7 | 7 | .. | .. | 7 | 7 | .. | .. | .. |
| Fir Thulach | .. | 6 | 6 | .. | 6 | .. | 6 | .. | .. |
| Fir Thethba | 8 | 8 | .. | .. | 8 | .. | .. | 8 | 8 |
| Cuirene | 6 | .. | 6 | .. | 6 | 6 | 6 | .. | .. |
| Uí Beccan | .. | 5 | .. | .. | .. | 5 | 5 | .. | .. |
| Coill Fhailbhain (Caill in Ollaim) | 5 | .. | .. | .. | 5 | .. | 5 | 5 | .. |
| Delbna Mór | .. | 8 | 8 | .. | 8 | .. | 8 | 8 | .. |

LAGIN 2. TRIBUTES

| | <i>Fitches</i> | <i>Boars</i> | <i>Wethers</i> | <i>Oxen</i> | <i>Cows</i> | <i>Cloaks</i> (brat) | <i>Milch</i> <i>cows</i> | <i>Beeves</i> |
|---------------------|---|--------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------|
| Gaill (Árha Cliath) | 700 | 700 | 700 | 700 | 700 | 700 | .. | .. |
| Fortuatha | .. | 100 | .. | .. | .. | 100 | .. | .. |
| Sil Fiachach | One night's refecton on the march, and from their subject kindreds: | | | | | | | |
| Sil Rosa Fáilge | 100 | 100 | .. | .. | 100 | .. | .. | 100 |
| The Seven Forthairt | .. | .. | .. | 200 | 200 | 200 | .. | .. |
| The Seven Laigse | .. | 700 | 700 | .. | 700 | .. | .. | 700 |
| Osraige | .. | .. | 200 | .. | 200 | 200 | .. | 200 |

These are the free tribes of Lagin. The subject tribes render thread, wool, and dyes from the people of higher status, and services of cleaning and mending from the lower orders.

THE TARA POEM
ULAIÐ. STIPENDS

The king receives the width of his face in gold, 200 cows, 200 horses, 200 chariots, 12 ships, 12 spears, 12 swords, 12 garments, 60 beeves, 20 pigs, 20 fitches, 20 handfuls of herbs, 20 seagulls' eggs, 20 bee-hives

| | <i>Cloaks</i> (brat) | <i>Ships</i> | <i>Shields</i> | <i>Chess</i> | <i>Brandub</i> | <i>Horns</i> | <i>Cups</i> | <i>Hounds</i> | <i>Horses</i> | <i>Spears</i> |
|-----------------|---|--------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Ráith Mór Maige | 8 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| Mag Coba | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| Cenél nEógain | Miscellaneous gifts, or privileges and duties | | | | | | | | | |
| Cenél Conaill | | | | | | | | | | |
| Airgialla | | | | | | | | | | |
| Uí Briúin | | | | | | | | | | |
| Commaicne | | | | | | | | | | |

LAGIN. STIPENDS

The king receives 7 chariots and 140 garments.

| | Cloaks (brat) | Ships | Shields | Horns | Swords | Hounds | Horses | Chariots | Rings | Bracelets |
|-------------|------------------|-------|---------|-------|--------|--------|--------|----------|-------|-----------|
| Uí Fhaeláin | 7 | 4 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Uí Fhailge | .. | .. | 4 | 4 | 4 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Ostráige | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 12 | .. | 12 | .. | .. |
| Uí Gabla | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 10 | 1 |

CAISEL. STIPENDS

| | Horses | Chariots | Bracelets | Horns | Cloaks (brat) | Shields | Plough teams | Cows | Caul- drons | Brooches | Swords | Corselets | Spears | Ships | Cups |
|-------------------|---------------|-------------------|-----------|-------|------------------|---------|-----------------|------|----------------|----------|--------|-----------|--------|-------|------|
| The king receives | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 160 | 8 | 7 | 140 | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Déisi | 8 | .. | .. | .. | 8 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 8 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Uí Liatháin | 8 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 8 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Uí Echach | 2 | .. | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 | 1 | .. | .. |
| Dáirine | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 8 | 8 | .. | .. | .. |
| Loch Léin | 20 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 20 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Giarraige | 20 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 60 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 20 | .. |
| Uí Chomair | Special gifts | Special privilege | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 60 |

TUADMUMA. STIPENDS

| | Horses | Cows | Bracelets | Ships | Shields | Swords | Corselets | Horns | Garments | Helmets | Spears |
|-------------------|--------|------|-----------|-------|---------|--------|-----------|-------|----------|---------|--------|
| The king receives | 200 | 30 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Corco Baiscinn | 40 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 | 1 | .. | .. |
| Corco Miriad | .. | 200 | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |

CRUACHAIN. STIPENDS

The king receives 200 horses, 60 cows, 4 bracelets, 4 shields, 4 corselets, 4 horns, 4 helmets, 4 spears
 Uí Maine 20 horses, 20 cows, 4 horns, 200 garments
 Uí Fhiachrach 3 horns, 4 ships, 30 women
 Na Teóra Tuatha 20 beeves, 20 pigs, 20 flitches
 Luigne 4 shields, 4 tunics, 4 ships

MIDE. STIPENDS

The king receives 7 teams and 140 flocks(?)

Brega 20 horses
 Saithne 1 horse, 40 cows, 1 cauldron, 1 vat
 Déisi 20 beeves, 20 wethers
 Luigne 20 saddle-horses
 Gallenga 1 spear and 20 bridle

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NOTES ON THE MAP

For making the map the indexes to the Annals of Ulster and the Annals of Innisfallen have been used, as well as the various references given in the Onomasticon Goedelicum. The names in the seven sections of tributes and stipends are shown, except four:

Nothing to indicate locality has been found for Na Cuirc (Cruachain), Léithriu (Airgialla), or Fortuatha (Ulaid); and Fortuatha (Caisel) occurs only in the verse list of stipends (p. 34), where it is named in the same quatrain as Glennamain: the corresponding prose lists only Glennamain here.

CAISEL. The names in the Caisel lists of tributes and stipends are not the same, but the lists seem in most cases to mention the same tribes under different names. For example, Léim in Chon appears to be an alternative name for Corco Baiscinn, similarly Dairbre and Drong seem to be alternatives for Corco Duibne, Boirenn for Corco Mruad, and so on.

In the second list of tributes (pp. 24 ff.) the name Orbraige occurs twice; one of these entries is probably a mistake for Osraige, corresponding to Gabrán of the first list of stipends and to Osraige of the second. Similarly Gabrán in the second list of stipends (p. 40) is probably a mistake for Gabair, for Osraige has already been named in this list; Gabair would correspond to Gabair in the second list of tributes, and to Uí Chonaill Gabra of the first list of stipends (p. 30: Uí Gabra in the poem, p. 34).

In Sechtmad (pp. 14, 24, tributes) was ruled by a family belonging to the group of Dal Cairbre Arad, who are described as *la Muscraidi de cloind Chairpri Musg* (Lec. facs. 84v b 49: cf. *ibid.* 85r a 9; and see EIHM, p. 20, note 2); it may therefore have been somewhere in the adjoining territories of Ara and Múscraige, on the Limerick-Tipperary border. It is not in the lists of stipends. Uí Liatháin and Éile are only named as receiving stipends; they are not in the lists of tributes.

CRUACHAIN. For these lists the paper by Fr. P. Walsh in the *Galway Hist. & Arch. Journal* (xvii (1940) 1) has been followed. Uí Briúin, however, has been shown not only in the Headford-Tuam area, east of L. Corrib, but also in the territory of Bréifne, which was called *gairbhthrian Comacht*. The name Na Cuirc, according to Fr. Walsh, seems to refer to a number of small scattered tribes.

AILECH. Cuilennraige (pp. 60, 62) seems to be the place mentioned in AU at 733 (*insola Cuilenrigi*: again at 803, *insola Culenrigi*); this may have been the name of the island called Inch in Loch Swilly, as suggested by Reeves (*Adamnán*, p. 384 note f); but it is probable that the



NOTES ON THE MAP

name included part of the mainland at the southern end of the barony of Inishowen. The list of stipends does not mention Cuilennraige; perhaps it is to be taken there as included under the name Inis Eógain. Tuath Rátha of the list of tributes may be meant to correspond to Cairbre Droma Cliab in the list of stipends; the two districts adjoin. O'Donovan makes no distinction between Fir Maige Ítha and Mag nÍtha; but the list of tributes has the two names, Fir Maige Ítha as tribute-paying, while Mag nÍtha is one of the free tribes. In the list of stipends the name only occurs once (pp. 66, 68); possibly one of the other names there (Cenél nÉnna ?) is meant to correspond to the mention of Mag nÍtha as a free tribe. Clann Chonaill, another of the tribute-free tribes, seems to be the equivalent of Cenél Lugdach, Cenél mBógaine, and Cenél nAeda Easa Ruaid of the list of stipends.

One would expect to find Uí Thuirtre in the Airgialla section rather than here (see EIHM, pp. 223, 224 note 4), but the fact is that the Airgialla had long since come under the overlordship of Ailech (above, p. 81 note 4). O'Donovan (p. 150) has 'rí h-Ua Tuirtre' in the list of Airgialla stipends, apparently as a general name for the Fir Lemna, Uí Chremthainn and Sí nDuibthíre, but this seems to be a wrong reading in the manuscript he was using. The genealogists give them different descents, Uí Thuirtre from Colla Uais (Lec. facs. 80 b 46), but Sí nDuibthíre and Uí Chremthainn from Colla Da Chrich (ibid. 78 b 1).

AIRGIALLA. The only reference in the Annals to Léithriu appears to be in the year 1039, *Muireadhach mac Flaitbertaich .h. Neill do marbad do Leithrenmaibh* (AU, ALC). This was the king of Ailech, but the entry does not show where Léithriu was located. The Uí Dorthain were probably on the borders of Meath and Monaghan (see AU 1021). Uí Echach are usually called Uí Echach Coba, or Uí Echach Ulad, and one would expect them to be listed in the Ulaid section.

ULOID. The name Fortuatha seems to refer to scattered tribes of little importance; no references have been found which would locate them. In tAirthir was originally one of the leading septs of the Airgialla; the references seem to locate them in the east of Co. Armagh and on the Co. Down border. The inclusion of the name among the Ulaid is curious and seems to require explanation. O'Donovan (p. 161 n.) says 'This is to be distinguished from Crioich na n-Oirthear in Oirghialla, but its exact situation has not yet been determined'. I have not found any evidence to show that there was a sept of the name among the Ulaid. In his map in *Celtic Ireland* MacNeill puts the name in the centre of Co. Down, but he does not refer to it in his text. The Crotraige are only mentioned once in the Annals, in 1166, as joining in a raid on Arboe, which is near the west side of L. Neagh; this, together with the description in *choblaig* (above, p. 92), suggests that they should be located near L. Neagh. They are Forsloindte of the Uí Erca Chéin (cf. O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, p. 425). The index to AU puts them in the barony of Cary in the extreme

NOTES ON THE MAP

north of Co. Antrim; the only basis for this seems to be O'Donovan's note to the name (pp. 171-2), 'unknown, unless it be Cathraidhe, now the barony of Cary'.

TEMAIR. Fr. P. Walsh's paper (*Féilsgribhinn Eoin Mhic Néill*, p. 508) has been followed. He suggests that the six tribes which are tribute-paying but do not receive stipends from the king of Temair (Déisi, Dál Máthar, Luigne, Fir Arda, Saithne, Gailenga) were sub-kingdoms subject to the king of Brega. He locates Mag Lacha near Trim, in the Bar. of Lower Moyfenrath. For the name Dál Máthar, which does not occur elsewhere, the reading in Lec. is Dál niathar; Fr. Walsh would amend this to Dál Fhiachach, which he locates in the Bar. of Duleek. A tribe called Dál Mathrach is mentioned in the same context as Gailenga and Delbna (Ó Raithbheartaigh, *Genealogical Tracts*, p. 170). Dál Máthar here may be meant to represent the Duleek area. Coill Fhallamain, originally located in the Bar. of Fore, migrated, Fr. Walsh says, to what is now the parish of Castlejordan; I have put the name there; their former location would be to the north, between Uí Beccon and Delbna Mór.

LAGIN. Cualu is the territory of Uí Dhúinchadha, whose chief seat was at Liamain (Lyons). The chief of Uí Dhúinchadha who was blinded by Diarmaid mac Murchadha in 1141 (A. Tig.) is called *tighearna Fir gCualann* in the entry in AFM. Raíliu means the territory of Uí Mhuireadhaigh; the large rath near Kilkea is still called Mullaghreelan. In Inber means Uí Enechglais; Inbher Mór was the Irish name of Arklow. Uí Chrimthannáin are located by O'Donovan at Dunamase, which is said to be in Uí Chrimthannáin in the genealogical material added later at the end of the Book of Leinster (378 b).

The most remarkable thing about the Lagin section is that the list of tribute-paying tribes entirely omits the Uí Dhúnlainge septs (Uí Fhaeláin, Uí Mhuireadhaigh, Uí Dhúinchadha), though it includes Osraige, and says that tribute is to be paid by the 'subject families' of Uí Chennselaigh and Uí Fhailghe. A list which purports to exempt the Uí Dhúnlainge of north Lagin from the payment of tribute seems hardly likely to have been compiled after the middle of the eleventh century, when the kingship of Lagin reverted to the Uí Chennselaigh, after it had been held by the Uí Dhúnlainge septs for some 300 years.

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